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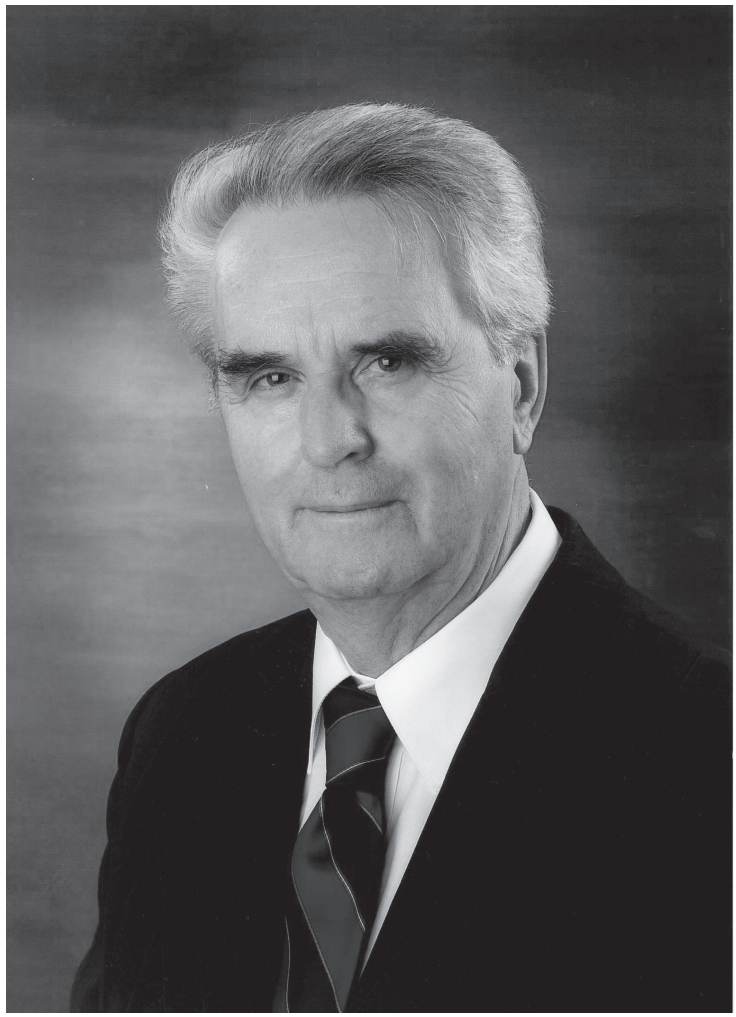
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ALMAE MATRIS POSNANIENSIS
APUD QUAM RERUM CLASSICARUM ARCANA COGNOVERAT
FIDELEM SE ALUMNUM SEMPER PRAEBUIT
IUVENES STUDIOSOS TOT PER ANNOS DOCTRINIS ERUDIENDO
QUAESTIONES AD LITTERAS GRAECAS
IMPRIMIS AD EUPOLIS MENANDRIQUE RELIQUIAS
HELIODORIQUE FABULAM ILLAM ROMANENSEM SPECTANTES ACRITER
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MORTEM VIRI DOCTRINA HUMANITATE BENEVOLENTIA PRAESTANTIS
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VITAM MERITAQUE GRATA PROSEQUIMUR MEMORIA

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THE TEARS OF ACHILLES IN HOMER'S EPIC (WITH SOME REMARKS ON HIS FOLLOWERS)*

by

ELŻBIETA WESOŁOWSKA

ABSTRACT: This article aims to offer insights into the psychological profile of the greatest hero of the *Iliad,* Achilles, with particular reference to the passages in which the hero responds to specific events in the story by crying. I attempt to contribute to the current debates on the matter by contemplating three reasons for Achilles' emotional responses: (1) his youth and the sense of his lack of authority among his comrades in arms; (2) the awareness of his impending death; (3) his status as a demigod, which is seen by the Achaeans as belittling the merits of the hero.

Tears are a particular form of non-verbal communication[1]. It is commonly believed that crying brings relief[2]. Although some scientists are sceptical about the veracity of this assumption, the debate continues[3]. The characters of Homer's

* I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for her or his valuable remarks and suggestions for improving this paper.

1 The nonverbal character of crying poses insurmountable challenges to theatrical actors. Since crying is too spontaneous an emotion to be rendered faithfully on stage by an actor, it is described verbally by another character on stage. This device has its origins in the epic tradition. Cf. Stamm 1975: *passim*.

2 For this reason, it is often considered that such strong emotions should not be suppressed, especially by boys, who are expected to control their feelings. Didactic scholars argue that this may entail far-reaching and negative consequences, such as an inability to deal with stressful situations in adult life. Cf. Von Glahn 2006.

3 See Bosworth (2019), who is sceptical about the claim that tears are capable of easing the sufferer's mind. Von Glahn (2006), on the other hand, persuasively makes a case for the therapeutic function of weeping. A therapist can help the patient release the healing powers of crying by showing respect and patience towards this natural process by which tears help one recover from traumatic experiences, much like wounded flesh that heals naturally. In order to achieve this the therapist must foster a positive relationship with the patient based on trust and a sense of safety to encourage them to share their painful experience, no matter how excruciating it may be. Von Glahn argues that the therapeutic function of tears is the most effective form of treatment. However, this kind of crying is different from the fear-induced form of crying. The therapeutic form of crying occurs when someone feels that the other person shows an interest in them personally rather than only in their feelings. This, however, provokes the question of whether tears can appease the

epic poems are often found crying or lamenting for different reasons and in different ways. They cry alone, in the presence of others or with others[4]. Hélène Monsacré's captivating study on the language of mourning shows that some expressions used in Homer's poems referring to crying over the dead, which is a specific form of crying, without ritual connotations, e.g. δάκρυ or δάκρυα χέειν and κλαίειν, are used for both individual and collective pain. In contrast, ὀλοφύρεσθαι may refer to individual acts of lamentation mixed with the feeling of longing for the dead[5]. Homer's works also demonstrate a range of expressions for tears or silent sobbing[6].

According to Wieniewski[7], the characters in Homer's epic works cry "not unlike children"[8]. After all, scenes in which the characters are seen concealing their emotions are rather rare[9]. According to Tsagalis[10], there are numerous episodes in Homer in which the characters cry, for example Thetis (crying with her son in *Il.* XVIII 70 ff.). As will be explained later on in this papers, Achilles is among those characters who do not take pains to conceal their tears[11]. Other characters who weep include Briseis (and other kidnapped brides) who cries over the death of Patroclus (*Il.* XIX 287–300)[12], Hecuba (crying twice over the death of Hector:

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mind of a lonely person. If there is no one to address (nor a higher form of being for that matter), by what means is one supposed to stimulate this kind of emotion?

[4] Which is not to imply that the reasons for crying with or among others are always the same. It may occur that people who are seen crying together are crying for altogether different reasons.

[5] Cf. Monsacré 1984: 171 f.

[6] Cf. Föllinger 2009: 20 ff.

[7] Wieniewski 1961: XXVII.

[8] It should be mentioned that the phrase "the crying hero" used in relation to Homer's works is not an example of oxymoron.

[9] In the *Odyssey,* for instance, Odysseus holds back his tears – perhaps tears of embarrassment (Cairns 2009) – upon seeing his dying dog, Argos. Demodocus, while singing about the fall of Troy at the court of the Phaeacians, causes Odysseus to draw his mantle over his eyes to hide his tears. Elsewhere, he is seen crying openly with joy, e.g. when he speaks to the faithful Eumaeus or when he meets his son (*Od.* XVI 190–191); see Konstan (2009: 311) who believes that Meleager in his epigrams was the first to describe tears as pleasurable. I gather that the fact that the hero refuses to show his tears when seeing his dying dog is caused by the necessity to remain incognito before his confrontation with his wife's suitors.

[10] See Tsagalis (2004: *passim*) on the role of the three scenes of Andromache's lament in the *Iliad*, which introduces both the open and the closed structure of the epic. Cf. also Muich (2010) who shows Andromache's role as being an example of the suffering of women in times of war.

[11] He did not even conceal his tears in the scene with Priam (*Il.* XXIV 295 ff.).

[12] Dué (2006: 43) observed that "in the *Iliad* grief spreads quickly from individual to community". The funeral lament is the type of speech most closely associated with, and representative of, the female voice in the *Iliad.* For instance, in Book XIX, Briseis utters such a lament over the dead body of Patroclus. And her crying here is the first proper female funeral lament in the *Iliad* in the presence of the deceased, cf. Nappi 2012.

Il. XXII 432–436, XXIV 747–759), Andromache, Priam, Helen and the Trojans crying over Hector's death (*Il.* XXIV 719–776), and several others, including Odysseus[13]. In scenes like these, crying results from remembering a particular event which the character who is being mourned participated in. This variety of crying is often referred to as "pregnant tears"[14]. It may also appear baffling to the reader why Thetis cries so profusely after the death of Patroclus (*Il.* XVIII 70 ff.). Although he was indeed a close friend of her son, her reaction seems somewhat excessive. A possible explanation is that her tears anticipate the impending death of her own son[15]. It may also happen that characters who cry together have quite different reasons for doing so (*Il.* XXIV 265 ff.).

What is likely to draw the attention of the readers (and other characters in the poem) is the exceptional status of Achilles. This prototypical Greek hero[16] and a model of military prowess, albeit not always in the positive meaning of the word[17], gives vent to his tears as many as six times throughout the epic. Achilles has taken part in some situations which have reduced him to tears. I would like to briefly recall them here in order to establish a contextual framework of reference. These aspects will be explored in a broader context in the pages to follow. What moves Achilles to tears in the first scene is his feeling of wrath and suffering (*Il.* I 349 ff.). These strong emotions also make him cry in the presence of his mother (*Il.* XVIII 70 ff.). Thetis is very gentle towards him and is aware that speaking about what has upset him can calm his grief, so she asks him to explain the reason for his sadness. Achilles is surprised to hear this question. After all, his mother is a goddess and therefore should know the answer[18].

The third and the following three scenes in which the young hero is weeping are connected with the death of his beloved friend, Patroclus (*Il.* XVIII 79–83[19], 98–136, 324–342, XIX 315–337). It is worth mentioning here that in each

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[13] Odysseus is seen crying in many scenes in the *Odyssey* (see Wesołowska 2017). Similarly, the epic shows Agamemnon weeping too (see *Od.* XI 391). Furthermore, the sight of the tearful Agamemnon moves Odysseus to tears as well.

[14] This term was introduced by Currie (2016), as the tears are connected with a reality not shown within the epic, but predicted or sensed.

[15] Thetis senses that her son will seek to revenge the death of his friend and that his end is near. For more information on this "vicarious lament", see Tsagalis 2004: 137. Thetis is, as it were, aware that there will be no more room in this epic to mourn the death of her son. According to some scholars of neo-analysis, this scene shows strong affinities with the earlier epic *Aethiopis*, which contained a similar scene. Cf. Pestalozzi 1945; Edwards 1990.

[16] See Rosen, Sluiter 2003: 7.

[17] Cf. Bassi 2003: 34. The term ἀγηνώρ, used to compare Achilles to a great lion, has a double meaning, as it connotes both courage and insolence (this latter may refer to the suitors of Penelope).

[18] It is commonly known that the Greek gods were typically not omniscient. This is exemplified by the successful attempt of Prometheus to trick Zeus over the animal sacrifice or by Tantalus' act of deception.

[19] This scene should be connected with the above scene with Achilles and his mother.

of these situations, Achilles behaves differently, which partly results from the artistic choices of the author and partly from his attempt to present Achilles' personality as a complex one, which should be measured not only by heroic but also by human standards. In my opinion, his first reaction to the death of Patroclus is non-verbal, which in a sense is similar to the crying of women in the *Iliad.* It is also worth mentioning that in Homer's work female mourning is marked by the demonstrative gestures of feigned self-mutilation of the breasts and face or pulling the hair out, without the display of verbal outbursts (as in the case of professional mourning)[20]. When informed about the death of his companion, the young hero reacts emotionally by pulling his hair out, rolling around on the ground, and smearing his body with ash and sand.

The last example of Achilles' tears in the poem (*Il.* XXIV 265 ff.) is probably the most touching, if a little ambiguous. Achilles is crying when old king Priam is begging on his knees for the body of his dead son Hector to be returned. Achilles, the dreadful and cruel warrior, is responsive to such parental grief and gives back Hector's corpse. Nevertheless, he does not hesitate in accepting a valuable ransom. This gesture led to the glorification of Hector and his death, but also to the glorification of Achilles, who exonerates himself by showing mercy to the humbled and humiliated Priam.

I will now focus on the key scenes in which the hero, who is otherwise greatly dreaded by his enemies, seeks consolation or expresses his anguish by crying. In one of the opening scenes of the epic, Achilles opens his heart to his mother, shedding tears after having been humiliated by the commander-in-chief of the Greeks, Agamemnon (*Il.* I 347 ff.). In this scene, the hero bemoans his impending death and loss of honour after giving his captive woman over to Agamemnon as compensation. In the scene in which Achilles meets Thetis, who arrives upon hearing her son bemoaning his fate, the hero addresses the reader rather than his mother. This is because the latter, as a goddess, knows everything, as is revealed at the beginning of her monologue.

The young hero cries as many as four times after the death of his beloved Patroclus. All of these scenes differ in terms of the stylistic figures used in them. The first three set the scene for the main outburst of lamentation. These include the sigh that implies crying[21], and words describing the hero's response to a painful experience, such as "with despairing heart" or "with a piercing cry". These three scenes are followed by the episode in which the hero expresses his anguish and is accompanied by his commiserating comrades, which seems to reinforce

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[20] Alexiou 2002: 12 and 42. As weeping can be attributed to the protagonists and many other characters in the *Iliad*, the theme constitutes an important structural point of reference. War brides and comrades in arms are important here (as demonstrated in Book XVIII).

[21] The words he utters are so full of sorrow that Thetis, who overhears them, burst into tears upon hearing another augury of the impending death of her beloved son.

the weight of his suffering further[22]. Along similar lines, in *Il*. XVIII 25, Achilles sinks to the depths of despair after the death of his friend. This form of venting despair in which the hero, surrounded by Thetis and other lamenting women, is pulling his hair out in rage may strike one as ritualistic, and thus quite feminine.

These outbursts of despair, interlaced with battle scenes, end with the poignant encounter between the ghost of Patroclus and the sleeping Achilles (*Il*. XXIII 65 ff.) in which Achilles futilely attempts to embrace the bodiless spectre of his beloved friend. This acutely intimate scene turns into a collective lament of his comrades in arms. The final scene in which Achilles fails to contain his emotions is when he meets Priam (*Il.* XXIV 265 ff.). The old king begs Achilles for the body of his slaughtered son so eagerly that both of them end up crying: the former, due to the loss of his eldest son; the latter in a gesture of anticipation of the pain of his father after his only son's death.

Although Homer's epic leaves relatively little room for the gender-specific impact of crying, some scholars argue that certain expressions referring to crying carry female[23] as opposed to male characteristics. The scene in which Achilles likens his older friend Patroclus, who is crying over the defeat of the Greeks, to a snivelling girl, is important in this context[24]. Also interesting is how Hecuba, unlike Priam, attempts to persuade Hector not to go to the duel with Achilles (*Il.* XXII 38 ff.)[25]. Priam's lament, delivered a little earlier, appears, in turn, more rational and elaborate. And of course, as we have already observed, also Achilles, who is the bravest, finest, and fastest[26] hero of the Trojan war, sheds tears quite frequently[27]. Sabine Föllinger's typology of crying in the *Iliad* includes the following factors reflecting the role of the characters:

Fear. Particularly on the battlefield (e.g. Ajax, Odysseus in the *Iliad*). This characteristic cannot be ascribed to Achilles[28], the most valiant amongst the

---

[22] See Alexiou 2002.

[23] See Föllinger (2009: 21) for her discussion with Monsacré (1984). She mentions several comparisons in Homer's poem aimed at distinguishing womanly and manly behaviour (see also Föllinger 2009: 45 ff.).

[24] It is worth mentioning that Patroclus is older that Achilles. Seen in this light, the picture on the vase (Sosias' Vase, Altes Museum, Berlin, F 2278) showing Patroclus being looked after by his younger friend may not strike one as surprising.

[25] It should be mentioned that Hector's mother rather than his father is trying to stop his son (*Il.* VI 254–262). Presumably the women that accompany Hector can predict his ominous future.

[26] His speed is emphasised in Book XXI in the vain race with Apollo and, especially, in Book XXII when Achilles, being so swift-footed, can beat Hector (but paradoxically not without the help of Athene, as if his *epitheton ornans* was only partly useful...).

[27] It is worth remembering, after Föllinger (2009: 19), an untitled poem by Goethe, probably written in 1815, in which the poet mentions Achilles weeping over the loss of Briseis as the oldest example of an ancient hero crying.

[28] However, we might suspect that the hero attempts to defer the battle to adjourn his impending death.

Achaeans. On hearing about the death of Patroclus, Achilles rushed unarmed into the warring rabble and dispersed the crowd of his companions with his mighty roar[29]. This image is reinforced by Odysseus' words addressed to the hero in the land of the dead, when Achilles expresses his joy upon hearing about the courage of his son, who is believed never to have shed a tear out of fear[30]. This, rather than the promise of his everlasting glory, was the cause for rejoicing for Achilles, and one that was to compensate for his awareness that he had precious little time to live. Another interpretative problem presents itself at this point: did Achilles wilfully delay his return to the battlefield to (conveniently) avoid his impending end as foretold by his mother? Some commentators subscribe to this view[31]. On the other hand, Zieliński convincingly argues that Achilles chooses to die on the battlefield in order to obtain the status of a hero[32].

Despair. The most emblematic example here is Patroclus (*Il.* XVI 7–11), who is consistently unable to control his emotions. This invites the ridicule of his friend, who mocks him twofold by likening him to a little girl[33], saying to him:

> Why then
> are you crying like some poor little girl, Patroklos,
> who runs after her mother and begs to be picked up and carried?[34]

Wrath. Wrath (μῆνις) is one of the primary emotional drivers of the *Iliad*[35]. Achilles cries in rage at the beginning of the story. The young hero feels degraded, dishonoured and bereft of his well-deserved prize[36]. It could be argued that this scene shows signs of the immaturity of the young hero, who is too young to be able to control his emotions. But, on the other hand, his wrath persists for a long time and is not represented as a fleeting feeling. Of course, as a constitutive element of the structure of the epic, the hero's feeling of wrath must continue long enough for events to unfold and resolve themselves.

---

[29] See *Il.* XVIII 215–231.

[30] It follows from this that the young Neoptolemus' nobility and fame serve as a substitute for his father's immortality.

[31] See Burgess 2009: 73; Zieliński 2014: 21.

[32] Zieliński 2014: 75 f.

[33] The expression κούρη νηπίη is significant here as delivered by the younger friend (see n. 24), and because the epithet νήπιος will be recalled in the narrator's utterance (*Il.* XVI 46).

[34] This and the other English quotations from the *Iliad* are derived from Lattimore 1967.

[35] Föllinger 2009: 22.

[36] The classical notion of honour is vague and hard to pin down. Cf. Cairns 2009. This scene exposes a dissonance between the hero's sense of resentment and the reward that was taken from him by Agamemnon. After all, this young and beautiful woman laments the fact of being taken by another man.

Loss. Achilles' four[37] reactions to the death of Patroclus are the most notable examples of loss. That Patroclus dies wearing Achilles' armour is not inconsequential. When Hector assaults and kills the one whom he knows not to be Achilles[38], the armour that is conceived to protect the hero turns into his tomb. The poet drops the reader no hints about the feelings of the Trojan warriors at the moment in which such a seemingly grand achievement turns into an illusion. Because it is not Achilles that falls victim to Hector's sword, the victory loses its grandeur. We can only imagine how dispirited the Trojans must have been to see Apollo strip Patroclus of his armour ahead of the latter's duel with Hector[39]. The Trojans were overcome with fear at the sight of Patroclus wearing the magnificent armour belonging to his famous comrade (in *Il.* XVI)[40]. This implies that they must have believed (and it is unclear how long they kept that belief) that the great hero had returned to the battlefield after a long break. It should also be remembered that the battle cry of the hero is enough to make the terrified Trojans flee and leave the naked corpse of Patroclus behind them.

This scene includes horses auguring the future and other characters who mourn the death of Achilles to come, such as Ajax, Antilochus, Thetis and Briseis. The device employed here on several occasions is that of proleptic mourning. Hector, who in many ways resembles his opponent at whose hand he is to die, is also mourned prior to his death. In Book VI three women, Andromache, Hecuba and Helen, are seen lamenting and imploring him not to go to the battlefield. Each of them proleptically laments the death of Hector, which is fulfilled in Book XXII, albeit each in different ways. After the event, the parents of the vanquished hero, followed by his other supporters, shed tears over his death and his desecrated body. The deaths of both Achilles and Hector are therefore lamented at several stages. As regards Patroclus, his death is a proleptic figure of the death of Achilles, as Patroclus was in a sense an *alter ego* of Achilles. In another sense, Hector acts as a mirror image of Achilles in that the reader is aware of the fact that by killing Hector, Achilles is coming closer to his own death, of which he is reminded by his mother.

Longing. In Book XXIV Achilles unexpectedly expresses a longing for his father and imagines his solitude in old age after his own (Achilles') death. Does

---

[37] There is a link between Achilles' reactions and his three vain attempts to embrace Patroclus' ghost. And even here we should not go too far in interpreting this scene as an element of an erotic connection between them. More about this in Wesołowska 2014: 207.

[38] Cf. XVI 721.

[39] This, however, is inconclusive. Hector, as well as some other Trojans, do not seem to be fooled by the fake armour (see Book XVI). On the other hand, the scene in which Patroclus is stripped of his armour marks the moment of his exposure to certain death, also in symbolic terms. By turning the death of Patroclus into a cause of Achilles' revenge, his special status as a hero has been degraded.

[40] This contradicts the claim made by Edwards (1990: 316) that nobody was taken in by Patroclus' disguise.

the hero fear his death, which is to come through the reversal of the natural course of events? Or does the scene mark an attempt to seek consolation by imagining the mourning of his own death? Or else does he anticipate his father's mourning after the death of his son?[41] This example, however, does not offer a full picture of the father–son relationship. The preceding events show Phoenix as a foster father, but also a mother of sorts, who as a childless man treats Achilles as his own son[42]. This feeling is unexpectedly reinforced by the awareness of his (or his father's) solitude in old age after his own (Achilles') death.

Joy. Tears of joy and failure (particularly in sports, which, however, cannot be applied to Achilles) complement Föllinger's list of six[43] reasons for crying in the *Iliad.*

In my analysis below, I will attempt to briefly expand Föllinger's list, which I find valuable and persuasive, by mentioning further aspects pertaining to the tears of the bravest of the Achaeans. In my reading of the story, Achilles laments the awareness of his impending death (an awareness linked with that of his young age and origins) which other characters do not seem to take seriously enough[44]. I will attempt to address this point on the basis of several factors listed and elaborated on below:

Death. The end is near. The hero is acutely aware of his impending death (*Il.* I 352):

> μῆτερ ἐπεί μ᾽ ἔτεκές γε μινυνθάδιόν περ ἐόντα[45],
>
> Since, my mother, you bore me to be a man with a short life.

As confirmed by his mother (*Il.* I 414–418):

> ὤ μοι τέκνον ἐμόν, τί νύ σ᾽ ἔτρεφον αἰνὰ τεκοῦσα;
> αἴθ᾽ ὄφελες παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀδάκρυτος καὶ ἀπήμων
> ἧσθαι, ἐπεί νύ τοι αἶσα μίνυνθά περ οὔ τι μάλα δήν:
> νῦν δ᾽ ἅμα τ᾽ ὠκύμορος καὶ ὀϊζυρὸς περὶ πάντων
> ἔπλεο: τῶ σε κακῇ αἴσῃ τέκον ἐν μεγάροισι.
>
> Ah me,
> my child. Your birth was bitterness. Why did I raise you?
> If only you could sit by your ships untroubled, not weeping,

---

[41] Cf. Toynbee 1969.

[42] Cf. Stróżyński, to whom I am indebted for sharing the manuscript of his work prior to its publication.

[43] I would like to propose applying the seventh category of crying elaborated by the author to a more general situation related to despair or wrath.

[44] This suggests that he finds it hard to maintain his authority in the eyes of the others. See Stróżyński (forthcoming), who discusses the matter in a different context.

[45] All Greek quotations from the *Iliad* are derived from Murray 1924.

since indeed your lifetime is to be short, of no length.
Now it has befallen that your life must be brief and bitter
beyond all men's. To a bad destiny I bore you in my chambers.

Book XI of the *Odyssey*, which includes a scene in which the ghost of Achilles bemoans the futility of existence in the kingdom of shadows[46], serves as a point of convergence between Homer's two epic poems. Achilles' mother foretells her son's inevitable, albeit heroic, death[47]. In *Odyssey* XI, Agamemnon tells Odysseus that Achilles has been killed, but he fails to reveal the identity of the perpetrator or the cause of his death[48]. The ambiguity of this situation is that being killed from a distance bespeaks the lack of heroism of the perpetrator[49]. The cause of death may remain hidden due to the fact that death by an arrow is as disgraceful for the victim as it is for the perpetrator who has committed it[50]. That Odysseus fails to mention anything about the circumstances of the hero's death might also give the reader pause for thought. The fact that Achilles is silent about his own glory, which compensates for his untimely death, is telling. Instead, the hero is preoccupied with longing for his earthly life, prior to his consignment to the Underworld[51].

Prestige. The second important reason for Achilles' discomfort is his age. Needless to say, the hero is very young[52]. Although this factor is not directly expressed in the story, it is suggested that the young age of Achilles is a cause for disrespect among his comrades. This is hinted at by the narrator's foregrounding of Agamemnon's formidable stature in the scene of the disagreement between both warriors (*Il.* I 101 ff.). The wrath of Achilles, which shows no signs of abating throughout the story, can no doubt be considered as a symptom of emotional immaturity. The young hero is now compelled to keep a binding promise[53].

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[46] He utters the notable words that he would rather be a peasant in his homeland than a king of the land of shadows.

[47] Thetis is endowed with knowledge about the future of her son; this departs from the traditional Greek notions about the abilities of divine beings (see n. 18).

[48] Although Odysseus probably knows everything about the death of Achilles, the reader, as a kind of extratextual addressee of the text, remains uninformed.

[49] Consider the words with which king Lycus mocks Hercules the archer in Seneca's *Hercules Furens* 159–164.

[50] This issue is discussed by many mythographers, e.g. Apollodorus III 22; 31–32.

[51] Nor should the meeting of the shadows of Agamemnon and Achilles be overlooked (*Od.* XXIV 25 ff.). Although on hostile terms when alive, the characters now address each other respectfully and amiably. The heroes discuss the death of Achilles in Troy without mentioning the details of the event. Agamemnon envies the young hero his great posthumous fame and the love that the gods bestowed upon him. This is because all of this contrasts sharply with his own death: he was killed at the hands of a woman and in an ambush.

[52] It was generally assumed that he was not a suitor for Helen.

[53] See Searle (1969) for further information on the intentionality of promising.

Towards the end of the poem, one source of anger paves the way for another. Having come to an agreement with Agamemnon, Achilles is free to return to the battlefield to avenge the death of his companion. Another notable character in the *Iliad* is Phoenix, Achilles' advisor (I 168, 430 ff., 658 f.; XVI 916)[54]. It could be reasonably argued that Phoenix epitomises a mother figure to Achilles, a role to which the former committed himself all the more ardently due to his childlessness. Consequently, Achilles is raised in a milieu that can be called feminine[55]. The former educator of Achilles, Chiron, possibly only partially influenced his student in terms of gender. Furthermore, given that both Achilles' mother[56] and father[57] live far away, Phoenix could also be seen to embody the figure of a childminder[58].

As regards the authority of the greatest Greek hero, another aspect merits attention. Namely, in the eyes of his comrades, the valiance of Achilles is a gift from the gods. Nestor's mediating words addressed to Achilles (*Il.* I 280) should be mentioned here:

> εἰ δὲ σὺ καρτερός ἐσσι θεὰ δέ σε γείνατο μήτηρ,
>
> though you are the stronger man, and the mother who bore you was immortal.

If so, is this gift a blessing or a curse? How is the young hero to show his own merits rather than those he had received? A simple question, "What is *andreia* anyway?", gets the simplest of answers: "Not running away in the middle of a battle, of course"[59]. Consequently, Achilles passes for the greatest warrior of all, referred to by the nickname of *andreios* (*Il.* IX 699). Nevertheless, the Achaeans remain sure about this fact, even after hearing Agamemnon's insulting words about Achilles' planned getaway (*Il.* I 173–174):

> φεῦγε μάλ᾽ εἴ τοι θυμὸς ἐπέσσυται, οὐδέ σ᾽ ἔγωγε
> λίσσομαι εἵνεκ᾽ ἐμεῖο μένειν:
>
> Run away by all means if your heart drives you. I will not
> entreat you to stay here for my sake.

---

[54] For further information on the role of Phoenix in the shaping of the public image of Achilles, see Stróżyński.

[55] The later tradition includes the story of Achilles being hidden among the fifty daughters of Lycomedes by his mother.

[56] It needs to be mentioned that Achilles pours his heart out to his mother. It is in her presence that the hero sheds tears that may be called therapeutic, in a sense (see n. 3).

[57] Some sources maintain that the marriage of Peleus and Thetis was short-lived, cf. Apollodorus III 13, 6–7.

[58] For more on these complicated interrelations, see Heslin 2005.

[59] Cf. Rosen, Sluiter 2003: 6. "If someone is willing to stay at his post, to fend off the enemy, and not flee, well, you can be sure that he's got *andreia*" (Plato, *Laches* 190e, 4).

It should be mentioned that the later sources maintain that Achilles was officially invited to partake in the war, a detail that is missing in Homer[60]. It is also possible that Achilles is overwhelmed by the role of a great hero which is persistently ascribed to him. Although he appears to cherish the status of the bravest one, this distinction is also a marker of exclusion, and thus loneliness – which deepens after the death of his dear friend. It should be noted that in his last encounter with Hector, Patroclus tries not to act as himself. This must have had a symbolic meaning for Achilles, who in facing the slain friend is struck by the possible nagging awareness: "It could have been me. It shall be me"[61]. Achilles, as an extraordinary individual, is endowed with an acute sense of self-awareness. His understanding of living as someone who has withdrawn from the battlefield is a paradox that mirrors Hector's lack of choice. This dilemma renders them both epic and (almost) tragic heroes. They are probably united by the fact that both die unheroically, albeit in different ways[62].

It could also be argued, after Laurel Fulkerson[63], that the hero suffers pangs of conscience due to the fact that his anger has brought about the defeat of the Greeks and the death of his friend. The scholar also suggests that Achilles' agony of remorse is of a very peculiar kind, one that can be attributed to Neoptolemus, a character from the *Philoctetes* by Sophocles. This character also demonstrates an acute sense of moral distress.

I would suggest that Achilles could be said to suffer a form of "metaphysical guilt" (to use the term coined by Karl Jaspers). Since the life of Patroclus and other Achaeans depends on Achilles' success in battle, the hero can be seen as failing to safeguard the wellbeing and principles of his people. Nevertheless, his failure is not a straightforward one. Jaspers proposes that although "morality demands from a person to take risks, it does not compel one to choose a certain death"[64]. When in despair and unable to fend off his impending death, Achilles might be one step closer to grasping the metaphysical implications of his guilt.

It is valuable for the present purposes to consider what, in dramatic terms, the difference is between the tears of Odysseus and Achilles. On the psychological level, the differences are inconsequential[65]. We may treat both of them as mythical heroes with their singular experiences and emotions. In the case of Odysseus, we should mention the bitter utterance in Book XI of the *Odyssey*

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[60] Statius, *Achilleid* I (*passim*).

[61] One should recall his words, full of grief, over the corpse of his beloved friend.

[62] As regards the relation between the *Iliad* and the earlier *Aethiopis*, Achilles dies in ambush, Hector attempts to withdraw from the battle before his death, and after the battle his body is desecrated.

[63] Fulkerson 2013.

[64] Jaspers 1965: 83.

[65] Cf. Wesołowska 2017: 122.

(170 and 217–220) where, during the conversation with his mother, he refers to his solitary wandering as "burdened with troubles" and now, unable to embrace his dear mother's ghost, he wonders[66] "if royal Penelope makes him groan and grieve the more". I assume the main point of divergence seems to be that Odysseus cries silently. In such intimate moments, he usually attempts to conceal his tears for different reasons: because he feels embarrassed (among the Phaeacians) or out of fear of exposure (when with his dog Argos). However, Odysseus is also capable of crying profusely, such as when embracing his wife and showing his affection to her. According to the Polish writer Roman Brandstaetter (1906–1987) who depicts him in his drama *Odysseus Crying*, he only cries when his face is not visible[67]. Such is the image of the king in Telemachus' dream. Nevertheless, the reasons for epic characters to shed tears are rarely unmixed – a topos that will be later explored by Ovid in one of his exile elegies (*Trist*. I 3). It is reasonable to assume that in Homer's epic poem Achilles must be exhausted after nearly a decade of fighting and playing the role of the greatest, invincible hero[68]. Such intense pressure might have triggered spontaneous reactions, such as anger and grief after the loss of Briseis or as a result of humiliation and vulnerability[69].

Because Achilles is an ambiguous and complex character, he has inspired countless literary adaptations, spanning the period from antiquity to modern times. Because an analysis of numerous literary iterations of this classical protagonist would extend far beyond the narrow scope of this paper, I will attempt to expound upon only two modern works that refer to the theme of Achilles' tears. Of course, I have refrained from providing a comprehensive list of such examples[70]. Instead, I will offer some remarks about the reappearance of Achilles in literary works after Homer. We should begin with the observation that Achilles was openly mocked by Euripides in the *Iphigenia in Aulis* and the *Hecuba* and criticised by the Roman poets: Horace, who considers him a murderer of women and children[71], and Ovid, who

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[66] It should be mentioned at this point that Odysseus also yearns, if futilely, for a physical contact with his mother.

[67] It occurs twice: in Telemachus' dream and at the very end of the play.

[68] The ambivalence around Achilles' martial superiority can be attested by the scenes in which the hero's exceptional bravery is ascribed to his status as a demigod. It could also be proposed that the scenes of exhaustion or solitude are part of a literary convention. Cf. Duvignaud 1970: 283–297.

[69] For more information on his feelings for Briseis, cf. Fantuzzi 2012. According to Cairns (2009: 37–57), Odysseus is embarrassed by his own unmanly behaviour, although this seems to be rather debatable.

[70] Even in a book-length study it would be almost impossible, I think, to gather all the modern works that contain such references.

[71] *Carm*. I 8, 13–16; *Epod*. 13, 11–18.

points the finger at the hero's womanising proclivities[72]. Seneca and Catullus, on the other hand, do not criticise the Greek hero[73].

As mentioned above, Euripides treats Achilles ironically. He mocks his grand promise to protect Iphigenia and his failure to deliver that promise. Achilles is either unconvincing or excessively utilitarian. His assertions never to let anyone harm the woman echo his words to the envoy in Book I of the *Iliad.* In Euripides' play, Achilles' bold assertions to save Iphigenia call to mind his promise to save Briseis, which may be intended as an attempt to mock Agamemnon. The play *Achilleis. Obrazy tragiczne* ("Tragic Images") by the Polish writer Stanisław Wyspiański (1869–1907), does not follow the Homeric structure. Every scene revolves around Achilles, which is an exciting concept. In this theatrical adaptation, Achilles cries twice: the first time in the presence of his mother and the second time when he feels humiliated by Thersites' attempts to mock him. After the loss of Patroclus, he chooses to commit suicide.

Another scene from the story of the Greek hero that has been variously adapted in many literary works is Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes. In these adaptations, the subtle manners employed by Achilles as a form of camouflage are particularly emphasised. This theme also figures prominently in an ancient text: an epic poem by Statius (*Achilleis*). In Statius' work, the only person who cries is Deidamia, the woman who is wooed by Achilles[74]. This scene, therefore, includes the theme of Achilles' initiation into manhood. This more or less frivolous theme was employed in thirty operas between the mid-17th and mid-19th centuries! In contemporary popular literature, the character of Achilles has figured in more than a dozen works. Whether these works contain scenes of crying is a question for another study. Let us only consider the bestselling novel *The Song of Achilles* (2011) by Madeline Miller. The story is a loose adaptation of the theme of the close relationship between Achilles and Patroclus. Whether the two characters are engaged in a sexual liaison has been the subject of debate almost since the epic poem was first composed[75]. The choice of the narrator in Miller's novel is very unusual. The story is narrated by Patroclus, also after his death. By his account, Achilles is a rapturous character, one that is en-

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[72] *Ars Am.* I 689–696.

[73] Sen. *Agam.* 158–159 and Catull. 64, 338–369. Clytemnestra's unclear utterance in the Senecan play is worth mentioning: "Equidem et iugales filiae memini faces/ Et generum Achillem: praestitit matri fidem!" This may refer, ironically, to Agamemnon, but also, respectfully, to the faithful and honest Achilles. In Catullus, Achilles is foreseen as the greatest warrior ever, although some aspects of his cruelty are mentioned.

[74] The echo of that story is heard in the mediaeval literary epistle *Deidamia Achilli.*

[75] Contemporary scholars generally agree that Homer does not include any allusions to homosexual encounters between the characters. Cf. Fantuzzi 2012. It is worth mentioning that in later scholarship their relationship was often treated as an example of perfect male love; see the oration by Aeschines, *Against Timarchus.*

tirely devoted (literally to his dying day) to his beloved companion. In this novel, Achilles cries twice: the first time in the presence of Priam (although he takes pains to conceal his tears) and the second time in the presence of his mother, for which she chastises him.

CONCLUSIONS

Achilles, this exceptionally valiant but also in a sense narcissistic[76] and neurotic hero of Homer's epic poems, is as given to passionate outbursts of rage as he is capable of acts of mercy. After Tsagalis[77], we may observe that Achilles surpasses other heroes in terms of his sympathetic imagination. So he looks very similar to the epic poet, reaching out to the depths of grief, to absorb, adapt and externalise his pain. However, could it be argued that Achilles possesses higher authority as a heroic performer, as Tsagalis concludes? He is undoubtedly a complex, solitary and ambiguous character – and this manifests itself in the final scene in which Achilles, deeply moved, returns the body of Hector to Priam[78]. The hero vents these extreme emotions through tears. In other scenes, Achilles laments the failure to garner the respect of others due to his divine provenance, which in the eyes of many belittles his merits and military accomplishments. However, the hero's psyche is haunted by the spectre of his inevitable death, which lures him with promises of posthumous glory – an asset which is extremely valuable for the characters of the *Iliad*, among them Achilles, and somehow insignificant for him in the *Odyssey*. This is attested in Book XI of the *Odyssey*, when the ghost of Achilles meets Odysseus. It transpires that the spectre knows nothing about life outside the Underworld, which bespeaks the futility or paradoxical nature, from his own point of view, of the concept of eternal glory.

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[76] Narcissism is understood here, after Dessuant (2007), as a form of primeval need for self-sufficiency and love for oneself.

[77] Tsagalis 2004: 80.

[78] Which did not stop him from accepting a huge ransom, as Athene has already predicted.

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THE IMAGERY AND SYMBOLISM OF FIRE IN THE HOMERIC HYMNS AND IN GREEK CHORAL LYRIC

by

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ABSTRACT: The paper discusses the imagery of fire in the Homeric Hymns and in selected works of the Greek lyric poets, with a particular emphasis on Pindar and Bacchylides. It demonstrates how choral lyric authors use the symbolism of fire established in the Greek epic tradition and philosophical reflection, imbuing it with new meanings and painting images which illustrate the ambiguous nature of the element of fire, based on metaphors, similes and ecphrases.

In the minds of the ancient Greeks, fire was primarily an attribute of divine power and a symbol of immortality. Zeus, the highest ruler over gods and men, expressed his anger by hurling thunder and lightning. Deceived by Prometheus at the distribution of the meat of sacrificial victims, he took it out on humans by depriving them of using the fire that was originally kindled by rubbing pieces of ash wood together[1]. Prometheus stole the divine spark from under the wheels of the chariot of Helios or, in another version of the myth, from Hephaestus' forge, in order to give mortals, who found themselves helpless in the face of nature's might, the "gleam of unwearying fire"[2], thus granting them power over all the creatures on earth[3]. Similarly Heraclitus identified fire, in which he saw the first principle of the world (ἀρχή), with a deity manifesting as lightning[4]. Fire, which, so to speak, consumes and creates the whole world, occupies an important place in Heraclitus' concept of the cosmos[5].

In the works of the Greek lyric poets, fire tends to be associated with four deities – Hephaestus, Zeus, Helios and Apollo. From among them, Hephaestus

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[1] Hes. *Theog*. 563.

[2] Hes. *Theog*. 566, transl. by H.G. Evelyn-White.

[3] Pointing out the importance of fire in the process of humanity becoming civilised, Kerényi (2000: 107 ff. and 126 ff.) also stresses the destructive influence Prometheus' gift had on mortals resulting from its being part of the realm of the gods.

[4] Heraclit. fr. B 64 Diels–Kranz: "Thunderbolt steers all things" (transl. by G.S. Kirk).

[5] Heraclit. fr. B 90 Diels–Kranz: "All things are an equal exchange for fire and fire for all things, as goods are for gold and gold is for goods" (transl. by G.S. Kirk). For an interpretation of Heraclitus' teachings, see Reale (1987: 52 f.)

takes a special position in that his name is often found metonymically to mean 'fire'[6]. In Pindar's *Pythian* 3, fire in the form of "the fierce blaze of Hephaestus" (σέλας [...] λάβρον Ἡφαίστου, 39–40) engulfs the funeral pyre with the body of the nymph Coronis laid on it. The chief attribute of Zeus is thunder, described by Pindar as a "fire-flung weapon" (πυρπάλαμον βέλος, *O*. 10, 80), aflame with "ever flowing fire" (κεραυνὸν ... αἰενάου πυρός, *P*. 1, 5–6), or breathing fire (πῦρ πνέοντος κεραυνοῦ, fr. 146 Snell–Maehler, and κεραυνὸς ἀμπνέων πῦρ, fr. 70b, 15–16 Snell–Maehler). The horses yoked to Helios' chariot breathe fire as well. In *Olympian* 7, the god of the sun is called "the father who engenders the piercing sunbeams, the master of the fire-breathing horses"[7] (ὀξειᾶν [...] ἀκτίνων πατήρ,/ πῦρ πνεόντων ἵππων, 70–71).

The ability to kindle fire, seen as a symptom of civilisational progress, is referred to as τέχνη, an art[8]. According to the author of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, Hermes was the first to show humans a new method of kindling fire which made use of a striker (πυρήϊα; 111–114):

> Ἑρμῆς τοι πρώτιστα πυρήϊα πῦρ τ' ἀνέδωκε.
> πολλὰ δὲ κάγκανα κᾶλα κατουδαίῳ ἐνὶ βόθρῳ
> οὖλα λαβὼν ἐπέθηκεν ἐπηετανά· λάμπετο δὲ φλόξ
> τηλόσε φῦσαν ἰεῖσα πυρὸς μέγα δαιομένοιο.
>
> For it was Hermes who first invented fire-sticks and fire. Next he took many dried sticks and piled them thick and plenty in a sunken trench: and flame began to glow, spreading afar the blast of fierce-burning fire[9].

The fire was meant to enable Hermes roast the meat of the cows stolen from Apollo (115–123), and then destroy the evidence of the theft, that is the heads and hooves, by then useless, which were to burn whole (136–137). Thus in addition to the basic, practical function employed by Hermes in the process of cooking, the scene illustrates the destructive power of the element, annihilating the remaining bits of the carcasses of the slaughtered animals. Walter Burkert points out that the act of kindling fire with two pieces of wood as described here can be compared to the ritual lighting of a sacrificial fire, also after it has died down, either with the help of sunlight or with a striker[10]. A ritual dimension of this kind is present in the scene of sacred fire being lit in the temple at Delphi, as depicted in the *Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo*. In this case it is Apollo who brings fire, lighting it in the adyton at the moment of his epiphany, "showing

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[6] A special association of Hephaestus with fire is reflected in Homer's epics. In the *Iliad* (XXI 330–382), Hephaestus, assisting Achilles, fights the river god Scamander with blasts of fire.

[7] Transl. by W.H. Race.

[8] *Hymn. Hom. Merc*. 108: πυρὸς [...] τέχνην.

[9] Transl. by H.G. Evelyn-White.

[10] Burkert 1984: 836 f. and 1985: 61 f. Cf. Richardson 2010: 173.

forth the splendor of his shafts"[11] (πιφαυσκόμενος τὰ ἃ κῆλα, 267), that is, the rays of the sun.

A number of poetic depictions of fire point out its ability to spread violently. Like Homer before him[12], Pindar mentions a "seed of fire", σπέρμα. That word, used by Anaxagoras to mean particles of matter which were the cause of all things, can figuratively refer to the beginning of a process, whether physical, biological or social, as observed by Gregory Vlastos[13]. The situation is similar in Pindar's *Pythian* 3, where in order to illustrate the violence and speed of a spreading plague the poet depicts it as a wildfire which quickly spreads to a whole forest and emphasises that it erupts "from one seed" (πῦρ ἐξ ἑνὸς σπέρματος, 36–37), that is, the spark from which the devastating flames arise. The image of a fire which gradually lays waste to a forest or a whole city, ever consuming more victims, is also to be found in Homer, who compares to it a fight between the Greeks and the Trojans, with more and more participants falling on the battlefield to the pressure of the enemy[14]. Solon similarly describes fire in an elegy as a force that is imperceptible at first but eventually unstoppable, comparing to it ruin (ἄτη), which can quickly bring down one overcome with greed (fr. 13, 13–15 West)[15]:

> ταχέως δ' ἀναμίσγεται ἄτη·
> ἀρχὴ δ' ἐξ ὀλίγου γίγνεται ὥστε πυρός·
> φλαύρη μὲν τὸ πρῶτον, ἀνιηρὴ δὲ τελευτᾷ.
>
> Ruin has a small beginning, like that of fire, insignificant at first but grievous in the end[16].

A "seed of fire" comes up in Greek poetry in one other context: as the attribute necessary for kindling fire on a sacrificial altar at a new place of worship. In *Olympian* 7, when recounting the establishment of Athena's cult on Rhodes, Pindar mentions "the children of Helios" – that is, Rhodians – having forgotten to bring with them a "seed of blazing flame" (αἰθοίσας [...] σπέρμ' [...] φλογός, 48) when they were to raise an altar to the goddess on the Acropolis of Lindus and make a sacrifice to her. This is a reference to the ritual carrying over of the so called ἀφιδρύματα (in the form of "seeds of fire", that is, embers from an altar

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[11] Transl. by H.G. Evelyn-White.

[12] Hom. *Od*. V 490: σπέρμα πυρός.

[13] Vlastos 1993: 305, n. 12.

[14] Hom. *Il*. XI 155–157; XVII 736–739.

[15] Noussia-Fantuzzi (2010: 68 f.) notes that Solon builds his simile on a single shared trait of fire, a widespread phenomenon in the natural world, with the abstract ἄτη: the one element in common is destructiveness.

[16] Transl. by D.E. Gerber.

where a sacred fire burnt) to a newly established cult site – temple or precinct – where they would kindle anew the fire on the sacrificial altar[17]. Even though they take the seemingly dead form of cinders, that special function of the seeds of fire which makes them capable of rebirth and restarting the process seems connected to the notion of fire as a substance originating with the gods and endowed with vital energy[18].

When humans encountered it, it tended to reveal its destructiveness, bringing with it devastation and death. In the myth told in Pindar's *Olympian* 10, fire becomes the instrument of revenge for Heracles after Augeas, the king of Elis, deceived him and would not pay him as agreed for cleaning his stables. The wronged hero led a raid in which he wrecked Elis with "ruthless fire and strokes of iron"[19] (ὑπὸ στερεῷ πυρὶ πλαγαῖς τε σιδάρου, 36–37). The attributive στερεός ('firm, solid, hard, stubborn, cruel'[20]) all but grants the fire zoomorphic (or even anthropomorphic) traits[21]. A similar device can be observed in *Olympian* 8, where the adjective λάβρος ('furious, boisterous, huge, mighty, fierce, violent, impetuous'[22]) describes the massive cloud of smoke hanging above a burning city (λάβρον ἀμπνεῦσαι καπνόν, 36). As was pre-ordained (πεπρωμένον, 33), that smoke will become the visible sign of the fall of Troy. In the passage from *Pythian* 3 quoted above, the adjective λάβρος describes flames consuming a funeral pyre like a voracious beast; the effect is emphasised by the use of the verb ἀμφέδραμεν (39), which lets the audience visualise the fire as a living organism running around the pyre. The wildfire mentioned in the same ode, which spreads through a forest by "jumping" or "dashing" (ἐνθορόν, 37), resembles a predatory animal. There is an excellent example for that kind of animation in Timotheus' *Persians* (fr. 791 *PMG*), a figurative depiction of fire with which, as the king of the Persians foretells in his monologue, the Hellenes will destroy the Persian ships. The poet speaks of "fire's smoky strength"[23] (πυρὸς [...] αἰθαλόεμ μένος, 183–184), which will burn (φλέξει, 185) the ships, pressing against them "with its savage body" (ἀγρίῳ σώματι, 184–185). The descriptions quoted paint fire as having the characteristics of a wild creature which attacks prey to sate its hunger.

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[17] For the ritual of transferring the ἀφιδρύματα due to the founding of a new cult site, see Malkin 1987: 120.

[18] Verdenius (1987: 68): "No metaphor, for fire was regarded as living being". A connection can be seen to Heraclitus' concept of "ever-living fire" (πῦρ ἀείζων), Heraclit. fr. B30 Diels–Kranz. On the perceptions of the element of fire in the mythology and philosophy of the ancient Greeks as something which gives rise to and restores life, see Freudenberg (2009: 117 ff.).

[19] Transl. by W.H. Race.

[20] LSJ 1996: 1640, s.v. στερεός.

[21] Verdenius 1988: 70. Cf. Bowra 1964: 242: "[Pindar] speaks of the destructive power of fire and brings out far-reaching implications by bold strokes of anthropomorphic imagery".

[22] LSJ 1996: 1021, s.v. λάβρος.

[23] Quotations from Timotheus in the translation by D.A. Campbell.

Homer accords fire just such animal characteristics when he portrays it as "the might of blazing fire" (πυρὸς μένος αἰθομένοιο, *Il*. VI 182) which "devours" (πῦρ ἐσθίει, *Il*. XXIII 182) the corpses of the twelve Trojans laid on Patroclus' pyre[24]. According to Herodotus, that is roughly how the Egyptians imagined it: "[...] while the Egyptians believe fire to be a living beast that devours all that it catches, and when sated with its meal dies together with that on which it feeds"[25]. In accounts of combat, fire becomes a weapon of war and simultaneously a clear symbol of destruction and death. Pindar demonstrates the devastating power of fire in his *Paean* 6 for the Delphians (fr. 52f Snell–Maehler), where he says that Troy was destroyed by the "gleam of blazing fire" (σέλας αἰθομένου πυρός, 97–98)[26], and Alcaeus is another poet to refer to the fall of Troy, as in one of his "songs on Helen" (fr. 42 Voigt) he says that Zeus destroyed the sacred Ilium with fire (π[ύρι δ' ὤλεσε, 3). The fire motif is a dominant element in the account of the sea battle of Salamis in Timotheus' *Persians* (fr. 791 *PMG*); the poet describes the Greek ships which have caused the death of the young Persians as "scorching" (σείριαί τε νᾶες, 179), and thus refers to an earlier mention of incendiary projectiles with which the Greeks attacked the Persian fleet, described as covered in pitch and "wrapped flaming with fire" (περίβολα πυρὶ φλεγ[όμ]εν', 26–27). Timotheus also mentions another ballistic weapon alongside the fiery projectiles – a javelin with a leather thong wrapped around it which therefore span when flung – comparing its destructive force to fire: "like fire the man-slaying [...] (warlord)" (ἴσος [...] πυρὶ δαμ[ασίφως/ Ἄρης, 21–22).

In war, fire brought about losses for the Greeks as well, as Bacchylides reminds his audience in *Epinician* 13, referring to an episode from the Trojan War recounted in Books 15 and 16 of Homer's *Iliad*: acting in accordance with the will of Zeus, who in turn wanted to fulfil the request of Achilles' mother Thetis, Hector sets the ships of the Achaeans on fire[27]. According to what was foretold before, this means that Achilles will now renounce his wrath and resume fighting[28]. In Bacchylides' ode, the fire spreading among the ships becomes an instrument of the madness that takes hold of Hector, which the gods brought about (θεσπεσίῳ πυ[ρὶ, 108)[29], and at the same time a portent of the approaching fall of Troy.

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[24] An association between the process of combustion and the act of eating and digestion in metaphorical uses of fire in Homer's *Iliad* is pointed out by Marchewka (2018: 98).

[25] Hdt. III 16, transl. by A.B. Godley.

[26] Also in Homer, the expression αἰθόμενον πῦρ tends to mean the fire that brings destruction and death, as e.g. in *Il.* XVI 293.

[27] Hom. *Il*. XV 596–600.

[28] Hom. *Il*. XVI 60–63, 123–129.

[29] See Nagy 2011: 191: "this fire is not a simile for the violence of Hector. It is a direct instrument of this violence".

The belief that fire is an unbridled, uncontrollable force is expressed in this gnome of Pindar (fr. 232 Snell–Meahler):

> τὸ πεπρωμένον οὐ πῦρ, οὐ σιδάρεον σχήσει τεῖχος.
>
> What is fated neither fire nor wall of steel can hold back[30].

Thus the element of fire appears as a power towering over humankind, which only the gods can stand up to.

Its destructive force is exemplified in the description of an eruption of Etna found in *Pythian* 1, perhaps one that Pindar witnessed during his stay on Sicily in the years 476–475 BCE (21–26):

> τᾶς ἐρεύγονται μὲν ἀπλάτου πυρὸς ἀγνόταται
> ἐκ μυχῶν παγαί· ποταμοὶ ἀμέραισι
> μὲν προχέοντι ῥόον καπνοῦ
> αἴθων᾽· ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ὄρφναισιν πέτρας
> φοίνισσα κυλινδομένα φλὸξ ἐς βαθεῖ-
> αν φέρει πόντου πλάκα σὺν πατάγῳ.
> κεῖνο δ᾽ Ἀφαίστοιο κρουνοὺς ἑρπετὸν
> δεινοτάτους ἀναπέμπει· τέρας μὲν
> θαυμάσιον προσιδέσθαι.
>
> from those depths belch forth holiest springs
> of unapproachable fire; during the days rivers of lava
> pour forth a blazing stream
> of smoke, but in times of darkness
> a rolling red flame carries rocks into the deep
> expanse of the sea with a crash.
> The monster sends up most terrible springs
> of Hephaestus' fire – a portent
> wondrous to behold...[31].

The volcano which, as the Greeks believed, hid Hephaestus' forge, is here depicted as a source of the terrible (ἀπλάτου, 21) fire. Depicted in the form of rivers or streams, fire here has traits characteristic of liquid substances, resembling water, which results in a *coincidentia oppositorum* – a juxtaposition of opposing elements repeated as many as three times[32]. The poet describes the flames emerging from the crater due to volcanic gasses burning as "springs of [...] fire" (πυρὸς [...] παγαί, 21–22)[33], while the lava flowing out as the volcano erupts

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[30] Transl. by W.H. Race.

[31] Transl. by W.H. Race.

[32] The presence of "a strong contradictory image" in Pindar's account of the eruption of Etna is pointed out by Schade (2013: 29).

[33] Farnell (1932: 109) interprets the place differently: "Pindar could have observed that the forcing out of boiling water was one of the volcanic phenomena".

takes the form of rivers (ποταμοί) which "pour forth a blazing stream of smoke" (προχέοντι ῥόον κάπνου αἴθων', 22). The same image reappears towards the end of the description, where Pindar tells his audience it is the hundred-headed monster Typhon, crushed by Zeus under Etna's rock, that spews the "most terrible springs of fire", referred to here using Haephaestus' name (Ἀφαίστοιο κρουνοὺς [...] δεινοτάτους, 25). Aeschylus draws on that description in his tragedy *Prometheus Bound* when he speaks of the fate of Typhon imprisoned beneath Etna, his anger causing the volcano to spurt "rivers of fire" (ποταμοὶ πυρός, 368), or the lava pouring out on the fields of Sicily. As one hypothesis holds, the expression "fire blazing in the night" (αἰθόμενον πῦρ [...] νυκτί, 1–2), used by Pindar in the simile opening *Olympian* 1, may also refer to the eruption of Etna which started in 479 BCE, as indicated by similar terms being used in the description of the eruption from *Pythian* 1 quoted above – πυρός ('fire', 21), αἴθων' ('blazing', 23), and ἐν ὄρφναισιν ('in the darkness', 3)[34].

The ancient Greeks believed that fire's cleansing effect was one of its most important functions. Those purifying properties took on special significance during funeral rites[35]. Cremating the corpse was intended to ensure that the soul would be freed swiftly from the corporeal shell so that it could depart to the netherworld. For the followers of mystic cults, cleansing with fire was a prerequisite for apotheosis and uniting with the gods and heroes. Heracles attained to immortality as he was struck by thunder and burnt on the pyre raised on Mount Oeta, whence Zeus carried him to Olympus[36]. However, death on a pyre was not the only way for a mortal to attain to the status and privileges of a hero, as indicated by the mythical tales of mothers and nurses who placed or cast infants into fire to make them immortal, grant them eternal youth, and protect them from the dangers which might threaten them in childhood. According to a tradition which may have already been known in the Archaic Period, but which is only attested to much later, in Hellenistic literature, Thetis placed baby Achilles in flames to make him immortal[37], having thus incinerated the mortal parts of her other six sons sired by Peleus. In the scholia to the *Iliad*, we read that by putting her children into a fire, she meant to find out whether they were mortal, and to save whatever of their nature was not[38]. In his *Alexandra*, Lycophron of Chalcis, probably identical to one of the Alexandrian Pleiad of tragic poets, claims that

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[34] That hypothesis of Fennel (1879) is quoted in Gerber (1982: 13).

[35] The connection between cremation and purification is noted in Wypustek (2010: 37). Cf. the *ignis purgatorius* in Christian tradition.

[36] See Hom. *Od*. XI 601–604; Hes. *Theog*. 950–955. Heracles' death on the pyre is only first mentioned in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* (1193–1199).

[37] Apollon. Rhod. IV 869–872.

[38] Schol. ad Hom. *Il*. XVI 37. Cf. Apollod. *Bibl*. III 13, 6.

Thetis killed those six sons by subjecting them to fire as a kind of trial, while the last son, Achilles, was saved from the flames by Peleus[39].

Similar procedures were applied by Ino to her son Melicertes (as mentioned in Pindar[40]), and by Demeter to Demophoon, the son of Metaneira and Celeus, then the king of Eleusis, whom she wanted to grant immortality. Being the *aition* of a ritual element of the Eleusinian Mysteries, the story of Demophoon is told in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Placed centrally in the hymn (236–241), the episode shows Demeter as the infant Demophoon's nurse, who every night without his parents' knowledge immersed him in fire (πυρὸς μένει, 239) like a torch. The fire was to make the boy immortal, but in her ignorance[41] the terrified Metaneira misread the intentions of the goddess (248–249):

> τέκνον Δημοφόων ξείνη σε πυρὶ ἔνι πολλῷ
> κρύπτει, ἐμοὶ δὲ γόον καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ τίθησιν.
>
> Demophoon, my son, the strange woman buries you deep in fire and works grief and bitter sorrow for me[42].

Angered, Demeter snatched the child from the flames (ἐξανελοῦσα πυρός, 254), depriving him of his chance to live forever. Placing Metaneira's earthly son, entrusted to a divine nurse, "deep in fire" (πυρὶ ἐνὶ πολλῷ, 248–249), is reflected in the climax of the Eleusinian ceremony held in the *telesterion*, where the bright light of fire would shine suddenly in the dark of the night. As the Christian author Hippolytus of Rome records, the hierophant would announce the birth of a divine son of the queen of the underworld "under a great fire" (ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρί)[43], which could mean the glare of the many torches with which the *mystai* were purified[44]. Karl Kerényi sees the formula ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρί as referring to birth in the great fire of a funeral pyre, invoking mythological examples of "a birth in death", such as Agamemnon sacrificing Iphigenia to Artemis, which led to his daughter's *palingenesis*[45]. Evidence for the Greeks associating fire with the realm of death can be seen in a fragment of Euripides' *Phaethon*, where the queen of the netherworld, Persephone, is called the "lady of fire" (πυρὸς δέσποινα)[46], indicating that she ful-

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[39] Lyc. *Alex*. 178–179.

[40] Pind. fr. 128d, 2–3 Snell–Maehler.

[41] Demeter accuses humans of being unable to recognise the gods' will; *Hymn. Hom. Cer*. 256–257: "Witless are you mortals and dull to foresee your lot, whether of good or evil, that comes upon you" (transl. by H.G. Evelyn-White).

[42] Transl. by H.G. Evelyn-White.

[43] Hippol. *Ref.* V 8, 40.

[44] An interpretation put forward by Richardson (1979: 27).

[45] Kerényi 1967: 92 f.

[46] Eur. fr. 781, 268–269 Nauck².

fills Hecate's duties and is bestowed with the powers attributed to her, as it was Hecate who was usually associated with fire.

The heterogeneity of fire, which both comes across as a destructive force and brings rebirth and immortality, is perfectly illustrated by Pindar's *Pythian* 3, where the poet recounts the myth of Artemis punishing the unfaithful Coronis with her deadly arrows. By cheating on Apollo, the father of her child, with the foreigner Ischys, she crossed the boundary of what was permitted to the mortals and drew the ire of the divine siblings. The story is crowned by a gnome illustrating the devastating power of divine wrath (36–37):

> πολλὰν δ᾽ ὄρει πῦρ ἐξ ἑνὸς
> σπέρματος ἐνθορὸν ἀΐστωσεν ὕλαν.
>
> Fire that springs from one
> spark onto a mountain can destroy a great forest[47].

The quickly spreading fire (πῦρ) stands for death from the plague sent by Artemis at the behest of her brother Apollo. Although only Coronis is to blame, there are other victims, since, as Pindar says, "many neighbors shared her fate" (35).

Further into the mythological part of the ode, Pindar mentions fire once more in the context of "Hephaestus' glow" (σέλας [...] Ἀφαίστου, 39–40) kindling Coronis' funeral pyre. The flames engulfing her (καιομένα [...] πυρά) part at Apollo's command, so he can snatch his son from the nymph's corpse (43–44). Thus his mother's pyre becomes the place of both Asclepius' birth and rescue. This is not the only example of being born in a fire to an immortal life. Dionysus was also lifted from the flames devouring the body of Semele, who saw Zeus in all his glory among the thunderbolts which were the attribute of his epiphany[48]. For her, death by fire foretold a new, eternal life, as Dionysus took her from Hades and carried her onto Olympus, an event recounted by Pindar in *Olympian* 2 (25–26):

> ζώει μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις ἀποθανοίσα βρόμῳ
> κεραυνοῦ τανυέθειρα Σεμέλα.
>
> Long-haired Semele lives among the Olympians
> after dying in the roar of a thunderbolt[49].

He also seems to refer to Semele's apotheosis in *Pythian* 3, where he mentions her affair with Zeus and calls her Thyone, a name she assumed in connection

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[47] Transl. by W.H. Race.

[48] Eur. *Bacch*. 88–93; 244–245; 288–289; 524–525. Dionysus was carried from his mother's burning body by Hermes (Paus. II 26, 6) or by Zeus himself (Eur. *Bacch*. 288–289; Apollod. *Bibl.* III 4, 3).

[49] Transl. by W.H. Race.

with her new, divine status[50]. Fire marks both the beginning and end of Asclepius' earthly life; as Pindar continues to narrate, Asclepius was punished for resurrecting a man out of greed, crossing the line of what was permitted to mortals. He died a violent death at Zeus' hand, struck by his fiery thunderbolt (αἴθων [...] κεραυνός, 58). That death from a thunderbolt strike, which is a form of punishment for a transgression against the gods, can at the same time mean the beginning of a new life[51], since Asclepius became immortal and, like thunderstruck Semele, came to be worshipped[52].

The same ode has another example of a mythical character saved from his funeral pyre after flames caught his body (πυρὶ καιόμενος, 102), and carried off to the land of the blessed – Achilles (102–103):

> ὦρσεν πυρὶ καιόμενος
> ἐκ Δαναῶν γόον.
>
> and as he was consumed by the fire, he raised
> a lament from the Danaans[53].

In *Olympian* 2, Pindar claims that Achilles owes his carefree existence on the Isles of the Blessed to Thetis, who snatched him from the flames[54] and placed him among heroes (78–80):

> Πηλεύς τε καὶ Κάδμος ἐν τοῖσι ἀλέγονται·
> Ἀχιλλέα τ' ἔνεικ', ἐπεὶ Ζηνὸς ἦτορ
> λιταῖς ἔπεισε, μάτηρ.
>
> Peleus and Cadmus are numbered among them,
> and Achilles too, whom his mother brought
> after she persuaded the heart of Zeus with her entreaties[55].

Death on the pyre being synonymous with being saved by the gods and carried off to the land of the blessed was the lot not only of mythical characters, but

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[50] Diod. IV 25, 4.

[51] Cf. Curie 2005: 354: "it could be seen as a means to heroization or apotheosis, signifying his incorporation among the gods or heroes"; also 2005: 361. In the same vein, Kingsley 1995: 258, n. 24: "death by lightning as punishment for a crime was in no way incompatible with death by lightning as a prelude to heroization".

[52] On Asclepius being placed among the gods and heroes, see Farnell (1921: 234), and Burkert (1985: 208 ff.), who lists Asclepius alongside Heracles and the Dioscuri as "figures who cross the Chthonic–Olympian Boundary".

[53] Transl. by W.H. Race.

[54] In his epitome of the description of the hero's funeral which featured in the *Aethiopis* (*EGF*, p. 47, 26–28 Davies), Proclus mentions Thetis seizing Achilles from his pyre and carrying him off to the White Island.

[55] Transl. by W.H. Race.

also of historical figures. In his *Epinician* 3, Bacchylides tells the story of king Croesus, who, after the Persians captured Sardis, preferred to die than live in captivity, so he climbed into his pyre together with his wife and daughters (29–51)[56]. However, as "the bright force of the grim fire was darting through the pyre"[57] (ἐπεὶ δεινοῦ πυρὸς/ λαμπρὸν διάϊ[σσεν μέ]νος, 53–54), Zeus sent rain, which doused the flames (55–56)[58], and Apollo rewarded the king's piety by carrying him and his daughters off to the land of the Hyperboreans (58–62): as in Heracles' case, voluntary death by fire predicts Croesus' heroisation, which will make him immortal. Still, it was not always the case that fire brought hope for a better, everlasting existence, as indicated by the example of Meleager, the length of whose life was determined, as fate ordained, by the burning of a fire-brand thrown into a fire. Fire only brought the moment of his death closer, offering him no chance of any posthumous existence in the company of gods and heroes. In the mythological part of *Epinician* 5 for Hiero, Bacchylides tells of Meleager's death, caused partly by his mother Althaea, who thus avenged the death of her brothers, Iphiclus and Aphareus, during the quarrel over the hide of the Calydonian Boar (140–142):

> καῖέ τε δαιδαλέας
> ἐκ λάρνακος ὠκύμορον
> φιτρὸν ἀγκλαύσασα.
>
> she set fire to the swift-dooming log, taking it from the elaborate chest[59].

The fire immediately caused Meleager's death, which had to happen when the firebrand symbolising his life burnt out (144–154).

In Pindar's *Pythian* 3, fire once more features as a destructive force: Asclepius heals people who had "bodies wracked by summer fever" (θερινῷ πυρὶ περθόμενοι δέμας, 50), that is, were suffering from sunstroke or burns, where the figurative expression "summer fire" (θερινῷ πυρί) refers to harmful excessive heat[60]. Thus fire, here meaning the noxious radiation of the sun, is again depicted as an element bringing destruction.

Purification through fire let humans free the superior, immortal portion of their nature and attain a blessed existence in the company of gods and heroes;

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[56] According to Herodotus (I 86), Croesus was made to ascend the pyre by order of Cyrus, who changed his mind on hearing Solon's words which Croesus quoted. He then wanted to have the fire put out, but by then it was too late.

[57] Transl. by D.A. Campbell.

[58] In Herodotus (I 87), it is Apollo who sent the rain clouds and saved Croesus from dying in the flames.

[59] Transl. by D.A. Campbell.

[60] Cf. Young 1968: 41: "extreme summer heat to which sunstroke is attributed".

as the author of an elegy collected in the *Theognidea* says, a trial by fire (πυρί) also made it possible to reveal the actual worth of gold and silver (499–500). In *Nemean* 4, Pindar compares the song in the victor's honour to gold, which reveals its real glory when smelted in a fire (82–85):

> ὁ χρυσὸς ἐψόμενος
> αὐγὰς ἔδειξεν ἁπάσας, ὕμνος δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν
> ἐργμάτων βασιλεῦσι ἰσοδαίμονα τεύχει
> φῶτα.
>
> refined gold
> displays all its radiance, and a hymn
> of noble deeds makes a man equal in fortune
> to kings – [61].

In his victory odes, fire tends to be associated with a transition to a new and better life – not only a blessed existence with the gods and heroes, but also a life made bright by the glory of fame that the winner may gain from his success in a competition and a poet's song[62]. Pindar describes the poet's song as a sacred flame which makes the victor, his family and his home city shine with a special brilliance visible from afar[63]. That light symbolises the fame which accompanies great deeds. This seems to be the best interpretation of the expression αἰθόμενον πῦρ [...] νυκτί used by the poet in the gnome which opens *Olympian* 1: he compares the brilliance of gold, the most precious of all worldly goods, to the light of a fire shining in the night(1–2):

> ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ
> ἅτε διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μεγάνορος ἔξοχα πλούτου.
>
> Best is water, while gold, like fire blazing
> in the night, shines pre-eminent amid lordly wealth[64].

Of the several proposals for deciphering the symbolism of fire in this passage, one hypothesis is particularly noteworthy: that here fire could mean the poetic song[65]. Like a fire blazing in the dark, the song becomes a clear message about events of particular importance. As a method of communication, it resembles light signals produced by torches or beacon fires. Communicating via

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[61] Transl. by W.H. Race.

[62] Boeke (2007: 47) points out that in his poetry Pindar highlights the ambiguous nature of the element of fire: "In its 'civilized' form fire illuminates and honours".

[63] On this subject, see Harriott (1969: 75), who also stresses that in Bacchylides fire does not signify poetic inspiration: "neither poet described the fire of inspiration". Cf. Bowra 1964: 34.

[64] Transl. by W.H. Race.

[65] Cf. Dornseiff 1921: 6; an interpretation also considered possible by Gerber (1982: 12). See also Young 1970: 80 f.

light signals is commonly associated with the most famous episode in the Trojan War: according to Proclus' epitome, in the *Iliou Persis* by Arctinus of Miletus, a beacon of that kind summons back the Greeks who have sailed to the island of Tenedos[66]. The signal is sent by Sinon, who stayed at Troy as a scout to wait for the Trojans to welcome the wooden horse filled with Greek warriors. In this case, a fiery beacon becomes symbolic, being a foreshadowing of the great conflagration which will rage across Troy because of the Greeks[67]. The "fiery sign" foretelling the fall of Troy, for which a guard watched all year round, lying down on the roof of the hall of the Atreides, is also important in the prologue to the first play of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. Agamemnon has a fire lit on Mount Ida to communicate that the Greeks have captured Troy (*Ag*. 20–21), and thanks to a system of beacons lit successively on the highest spots between Troy and Argos, the news of the victorious king's upcoming return soon reaches Clytaemnestra[68]. As in the odes in honour of winners in sport competitions, the brilliance of a torch means victory here, since, as Clytaemnestra herself says (315–316), it is evidence (τέκμαρ) and a sign (σύμβολον) sent over to her from Troy by her husband. Likewise, the glow of fire destroying the Achaean ships becomes a visible sign of Hector's greatest deed, meant to give him fame in the memory of posterity[69]. In *Epinician* 13, the fame the island of Aegina enjoys due to the victories won by Pytheas is compared by Bacchylides to a torch (τιμὰν [...] πυρσὸν ὥς, 80–82). In Pindar's *Isthmian* 4, the term "beacon-fire of hymns" (πυρσὸν ὕμνων, 43) is used for the encomium extolling the achievements of the Cleonymids – both Melissus, victor at a *pankration*, to whom the ode is addressed, and his ancestors who fell in the war against the Persians in 480/479 BCE. Pindar highlights the notion that a poet's word grants eternal fame both among future generations and all over the world, as it becomes "the radiance of noble deeds forever undimmed" (ἐργμάτων ἀκτὶς καλῶν ἄσβεστος αἰεί, 42). Thus, like the flame of a torch shining in the dark, the poet's song saves from oblivion all human actions worthy of the memory of posterity[70]. That particular characteristic of the encomium is expressed in Pindar's odes by the verb φλέγω ('burn, burn up, light up; *metaph*. make illustrious or famous'[71]). In *Paean* 2 for

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[66] *EGF*, p. 62, 14–15 Davies.

[67] Anderson (1997: 129) emphasises the special meaning of the episode, which can be treated as a "symbolic prelude to the greater fire to follow when the Greeks burn the city".

[68] The chain of beacon fires also stands for the causal chain of events dealt with in the other plays of the trilogy – crime, punishment, and forgiveness.

[69] Hom. *Il*. VIII 180–183.

[70] In addition to the motifs of fire and light, references to songs of praise in Pindar's odes contain the symbolic images of the sun and the moon as important elements. The presence in Pindar's epinicia of such images illustrating "the close connection of heavenly bodies, light and fire" is pointed out by Hutchinson (2012: 279 f.).

[71] LSJ 1996: 1944, s.v. φλέγω.

the Abderites (fr. 52b Snell–Maehler), he speaks of the vicissitudes of fate which have determined the history of their city and concludes that "a man who performs a noble labor is lit up by praises" (εὐαγορίαισι φλέγει, 66–67). In *Olympian* 9, aware that his mission is to praise glorious achievements, he promises he will "light up [...] with blazing songs" (μαλεραῖς ἐπιφλέγων ἀοιδαῖς, 22) Opus, the winner's home city. In *Pythian* 11, the poet lists the sporting victories of both the winner Thrasydaeus and his father Pythonicus, "for their celebration and glory are ablaze" (τῶν εὐφροσύνα τε καὶ δόξ' ἐπιφλέγει, 45). The victorious Strepsiades from Thebes, to whom *Isthmian* 7 is addressed, is gifted the light of glory through song by the violet-tressed Muses (φλέγεται δὲ ἰοπλόκοισι Μοίσαις, 23), whereas the charioteer Carrotus praised in *Pythian* 5, to whom the king of Cyrene Arcesilas owed his victory in the race, has been wreathed in light by the beautiful-tressed Charites (ἠΰκομοι φλέγοντι Χάριτες, 45), who personify grace, beauty and joy. Also Callias of the Bassids, addressed in *Nemean* 6, having won the boxing competition, "was ablaze with the clamor of the Graces" (Χαρίτων [...] ὀμάδῳ φλέγεν, 37–38), and the bright light of fame bathes Argos, the home town of Theaeus extolled in *Nemean* 10, because, as the poet puts it, it is "ablaze with achievements beyond number because of its valiant deeds" (φλέγεται δ' ἀρεταῖς/ μυρίαις ἔργων θρασέων ἕνεκεν, 2–3).

Fire burning on an altar can also have a communicative function alongside its basic religious one. In a fragment from Pindar's *Laments* depicting the afterlife of the pious, sacrifices are mentioned among other activities, mingled with "far-shining fire" (πυρὶ τηλεφανεῖ, 9)[72]. Pindar seems thus to emphasise that the light of sacrificial fire burning in the underworld Elysium reaches the Olympian abode of the gods and so becomes a link between them and the inhabitants of the land of the blessed.

The ancient Greeks treated fire burning on a sacrificial altar as an omen through which the gods could reveal their will. The oracle of Zeus at Olympia practised the observation of how the parts of sacrificial animals thrown into the fire burnt. As Herodotus records, similar practices were carried out in the temple of Apollo Ismenius in Thebes: "sacrifice is there the way of divination, as at Olympia"[73]. According to Pliny the Elder, divination by fire is believed to have been invented by the Argive seer Amphiaraus[74]. It is to that practice, called empyromancy[75], that Pindar refers in *Olympian* 8 when he mentions the seers who try to ascertain the will of Zeus as they "examine burnt offerings" (ἐμπύροις τεκμαιρόμενοι, 3) in his temple at Olympia. The process, here intended to decide

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[72] Pind. fr. 129 Snell–Maehler.

[73] Hdt. VIII 134, transl. by A.D. Godley.

[74] Plin. *Nat.* VII 203.

[75] On the subject of empyromancy, see Bonnechere 2007: 152.

the outcome of the fratricidal duel between Eteocles and Polynices, is described in detail in Euripides' *Phoenissae* (1255–1258)[76]:

> μάντεις δὲ μῆλ' ἔσφαζον, ἐμπύρους τ' ἀκμὰς
> ῥήξεις τ' ἐνώμων ὑγρότητ' ἐναντίαν
> ἄκραν τε λαμπάδ', ἣ δυοῖν ὅρους ἔχει,
> νίκης τε σῆμα καὶ τὸ τῶν ἡσσωμένων.
>
> The seers proceeded to sacrifice victims and observed the fissures at the tips of sacrificial flame, denoting an unfavorable moistness, and the peak of the fire, which portends two things, either victory or defeat[77].

In Greek lyric, fire features in similes describing not just the bright light of fame accompanying beautiful deeds, but also the light radiated by a deity at the moment of epiphany. That is how Bacchylides describes the Nereids in one of his two Theseus dithyrambs (17 Snell–Maehler); on seeing them, Theseus was afraid, because "from their splendid limbs shone a gleam as of fire" (ὥτε πυρός, 103–105). In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, even though the goddess appears as a young girl, she has some characteristics which make it possible to discern her divinity. They are in particular parts of her clothing which shine with a light brighter than that of fire (86):

> πέπλον μὲν γὰρ ἕεστο φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς.
>
> For she was clad in a robe out-shining the brightness of fire[78].

Therefore, like the light it produces, fire symbolises the splendour of divinity. In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, it is the god's eyes that gleam with fire (πῦρ ἀμαρύσσων[79], 415) when Apollo discovers that his cows have been stolen by the newly born son of Maia. Hermes' "fire-glittering" gaze is here described in a manner very similar to that used for Typhon's fiery gaze in Hesiod's *Theogony* (ἐν δὲ οἱ ὄσσε [...] πῦρ ἀμάρυσσεν, *Theog*. 826–827). When Hermes swore he had had nothing to do with the theft of Apollo's oxen, he was also betrayed by the frequent glinting of his eyes (πυκνὸν ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἀμαρύσσων, 278). Athanasios Vergados notes that the author of the hymn associates the gleam in Hermes' eyes with those moments when the god manifests his particular skill at invention[80], but it seems that in the situations outlined here it would be more

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[76] Cf. Soph. *Ant*. 1005–1011.

[77] Transl. by D. Kovacs.

[78] Transl. by H.G. Evelyn-White.

[79] Some editors (such as Càssola 1992: 536 or Strauss Clay 1989: 137) adopt the emendated reading of πῦρ ἀμαρύσσον here, in which case the "smouldering fire" ought to refer to the remains of the fire in which Hermes roasted the meat of the cows; see Jarczyk 2017: 223.

[80] Vergados 2011: 85.

correct to refer to Hermes as a trickster, since he combines inventiveness with cunning[81]. Then the fire in his gaze would symbolise a flash of extraordinary intelligence, the birth of a creative idea to be implemented immediately, something illustrated perfectly in the hymn as the sudden impulse leading to the invention of the lyre is compared to the moment when "bright glances flash from the eye"[82] (ὅτε δινηθῶσι ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμαρυγαί, 45). Another character in whose gaze the gleam of fire could be seen is Theseus. In his *Dithyramb* 4 for the Athenians, Bacchylides describes the young Theseus returning to Athens and achieving amazing feats along the way (18 Snell–Maehler). The poet says of the hero that "from his eyes flashes red Lemnian flame"[83] (ὀμμάτων δὲ στίλβειν ἄπο Λάμνιαν φοίνισσαν φλόγα, 54–56), while his cap rests on "fire-red hair" (κρατὸς πέρι πυρσοχαίτου, 51). In one version of the myth, it is on Lemnos that Hephaestus had his smithy[84], which could mean the fire shining in the hero's eyes was divine in provenience as well, but in comparing it to the bright light of the Lemnian volcano, Bacchylides also refers to the fixed expression τὸ Λέμνιον πῦρ[85], which may here mean that Theseus' gaze was fierce: in the eyes of the hero who comes to Athens as a terrifying armed warrior, killing criminals notorious for their cruelty and monsters along the way, fire may reflect not just courage and strength, but also emotions. One might say that with Theseus, as with the warriors at Troy in Homer's *Iliad*, fire in the eyes externalises wrath (μένος), which gradually increases, letting out aggression directed at the enemy[86]. The hero arriving with his gaze and hair radiating a fiery glow foreshadows his future deeds, referred to by the Chorus as follows[87]: "truly a god must be driving

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[81] Cf. Jarczyk 2017: 232.

[82] Transl. by H.G. Evelyn-White.

[83] Transl. by D.A. Campbell.

[84] Hom. *Il*. I 103–104. Cf. *Od*. IV 661–662. Hephaestus' forge was believed to be located inside Mount Moschylus, which was supposedly a volcano. Literary sources pointing to links between Lemnos and fire, links between Lemnos and Hephaestus, and the island's volcanic activity are analysed in West (2017: 217).

[85] The expression τὸ Λέμνιον πῦρ means a particularly fierce fire; it is used in that sense in Aristophanes, *Lys*. 299.

[86] As Marchewka (2018: 100) notes, "[fire] also plays an important part in Homer in the process of creation, being an excellent point of reference in the portrayal of characters desperate for violence, revenge, or simply blinded with anger (Gr. Ἄτη), as well as characters overcome with terror, even if they happen to be the greatest of heroes" (my translation, M. S.). Hector's "eyes blazed with fire" when he charged the walls of the Achaean camp (*Il*. XII 466). Cf. *Il*. I 104 (Agamemnon); XIII 474 (Idomeneus compared to a hunted boar); XIX 365–366 (Achilles).

[87] Pippin Burnett (1985: 122) interprets the Chorus' prediction of Theseus' future deeds thus: "He will 'punish the unjust' (42) in the archaic sense by killing the bull of Marathon and the Minotaur, in a melodramatic sense by driving Medea away, and in a truly Athenian sense by organizing the city and giving it law".

him on to contrive just punishments for the unjust"[88] (41–42). That portrayal of Theseus resembles those descriptions of heroes in the *Iliad* which precede their *aristeiai*[89]. Finally, a closer look at those proposed interpretations of Bacchylides' dithyramb which take into account its political and geographical context seems to be in order. In the expression "Lemnian fire" E.D. Francis sees an allusion to Cimon, who reached Lemnos when he led the expedition of the Athenian fleet to the islands in the northern part of the Aegean, and his father Miltiades, who had captured the island ca. 500 BCE to give it over to the Athenians[90]. The mention of "fiery locks", meanwhile, may point to Theseus' northern descent; allegedly he inherited his red hair from his mother Hegesipyle, a daughter of the king of Thrace[91].

The images created by the Greek choral lyric poets reflect the archetypal ambiguous nature of fire, which combines the opposite values of good and evil[92]. In their descriptions of war and battles, which draw on the traditions of Homeric epic poetry, fire is painted as an untamed, destructive force that kills and devastates, and in such scenes, the fiery element is figuratively animated through the apt choice of modifiers. So depicted, fire also becomes a metaphor for and an instrument of the emotions which can give rise to destructive and dangerous behaviour. The destructive and uncontrollable power of the element of fire stems from it being part of the realm of the wild as identified with the divine realm. On the other hand, as something that comes from the gods, fire appears as a vital force; once "tamed" by humans, it becomes indispensable to the development of civilisation, as well as standing for rebirth and renewal. This concept of fire is linked in the works of the Greek choral poets with its ritual, cult, and purifying functions. In cult songs, the light of fire is a trademark, so to speak, of the presence of the divine, distinguishing gods and heroes at the moments when they reveal their identities, expressing their power, force and creativity. The vital aspect of fire is also given expression in Pindar's victory odes, where, like other elements of the natural world, it becomes a metaphor for human achievements, the immortal fame accompanying them, and the poet's song by which it is guaranteed. In the passages that have been discussed, the following terms are used to denote the above mentioned aspects of the image of fire: πῦρ ('fire, funeral fire'),

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[88] Transl. by D.A. Campbell.

[89] Cf. Marchewka 2018: 100: "When a character about to perform an *aristeia* enters the scene, his form glows with the light of fire, which spreads conflagration and terror" (my translation, M. S.). As examples of such *aristeiai*, the author invokes the description of Diomedes in *Il*. V 4 and 7, and the scene in which Achilles dons armour in *Il*. XIX 364–383; see Marchewka 2018: 100 ff.

[90] Francis 1990: 54.

[91] Vickers 1997: XXIII.

[92] In Greek lyric poetry, poetic images and metaphors rely on conventional associations. Cf. Maslov 2015: 174: "Archaic Greek lyric remains committed to traditional imagery".

Ἡφαίστος (‘fire’), σέλας (‘light, brightness, flame, lightning’), φλόξ (‘flame’), καπνός (‘smoke’), πυρσός (‘firebrand, torch, beacon, signal fire’), ἀκτίς (‘ray, beam, brightness’), λαμπάς (‘torch, beacon light, light’), λάμπω (‘give light, shine’), δαίω (‘light up, kindle; *pass*. blaze, burn fiercely’), αἴθω (‘light up, kindle, burn, blaze’), φλέγω (‘burn, burn up, light up’), ἐπιφλέγω (‘burn up, heat, inflame’), καίω (‘kindle, set on fire, burn’), ἀμαρύσσω (‘sparkle, twinkle, glance’), στίλβω (‘glitter, gleam’).

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XENOPHON ON EMOTIONS IN THE *SYMPOSIUM* AND THE *APOLOGY*[*]

by

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ABSTRACT: After presenting the reasons for undertaking an analysis of the *Symposium* and the *Apology* with regard to emotions, I focus on the groups of pleasure/joy and love/friendship and discuss relevant contexts. They provide us with a complex picture which I then try to interpret by means of a concept of hierarchy. Next, I touch upon on the issue of the expression of emotions. Finally I show why and how the *Symposium* and the *Apology* may be helpful in the study of emotions.

1. INTRODUCTION

Within the growing body of secondary literature devoted to emotions, more and more ancient Greek philosophers have been discussed. But Xenophon's *Symposium* and his *Apology* have not yet been considered for that purpose. A recent study by Melina Tamiolaki examines φιλία, ἐλπίς, φθόνος, and ἡδονή in the *Cyropaedia* with a focus on the political role of emotions (Tamiolaki 2016). In David Konstan's chapter, though it promises in its abstract to draw, among others, on historical and philosophical works by Aristotle and Xenophon (see Konstan 2016), Xenophon is mentioned only twice and in a general way: Konstan introduces a quote from Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, respectively III 5, 5–6 and I 2, 24, with a short comment of his own. As it is, neither the *Symposium* nor the *Apology* have been considered with a view to analysing emotions[1]. I am of the opinion that even if these two works are incomparable in size and importance with Plato's and Aristotle's corpuses, this is not a reason to omit them.

A more positive reason for engaging in this kind of research is that the *Symposium* and the *Apology* abound in terms denoting emotions. Obviously,

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[*] A shorter version of this paper was given at the XXVI International Conference and the VIII International Bilingual Summer Seminar on Xenophon in Olympia, July 28–31, 2017. I completed the final version during a stay at the Hardt Foundation in September/October 2017.

[1] In a recent paper on Xenophon's *Symposium*, G. Danzig (2017: 146) mentions in two subsequent paragraphs "a simple contrast between love of the soul and love of the body", and then "an emotional, even erotic, relationship, despite the lack of sexual relations", when speaking about the lover and the boy (in 8, 25–27).

Xenophon does not provide any direct opinion pertaining to emotions, nor does he express a particular thesis concerning them, let alone formulate a theory of emotions[2]. But from the way he uses words such as τέρψις, πόθος, τόλμα, ὀργή, we may infer what fear, longing, joy and anger meant for him, and what he thought about the emotions these words represent. Since there is no other way of knowing about this than relying on the contexts in which the words are found in the two works, my strategy will be to present as many relevant passages as possible[3].

2. AFFECTIVE THEMES IN THE *SYMPOSIUM* AND IN THE *APOLOGY*

Xenophon's *Symposium* is almost half the length of Plato's work of the same title and his *Apology* is one third of the length of Plato's. Both, however, deploy emotions and their vocabulary in a meaningful way.

I would like to start with the genera of emotions. If any definition, description or classification is present, one may infer that this involves also an awareness of affectivity as a separate family. Taxonomy also deals with issues more basic than those connected with the epistemology, ontology or axiology of affectivity. Moreover, it demonstrates the intricacy, if there is any, of affectivity in a direct manner. In the case of Xenophon's *Symposium* and the *Apology*, two groups are best represented. These are pleasure/joy and love/friendship. In my opinion, the relevant contexts provide us with a view that both genera are complex.

The distinction between the species of the pleasure/joy[4] genus is clearly made in the discussion on the etymology of the name of Ganymede, where the pleasures of the body are firmly set apart from those of the soul: οὐχ **ἡδυσώματος** ὀνομασθεὶς ὁ Γανυμήδης ἀλλ' **ἡδυγνώμων** (8, 30)[5]. The same applies to the distinction between material and spiritual goods, insofar as the well-being provided by the market is opposed to the more agreeable one stemming from the soul: Τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους μὲν τὰς **εὐπαθείας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς** πολυτελεῖς πορίζεσθαι,

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[2] I think that the expression "a theory of emotions" is too frequently abused. We are often told about a philosopher holding a theory of emotions. But a theory of emotions is not a set of implicit claims contained in his works (however important they may be), or observations which can be converted into explicit claims. I take a theory to be a more or less developed system which not only describes but, first of all, explains issues related to the topic of which it is a theory.

[3] The Greek text follows F. Ollier (1961/1995). The passages from the *Symposium* are accompanied, when necessary, by A.J. Bowen's translation (= AJB), those from *Apology* by O.J. Todd's (= OJT).

[4] I say "pleasure/joy" (and, similarly, "love/friendship") because there is no commonly recognised name for the genus. This is one of the major problems of the taxonomy of emotions and probably concerns most of the affective genera.

[5] "His name meaning not bodily sweet but mentally sweet" (AJB).

ἐμὲ δὲ **ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς** ἄνευ δαπάνης **ἡδίους** ἐκείνων μηχανᾶσθαι (18)[6]. In the latter passage that distinction turns out to be clear-cut: the pleasures of the soul are internal and independent of the external[7]. In the subsequent discussion on bad pleasures overcoming a person (19: ἄλλης **πονηρᾶς ἡδονῆς** ἡττημένον)[8], a hierarchy emerges which presupposes that other pleasures are good – though no examples are given in this context. We come across remarks about enjoying food and drink (4, 8: δεῖπνον [...] ἡμᾶς πρὸς Καλλίαν ἐλθόντας **ἡδυπαθεῖν**[9]) and finding pleasure/joy in drinking wine (31: ἀλλ' ὁ νεανίσκος **ἡσθεὶς** οἴνῳ[10]). All these examples refer, without doubt, to bodily pleasures.

On other occasions we are told about what is surely non-bodily pleasure/joy (and if it is non-bodily, we may assume that it is most probably a kind of mental pleasure/joy). The most explicit example of this is given in 4, 41 where ἡδυπαθῆσαι is related not to the body but to the soul (ὅταν ἡδυπαθῆσαι βουληθῶ, **οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς** τὰ τίμια ὠνοῦμαι, πολυτελῆ γὰρ γίγνεται, **ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς** ταμιεύομαι[11]). In 4, 49, the object of enjoyment is a moral quality: virtue (οἱ θεοί, ὡς ἔοικε, **καλοκἀγαθίᾳ ἥδονται**[12])[13]. Even if we should be sceptical about this example as it is the gods who are the subject of the feeling, its object is important nonetheless: enjoying someone's excellence is surely not a bodily kind of pleasure/joy because to enjoy it one first needs to conceptualise what excellence is and then to recognise it. More to the point, such a case supports the clear-cut distinction between physical and mental pleasure/joy because enjoying one's virtue does not affect both body and mind, but only, or at least significantly, the mind of the one who recognises the excellence[14]. Because moral qualities are not material in the way that items in the market are,

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[6] "While other men get their delicacies in the market and pay a high price for them, I devise more pleasurable ones from the resources of my soul without cost" (OJT).

[7] What may be meant by the external and the internal is illustrated in the following: φύσει βασιλικόν τι κάλλος εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἂν μετ' **αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης** (1, 8; AJB: "beauty is something naturally regal, especially if its possessor combines it with modesty and good sense"). There is a physical and ethical aspect of beauty, the former visible from the outside and the latter by the eyes of the soul, so to speak. Compare μετὰ σωφροσύνης τε καὶ αἰδοῦς in Plato, *Phaedrus* 253d.

[8] "Overcome by any other base pleasure" (OJT).

[9] "...dinner [...] we had a pleasant experience of it coming to Kallias" (AJB, modified).

[10] "The young man, delighting in wine" (OJT). Wine also calms and improves the mind. See 2, 24, quoted below.

[11] "When I want a fine time of it, I don't go to the market for its luxuries (they're expensive); I go instead to the cupboard of my soul" (AJB).

[12] "The gods also take pleasure in a moral beauty" (AJB, modified).

[13] Examples are also included in the *Apology*: Socrates' friends should be cheerful because he is doing well (27: ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ὡς εὐπραγοῦντος ἐμοῦ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν **εὐθυμητέον** εἶναι); Socrates will face death cheerfully and die (cheerfully) (33: ἀλλ' **ἱλαρῶς** καὶ προσεδέχετο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπετελέσατο).

[14] Unless one wants to suggest that this is so because one is affected physically by excellence, say, gets a better condition of life and only then is inclined to think of it as of moral excellence.

it is not the body but the mind which is affected. Hence the opposition between the pleasure/joy provided by external goods and the pleasure/joy provided by internal or moral features. And there is no one in the *Symposium* and the *Apology* who prefers the former to the latter[15].

Another testimony to the body–psyche distinction of pleasure/joy comes from the domain of sight and hearing. We are told, for example, about the pleasures/joys of performance (3, 2: Οὗτοι μὲν δή, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἱκανοὶ **τέρπειν** ἡμᾶς φαίνονται[16]). But what kind of pleasure/joy they are? Pleasure/joy is produced not because of looking at a nice picture, such as a sunny or peaceful view affecting the eyes delicately as opposed to a sudden and strong flash harming them and causing them to shut it out. And it is not produced by hearing a pleasant sound as opposed to an irritating noise either. Pleasure/joy is rather an outcome of the meaning of the spectacle which, as such, must be comprehended, and also a result of the musical composition which is more than the sum of pleasant sounds. For it may be the case that a pleasant composition includes a sound which, when taken in isolation, is unpleasant. In the last section of the *Symposium* we read: Εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡ Ἀρίαδνη ἀκούσασα τοιοῦτόν τι ἐποίησεν ὡς πᾶς ἂν ἔγνω ὅτι **ἀσμένη** ἤκουσε· (9, 3)[17]. One might wonder whether Ariadne felt pleasure/joy on hearing particular sounds, or whether it was because she recognised a melody she liked. In the latter case her enjoyment would be indirectly linked to the pleasantness of the sounds and would result from hearing what she liked to hear[18].

In Xenophon's *Symposium* we find more passages related to pleasure/joy in the realm of seeing. There is the pleasure/joy of watching a performance (7, 2: ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν μάλιστα **εὐφραινοίμεθα** θεώμενοι αὐτούς·[19]), the pleasure/joy of looking at acrobatics which is not felt, when the sense of the show (the risk involved?) is not grasped (7, 3: θαῦμα μὲν ἴσως τί ἐστιν, **ἡδονὴν** δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα

But then, since he first feels physically affected and only after that conceptualises the cause-effect relation, physical pleasure/joy would be devoid of the often admitted cognitive character.

[15] The body/mind distinction is also drawn for kinds of desire. Compare the desire to learn (8, 28: **Ἐπιθυμῶ** δέ σοι, ὦ Καλλία, καὶ μυθολογῆσαι) and the desire for the body (8, 23: ὁ δὲ τοῦ σώματος **ὀρεγόμενος** εἰκότως ἂν ὥσπερ πτωχὸς περιέποιτο). The latter, we are told, amounts to beggary or, as in the *Apology*, to slavery (16: Τίνα μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ἧττον ἐμοῦ δουλεύοντα ταῖς τοῦ σώματος **ἐπιθυμίαις**;).

[16] "These people [i.e. musical performers] are clearly competent to give us enjoyment" (AJB).

[17] "Ariadne heard the music [and] she reacted in such a way that anybody would have known she was delighted with what she heard" (AJB).

[18] But what about a mixture of the beauty of young people and sounds which calms unpleasure and provokes love (3, 1: αὕτη ἡ κρᾶσις τῶν τε παίδων τῆς ὥρας καὶ τῶν φθόγγων τὰς μὲν **λύπας** κοιμίζειν, τὴν δ' **ἀφροδίτην** ἐγείρειν)? Is beauty in this case a simply pleasant view or should it be conceptualised in order to give pleasure?

[19] "We have the greatest pleasure watching them" (AJB).

δύναμαι γνῶναι τίν' ἂν παράσχοι[20]), a performance providing spectators with pleasure/joy (7, 5: ἐγὼ εἰσάξω θεάματα ἐφ' οἷς ὑμεῖς **εὐφρανεῖσθε**[21]).

Different and more complex is the passage about seeing a beloved person (4, 22: ἡ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὄψις **εὐφραίνειν** δύναται, ἡ δὲ τοῦ εἰδώλου **τέρψιν** μὲν οὐ παρέχει, **πόθον** δὲ ἐμποιεῖ[22]). This is, again, a picture offered by Xenophon, although he makes no explicit claim about joy or its absence or about longing. However, what he observes invites one to think about the following three elements:

(i) seeing the beloved *may* provide joy (εὐφραίνειν **δύναται**),

while

(ii) the image of the beloved *does not* provide the lover with delight,

but

(iii) *does* produce a longing.

As it is, there seems to be no symmetry between a possible occurrence of pleasure/joy in the case of the presence of the beloved on the one hand and a necessary occurrence of longing and a necessary absence of pleasure/joy in the case of the absence of the beloved person on the other. This amounts to no symmetry between the cause of joy and that of longing which is not necessarily surprising insofar as joy and longing are not opposite in character. If there were any analogy it would rather be a distinction between the presence of a person and his/her presence represented by an image and a distinction between joy and longing. As a consequence, longing emerges as an image or shadow of joy. This may be true, since longing is not entirely pleasant[23]. But the main question is: while the presence of the beloved *may* or *may not* provoke joy, why *does* his/her absence *always* provoke longing and not only *may* provoke it? Why is the presence in the image modally stronger than the presence in the flesh? And is this true of any image, however remote and blurred it may be? According to Xenophon, the vision (εἴδωλον) in mind must be clear: σαφῶς ἔχω εἴδωλον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ (4, 21). It is clear enough to render the lover able to make a sculpture or painting of the beloved which closely resembles him. And, as has already been said, the fact that this is a remembrance of an image and not the real view of the beloved does not affect the quality of the painting or sculpture. This shows a difference between the realm of acting or producing and the realm of affectivity: while a clear image has as much strength as the original in making a painting

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[20] "A bit of a stunt too perhaps, but what pleasure even that could give I cannot decide" (AJB).

[21] "I'll bring on a show that you people will enjoy" (AJB).

[22] "It's the sight of him himself that has the power to make me happy [...] whereas the sight of my image of him only sets up a longing; there's no pleasure in that" (AJB).

[23] Compare Aristotle's (*Rhet.* 1378b) approach to anger which is not entirely unpleasant: "Let us then define anger as a longing, accompanied by pain [...] always accompanied by a certain pleasure" (transl. by J.H. Freese).

or a sculpture possible (and similar), this is not so in bringing joy about: possible joy has a parallel in an unavoidable longing[24]. A copy is strong enough to produce a painting or a sculpture, yet it is not strong enough to produce joy. If this is so, longing would seem to be a weakened form of joy.

A similar distinction of kinds of pleasure/joy applies in the domain of hearing. For instance, one is pleased by hearing another person (3, 13: Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες **ἡσθέντες**, ὅτι ἤκουσαν αὐτοῦ φωνήσαντος προσέβλεψαν[25]), which may refer either to the pleasure/joy of hearing an agreeable voice or to the pleasure/joy of hearing what he or she says (or usually says) or how that person usually speaks. If the latter is meant and if pleasure/joy is based on understanding of the content of one's speech, then it is mental pleasure/joy. But it may be the former too, since in another passage words are (made) pleasant when accompanied by (musical) sounds (6, 4: τοὺς σοὺς λόγους **ἡδύνεσθαι** ἄν τι ὑπὸ τῶν φθόγγων[26])[27]. Finally just as Socrates praises the pleasure/joy of the soul more than that of the body, so he insists that he and his companions provide themselves with pleasure/joy instead of relying on performers: οὐκ αἰσχρὸν οὖν εἰ μήδ' ἐπιχειρήσομεν συνόντες ὠφελεῖν τι ἢ **εὐφραίνειν** ἀλλήλους; (3, 2)[28]. If we agree that being autonomous in finding pleasure/joy is a hard, i.e. qualitative and not quantitative, criterion, then we obtain two different species or sub-kinds of pleasure/joy: pleasure/joy whose cause is independent of the subject and pleasure/joy the cause of which is dependent on the subject.

More examples could be quoted, but I believe the above suffices to make a claim that there is a variety of types of pleasure/joy in Xenophon and that this variety testifies to the multi-layered nature of pleasure/joy. What is certain is that there is a distinction between physical and mental pleasure/joy, and a third layer of bodily-cum-mental pleasure/joy should most probably be taken into account as well. With the third layer, however, we avoid too strong a dichotomisation.

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[24] The passage in question can be compared with a famous passage from Plato's *Phaedrus* about the vision (or eye, or image) of love (253e5: ὅταν δ' οὖν ὁ ἡνίοχος ἰδὼν **τὸ ἐρωτικὸν ὄμμα**) and the pangs of longing (253e6–254a1: γαργαλισμοῦ τε καὶ **πόθου κέντρων** ὑποπλησθῇ) because of a similar link between seeing and longing. If the *Phaedrus* is later than Plato's *Symposium*, and Plato's *Symposium* is later than Xenophon's *Symposium*, then the picture in question is prior to the *Phaedrus* passage.

[25] "Everyone was delighted they had heard him speak" (AJB).

[26] "Its [i.e. aulos'] notes would give a little sweetness to your words" (AJB, modified). AJB renders τοὺς σοὺς λόγους as "your conversation" (similarly OJT: "your discourse", but Ollier: "tes paroles"). If this be the case, pleasure/joy is not purely sensual, but probably mainly intellectual insofar as it requires a comprehension of the discourse. See other examples above.

[27] Even if Socrates' remark is a tease, such an improvement is not improbable.

[28] "Won't it be a shame, then, if we don't even attempt to give each other some benefit or pleasure now we are together?" (AJB). This is what is going to happen: ἐπιδειγμάτων ἀμελοῦντας, ἀλλήλοις δὲ ἡδομένους (6, 6; AJB: "people ignoring what he had to show and were enjoying their own company instead").

It also helps to account for some cases in which it is unclear how to draw a distinction between the purely bodily and the purely mental. For instance: Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ αὐλητρὶς μὲν ηὔλησεν, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐκιθάρισε, καὶ ἐδόκουν μάλα ἀμφότεροι ἱκανῶς **εὐφραίνειν** (2, 2)[29]. In this case pleasure/joy may well be both of the sensual type (because of the nice sound) and of the intellectual type (because of the fine composition), a kind of pleasure/joy combined or merged at the same time. On the other hand we have passages about mental states that are modified by organic substance. We are told that τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὁ οἶνος ἄρδων τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς μὲν **λύπας**, ὥσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, κοιμίζει, τὰς δὲ **φιλοφροσύνας**, ὥσπερ ἔλαιον φλόγα, ἐγείρει (2, 24)[30]. There must therefore be a conviction that a material factor (wine) influences – calms and awakens – mental functioning or mental feelings[31]. Manifestly – and this is the point critics may want to focus on – no full panorama of affective genera is exemplified in Xenophon's *Symposium* and *Apology*. Accordingly it would be more correct not to extend this kind of conclusion to the whole of affectivity (or, if so, to do this with appropriate caution).

Having said that, I would now like to see if the claim about the multi-layered nature of pleasure/joy is valid for other genera of affectivity and I like to think that the more varied my examples are, the stronger the claim about the multi-layered nature of given genera of affectivity will be. It is a lucky coincidence that in Xenophon the genus of love/friendship is well represented[32], because it differs significantly from the genus of pleasure/joy[33]. And here is the reason. Generally, I think, we could distinguish three kinds of affectivity in view of its activity and passivity. They correspond broadly – but not exactly – to the grammatical distinction of voices. Accordingly:

(i) passive affectivity – most often discussed in literature, e.g. being afraid, being angry, etc. (these are states which are results of an action which is not itself an emotion, e.g. terrifying, provoking, etc.),

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[29] "The aulos-player played her aulos for them, and the boy played his kithara, and they both appeared to be making a good contribution to people's enjoyment" (AJB).

[30] "Wine irrigates the spirit; it soothes irritability as mandragora soothes people, and it rouses thoughts of friendliness as oil does a fire" (AJB).

[31] We are even told that in what concerns the provision of liquid human bodies function the same as plants (2, 25: τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν σώματα ταὐτὰ **πάσχειν** ἅπερ καὶ τὰ ἐν γῇ φυομένα), but then that bodies and judgments (may) err (2, 26: τὰ σώματα καὶ αἱ γνῶμαι **σφαλοῦνται**).

[32] Interestingly, in Xenophon's *Symposium* all the main Greek words pertaining to love/friendship are there: not only ἐράω (e.g. 8, 23) and φιλέω (e.g. 8, 23) but also ἀγαπάω (8, 23) and στέργω (8, 21).

[33] The list of pleasure/joy words in the *Symposium* and the *Apology* includes also: ἡδονή and ἥδομαι (+ ἡδυπαθέω, ἡδυσώματος, ἡδυγνώμων) as well as συνήδομαι, τέρψις and τέρπω, εὐφραίνω, εὐπάθεια, εὐθυμητέον, ἱλαρῶς, and ἄσμενος.

(ii) intransitive affectivity – the above examples of pleasure/joy, e.g. rejoicing (always active),

(iii) transitive affectivity which is both active and passive, e.g. love and being loved, admire and being admired, etc. (this is what makes it the most paradigmatic case of affectivity).

If this classification is acceptable[34], it means that by taking into consideration love/friendship I turn to a different kind of affectivity than pleasure/joy. And if the same consideration concerning multi-layeredness can be made regarding the genus of love/friendship as has been the case for the genus pleasure/love, its validity will be all the more clear.

Let me then focus on the love/friendship (ἔρως/φιλία) genus. The bulk of the relevant passages are contained in Socrates' speech. To tell the truth they are quite numerous and can hardly all be commented on in this paper. What I want to stress is the following:

(i) There is the love of body and the love of soul, which are clearly distinguished from one another. Both may co-exist (8, 14: ἂν δὲ καὶ **ἀμφότερα στέρξωσι**[35]), but one may also occur independently of the other and even be opposed to one another (8, 6: τὸν μὲν σὸν **ἔρωτα** κρύπτωμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἔστιν οὐ ψυχῆς ἀλλ' εὐμορφίας τῆς ἐμῆς[36]). This recalls the above-mentioned distinction concerning the external or physical and internal or ethical aspect of beauty, which provides two different kinds of pleasure/joy. Then, if affection depends on the body alone, it fades away as soon as the body fades away (8, 14: ἀπολείποντος δὲ τούτου ἀνάγκη καὶ **τὴν φιλίαν** συναπομαραίνεσθαι[37]). One may also think about an explicit passage about two distinct Aphrodites (8, 9–10: Εἰ μὲν οὖν μία ἐστὶν **Ἀφροδίτη ἢ δι**τταί, **Οὐρανία τε καὶ Πάνδημος**, οὐκ οἶδα [...]. Εἰκάσαις δ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας τὴν μὲν **Πάνδημον τῶν σωμάτων** ἐπιπέμπειν, τὴν δ'**Οὐρανίαν τῆς ψυχῆς τε καὶ τῆς φιλίας καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων**[38]). And, as in the case of pleasure, a hierarchy is introduced: καὶ πολὺ κρείττων ἐστὶν **ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ ὁ τοῦ** σώματος **ἔρως** (8, 12)[39]. This may not only be a question of arbitrary preference, but first of all of their essential nature. For instance,

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[34] See Zaborowski 2018.

[35] "If the affection is both physical and spiritual" (AJB).

[36] "It's not a passion for my soul but for my good looks" (AJB).

[37] "When that [i.e. the flower of youth] departs inevitably the friendship withers away too" (AJB). Compare (Ps.-)Plato, *Alcib.* I 103a (its very beginning).

[38] "Whether there is one Aphrodite or two, Celestial [Ourania] and Popular [Pandemos], I do not know [...]. One could suggest that Pandemos sends the passion for bodies and Ourania sends the passions for souls and friendship and fine deeds" (AJB). The distinction is similar to Plato's, see *Symposium* 180d–e (in Pausanias' speech).

[39] "...a spiritual passion is much better than a physically based passion" (AJB).

(ii) love of the soul is more insatiate than love of the body. This is because the former is purity (8, 15: **ἡ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς φιλία** διὰ τὸ ἁγνὴ εἶναι καὶ ἀκορεστοτέρα ἐστίν[40]), whereas love of the body may be satisfied (8, 15: Καὶ μὴν ἐν μὲν τῇ τῆς μορφῆς χρήσει ἔνεστί τις καὶ κόρος, ὥστε ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς τὰ σιτία διὰ πλησμονήν, ταῦτα ἀνάγκη καὶ πρὸς τὰ παιδικὰ **πάσχειν**·[41]). Satiation is a feature of the material domain[42], while the object of spiritual love is immaterial and therefore can never be satisfied. Moreover, a relationship based on the love of the body instead of the soul is slavish (8, 23: Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀνελεύθερος ἡ συνουσία τῷ τὸ σῶμα μᾶλλον ἢ [τῷ] τὴν **ψυχὴν ἀγαπῶντι**, νῦν τοῦτο δηλώσω[43]). We are also told that not only men but gods and heroes also respect spiritual friendship more than corporeal intimacy (8, 28: οὐ μόνον ἄνθρωποι ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἥρωες **τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς φιλίαν περὶ πλείονος ἢ τὴν τοῦ σώματος χρῆσιν** ποιοῦνται[44]).

(iii) We get a fine exposition of what love – more exactly, to being loved mutually (κοινὸν τὸ φιλεῖσθαι) – is like. The description runs thus:

> Οἷς γε μὴν κοινὸν **τὸ φιλεῖσθαι**, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τούτους **ἡδέως** μὲν προσορᾶν ἀλλήλους, **εὐνοϊκῶς** δὲ διαλέγεσθαι, **πιστεύειν δὲ καὶ πιστεύεσθαι**, καὶ **προνοεῖν** μὲν ἀλλήλων, **συνήδεσθαι** δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαῖς πράξεσι, **συνάχθεσθαι** δὲ ἄν τι σφάλμα προσπίπτῃ, τότε δ' **εὐφραινομένους** διατελεῖν, ὅταν ὑγιαίνοντες συνῶσιν, ἂν δὲ κάμῃ ὁπότερος οὖν, πολὺ συνεχεστέραν **τὴν συνουσίαν ἔχειν**, καὶ ἀπόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ παρόντων **ἐπιμελεῖσθαι**; (8, 18)[45]

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[40] "Spiritual love, however, is all the more insatiable because of its purity" (AJB).

[41] "In the exploration of beauty there is actually a certain satiety, so that inevitably you feel for your beloved what overeating makes you feel for food" (AJB).

[42] And the same works for physical pleasure/joy, which is bigger when superposed on a desire: Καὶ πολὺ πλεῖον διαφέρει πρὸς ἡδονήν, ὅταν ἀναμείνας τὸ δεηθῆναι προσφέρωμαι (4, 41; AJB: "it makes a lot of difference to the enjoyment when I come to something after feeling the need for it"), while this is not the case with mental pleasure/joy. Moreover, physical – but not mental – pleasure/joy may be too intense: Καὶ πάντα τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως **ἡδέα** μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὡς μᾶλλον μὲν **ἥδεσθαι** ποιῶν ἕκαστα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἂν εὐξαίμην, ἧττον δέ· οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ ἔνια αὐτῶν **ἡδίω** εἶναι τοῦ συμφέροντος (4, 39; AJB: "All of this seems to me so pleasurable that in each bit of it I wouldn't pray for more pleasure but less: some of it seems so much more pleasurable than is appropriate").

[43] "I will now demonstrate that the companionship of a man who loves physically rather than spiritually lacks the dimension of freedom" (AJB).

[44] "Not only men but also gods and heroes treat spiritual friendship as more important than a physical relationship" (AJB).

[45] "When people have friendship in common, isn't it inevitable that they look at each other with pleasure, and talk to each other positively, and establish mutual trust, and take thought for each other, and share enjoyment when their actions prosper and annoyance if some slip intervenes, and sustain their delight when they both share good health, and if either falls ill the relationship they have is more durable, and they mind about each other even more when they're apart than when together?" (AJB).

Such a description seems to make Xenophon a representative – an early one indeed – of the so-called cluster theory of love, which does not reduce love to only one necessary and sufficient constituent. This view sees love rather as a set of constituents which may vary depending on the form, but in each case a minimal set of elements is required[46]. According to Xenophon, love is such a cluster of nine elements which, in order to constitute love – more exactly, mutual love (κοινὸν τὸ φιλεῖσθαι) – must occur together and which include the following:

(a) having pleasure/joy in seeing each other,
(b) speaking in a well-disposed way,
(c) trusting and being trusted,
(d) mutual caring for one another,
(e) rejoicing together in success,
(f) grieving together in case of failure,
(g) constantly enjoying each other's company when in good health,
(h) spending even more time together when one is ill,
(i) caring about one another even more in absence than when together.

All of them taken together are what constitutes love. If one element is amiss, there is no mutual love. But since, according to the cluster theory of love, the elements are replaceable, one may suggest that if, for instance, there is no (a), (b) and (c), then there may be other elements instead. Or even instead of two elements such as say (a) and (b), there may be one other, which is not listed and could be labelled (k)[47]. Xenophon is not that explicit in his *Symposium*. But in the light of our topic, i.e. emotions, it is interesting to see that of the nine constituents of love, five – or even eight if you agree that trust (c) and care (d, i) are also affective acts – are themselves emotions (pleasure, being well disposed or kind, common joy, common sorrow, enjoying). And Xenophon introduces the idea which in current debates on emotions is called a meta-emotion: loving friendship (8, 18: ἅμα ἐρῶντες τῆς φιλίας[48]).

(iv) There is also a distinction between several modalities of love in the *Symposium*: apart from loving (this is the initial and active form of love; see

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[46] See e.g. Schmidt 2018: 717 f.: "Perhaps romantic love could be defined through a (partially) variable cluster of properties [...] of, let us say, 15 conditions – *none* of which is either *necessary* or *sufficient* – and say, for example, that seven of these conditions must be present in any case of romantic love. [...] We could thus list the characteristic 15 features *a* to *o* (union, concern, trust, affection, shared feelings, desire, jealousy, attractiveness, the wish to spend time together, permanence, etc.), and if at least seven elements from this set, whatever they may be, perhaps *a* to *g* or *i* to *o*, are present, one would be justified in speaking of romantic love. In this sense, there could be cases of love which exhibit no common properties, apart from precisely possessing seven (different) features from the given pool". I think this solution may be used *not only* for *romantic* love *but* for *any* form/kind of love.

[47] For possible examples, see the previous footnote.

[48] "Still passionate about their friendship" (AJB).

several examples above), Xenophon speaks about being loved (9, 6: εἰ **φιλεῖ** αὐτόν [...] ἦ μὴν τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν παῖδα ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων **φιλεῖσθαι**[49])[50] and also about returning love (8, 19: Τὸν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος κρεμάμενον διὰ τί **ἀντιφιλήσειεν** ἂν ὁ παῖς;[51]). If one recalls Plato's *Lysis*, one must acknowledge that the paradigm is better represented in Plato since it involves all four modalities: loving, being loved, loving in return, and being loved in return[52]. Yet, it may be that Xenophon simply did not have enough room in his narrative to introduce the fourth modality. After all, how is one to speak about being loved in return if the lover loves not the beloved but his or her body? If the lover is to be loved by the object of his love in such a case, he should be loved by his lover's body, which makes no sense at all. This is why it is fair to reiterate the fact that Xenophon mentions ὁ Νικήρατος, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούω, **ἐρῶν** τῆς γυναικὸς **ἀντερᾶται** (8, 3)[53], where ἀντερᾶται (literally: "he is loved in return") may be accepted as a parallel to the absent form ἀντιφιλεῖται.

Several scholars are sceptical as to whether we may establish which of the two *Symposia* was written first[54]. But as for emotions, I believe the order in which they were written does not matter, for if Xenophon followed Plato, it would mean that he shares Plato's opinion concerning the nature of love. There is however one point in Xenophon which is different to that which is said by Plato. In Plato's allegory in the *Phaedrus* the white (or the good) horse is not called θυμοειδής, even though for many scholars it represents τὸ θυμοειδές of the *Republic*. Furthermore, the white horse controls himself (*Phdr.* 254a: ἑαυτὸν κατέχει). But Xenophon speaks about τοὺς θυμοειδεῖς ἵππους as opposed to τοὺς εὐπειθεστάτους[55]. The meaning of the word and, more importantly, the concept of τὸ θυμοειδές is entirely different. It looks as if for Xenophon affectivity – if it were to be

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[49] "...if she loved him [...] the boy and girl were really in love with each other" (AJB).

[50] On being loved, see also 8, 18: κοινὸν **τὸ φιλεῖσθαι**, quoted above.

[51] "But if the man is all dependent on the physical, why should the boy love him back?" (AJB).

[52] See Plato, *Lysis* 212c4: ὁ μὲν φιλεῖ, ὁ δὲ φιλεῖται (transl. by W.R.M. Lamb: "the one loves and the other is loved") and also 212c1–d5: ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι [...] ἀντιφιλοῦν (transl. by W.R.M. Lamb: "being loved reciprocally [...] loving reciprocally").

[53] "Nikeratos, who's in love with his wife [...] and she with him" (AJB).

[54] E.g. Ollier 1995: 30: "Les ressemblances entre le *Banquet* de Xénophon et celui de Platon sont nombreuses et frappantes. [...] nous ne savons pas du tout à quel moment a été composée [l'œuvre] de Xénophon. [...] Cependant l'on peut estimer [...] que les vraisemblances sont plutôt en faveur de la priorité de Platon". But see Thesleff 1978: 168: "our present text of Xenophon's *Symposium* consists of two layers: a brief earlier version from the 380s which gave some impulses to Plato's *Symposium*, and a later version (including chapter 8), influenced by Plato and written in the later 370s" and Danzig (2005), who offers more arguments to support Thesleff's conclusion.

[55] 2, 10: τοὺς ἱππικοὺς βουλομένους γενέσθαι οὐ τοὺς **εὐπειθεστάτους** ἀλλὰ τοὺς **θυμοειδεῖς** ἵππους κτωμένους (AJB: "people who want to be horse-trainers pick not the most docile animals but the most spirited").

identified with τὸ θυμοειδές – lacked the autonomy it is given by Plato in the chariot allegory.

Although the domain of affectivity is not as fully represented in the two works in question by Xenophon as it is in Plato or Aristotle, one still finds other kinds of emotions and emotion-related words in them, for instance the basic distinction between *fear about* (4, 52: **δέδοικα περὶ** αὐτοῦ[56]) and *fear of* (2, 19: **ἔδεισα** μὴ μαίνοιο[57]). There are also remarks about one of most intellectual[58] of emotions, surprise/amazement. Its object is what is seen (7, 4: μάλα τὰ παρόντα **θαυμάζειν**) or heard (8, 24: Εἰ δὲ λαμυρώτερον λέγω, μὴ **θαυμάζετε**), and it presupposes that the meaning of what is seen or heard is grasped mentally. Xenophon's vocabulary of emotions comprehends also rarer lexemes. For instance, in the *Apology* there is an occurrence of εὐπάθεια (18, quoted above), a word that made a brilliant career thereafter (in Plato it is attested once in the *Phaedrus* (247d, verbal form), and thrice in the *Republic* (347c, verbal form, 404d and 615a)). We also meet εὐθυμητέον (27, quoted above), a verbal adjective of a verb related to εὐθυμία, so characteristic of Democritus (see e.g. DK 68B174; DK 68B189; DK 68B191; Plato uses εὔθυμος in *Laws* 792b and εὐθυμέομαι in *Rep.* 383b and 797b).

There are also other affective themes in Xenophon's *Symposium* and *Apology*. I would like to briefly mention two of them. First, according to Xenophon, emotions can be manifested. Xenophon speaks about four of them manifested either in facial expressions or in the voice. These are respectively, friendly feelings and hostile feelings when it comes to facial expressions[59] and modesty and boldness in the case of the voice[60]. Several further questions arise here: are these manifestations necessarily accompanying an occurrence of love/friendship and hatred, or are they only a possibility? If the latter, on what does it depend as to whether love/friendship or hatred is manifested or not? Can manifestations be faked and if so, do they then differ from genuine expressions of emotions? Xenophon does not give any answers to these questions, but observations similar to his are discussed nowadays in the literature on emotions.

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[56] "I am worried about him" (AJB).

[57] "I was afraid you were going mad" (AJB). See also 5, 8: **δέδοικα** γὰρ τὸν σὸν καὶ Ἀντισθένους πλοῦτον μή με καταδυναστεύσῃ (AJB: "I'm fearful in case that wealth of yours and of Antisthenes may countervail against me").

[58] It is considered to be intellectual probably because it is hard to conceive of a sensual surprise or amazement. In the *Theaetetus* (155d) it is regarded by Plato as the beginning of philosophy.

[59] 4, 58: Οὐκοῦν καὶ τόδε ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι ἔστιν ἀνθρώπῳ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ **φιλικῶς καὶ ἐχθρῶς** πρός τινας βλέπειν; (AJB: "Do we understand also that it's possible to look at people in a friendly way and in a hostile way with the same set of eyes?").

[60] 4, 58: Τί δέ; τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ ἔστι καὶ **αἰδημόνως καὶ θρασέως** φθέγγεσθαι; (AJB: "And that it's possible to speak both politely and aggressively with the same set of vocal organs?").

Another point, which to some extent is the reverse of the previous one, is that emotions – the examples given by Xenophon are hatred and love/friendship – may be manipulated through speeches[61]. Unless hatred and love/friendship are understood vaguely or superficially as feelings of a preference-against and a preference-for, I can hardly see how hatred and love/friendship may be produced by spoken words alone. Do words themselves suffice to bring about hatred or love/friendship? If so, it would be a surprising idea of hatred and love/friendship assuming that no act or action is required to build them up.

3. CONCLUSION

In my paper I have pointed to passages which show Xenophon's treatment of affectivity, even if it is only an accessory and has no philosophical conceptualisation. I do not claim that Xenophon had any notion of the transitivity or intransitivity of affectivity, the taxonomy or distinction of affective genera. He probably had more to say about (a theory of) love/friendship[62]. Given the number of contexts the result looks rather like a kind of hypothetical reconstruction. Xenophon's observations makes it possible to propose the following:

(a) there is a variety of species within two genera of emotions; what I mean by a variety is that affectivity in general or even its subsets (e.g. pleasure/joy, love/friendship) can hardly be treated *en bloc*; it is more accurate to take into consideration various classifications within several types, sub-types, or sub-sub-types of affectivity,

(b) this kind of variety is better understood as a three-layered hierarchy in the case of pleasure/joy and two-layered hierarchy in the case of love/friendship,

(c) the corollary of this is that nothing can be said about the value of the family as such: a family of emotions is neither good nor bad; this is because within the family there are various genera and within genera some species of pleasures/joys and loves/friendships are useless or even harmful, while others are beneficial[63],

(d) a germ can be distinguished of what is known today as a cluster theory of love,

(e) the issue of manifestations of emotions is touched upon.

It is important to underscore that, it seems to me, one may find and does find a support in the *Symposium* and the *Apology* for any of the above claims. Once

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[61] 4, 58: Τί δέ; λόγοι οὐκ εἰσὶ μέν τινες **ἀπεχθανόμενοι**, εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἳ πρὸς **φιλίαν** ἄγουσι; (AJB: "And are there not some things said which incur hatred and some which are conducive to friendliness?").

[62] See e.g. his *Memorabilia*, esp. II 6.

[63] On a more general level, of the two exclusive claims – either affectivity is bad and should be extirpated or affectivity is good and should be strengthened – neither is accurate. A similar reluctance to a (general) valuing of affectivity may be inferred from Plato's dialogues (see Zaborowski 2012).

again, these points are presented by Xenophon neither explicitly nor strictly philosophically, let alone analytically. But for someone who works within the philosophy of affectivity rather than within the history of philosophy, it may be interesting to see how these ideas emerge in the work of Xenophon.

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RATES/RATES: ANOTHER GAMMA-TELESTICH IN OVID'S *ARS AMATORIA* OR AN ACROGRAM AMONG ANAGRAMS*

by

JERZY DANIELEWICZ

Ingenio verbis concipe plura meis.
Ovid. *Rem. Am*. 360

ABSTRACT: The gamma-telestich *AMOR-ROMA* detected by Hanses at III 507–510 is by no means the only significant example of such a device in the *Ars Amatoria*. Another noteworthy case (*RATES-RATES*) can be found at I 172–176. The author goes well beyond mere "gamma-reinforcement" by showing how the telestich partakes in a complex wordplay involving its immediate context that lends itself to a subversive anagrammatic reading. He also presents a terminological proposal with regard to the systemic classification of acro- and telestichs, suggesting to subordinate both of these terms to a higher category of "acrogram" in the neutral sense of "edge lettering". Incidentally, he cites a couple of hitherto unnoticed acrostics (I 712–718 *C-I-A-S*; II 738–744 *A-C-V-I*) and telestichs (I 720–724 *RATE ATER*).

Until recently, the *Ars Amatoria* was considered a poem in which Ovid – exceptionally, compared to his other works – did not introduce any acrostics[1]. Without denying the correctness of such a radical statement (if a rigorous definition of acrostic is adopted)[2], it must be noted that the absence of acrostics on the left side of the lines is compensated for by several telestichs on the opposite edge.

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* I would like to thank the anonymous referees of the journal for their insightful comments that not only contributed to the improvement of the article, but also inspired me to further research.

[1] See Monica Gale, *Name Puns and Acrostics in Didactic Poetry: Reading the Universe*, in: L.G. Canevaro, D. O'Rourke (eds.), *Didactic Poetry of Greece, Rome and Beyond: Knowledge, Power, Tradition*, Swansea 2018, pp. 123–150.

[2] Although, following the method applied by Leah Kronenberg, *Tibullus the Elegiac Vates: Acrostics in Tibullus 2.5*, Mnemosyne LXXI 2018, pp. 508–514, some skipped-line acrostics can be found in the *Ars Amatoria*, see e.g. I 712–718 *C-I-A-S* ('rouse', alluding to *manibus tangi* at 713); II 738–744 *A-C-V-I* (responding to *Arma dedi vobis* [*viri*] at 741).

To my knowledge, the first scholar to discover a meaningful telestich in the *Ars Amatoria* was Mathias Hanses[3]. This telestich appears quite late in the poem (at III 507–510) and reads *AMOR*:

	Vos quoque si media speculum spectetis in ir**a**,	A
	Cognoscat faciem vix satis ulla sua**m**.	M
	Nec minus in vultu damnosa superbia vestr**o**:	O
510	Comibus est oculis alliciendus **amor**.	A M O R
	If you too should glance in mid-wrath at a mirro**r**,	R
	with difficulty would any of you recognize her own face. N**o**	O
	less does an expression of arrogance spell doo**m**:	M
	it is with affable eyes that we must attract **Love**.	L O V E

(transl. by M. Hanses)

The non-accidentality of the telestich seems to be confirmed by the identical word *amor* at the end of line 510, with which it shares the final letter *r*. The whole construct has the form of an inverted gamma (⅃)[4]. The peculiarity of this particular set of letters is that it additionally offers a play on the city name Rome, since the key word may be read in both directions: *AMOR-ROMA*. After "straightening out" this gamma-telestich one obtains the palindromic sequence *AMOR(R)OMA,* which reads the same backwards or forwards.

The above-mentioned gamma-telestich detected by Hanses is not, as it turns out, the only example of such a device in the *Ars Amatoria*. A similar case of the telestichic acrogram[5] can be found at I 172–176:

	Quid, modo cum belli navalis imagine Caesar	
	Persidas induxit Cecropiasque **rates**?	R A T E S
	Nempe ab utroque mari iuvenes, ab utroque puella**e**	E
	Venere, atque ingens orbis in Urbe fui**t**.	T
175	Quis non invenit turba, quod amaret, in ill**a**?	A
	Eheu, quam multos advena torsit amo**r**!	↑ R

[3] M. Hanses, *Love's Letters: An Amor-Roma Telestich at Ovid, Ars Amatoria 3.507–10*, in: P. Mitsis, I. Ziogas (eds.), *Wordplay and Powerplay in Latin Poetry*, Berlin 2016, pp. 199–211. I summarise here the subtle observations of this scholar but selectively; for further interpretation, including some subversive readings of the phrase in question, the reader is referred to the whole of that paper.

[4] As for its shape, this is a mirror image of the prototypical left-side gamma-acrostic ΛΕΠΤΗ in Aratus 783–787.

[5] I would like to make a terminological proposal regarding the systemic classification of acro- and telestic(h)s. I suggest subordinating both of these terms to a superior category of 'acrogram' (in the neutral sense of 'edge lettering'). For fuller discussion of this question, see Appendix.

> What of that time, recently, when Caesar, in mimic naval battle[6],/ staged the Persian and Athenian ships?/ Truly, young men from either sea, girls from either sea[7] came, and the great circle of world was in the City./ Who did not find someone he might love in that crowd? Ah, how many were twisted by an alien love!

In this passage, we are dealing with a telestich spelling out – when read vertically upwards – the word *RATES* ('boats', 'ships'), the same as that ending line 172, with which it shares the final letter *S*. Taken together, the two words produce the shape ⅂, i.e. the mirror image of the Greek letter *gamma*. Such a close verbal link prompts one to suppose that this telestich is not accidental. I formulate this suggestion with due caution, recognising the sceptics' argument that the mere fact that it is a gamma-telestich is not enough to guarantee intentionality. On the other hand, there is no doubt that this edge lettering, whether introduced on purpose or not, perfectly suits the content of the passage: the lines encompassed by *RATES* describe the great spectacle involving ships that took place in Rome in 2 BCE by the order of the emperor Augustus.

As a non-sceptic, I propose to look at this "theoretically possible" telestich with the assumption of its intentionality. From this perspective, the context is read in such a way as to reveal potential signposts alerting the reader to the presence of an acrogram. Here are some relevant observations that can be made. The unit begins with a hexameter that does not partake in the telestich, but does contain the expression *belli navalis imagine*: the emphasis given to *imago* is metapoetic in that it calls attention not only to the semantics of "fakeness" (this is a mock-battle) but also to the *enargeia* in Ovid's visual *description* of the battle. However, the rhetorical attention raised by the *imago* may be also re-oriented to the actual visual aspect of the poem: telestichic *RATES* is an *imago* of the *naumachia* itself. At lines 173–174, the doubling of *ab utroque* may also point in the direction of a two-way reading, as may the paradoxical concept *orbis in Urbe*, which represents the continuous roundness of the world as contained within one compressed space, not unlike a telestich. Finally, 175 *quis non invenit* may be taken, along with the other "clues", as a heuristic provocation to search for something, potentially in a "twisted" (176 *torsit*) fashion[8].

This last observation, in my opinion, additionally invites an anagram-based reading of the passage. Read in that way, the text reveals a hidden layer[9], bringing

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[6] Literally, "in image of naval battle".

[7] Probably, "from the Eastern and Western shores of the world", see *Ovid. Ars Amatoria, Book I*. Edited with Introduction and Commentary by A.S. Hollis, Oxford 1977 ([3]1992), p. 64.

[8] In presenting this aspect, I take full advantage of the valuable comments of one of the anonymous referees (with his/her consent); I hereby wish to expressly acknowledge my indebtedness.

[9] The fact that I take into consideration this possibility should not lead to the conclusion that I am obsessed with the "hidden meaning" theory; for a complex discussion of the problems

some surprising, even subversive, meanings. The witty comments encoded in the anagrams may suggest Ovid's mocking distance from Augustan propaganda and disclose the auctorial view of the entire event[10]. Consider, if only for an experiment, two interesting examples from the lines that frame the unit:

(171) Quid, modo cum **belli navalis** imagine Caesar
→ belli vana lis[11]

(176) Eheu, quam multos ad**vena torsit amor**!
→ venator sit amor[12]

As for the telestich *RATES*, an encoded allusion to it can be tracked, as stated above, at 175: "Quis non invenit turba, quod amaret, in illa?". The natural translation of this phrase is, "Who did not find someone to love in that crowd?". However, if attention is paid to the use of the depersonalising pronoun *quod* to describe the desired love object and the double meaning of the noun *turba* ('confusion' / 'crowd'), the phrase may be understood as indicative of the desired text search result: "Who did not find what he might like in that confusion [of letters]?"; the answer is contained in a**maret** (when read anagrammatically): *RATEM*[13].

The likely presence of anagram games in the passage under discussion encourages us to look at the supposed telestich from this point of view. Among the possibilities of a sensible rearrangement of the letters that make up *RATES* (e.g. *ARTES*, *SERTA*, *STARE*, *SERAT*, *TERAS*), the first combination deserves special

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resulting from the interpretation of the *Ars Amatoria* from such a point of view (with Augustus as the first anti-Augustan reader of the *Ars*) see Sergio Casali, *The Art of Making Oneself Hated: Rethinking the (Anti-) Augustanism in the Ars Amatoria*, in: R.K. Gibson, S. Green, A. Sharrock (eds.), *The Art of Love: Bimillennial Essays (Anti-)Augustanism in Ovid's Ars Amatoria and Remedia Amoris*, Oxford 2006, pp. 216–234.

[10] I am writing this with Alison Sharrock's (*Ovid and the Politics of Reading*, MD XXXIII 1994, pp. 97–122, at 98) *caveat* in mind: "[i]t should be stressed that all readings are appropriations and that in the end a *text* of itself cannot be either 'pro-' or 'anti-' 'Augustan', only readings can be".

[11] With an ironic overtone, "empty strife of war", as if it were a futile case in court.

[12] Or, alternatively, "Eheu, quam multos adv**ena torsit amor**!" → "en sator it amor". This reading (casually?) brings together two notable words from the edges of the famous Pompeian "magic squares": *SATOR* and *AMOR* which, when read backwards, give *ROTAS* and *ROMA*, respectively. Both these squares exhibit, *inter alia*, reversed gamma-telestichs. The combination of *ROTAS* and *RATES* would merit attention as paronomastic; the two words are composed of the same letters except one. Apart from that, the regular (though interrupted) retrograde sequence *ROMA ... ROTA* in the second half of the line may, epanaleptically, refer to the idea of *orbis in Urbe* at 174. – For the '*amans venator*' theme in the *Ars Amatoria*, compare I 45–50: "Scit bene venator, cervis ubi retia tendat, [...] Tu quoque, materiam longo qui quaeris amori,/ Ante frequens quo sit disce puella loco".

[13] The case of an anagrammatic link between *ratem* (synecdochically, *singularis pro plurali*) and *amaret* would be significant in itself.

attention. *ARTES* in the sense of special love tricks appears several times in the *Ars Amatoria*[14]. Here, the "anagram-capable" term *RATES* seems to denote not only material objects (ships), to which it verbally refers, but also, figuratively[15], an attractive opportunity to make love relationships, to be used as part of the strategy recommended by the poet.

Finally, a remark on the selection of the key nautical term. It is tempting to ask why Ovid entered the word *rates* in his telestich, and not simply *naves*. The question does not seem to be pointless, especially since in the *Ars Amatoria* the former term completely displaces the latter one (no occurrence), whereas in the *Remedia Amoris* the latter noun prevails in a ratio of 5:2. It is not enough to look for a metrical reason here (preference, typical for Roman elegists, to end the pentameter with an iambic word and the impossibility to put the spondaic word *naves* at the end of the pentameter) as *naves* could be easily placed at the end of the hexameter[16] and so the telestich just shifted one line up. The reason must have been different. I think that what was of importance was the transformability of the acrogram into its context-fitting anagrammatic variant[17]. It is largely due to such an interplay that it gains in probability.

APPENDIX: ACROGRAM

In what follows I propose to introduce a category higher than acrostic and telestich[18] that would include both of them within a system ranked by degree of generality. Addressing this problem is justified by the lack of consistency in the existing nomenclature. It seems obvious that the term 'acrostic(h)', of ancient origin[19], due

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[14] See *Ars Am.* I 265–266: "Nunc tibi, quae placuit, quas sit capienda per artes/ Dicere praecipuae molior artis opus"; I 435–436: "Non mihi, sacrilegas meretricum ut persequar artes,/ Cum totidem linguis sint satis ora decem"; II 17–18: "Magna paro, quas possit Amor remanere per artes,/ Dicere, tam vasto pervagus orbe puer"; 2.425: "Docta, quid ad magicas, Erato, deverteris artes?". Interestingly, B.P. Moore and A.D. Melville in their outstanding translation of the *Ars Amatoria* (*Ovid. The Love Poems*, Oxford 1990) use the term 'arts' in each of these places.

[15] For another Ovidian example of figurative thinking expressed in nautical terms, see *Rem. Am.* 487–488 (with a retrospective reference to *artes* serving as a periphrastic title of the *Ars Amatoria*): "Quaeris, ubi invenias? artes tu perlege nostras:/ Plena puellarum iam tibi navis erit".

[16] Cf. Ovid. *Met*. II 163: "utque labant curvae iusto sine pondere naves"; *Her*. 16, 111: "fundatura citas flectuntur robora naves"; 19, 183: "arte laboratae merguntur ab aequore naves".

[17] This criterion is met to a greater extent with *rates*/*artes* than with, e.g., *naves*/*venas*. For another anagrammatic interplay involving the noun *ratis* compare the telestichs *RATE ATER* (semantically correlated, overlapping, reversed) at I 720–724 that can be rendered as "sunburnt aboard the ship" (signposted by *nauta ... niger* at 723–724).

[18] As well as mesostic(h), another newly coined term denoting a meaningful series of letters running vertically along the centre of the consecutives lines.

[19] As for acrostics, the basic ancient term is ἡ ἀκροστιχίς; it is also an early term, attested already in the 1st century BCE, see Cicero *Div*. II 111: "Non esse autem illud carmen furentis cum ipsum poëma declarat (est enim magis artis et diligentiae quam incitationis et motus), tum vero ea,

to its etymology (ἄκρος ‘at the farthest point or end’, στίχος ‘verse’) should refer to words formed by the first *and* last letters of the lines concerned, i.e. words appearing along *any* edge of the relevant section of the text. However, in line with centuries-old usage, it is assigned only to their left edge[20]. Created, so to speak, out of necessity, as a counterbalance, the modern term ‘telestic(h)’[21] fills the naming gap and defines vertically readable words along the right-hand border of the text.

The term ‘acrogram’ proposed by me to denote a category superior to acro- and telestich has the advantage of better reflecting the scope of occurrence of the wordplay under discussion, and, additionally, includes the component *-gram* that defines it as a written message, that is, a specific type of text[22]. I suggest using it while discussing the edge lettering phenomenon in general, when sub-divisions are not taken into account. The existing terms acrostic(h) and telestic(h) obviously remain valid by virtue of their constant use in literary criticism. Alternatively, they may be replaced by such periphrastic phrases as acrostichic/telestichic acrograms, respectively.

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quae ἀκροστιχίς dicitur, cum deinceps ex primis <primi cuiusque> versus litteris aliquid conectitur, ut in quibusdam Ennianis: Q. Ennius fecit. Id certe magis est attenti animi quam furentis”; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. Rom*. IV 62, 6 (in the description of the Sibylline oracles on the Capitol, brought from different countries): ἐλέγχονται δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις ἀκροστιχίσι. The variant term: τὰ ἀκρόστιχα is much later and seems to define the acrostic as the sum of its components. At least, Gregory of Nazianzus in the 4th century CE contrasts the two terms according to such a rule, see *Carmina de se ipso* 14 where – in the extended descriptive title (*PG* XXXVII, pp. 1244, 9–1245, 3) – he uses the term ἀκροστιχίς, and then, giving directions on how to read it, writes: Ἀκροστίχοις πρόσελθε, καὶ γνώσῃ σαφῶς, “Follow the edges of the verses, and you will clearly recognise” (*scil*. the acrostic). This acrostic is, as usual, built into the left side of the text.

[20] Also, the alternative name to acrostic, παραστιχίς, emphasising the position of the vertically stacked letters παρά ‘beside’, ‘along’ [the lines], theoretically, could *iusto iure* refer to both ends of verse; nevertheless, like acrostic, it was associated by ancient authors only with its left edge. The most important confirmations of this (use of the) term can be found in Diogenes Laertius (V 93). See also Gellius (XIV 6, 4).

[21] Nowadays also called (by analogy with *acrostichis*/*akrostichon*) *telestichis*/*telestichon*. It is surprising that the ancient critics did not come up with an adequate term when the existing one (i.e. acrostic) was no longer appropriate due to its firm assignment to the left edge of the text. – The fact that Vergil placed the artfully signposted telestich *O-T-(ot)I-A* at *Georg*. IV 562–565 allows the inference that he counted on its decoding by readers (incidentally, this obvious case should now be a warning to those who, by definition, reject the existence of telestichs in ancient poetry). One wonders why even such an attentive reader of Vergil’s poems as Maurus Servius Honoratus makes no mention of that wordplay in his detailed comment *ad loc*. In modern times, Vergil’s telestich was only discovered in 1983 by Walter Schmidt (*Vergil-Probleme*, Göppingen 1983, p. 317).

[22] Cf. the same component in the *epigramma*, literally ‘inscription’.

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LUCAN'S USE OF CAESAR'S *COMMENTARII*: SOME REMARKS ON LUCAN. V 461–475 AND CAES. *BCIV.* III 18–19

by

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ABSTRACT: In scholarship on Lucan, more and more emphasis is being placed on the connection of his poem with Caesar's *Commentarii de bello civili*. It is argued that the *Civil War* remains in constant interaction with Caesar's text. This article aims to analyse one example of such interaction by undertaking a juxtaposition and a close reading of Lucan. V 461–475, the narrative about the two armies encamped on the river Apsus in Epirus, and Caes. *BCiv*. III 18–19. These two sections are firmly connected by common motifs that do not appear together elsewhere, a similar order of narrative episodes, and the strong commitment of the narrator. The first part of the article focuses on how Lucan debunks Caesar's propaganda and at the same time creates another one, expressed by his narrator. In the second part, an attempt is made to show that Lucan's text is more complex and that it includes other voices, which also undermine the epic narrator's fervent utterances.

In a dissertation from 1874, G. Baier stated that Livy's lost books (*Per*. 109–112) were Lucan's only source as far as historical events are concerned[1]. Also J.P. Postgate, in his commentary to Book VII from 1896, considered *Ab urbe condita* as Lucan's sole source and did not see any evidence in the book he commented for the poet's having made use of Asinius Pollio or Caesar[2]. The opinion put forward by Baier and Postgate was developed by R. Pichon in his book from 1912 which was entirely devoted to the problem of the poem's sources[3]. The thesis was recently revisited by J. Radicke in his extensive monograph on Lucan's poetic technique[4]. Contrary to Baier's opinion, however, Lucan could have used

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[1] Baier 1874: *passim* (conclusions: p. 46).

[2] Postgate 1896: XII f. He repeated it in the commentary to Book VIII: Postgate 1917: XI f.

[3] Pichon 1912: *passim*.

[4] Radicke 2004: esp. pp. 34–39. The scholar, adopting the view (shared by Baier 1874: 5) that Cassius Dio also largely relied on the *Ab urbe condita*, compares appropriate passages from the *Civil War* to those from Dio's *History of Rome.* However, the Severan historian did not have to rely on Livy after all – for example, Cremutius Cordus is identified as his source in the narrative about the conflict between Caesar and Pompey (e.g. Westall 2016: 148 f.); Dio, of course, could have used various texts simultaneously (see the remarks of Pelling 1982 and Kemezis 2016: 243 f.). Radicke (2004: 38) also explains the parallels between the poem and Caesar by referring to the character of Lucan's source – Livy.

many sources, including Caesar's *Commentarii de bello civili*[5]. E. Griset (1954), H. Haffter (1957), M. Rambaud (1955 and 1960) even concluded that Lucan's poem is a direct response to the *Commentarii de bello civili*[6]. The insights of the aforementioned scholars were developed most broadly by J. Masters in his influential book based on an earlier dissertation[7]. The view that Lucan's poem continuously interacts with Caesar's narrative was more recently supported by such scholars as A. Zissos and T.A. Joseph[8].

In this article, following the thesis that Lucan's poem is a response not only to Vergil's *Aeneid*, but also to the *Commentarii de bello civili,* I discuss a short passage from Book V, lines 461–475, and two chapters (18 and 19) from Caesar's Book III to show how Lucan works with Caesar's material[9]. At first glance, Lucan's text, while keeping and transforming the main motifs of the *Commentarii*, builds a narrative with the opposite overtone of propaganda and creates a narrator who clearly supports the other side in the war. The common motifs are also shaped in such a way that they become Lucan's recurring themes. The lines from Lucan's *Civil War*, however, are much more complex and multi-dimensional than Caesar's chapters. Apart from the narrator's voice, we also hear other, different voices in them.

The Lucan passage is placed immediately after the account of Caesar's crossing to Epirus, to the coast manned by Pompey's army, and on the landing at Palaestae: "Palaestinas uncis confixit harenas" (V 460). Generally speaking, they inform the audience that the leaders established their camps very close to each other. However, the fight does not yet start at this point. Neither do the leaders meet to begin the

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[5] A brief summary of the discussion: Lintott 1971: 488 f., n. 6.

[6] See also Lounsbury (1975), who, following Rambaud (1955 and 1960), shows that the episode on Domitius in Lucan's Book VII (599–616) is a re-telling of Crastinus' speech in Caesar (*BCiv.* III 91) "according to Pompeian terms" (p. 212). Interestingly, Postgate, in the introduction to his commentary on Lucan's Book VII (1896: XII), wrote: "if within the present book he made any use of the narrative of Caesar, it was certainly only for the purpose of contradicting it". But the author of the commentary did not go beyond the schematic thinking typical for *Quellenforschung* and did not consider constructing narrative in opposition to another narrative as the use of a source. Holliday (1969: 71–73) quotes Postgate and gives several examples which can attest that Lucan, after all, used Caesar in Book VII in the "traditional" way.

[7] Masters (1992: 216–259 [chap. 7]) also expanded Haffter's remarks on the fact that both Lucan's poem and Caesar's text end at almost the same point. He concluded that the poem, which ends abruptly at the fights in Egypt, is a finished work, but this opinion was met with criticism. Leigh (1993: 220) in his review of Masters' book writes: "M[asters] closes with a final chapter arguing that the *Pharsalia* is complete as it stands. This is simply self-indulgent and silly, and should not have been included".

[8] Zissos 2013; Joseph 2017a: 298–303 and 2017b. Writing about the ending of the poem, Zissos (pp. 148 f.) adopted a balanced position – Lucan quit his work at a moment similar to that when his (anti)model ended, but he most probably did not intend to finish the poem this way.

[9] The connection between these passages has been pointed out by Bachoffen (1972: 28), who carefully compares the texts of Caesar and Lucan, but does not discuss them.

peace talks. The lines constitute an introduction to the two longer episodes depicting Caesar and Pompey in the camps. Caesar, impatient with the tardiness of Mark Antony in Brundisium, first urges him, and then slips away from the camp at night and secretly attempts to cross the Adriatic Sea, but is stopped by a storm (476–702). But soon the much-awaited legions under Antony's command arrive from Italy (703–721). We are then transferred to Pompey's camp. Seeing the opponent's armies united, he feels forced to take up the fight and sends his wife Cornelia to Lesbos for safety (722 ff.). The book ends with Cornelia's departure (770 ff.). First we see Caesar's reaction to the tardiness of his commander, then Pompey's reaction to the fact that the troops have at last arrived from Brundisium.

Caesar's narrative on the events between the landing in Epirus and Antony's crossing with the rest of the army, which can be juxtaposed with Lucan. V 461–475, extends in Book III to a number of chapters (6–19) and is exceptionally detailed[10]. Lucan, however, is very brief. After depicting Caesar's landing in Epirus, he immediately goes on to the armies encamped opposite each other. The lines that interest us consist of the *ekphrasis* of the place where the opponents have set up their camps (461–467), a presentation of how the world reacts to the situation (until 472), and finally the apostrophe addressed to Pompey and predicting his death (472 ff.):

> prima duces iunctis vidit consistere castris
> tellus, quam volucer Genusus, quam mollior Hapsus
> circumeunt ripis. Hapso gestare carinas
> causa palus, leni quam fallens egerit unda;
> at Genusum nunc sole nives nunc imbre solutae
> praecipitant. neuter longo se gurgite lassat,
> sed minimum terrae vicino litore novit.
> hoc fortuna loco tantae duo nomina famae
> conposuit, miserique fuit spes inrita mundi
> posse duces parva campi statione diremptos
> admotum damnare nefas; nam cernere voltus
> et voces audire datur, multosque per annos
> dilectus tibi, Magne, socer post pignora tanta,
> sanguinis infausti subolem mortemque nepotum,
> te nisi Niliaca propius non vidit harena.
>
> (Lucan. V 461–475)

The leaders and their camps are physically close. During the blockade of Brundisium a year earlier (II 610 ff.) they were separated by walls; Pompey occupied the well-fortified city, whereas Caesar tried to block his exit through the seaport. Here – according to Caesar himself – they are separated only by a small river, the Apsus (*BCiv*. III 13, 5 f. and 19, 1). But Lucan removes even that barrier. The Apsus together with the nearby river Genusus surround only the

[10] For the events from Book III presented in the form of a chronological table, see Raaflaub, Ramsey 2017: 198–201 and 2018: 187–191.

area where the armies are stationed (this change will be discussed below). They are therefore free either to fight a battle or to try and reach an agreement. It is a key moment during the conflict, so the narrator and his commentary move to the foreground of the text. The *ekphrasis* itself, the description of the two very different rivers, is metaphorical and characterises the leaders, their personalities and their attitudes towards the war; it constitutes the continuation of the *synkrisis* from Book I (129–157), where Pompey, unaccustomed to war, seeking only approval, resembles a revered oak towering over other trees. This oak is, however, old, withering, and bound to fall with a stronger gust of wind (120–143), whereas Caesar is a lightning destroying everything in its path and striking even its own temples ("in sua templa furit", 155). The Genusus, which rushes down, swollen with snow and rain, depicts Caesar, while the Apsus, slow and calm, represents Pompey (similar images appear repeatedly in the poem, constituting its conceptual framework of sorts)[11]. Ships may sail it, which benefits the people, as opposed to the savage and destructive power of the neighbouring river. Lines 466–467, closing the *ekphrasis* and presenting the shortness of both rivers, once again emphasise how close the camps are to each other (and are continued in line 470: "duces iunctis vidit consistere castris" [461] ~ "minimum terrae vicino litore novit" [466] ~ "duces parva campi statione diremptos" [470]).

The following lines, 469–472, include a focalisation of the people of the world[12]. Its indicator is hope, *spes* (469). Everybody expected that the leaders, who can see and hear each other, would renounce the war and condemn *nefas*. The hope is described by the narrator as vain (*irrita*), and the world has the modifier *miser* attached. However, the *ekphrasis* immediately imposes an interpretation on the audience, suggesting who is responsible for the war and why those hopes were unfulfilled. The languid Apsus, carrying the ships, would probably be willing to fulfil the hopes of the world, but Caesar, the wild Genusus, destroys everything in his way. Moreover, the narrator goes beyond narration itself, using the apostrophe to openly point to the guilty party. The apostrophe is addressed to Pompey, but the main figure is Caesar. He is the person who is acting and the subject of *vidit* (475), which continues the *vidit* from the beginning (461). According to the narrator, Pompey focuses on the past and his feelings – he loved his father-in-law for so many years, and he, in spite of their strong and tragic family bonds (Julia died in childbirth, and the baby soon followed[13]), will only see him on the sands of the Nile. Caesar is depicted (not directly, but

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[11] On the Apsus and the Genusus, see Schönberger 1960: 87; Radicke 2004: 338 f. On the image of the leaders from the *synkrisis*, which permeates the entire poem, see e.g. Rosner-Siegel 1983.

[12] On the focalisation in V 469 ff., see Ludwig 2014: 119.

[13] Vell. Pat. II 47; Cass. Dio XL 44, 3. The sex of the baby is uncertain (Plut. *Pomp*. 53, 4: καὶ τεκοῦσα θῆλυ παιδίον; Cass. Dio XXXIX 64, 1: θυγάτριον; Vell. Pat. II 47 – *filius*; Suet. *Iul.* 26 – *nepos*). It was a second child of Pompey and Julia (Plut. *Pomp*. 53, 4: αὖθις μέντοι κυήσασα).

a contrario) as devoid of any familial feelings and striving only to settle matters with his son-in-law. The world watches the leaders, but according to the narrator's interpretation they do not see each other, because Caesar refuses to do so. Lucan's readers very well knew what that meeting would have looked like. In the narrative sense it is a prolepsis, a foretelling of the events portrayed in Book IX, where Caesar will be presented with his son-in-law's head (1010–1062)[14].

The apostrophe supplements the *ekphrasis* and the image of the leaders from lines 461–475 is continued in the two aforementioned episodes in the camps. The narrator, in a certain sense responding to the potential doubts of his audience, immediately explains what has been stopping Caesar from dealing with Pompey right away. He clearly accuses his father-in-law of a crime (*scelus*): "Caesaris attonitam miscenda ad proelia mentem/ ferre moras scelerum partes iussere relictae" (V 476–477)[15]. His thoughts were paralysed by his thirst for war, and he could not bear the delay caused by Antony. He pushed for the crime like the swollen Genusus rushing downstream. He even decided to attempt the risky crossing of the Adriatic in order to hasten the fight with his son-in-law. Pompey, on the other hand, delaying the battle, "poaching" fate's time ("blandaeque iuvat ventura trahentem/ indulgere morae et tempus subducere fatis", V 732–733), resembles the slow Apsus drawing its waters from a swamp. In the scene of the farewell to Cornelia, he is guided primarily by his feelings, this time for his second wife.

Let us look at the *Commentarii* and compare it with Lucan. Caesar crosses the Adriatic Sea and lands in the Ceraunian Mountains (*BCiv*. III 6, 1)[16]. He quickly starts working towards peace, first trying to negotiate with Pompey through Vibullius Rufus, a Pompeian prefect whom he meets after the crossing (III 10). Vibullius was chosen as a messenger because he was twice Caesar's prisoner of war and was twice released (at Corfinium and in Spain). When Pompey arrives at the shore and cuts off the opponent from Dyrrachium, Caesar pitches his camp by the river Apsus, where he intends to wait for the legions that remain in Italy, and then to spend the winter there. Pompey fixes himself on the other

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[14] Cf. V 473–474 with IX 1048–1049: "nunc mixti foedera tangunt/ te generis? nunc gnata iubet maerere neposque?"

[15] *Scelus* is also Pompey's death: "fidem vidit sceleris", IX 1037; "huncine tu, Caesar, scelerato Marte petisti/ qui tibi flendus erat?", IX 1047–1048.

[16] He came to Palaeste: "ad eum locum, qui appellabatur Palaeste" (III 6, 3); in Lucan we have: "Palaestinas [...] harenas" and this name does not appear anywhere else in the narratives on the civil war. However, we should bear in mind that *Palaeste* is a conjecture introduced to the *Commentarii* by Glandorpius on the basis of Lucan's text to replace *Pharsalia*, which is attested in all the manuscripts. However, a testimony stating that *Palaeste* appeared in one of the manuscripts exists, see: *C. Julii Caesaris Opera omnia ex editione Oberliniana cum notis et interpretatione in usum Delphini, variis lectionibus, notis variorum, J. Celsi commentariis &c. &c., recensu editionum et codicum et indice locupletissimo accurate recensita*, vol. 4, Londini 1819, p. 1447: "Paullus Marsus testatur se in Ms. Chalcidensi reperisse *qui appellatur Palaeste*."

shore (III 13, 5–6). Caesar continuously tries to negotiate. He starts talking to Bibulus (the main commander of the Pompeian fleet) and Libon, who just wants to gain some time (III 15–17). As has already been said, chapters 18 and 19 (whose action takes place among the soldiers by the river Apsus) are crucial here. Part one of Lucan's passage V 461–467 – the leaders' profiles in the form of the metaphorical *ekphrasis* – correspond to the ending of chapter 18 and to the beginning of chapter 19, parts two and three – the men's wishes resulting from the fact that the camps are located next to each other and the prediction (in the form of the apostrophe) of the continuation of the war and Pompey's beheading – to the next chapter.

Chapter 18 is a summary of Caesar's efforts to broker peace, which he undertook after his arrival in Epirus. In this chapter, when the situation has calmed down a little ("sedato tumultu, quem repentinus adventus Caesaris concitaverat", III 18, 3) Vibullius finally finds an opportunity to fulfil his mission. He chooses three helpers whom Pompey used to consult – Libon is among them, which does not bode well. Pompey interrupts after the first few words, forbidding the messenger to speak further, and concludes: "Quid mihi, inquit, aut vita aut civitate opus est, quam beneficio Caesaris habere videbor? cuius rei opinio tolli non poterit, cum in Italiam, ex qua profectus sum, reductus existimabor bello perfecto" (III 18, 4). Vibullius himself owed his life and freedom to the *beneficium Caesaris*, but Pompey does not want to make it seem that he, too, is alive thanks to the good will of his enemy. Caesar, of course, could not have known what had happened in Pompey's camp, but he says he learned about the events from the people present during the conversation (maybe from Vibullius) and, more importantly, he adds that in spite of all this he nevertheless tried to work towards peace in other way – through peace talks (see below): "conatus tamen nihilo minus est aliis rationibus per colloquia de pace agere" (III 19, 6).

In the *Commentarii*, as in Lucan's *ekphrasis*, we have a juxtaposition of the two generals, their characters and their approaches towards the war – the violent, rabid Pompey, who does not even want to listen to the end of Vibullius' message, and to whom defeating his rival is all that matters, and the patient Caesar, who is still, in spite of numerous obstacles, trying to work towards peace and who starts thinking about war and preparing for it only when he has no other option left (after unsuccessful negotiations with Libon: "Quem ubi Caesar intellexit [...] ullam spem aut condicionem pacis afferre, ad reliquam cogitationem belli sese recepit", III 17, 6). In this way Caesar unambiguously makes Pompey guilty of the escalation of the conflict even before initiating actual warfare. Lucan's metaphorical description is therefore a reversal (at least at first glance) of these characteristics. Caesar's portrayal in the poem resembles the image of Pompey in the *Commentarii.* In addition, Lucan's Pompey also takes action when his opponent forces him to do so. At the end of Lucan's Book V, after Antony's arrival, he sends his beloved wife away from the camp to Lesbos for safety, recognising

that the clash is inevitable ("summa videns duri Magnus discrimina Martis/ iam castris instare suis", Lucan. V 723–724).

In the basic sense, Lucan's *ekphrasis* still indicates that the camps are located close to each other in the vicinity of the Apsus and Genusus rivers. The lines therefore correspond directly to the beginning of Caesar's chapter 19, which starts with the reiteration of the information that the camps are only separated by the river Apsus. "Inter bina castra Pompei atque Caesaris unum flumen tantum intererat Apsus crebraque inter se colloquia milites habebant" (*BCiv*. III 19, 1). Lucan manipulates the facts by adding another river and giving his lines a metaphorical dimension, because he wants to include in them his response to the end of Caesar's previous chapter. In Cassius Dio and Appian, the troops are separated by the river Apsus and Alor respectively (Cass. Dio XLI 47, 1; App. *BCiv*. II 56[17]), but the separating function of this natural barrier is more accentuated (cf. App. *BCiv*. II 58 and Cass. Dio XLI 47, 2–3). Besides, both historians do not mention any soldiers hoping for peace or trying to talk to each other. Quite the contrary, since according to Appian some skirmishes took place by the river (*BCiv.* II 56). The motif of negotiations among soldiers is also absent from the shorter texts of Velleius Paterculus and Florus as well as Plutarch's biographies of Caesar and Pompey[18].

The proximity of the armies, which is underlined at the beginning of Caesar's chapter 19, allowed the soldiers to converse with each other (*colloquia*). During those talks no missile was shot because of the pact between the two sides ("per pactiones loquentium"). The previous chapter ended with a general statement on Caesar's actions towards peace *per colloquia*. We immediately know that the author of the *Commentarii* will try to make use of those conversations (in Lucan, thanks to the *ekphrasis*, the audience knows why the talks did not take place). He does not get involved in an evident way, but sends his legate Vatinius to canvass for peace – the troops listened to his words in silence (III 19, 3), which naturally emphasises their wish to stop the war. Aulus Varro answers him and the parties decide to meet the next day in order to agree how to guarantee the messengers' safety. Great crowds from both camps gather, demanding peace: "Quo cum esset postero die ventum, magna utrimque multitudo convenit, magnaque erat exspectatio eius rei, atque omnium animi intenti esse ad pacem videbantur" (III 19, 5). The tone of that sentence is strengthened by the anaphora *magna ... magnaque* supplemented with the adjective *omnium*. Pompey's reaction at the end of the

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[17] The name of the river may be Appian's negligence or an error already present in his source or perhaps a scribe's mistake; on Appian's errors in the narrative on the civil wars, see Stevenson 2015: 264–266.

[18] The text by Velleius Paterculus is very brief (II 51). After Caesar lands in Epirus, we almost immediately move to the events at Dyrrachium (51, 2): "primo paene castris Pompei sua iungeret, mox etiam obsidione munimentisque eum complecteretur". We can assume that the first part of the quote refers to the camps by the river Apsus; see Woodman 1983: *ad loc*.

previous chapter allows us to guess at this point just how those talks are going to end. In Lucan's V 468–472[19], however, we do not have troops who are talking to each other, but the whole world watching the leaders who could see and hear each other, and hoping for peace. Caesar's "magnaque erat exspectatio" and "omnium animi intenti esse ad pacem" turn into *spes inrita mundi*. The soldiers on the river are active, they try to negotiate with each other, so they can expect (*exspectatio*) to influence their leaders, even force peace on them. The whole world can only watch passively and have empty wishes, hopes (*spes*). The transition from soldiers to the whole world is an extension typical for Lucan, consistent with the first words of the poem: "Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos...". A civil war is a global conflict, it involves everyone, and nobody can escape from it (which is illustrated by Appius' history recounted at the beginning of Book V – lines 67 ff.); it is *mundi ruina* (II 253; IV 393; V 637; X 150). Lucan starts the *ekphrasis* with the Earth and flowing rivers which first saw the leaders garrison next to each other (*tellus – vidit*); from this anthropomorphised Earth we move to the world of men – the rivers become leaders, *tellus* transforms into the entire human world (and so into the soldiers as well) which watches the leaders (for *spectaculum* see below).

In Caesar's chapter 19, the leaders are not officially present by the river, but Caesar acts in the background through Vatinius. Pompey, on the other hand, hides behind his commander of the cavalry, Titus Labienus. When the peace talks begin, Labienus steps out of the crowd of the Pompeians (although we would rather expect the aforementioned Aulus Varro to do so) and starts arguing with Vatinius: "summissa oratione loqui de pace atque altercari cum Vatinio incipit" (III 19, 6)[20]. Pompey's officer, who has previously been in Caesar's army, plays the villain in the C*ommentarii*. In Book III he first appears in chapter 13. When Pompey was quickly heading towards the coast, his march might have seemed like a retreat. When he finally stops in order to put up a camp (by the river Apsus), his men are terrified. Then Labienus steps out and swears that he will not desert him, no matter what fortune may bring, setting an example to others: "iuratque se eum non deserturum eundemque casum subiturum, quemcumque ei fortuna tribuisset" (III 13, 3). Now he appears for a second time and can be perceived as Pompey's messenger due to his fanatical devotion to the new commander (his behaviour corresponds to Pompey's words from the previous

[19] Vitelli (1902: 410) pointed out that it is an allusion to the talks between the Pompeians and the Caesareans, but in his study he opted for Livy's tradition; he even considered the description of the rivers Apsus and Genusus to have been drawn from Livy: "La descrizione dei due fiumi [...] deriva senza dubbio da Livio. Nei vv. 469–71 [...] è verisimilmente un'allusione alle trattative di pace, annodate in quest'occasione appunto fra Cesariani e Pompeiani, e andate a vuoto: cfr. Ces. III, 19".

[20] The phrase *summissa oratione* is debatable; for a discussion on the proposed corrections, see Damon 2015: 244 f.

chapter)[21]. We witness the confrontation of the leaders, but only through intermediaries. Lucan, transforming Caesar's text, accentuates that lack of a direct meeting – here, the leaders, not the troops, are in the foreground, but in spite of everyone's hopes, they do not face each other. Besides, whereas Caesar in the *Commentarii* portrays himself as a *spiritus movens* of the negotiations and *de facto* the most important figure, Lucan assigns a prominent place to Pompey and his feelings – it is him that the narrator addresses in the apostrophe.

When Labienus starts arguing with Vatinius, missiles suddenly start being fired "from everywhere" – "mediam orationem interrumpunt subito undique tela immissa" (III 19, 7). *Undique* is to be understood as from everywhere on the Pompeian side, as only Caesar's soldiers and his centurions are wounded. Labienus' outburst closes the chapter and ends the peace talks – peace will come when Caesar's head is brought to them: "desinite ergo de compositione loqui; nam nobis nisi Caesaris capite relato pax esse nulla potest" (*Civ*. III 19, 8). Chapters 18 and 19 parallel each other to a certain extent. In both chapters Caesar exploits the situation to negotiate peace, in both the talks are abruptly terminated, both end with statements quoted in direct discourse – the first statement is by Pompey, the second by his legate; it may even be said that these two enunciations complement each other: that by Labienus follows up, in a way, on his leader's speech and expresses what was left unspoken there. The pronoun *nobis* is also worth noting: Labienus, representing the leader, speaks for all the Pompeians, ignoring the wishes of the troops crowded by the river. In this way Pompey's image is further worsened – he becomes almost a tyrant, imposing his will on others. Vatinius, campaigning for peace, asks if citizens are not allowed to send delegations to citizens and lists fugitives and bandits, who can send their messengers, as examples: "liceretne civibus ad cives legatos mittere, quod etiam fugitivis ab saltu Pyrenaeo praedonibusque licuisset" (III 19, 2). These words (in reported speech) concern Pompey in a veiled way and should be read in the context of his very negative reaction to Caesar's own proposals that Vibulius tried to present. The fugitives are most probably the remnants of Sertorius' army, the bandits – Cilician pirates. Pompey defeated them and received messengers from them (they were resettled)[22]. Once he was able to talk to the enemies of Rome, but now, with Labienus' help, he does not allow the citizens (*cives*) to come to him for peaceful negotiations. Therefore he treats them in a worse way than

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[21] He later appears in chapter 71, after the battle of Dyrrachium, and kills the prisoners of war whom Pompey has passed on to him ("quo maior perfugae fides haberetur", III 71, 4); he also makes a speech before the battle of Pharsalus, undermining the strength of Caesar's armies (III 87). For Labienus in the *Commentarii* see Batstone, Damon 2006: 106–109; Peer 2015: 32 f. (Labienus in Book I), 145–147 (in Book III).

[22] Carter 1993: *ad loc*.; on the pirates' legation and their resettlement – Plut. *Pomp*. 28; on the Sertorians' delegation – Plut. *Sert*. 27, 1; the Sertorians' resettlement: Hier. *Adv. Vigil*. 4 Migne; discussion: Pina Polo 2009: 283–286.

enemies, aliens or outcasts. The roles of good and evil are reversed in the poem, the apostrophe is a response both to the speech put into the mouth of Labienus, ending the chapter in Caesar, and to the words attributed to Vatinius, where accusations are levelled against Pompey as an opponent of negotiations. Directing his attention to the leaders themselves, Lucan evokes one of the key motifs of his poem (introduced in the proem: "cognatasque acies", I 4): the civil war is not only a struggle of citizens against citizens, but also a war within a family. Caesar's Pompey is supposed to act against his fellow citizens, while Lucan's Caesar even acts against someone with whom he was bound by family ties. The apostrophe V 472–475 recalls the past too (as Vatinius does in chapter 19). Pompey's love for his father-in-law lasted for many years, but it seems that Caesar never had any good feelings for his son-in-law. In the *Commentarii*, Pompey used to do the right thing; in the poem, on the other hand, no image is evoked of Caesar behaving in a good way in the past.

Both the lines by Lucan under discussion and chapter 19 end by foretelling the only way the fight between the leaders will finish – when the loser's head is brought to the winner. It must be emphasised that there is no similar motif in any other narrative of the military operations on the Epirotic coast in 48 BC. The readers of the *Commentarii* were quite familiar with history, and Labienus' necessary condition of peace, which epitomises the cruelty of the Pompeians, could have been full of tragic irony: in Caesar's interpretation, it was precisely his insane desire to be first in Rome and his hatred towards the enemy that led Pompey to be beheaded by his petty client king. Interestingly, Caesar only here obliquely tells the reader about the sole "face-to-face" encounter with his rival during this war. Pompey, whose mouthpiece at the moment is Labienus, bears the blame for this horrible meeting. Caesar did not mention the events at Pelusium in detail. The treacherous murder of the great Roman general is depicted briefly: "naviculam parvulam conscendit cum paucis suis; ibi ab Achilla et Septimio interficitur" (III 104, 3)[23]. Recounting his arrival in Alexandria, he only writes that he learned there about the death of Pompey: "Alexandriae de Pompei morte cognoscit..." (III 106, 4). That is all. Then he focuses on the crowd of Egyptian soldiers who were hostile towards him, because the *fasces* offended the king. The head of his enemy is an important motif in our other sources. In Cassius Dio, when Caesar arrives in Alexandria, he finds the people upset over Pompey's death. He is shown the head and the ring of the murdered one before he disembarks. Only

[23] The variations in depicting Pompey's death in different sources are discussed by Bell, Jr. 1994; on Caesar's version: "We should not be surprised at this brevity. It is in keeping with Caesar's nature and was expedient for someone who was trying to unite the Roman world behind himself. There was no need to dwell on this unpleasant incident and thus inflame the passions of those still loyal to Pompey" (p. 831). See also, in the context of Caesar's style and in comparison to Appian's extensive narrative, the remarks of Batstone, Damon 2006: 27 f. ("Caesar's account [...] is effective").

then does he bravely (θαρσούντως) land on the shore. Because the *fasces* incite hostility, he must find refuge in a palace (XLII 7, 2–3). According to Appian, he did not want to see the head that was brought to him, and ordered it to be buried (*BCiv*. II 90; 86 – Pompey's murder); similarly in Plutarch (*Caes*. 48; *Pomp*. 80, 5) he turns away at the sight of the head, and when they bring him the signet ring, his eyes well up with tears[24]. In lines V 472–475, Lucan foreshadows this very event, which will be recounted in Book IX, and simultaneously engages in intertextual play with the *Commentarii*, accusing Caesar of what the Pompeians were accused of. Pompey's father-in-law himself led to the decapitation of his daughter's husband and did not even mention it. In Book IX, Caesar first watches and makes sure the crime has been committed, and only then starts acting like a good father-in-law (Pompey was a good son-in-law in V 472–473), he turns his eyes away and sheds false tears: "non primo Caesar damnavit munera visu/ avertitque oculos; voltus, dum crederet, haesit;/ utque fidem vidit sceleris tutumque putavit/ iam bonus esse socer, lacrimas non sponte cadentis/ effudit...", IX 1035–1039). The apostrophe from Book V finds its continuation in the apostrophes from Book IX: 1043–1046, addressed to Pompey, and 1047–1062, addressed to Caesar; in the second apostrophe family connections again are referred to: "nunc mixti foedera tangunt/ te generis? nunc gnata iubet maerere neposque?" (1048–1049). In book V, the narrator tells Caesar about of his son-in-law's feelings and suggests that the addressee is devoid of love for his daughter's husband; in Book IX, the victor, who pursued Pompey with wicked warfare and watched the battlefield of Pharsalus with dry eyes, is openly accused of the lack of *pietas* ("quisquis te flere coegit/ impetus, a uera longe pietate recessit", 1055–1056). Interestingly, when Caesar, after seeing the head of his son-in-law, finally gains confidence and begins to speak, Lucan, in the voice of the narrator, describes his words as fraudulent and deceptive: "nec non his fallere vocibus audet/ adquiritque fidem simulati fronte doloris" (1162–1163). So in the passage that directly responds to Caesar's text the audience of the *Civil War* is referred to the scene in which Caesar is depicted as "an artful deceiver"[25]. Lucan thus appears to undermine Caesar's credibility as the narrator of the *Commentarii* who poses as a great defender of peace.

The motifs that are common to the *Commentarii* and their similar arrangement (armies located next to each other, opportunity for the warring parties to hold talks, hopes for peace that get ruined by one of the leaders who only wants to defeat his adversary, the prediction of the beheading as the only way to end the conflict) clearly indicate that Lucan constructed his lines whilst having Caesar's

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[24] Flor. II 13, 55: "Ptolemaeus [...] foedus amicitiae cum Caesare medio Pompei capite sanxisset"; Velleius Paterculus is silent about the dreary encounter of the generals in Alexandia, but he devotes a lot of space to Pompey's death itself (II 53–54).

[25] The phrase is that of Tracy 2014: 141.

work before him[26]. The most important thing that brings Lucan's and Caesar's texts together is undoubtedly the bias and the subjectivity of the message – the contrasting portrayals of the leaders and the opposed engagement of the narrator. Caesar portrays himself as benevolent, sparing his enemies, bestowing benefits, striving for peace and reconciliation right after landing in Epirus. He is quick to present a negative image of the Pompeians as a whole, as well as of Pompey himself. The untrustworthy Libon and Bibulus are shown in a particularly bad light. The latter is also characterised by his extraordinary cruelty[27]. In chapter 8 of Book III, not only had he already burn a part of the ships sent to Italy by Caesar, together with their owners and sailors, but he even went as far as condemning to death Pompey's civil allies, the passengers on the ship which sailed from Brundisium to Oricum: citizens and slaves, including minor boys (III 14, 3)[28]. Vibullius, who does not rush to speak to Pompey, is not a particularly positive character either[29]. Finally, Pompey himself and his officer Labienus, his *alter ego* in chapter 19 – they are impulsive and fierce, wanting only war and defeating the enemy. Such extreme polarisation of the leaders and their goals is also present in Lucan V 461–475, in the narrator's voice, and is later developed in the scenes taking place in the camp. In the texts by Appian, Dio, and even Florus, the leaders are not contrasted in such an extreme way, and their approach to the conflict itself is similar[30]. There is no separation into a leader who pushes for

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[26] This does not mean, naturally, that the poet did not reach for some other sources. Quite the contrary, he might have and probably did use narratives that were critical to Caesar or sympathetic to Pompey, like probably Livy (Hayne [1990: 442] finishes her article on Pompey's portrayal in Livy with: "Livy, it seems, deserved his epithet Pompeian"). Caesar himself does not mention the attempt to secretly cross the Adriatic to Brundisium. However, the story was widely popular (Val. Max. IX 8, 2; Plut. *Caes*. 38; Suet. *Iul*. 58; Florus II 13, 37; Appian *BCiv*. II 56–58; Cass. Dio XLI 46). All these passages are compared by Matthews 2008: 307–314 (Appendix I). According to her, Lucan probably relied on Livy (p. 307). Westall (2018: 201) believes that the story might have been created by the biased, anti-Caesarian T. Ampius Balbus (his bias can be seen in a passage from Suet. *Iul*. 77 = *FRHist* 34, F1).

[27] For the Pompeians and their cruelty in Caesar's *Civil War*, see e.g. Batstone, Damon 2006: *passim*; Osgood 2019: 147–150. The Pompeians as barbarians: Grillo 2012: 106–130 (chapter "The Barbarization of the Enemy"); Johnston 2017: 91 f.

[28] Carter 1993: 156 (ad 14, 3) doubts the veracity of the event. For Bibulus in Book III of the *Commentarii de bello civili*, see Peer 2015: 144.

[29] The character and his mission is analysed in terms of irony by Grillo 2012: 28–32 ("Caesar's irony targets the whole characterization of Vibullius, disguising the significance of his actions", p. 31).

[30] Nevertheless, Florus' narrative on the conflicts between Caesar and Pompey shares a number of common elements with Lucan. Those similarities allow for two interpretations: (1) they are perceived as Florus' borrowings from Lucan, see e.g. Jahn 1852: XLVII f.; Westerburg 1882; Cumpfe 1884; recently e.g. Radicke 2004: 20–22 (although he considers Livy as Lucan's sole historical source, he points out that some of Florus' mistakes result from using Lucan's text: "die sachlichen Fehler des Florus, die aus der Benutzung Lucans entstanden zu sein scheinen", p. 20); Leigh 2007: 492; (2) they prove, among other evidence, that Lucan based his work mainly on *Ab*

war at all costs and the other who must yield, hesitantly, to the former's will and actions. In Appian, both leaders are hampered by the condition of their armies (*BCiv*. II 56). Pompey, however, intending to face Caesar before his reinforcements arrive, stood in battle formation, but the two of his men who were looking for the best ford were killed by a single Caesarian soldier. Interpreting that as an ominous sign, he retreated (58). In Cassius Dio, Caesar, after arriving at Apsus, led his troops into battle, but because his adversary's forces outnumbered his own, he stopped the march. Trying to avoid suspicions that he had done so out of fear and not wanting to be accused of having made the first move towards war, he started making offers of peace and refrained from further action (XLI 47, 2). Then Pompey, refusing to believe the offers of peace (γνοὺς δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος 47, 3), moved his army and tried to cross the river, but the bridge collapsed and the soldiers who had crossed were killed. Discouraged, he gave up (we can see here a certain resemblance to Appian). In Florus' *Epitome* II 13, 35–42 (the leaders' actions in Epirus), Caesar is savage ("pro natura ferox", 38), trying to end the war as soon as possible, but Pompey is stalling ("nectere moras", 42), wanting to weaken him and curb his fervour. The actions of the leaders are a tactic aimed at defeating their adversary (38: "diversa erant ducum consilia" ~ 43: "Nec diutius profuit ducis [*scil.* Pompey's] salutare consilium"). In Lucan's Book V, Pompey's delay ("indulgere morae", V 733; cf. "nectere moras" in Florus) is not a plan to win the war, but a character trait. The picture is slightly different in Plutarch's *Life of Pompey* (Epirus: 65) – here it is Pompey who pushes for conflict and becomes more and more ambitious and more thirsty for glory and power, while Caesar strives for peace[31]. After the crossing, he immediately sends one "Jubius" (which is corrected to Vibullius[32]), his prisoner of war and Pompey's friend, with a peace mission (in the *Commentarii*, Vibullius is not Caesar's prisoner at that moment, but he previously has been). Pompey considers this a trick and initiates action. If we adopt Pelling's view that Plutarch used Asinius Pollio's historical work[33], we could assume that Lucan constructs his narrative simply in opposition to him or to a widely defined pro-Caesarian historiography, and did not have to reach for the *Commentarii de bello civili*. However, one should bear in mind that Caesar's portrayal is slightly different in

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urbe condita, see Baier 1874: 3–5; Postgate 1896: XIII, n. 4; Pichon 1912: 69–81 (polemic with Westerburg's article). Postgate (1917: XXIV) states in the introduction to the commentary on Book VIII: "Much of the difficulty concerning the relation of Florus' narrative to Lucan's would be removed by the assumption, to which there is no evident objection, that the *epitomator* of Livy made use of *Lucan* and that *Florus* used the *Epitome*" (original italics).

[31] See de Wet 1981: 129.

[32] E.g. Perrin 1917: 284, n. 1: "Οὐιβούλλιον after Caesar, Bell. Civ. iii. 10: Ἰούβιον".

[33] Pelling 1979: 83–91; 2011: 44–47; naturally, Plutarch also reached for other sources, especially biographical ones. According to Westall (2018: 201–203), this might have been Livy for both biographies.

his biography. He is portrayed as an active character (Epirus: Plut. *Caes*. 37–38). It is possible, though, that Plutarch reached for the same sources while writing both *Lives*, but he puts the emphasis in different places, according to the requirements and objectives of the given biography[34]. Nevertheless, there are several other premises (mentioned above) which allow us to state that Lucan reacts directly to the text of Julius Caesar.

The similarities should not obscure the differences. The distinct characteristic of Lucan's text is the extensive multiplicity of voices. Only at first glance does it seem to be unambiguous and opposed to Caesar's narration. The interpretation largely depends on what we accentuate and what we omit. In the middle of the passage an intersubjective voice of the world has been placed (469–472). It judges the opponents in a similar way – they both commit *nefas*, which they might have condemned if they had only faced each other ("damnare nefas", 471). The contrary voices of the narrator of the poem and the narrator of the *Commentarii* (introduced by the intertextual play) try to fight that outlook. Another voice is provided by internal self-references.

In the *Commentarii*, the narrator shares the wishes of the troops gathered by the river and Pompey's ambitions are to blame, but the voice of the world in Lucan provokes the question as to whether Caesar really did everything he could to stop the war. The introduction of the leaders themselves instead of the soldiers emphasises the role of the generals' personal meeting and constitutes criticism of the naive propaganda. Caesar's efforts by the Apsus are interpreted as either feigned (the offers of peace are interpreted as such by Cassius Dio) or insignificant. The soldiers' negotiations, even if inspired by one of the adversaries, do not have any real meaning as the troops do not decide about peace. Vatinius admittedly invokes Pompey's treatment of the rebels' and pirates' messengers, which implies that he should allow citizens to send delegations to their fellow citizens on the other side; Pompey, however, is not leading the war against the citizens in the strict sense of the word (a perception Caesar tries to push) and such delegations would not come to him with an offer of surrender and submission. As much as Caesar might have tried to act through Vibullius at the beginning or negotiate with Libon about sending emissaries safely, then later, if the camps were located close to each other for some time and the soldiers on both sides could talk to each other, did he not have any other way to reach out to his former son-in-law himself to talk to him in person? The whole world was hoping that it was possible. Unfortunately, the view of the world in Lucan is a double-edged sword, and it strikes Pompey in a similar way. The narrator attempts to fight that view, first in the metaphorical *ekphrasis* and then openly in the apostrophe. Thus he acts just like Caesar does as the narrator of the *Commentarii* and tries to blame the war on his opponent, to whose will the loving son-in-law must

[34] See esp. the remarks on the Roman lives by Pelling (1979 and 1980).

yield. But the doubts raised by the world's voice remain. The epic narrator does not explain what Pompey himself did in order to end the war.

Lucan's *ekphrasis* also introduces a semantically important motif of *spectaculum*. The commanders set up their camps between the rivers Apsus and Genusus (in Caesar, Appian and Cassius Dio there is just one river which separates the camps). Not only do those two rivers characterise the leaders, but they also create an arena ("tellus, quam [...] circumeunt ripis", V 462–463). Its small size is accentuated – the rivers are short, flowing through a relatively small area (466–467). The first line of the passage already features the verb *videre* (*vidit*, V 461). That land, bordered by the rivers, became the arena and was the first to see a pair of gladiators brought together by fortune: "fortuna [...] composuit", 468 f.[35] (the gladiatorial metaphor appears again at the beginning of the next book: "parque suum videre dei", VI 3[36]). The whole world becomes the audience. But instead of typical gladiatorial combat, we witness a peculiar, almost absurd scene. The audience wishes the fighters to take a look at each other and end their confrontation. They refuse. It seems obvious that opponents who are in close proximity would glance at each other, but in this strange fight where the gladiators are bound by familial ties, it may be tantamount to ending their clash. The combat will therefore be finished in another arena. The verb *videre* together with the noun *arena* closes the passage: "te nisi Niliaca propius non vidit harena" (V 475)[37]. Only on the sands of the Nile will the victor look at the one he defeated. On the one hand, the narrator suddenly becomes a member of the audience in the amphitheatre (together with the readers, those living after the civil wars) as we move from the past tense – *vidit*, *composuit*, *fuit* – to the "present" of the address to Pompey. On the other hand, he already possesses knowledge which the audience in the text does not have (but that knowledge does not mean we can trust his assessment of the situation). The motif of *spectaculum* demonstrates the helplessness of the world, including the soldiers from Caesar's text, the narrator and the audience of the poem – by the river Apsus all are merely the audience of the spectacle arranged by Fortuna.

It is worth stopping once more by the river Genusus, introduced in the *ekphrasis*. To sum up what has already been said, the Apsus (Seman) and the Genusus (Shkumbin) do surround the area of the first operations in Epirus in

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[35] The verb *componere* is often used in the context of gladiatorial combats; see *ThLL*, vol. III, s.v., col. 2112, ll. 24 ff.: "speciatim de pugnantibus i. q. opponere (proprie de gladiatoribus, hinc translate de aliis...)". Lucan V 469 is quoted in lines 31 f.

[36] For *par* as a pair of gladiators, see *ThLL*, vol. X, s.v., col. 271, ll. 32 ff.

[37] Earlier, at the end of Book II, when Pompey departs from Italy, Pharian sands are mentioned: "Phariae busto damnantur harenae" (733). Leigh has devoted an entire book to the motif of *spectaculum* in Lucan (Leigh 1997). However, he does not discuss V 461 ff., where the audience does not really enjoy the spectacle (on Lucan's amphitheatrical audience and its *voluptas*, see pp. 283–288).

a way. Listing them together gives the *ekphrasis* additional meaning, linking it to the human reality, the main rivals; at the same time it creates the arena for the spectacle. The commanders, the gladiators, are not separated by anything, which only emphasises the meaning of the passage – if the camps are located closer than in reality ("iunctis [...] castris" is a manipulation), it would be even easier for them to glance at each other. The rivers are also an element of the system of internal self-references (see below), but not everything. What is more, the introduction of the Genusus next to the Apsus probably constitutes part of the intertextual play with the propaganda of the *Commentarii*. In the surviving texts about the civil war, that river is mentioned by Caesar himself and later by Cassius Dio – in both the name appears after the battle of Dyrrachium. The similarities end here. The Greek historian writes that after his victory Pompey did not pursue Caesar as he fled to Thessaly, but retreated from the city and crossed the Genusus, believing he had finished the war (XLI 51, 1). The name is never mentioned later. The situation in the *Commentarii* is entirely different: Caesar retreats from Dyrrachium and Pompey follows him; a skirmish between the Pompeian cavalry and Caesar's rearguard takes place by the aforementioned river ("quod ripis erat inpeditis"; III 75, 4). Next, Caesar crosses the river and settles in his former camp opposite Asparagium (III 76, 1). Pompey's armies also occupy their former camp at Asparagium (III 76, 2). The opponents encamped by that city located on the river Genusus after Antony's arrival and once the armies moved away from the Apsus (III 30, 7; III 41, 1). Mentioning the Genusus may mean that while recounting the episode by the Apsus Lucan simultaneously reminds us about the other location, where the camps were close to each other for a second time and were not even separated by the river[38]. There Caesar stood for battle, which Pompey did not accept:

> Caesar postquam Pompeium ad Asparagium esse cognovit, [...] tertio die ad Pompeium pervenit iuxtaque eum castra posuit et postridie eductis omnibus copiis acie instructa decernendi potestatem Pompeio fecit. ubi illum suis locis se tenere animum advertit, reducto in castra exercitu aliud sibi consilium capiendum existimavit.
> (III 41, 1–2)

[38] To some extent Lucan also combines the two episodes in order to contrast the leaders more clearly, omitting the unnecessary manoeuvres of the armies. Whereas Caesar's attempt at a nocturnal crossing to Brundisium took place when the camps were set up by the Apsus, the farewell with Cornelia (probably Lucan's invention) should have happened by Asparagium on the river Genusus – because Antony had already joined Caesar's armies, which the following line seems to indicate: "undique conlatis in robur Caesaris armis/ summa videns...", V 722–723). However, the first lines of the next book suggest a change of location ("Postquam castra duces pugnae iam mente propinquis/ inposuere iugis", VI 1–2); Caesar tries to lure Pompey out of the camp in order to fight a battle – so we are near Asparagium, but this name it is not mentioned. Caesar writes that he left the camp once (III 41, 1), in Lucan – three times (VI 8–9), which is of course an exaggeration. Next the armies move towards Dyrrachium.

Caesar's actions differ from what he had been doing in the past; he is no longer interested in making peace, but now he has the entire army. In his message to his rival, entrusted to Vibullius, Caesar portrayed himself and Pompey as equals, assuming that it was the right time to make peace – it will not be possible once either of them gains an advantage ("pares ambo viderentur, si vero alteri paulum modo tribuisset fortuna, non esse usurum condicionibus pacis eum, qui superior videretur", III 10, 7). To prove that equality, he enumerates only the defeats they both have suffered. At the same time he omits an important detail – since Antony's arrival they have not been equal in Epirus in terms of the number of soldiers, and Pompey has a significant advantage here. Caesar ends chapter 13 with a comment that his rival has put his entire army in the camp by the Apsus, including auxiliaries (III 13, 6). This mention may suggest that he did so with battle in mind. However, in the later narrative, even though he rejects a peace offer, he does not attack first (he does so only in Appian). Caesar himself, as soon as he has all the legions under his command, immediately tries to provoke a fight. In the context of the intertextual play with the *Commentarii*, that combination of two different episodes provides a broader picture and casts a shadow over Caesar's peace efforts on the Apsus; it is also part of the deconstruction of the propaganda spread by the winner of the battle of Pharsalus. He is at once presented as an aggressor.

The internal self-references, which evoke several dozen lines from the introduction to the narrative on the war in I 109–157, harmonise with the world's voice. In the apostrophe V 472–475, the narrator uses Julia, her death in childbirth, and the death of her children and of Pompey as an accusation towards Caesar, who, in spite of the bonds he had with his opponent, cannot stop fighting: "post pignora tanta,/ sanguinis infausti subolem mortemque nepotum" (V 473–474). Those words, however, refer us to the lines on her death (also in the form of the apostrophe – addressed to her directly): "nam pignora iuncti/ sanguinis et diro ferales omine taedas/ abstulit ad manes [...] Iulia" (I 111–113). After Crassus' death, only Julia was a barrier preventing the conflict. After her death in childbirth (followed shortly by the baby's death), nothing could stop the son-in-law and the father-in-law from turning on each other (109–120). Pompey, similarly to Caesar, is guided there by *furor* (115) and they both wish to fight. Next, the generals are compared (120–157; the famous *synkrisis* of the main actors): the transformation of the images from Book I is naturally, as we have already mentioned, the juxtaposition of the two very different rivers. This evocation does not seem odd now in Book V. On the Apsus, the commanders stand next to each other for the second time in the poem, this time physically. The first time in the text they did so figuratively in the comparison.

Moreover, the words from Book V constituting the transition from the description of place to the human world – "hoc fortuna loco tantae duo nomina famae/ conposuit" (468–469) – also remind us of the comparison of the rivals

from Book I. There the son-in-law and the father-in-law "face" each other in the poem, but are not equal: "nec coiere pares" (I 129; cf. VI 3, quoted above). In the quoted phrase one can notice the gladiatorial metaphor, as the rivals are depicted by the narrator as mismatched gladiators[39] (therefore the *spectaculum* and gladiatorial combat in Book V is supplemented by the evocation of the motif in Book I). The differences between the adversaries are determined in Book I with the words *fama* and *nomen*, key for the juxtaposition. Pompey is a man hungry for fame, *famae petitor* (131), but at the same time a shadow of his own self and of what is conveyed by his nickname, "magni nominis umbra"[40]. The part devoted to the victor begins with the words: "sed non in Caesare tantum/ nomen erat nec fama ducis" (143–144). Not only did he enjoy fame as a general, he also possessed valour which did not allow him to stay in one place, and it was disgraceful to him to conquer without war: "sed nescia virtus/ stare loco, solusque pudor non vincere bello" (144–145). The evocation of the *synkrisis*, presenting the victor of Pharsalus as a destructive force that only seeks war and will stop at nothing, is part of the discussion with Caesar's propaganda and supports the narrator's voice. It is different when it comes to Pompey. He is also a gladiator. He fears that someone could overshadow his victories and position, and he cannot stand even the one to be equal to him, whereas Caesar is only afraid of someone more powerful than himself, a situation which has been expressed by a well-known maxim: "nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarve priorem/ Pompeiusve parem. quis iustius induit arma/ scire nefas" (I 125–126)[41]. The image evoked of Pompey from Book I of the poem is very similar to the one emerging from the ending of chapter 18 of Book III in Caesar's *Commentarii* – on account of his ambition, Pompey does not want to be perceived as equal to anyone – as this assumption was the foundation of Caesar's argumentation (III 10, 7; see above). It is worth pointing out that this characterisation of Pompey is also outlined at the beginning of the *Commentarii*[42], where even the second part of Lucan's epigram appears:

> Ipse Pompeius, ab inimicis Caesaris incitatus, et quod neminem dignitate secum exaequari volebat, totum se ab eius amicitia averterat et cum communibus inimicis in gratiam redierat [...]. rem ad arma deduci studebat (I 4, 4–5).

The evocation of the *synkrisis* also affects the poem's narrator. On the one hand, Lucan responds to the propaganda of the *Commentarii* with his own, juxtaposing the images of Pompey and Caesar in chapter III 18–19 and those drawn

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[39] Feeney 1986: 239.

[40] For Pompey's portrayal and the play on words in the phrase, see Feeney 1986.

[41] Pichon (1912: 70) assumed that Lucan found the epigram from I 125–126 in Livy. Lintott (1971: 494) presents arguments against this view. In Seneca both parts functioned separately (*Cons. ad Marc*. 14, 3 on Pompey and *Ep*. 94, 65 on Caesar).

[42] Cf. Peer 2015: 130.

by his narrator in V 461–475; on the other, he criticises and reveals the weakness of the propaganda from both sides. Lucan's entire epigram I 125–126 is repeated by Florus. After mentioning the deaths of Crassus and Julia, he writes: "Iam Pompeio suspectae Caesaris opes et Caesari Pompeiana dignitas gravis. nec ille ferebat parem, nec hic superiorem. pro nefas! sic de principatu laborabant, tamquam duos tanti imperii fortuna non caperet" (II 13, 8). The similarity of those words to Lucan's lines I 120–127 (partly quoted above) is striking. However, Florus does not change his judgement when recounting the fights near Dyrrachium. The poem's narrator himself is critical of both rivals at the beginning of the poem, then gets increasingly involved and picks a side. The intertextual references do not allow us to forget that fact, recalling his earlier portrayal of Pompey[43], consistent with the world's voice, and, what is more interesting, with the intertext of Caesar himself. Thus not only does Lucan fight the narrator of the *Commentarii* with his text, but the *Commentarii* are also used to expose the propaganda of the poem's narrator[44].

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[43] This phenomenon is discussed by Bartsch 1997: 75–93. See also Masters 1994 (p. 163: "we are invited to deconstruct his propaganda *qua* propaganda").

[44] Naturally, we encounter an unsolved narratological problem here. It is debatable to which narrative instance of the text external (intertextual) references should be attributed, and the question is even more interesting when it comes to the internal self-references. Should they be attributed to the narrator himself, to the implied author (if we acknowledge his existence), or the author in general? There are several options. If those self-references belong to the narrator, then he is fighting himself like Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, but if they do not – then the text itself is fighting its own narrator... These considerations, however, go well beyond the subject of this article.

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PYRRHOS‘ BETEILIGUNG AN DER SCHLACHT BEI IPSOS: ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZUR KONZEPTION DES HELDENTUMS BEI PLUTARCH (*PYRRH*. 4, 4)

von

MIRON WOLNY

TITLE IN ENGLISH: Pyrrhus’ Involvement in the Battle of Ipsus (301 BC): Reflections on the Concept of Heroism in Plutarch (*Pyrrh*. 4, 4).

ABSTRACT: The author examines the significance of a piece of information given by Plutarch in his biography of Pyrrhus (*Pyrr*. 4, 4) concerning his involvement in the battle of Ipsus (301 BC). Both the lexical analysis of the passage in question and an inquiry into its linguistic and historical contexts suggest that the description provided by Plutarch is in keeping with the propagandistic paradigm of representing rulers as heroes, based on the heroic standard. A comparison of Plutarch’s description with other sources discussing the course of the battle of Ipsus reveals that Plutarch underscores a major risk taken by Pyrrhus. It may be concluded that the mention of both the (putative) military and political gamble taken by the future ruler of Epirus is primarily intended to make the entire account more gripping. The piece of information highlights Pyrrhus’ determined stance and, at the same time, helps to create a heroic representation of Pyrrhus, one which evokes associations with Achilles. An emphasis on the behaviour of Pyrrhus during the battle also serves this purpose. When Pyrrhus’ image-building is considered in conjunction with the socio-political transformations in Epirus and its Hellenisation, it may be conjectured that references to the world of Homeric heroes are in fact rooted in the tradition of the Epirote kingdom. Also, the creation of the heroic image was one of common devices used to draw convincingly on Alexander and his deeds. All this served, ultimately, to bestow even more respect on Pyrrhus and to endorse the political goals he sought to achieve, which most probably extended well beyond the Balkan region of the Greek world.

EINLEITUNG

Pyrrhos‘ Beteiligung an der Schlacht bei Ipsos (301 v. Chr.) ist von Plutarch in der bezüglichen Biographie des Epiroten bezeugt (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 4, 4). Es hat seine Bedeutung, dass diese Stelle die einzige Quellenangabe ist, wo die genannte Beteiligung erwähnt worden ist. Nach Plutarch kämpften in der großen Schlacht alle hellenistischen Könige gegeneinander, um die Macht zu gewinnen. Pyrrhos nahm als ein noch Minderjähriger daran teil, indem er unter Demetrios kämpfte und sich glorreich unter den Kämpfern auszeichnete:

> τῆς δὲ μεγάλης μάχης, ἣν ἐν Ἰψῷ πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς ἠγωνίσαντο, παρὼν ὁ Πύρρος τοῖς περὶ Δημήτριον συμμετεῖχε μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι, καὶ τοὺς καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐτέψαντο καὶ διεφάνη λαμπρὸς ἐν τοῖς μαχομένοις.

Die Rekonstruktion des Schlachtverlaufs bei Ipsos stützt sich vor allem auf Diodor (XXI 1–4b) und die Demetrios-Vita von Plutarch (Plut. *Dem*. 28, 1–29, 3). Wichtig ist, dass die beiden Quellen, die eine Grundlage für wissenschaftliche Forschung über die Schlacht bilden, die Beteiligung von Pyrrhos nicht erwähnen. Die Forschung bezieht sich standardmäßig auf eine Präzisierung der Angaben über das Schlachtfeld[1]. Sie behandelt auch die Einzelheiten über den Verlauf des Gefechts[2], zeigt aber eine gewisse Ratlosigkeit hinsichtlich der Rolle des Pyrrhos[3]. Es scheint, dass eine genaue Bestimmung der militärischen Rolle von Pyrrhos aufgrund der mangelnden Quellen nicht möglich ist; ebenso muss eine Klärung der Frage nach einer Möglichkeit, dass Antigonos den Sieg davongetragen hat[4], weiterhin nebulös bleiben. Es scheint jedoch, dass der aus dem Bericht von Plutarch angeführte Auszug über Pyrrhos einen ganz anderen Charakter hat. Außer einem Hinweis auf die Beteiligung des Epiroten an einem bestimmten politischen Bündnis, ist es eher ein zum Nachdenken anregender Beitrag über das in der Literatur geschaffene Heldenbild, der eine Fixierung des heldenhaften Bildes der Aktivität von Pyrrhos begünstigt.

Die Erforschung der rhetorischen Art und Weise von dem literarischen Hintergrund, d. h. wie der Held in der bezüglichen Biographie Plutarchs dargestellt worden ist, stellt hier aber keine Zielsetzung dar. Die Betrachtung der von Plutarch verwendeten Quellen kann mit der Berufung auf die in den *Parallelbiographien* angenommenen Herangehensweise die Relevanz von Thematik der Pyrrhos-freundlichen Propaganda bloßlegen. Anscheinend war der erbitterte Kampf an der Seite des Antigonos ein treffendes Thema, wobei es um die Rettung der Einheit des Reichs von Alexander geführt wurde. Konnte also die von Plutarch an seine Leserschaft mit Absicht gestellte Frage die Schaffung der Größe von Pyrrhos in jenem Augenblick begünstigen, in dem er seine Großmachtpläne schmiedete? Es scheint, dass die Analyse der Nachricht von Plutarch angesichts ihres Inhalts mit der Berücksichtigung des von ihrem Autor benutzten Wortschatzes dazu beitragen kann, etwas Licht auf das Repertoire der die propagandistischen Aktivitäten von Pyrrhos unterstützenden Mittel zu werfen.

PYRRHOS BETEILIGUNG AN DER SCHLACHT BEI IPSOS – ZU DEN GESCHICHTLICHEN VORAUSSETZUNGEN

Die Aktivität von Pyrrhos in der Schlacht bei Ipsos, bei der der hellenistische Held seine heroische Haltung in den Vordergrund gestellt haben soll, bewegt uns

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[1] Honigmann 1935; Wehrli 1968: 70; Mehl 1980–1981: 203; Billows 1990: 181. Zur Datierung: Beloch 1927: 245–247; Tarn 1925: 13–15; Yardley, Wheatley, Heckel 2011: 298 f.; Caldwell Rose 2015: 250.

[2] Scullard 1976: 97 f.; Bar-Kohva 1976: 107; Billows 1990: 181–184.

[3] Nederlof 1978: 39; Champion 2009: 15.

[4] Vgl. Tarn 1930: 37–71.

in erster Linie dazu, sich über die geschichtliche Handlung Gedanken zu machen, die einer Herausbildung dieser Episode diente. Es soll nicht daran gezweifelt werden, dass sich die von Plutarch geschilderte Beteiligung von Pyrrhos an der Schlacht bei Ipsos auf richtige Voraussetzungen stützt. Als nämlich Pyrrhos 302 v. Chr. seine dank Glaukias erlangte Macht über Epiros verloren hatte[5], fing er an, einen neuen Verbündeten zu suchen. Ohne eine andere Alternative gehabt zu haben[6], fokussierte er seine Aufmerksamkeit auf Antigonos Monophthalmos, was im Endeffekt zur Schließung eines Bündnisses mit seinem Sohn Demetrios Poliorketes führte[7]. Dieses Bündnis soll durch eine Annäherung der familiären Bande bestätigt werden. Das Vorhaben setzte voraus, dass Demetrios Pyrrhos‘ Schwager werden sollte[8], indem er seine ältere Schwester Deiadameia heiraten würde[9], die früher als zukünftige Frau für Alexandros, den Sohn Alexander des Großen und seiner Ehefrau Roxana, bestimmt war[10]. Diese Lage scheint von der Bedeutung des Bündnisses zu zeugen, das ideologisch untermauert war. Dessen ungeachtet war die Lage, wie es C. Klotzsch betont, in der sich Antigonos und seine Anhänger befanden, von vornherein vorausbestimmt[11]. Die im Rahmen einer Koalition handelnden Lysimachos, Seleukos, Kassandros und Ptolemaios strebten eine endgültige Entscheidung an[12], deswegen musste Pyrrhos auch damit rechnen, sich dieser unumgänglichen Herausforderung zu stellen, wobei er durch eine vergebliche Hoffnung motiviert war.

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[5] Stähelin 1910; Sandberger 1970: 105–107; Badian 1998; Wolny 2011: 8.

[6] Pyrrhos hätte keine Chancen, seine entschiedene Haltung in einem breitgefächerten Bündnis zu manifestieren, das gegen Antigonos geschlossen war. Indem er sich an die Seite von Antigonos stellte, konnte er darauf rechnen, dass die Beziehungen zwischen den Antigoniden und dem Molosser-Stamm eingeengt werden, was eine wichtige Bedeutung bei der Schaffung einer Basis gegen die Kräfte von Kassandros war. Vgl. Garoufalias 1979, 20. Wir wissen, dass Kassandros 29.000 Infanteristen und 2000 Ritter im Jahr 302 v. Chr. mobilisiert haben soll. Auch wenn diese Zahlen etwas übertrieben sind, haben wir dennoch mit der ernsten militärischen Kraft zu tun; Diod. XX 110, 3–4; Billows 1995: 209; Wolny 2018: 20.

[7] Kaerst 1901: 2769 f.; Elkeles 1941; Manni 1951; Wehrli 1968: 102–104; Will 1979: 85 f., 89–92.

[8] Lévêque 1957: 105; Bruinje 2013: 95–100, 102 f.

[9] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 1, 7; Sandberger (1970: 68) ziemlich eigenwillig schätzt die Geburt von Deidamia auf das Jahr 321 v. Chr. Das Verhältnis eines Vorrangs Pyrrhos gegenüber würde aus der Reihenfolge der Nennung der Nachfahren von Ajakides resultieren, was kein gutes Argument ist. Vgl. Russell 1995: 76. Zur Chronologie im Plutarchs Werk: Stolz 1929. Dafür, dass Deidamia doch älter als Pyrrhos war, scheint hingegen die andere Nachricht zu sprechen: Während der Belagerung von Pydna im Jahr 317 v. Chr. wurde die Jungfrau als ein Mitglied der Gefolgschaft, die Olympias begleitete, erwähnt. Die Information über die Beteiligung der Tochter von Aiakides überlieferte Iust. XIV 6, 3 in den Worten „Deidamia, Aeacidae regis filia“; vgl. Diod. XIX 35, 3–4; Sandberger 1970: 165.

[10] Sandberger 1970: 68.

[11] Klotzsch 1911: 135 f.; Garoufalias 1979: 22.

[12] Billows 1995: 33–44.

Es steht außer Zweifel, dass Pyrrhos durch seinen Entschluss, der Schlacht beizutreten, irgendwelche Überlegungen angestellt haben muss. Sicherlich musste er sich auch mit dem Gedanken vertraut machen, dass er verlieren könnte. Ein Einblick in die Berichte von Diodor und Plutarch lässt diesen wesentlichen Risikofaktor erkennen, der in gewissem Grade die Einbringung des problematischen Auszugs über Pyrrhos' Beteiligung an der Schlacht bei Ipsos begründet – anders gesagt, die geschilderte Lage von der Schlacht bildet eine dramaturgische Grundlage zur Schaffung von *exempla* für ein heldenhaftes Benehmen. Als Moralist konnte sich Plutarch so eine Gelegenheit nicht entgehen lassen. In Wirklichkeit tut Pyrrhos' Beteiligung an der Schlacht bei Ipsos der ganzen Dramaturgie des Kriegsendes unter den Diadochen genug und eröffnet eine neue Phase in der Geschichte der hellenistischen Zeit. Pyrrhos zeigt zu diesem Zeitpunkt, dass seine Taten ihn die größere Politik betreten lassen, wobei gleichzeitig der erste Schritt in die Richtung getan wird, seine eigene Person an der Spitze einer ernsthaften Militärkraft darzustellen. Natürlich muss es weiteren Spekulationen überlassen werden, ob Pyrrhos gerade in der Schlacht bei Ipsos die unentbehrliche Kriegsführung realisierte. *Ex silentio* wäre so eine Schlussfolgerung nur zum Teil berechtigt, denn aus dem Schweigen der Quellen können doch auch Schlüsse gezogen werden, dass Pyrrhos aus dem zehnjährigen Aufenthalt am Hofe von Glaukias ebenfalls irgendwelche Lehre gezogen hatte. Die Überlegungen zu Pyrrhos' Vorbereitung auf die Konfrontation sowie der Versuch, sein persönliches Profil zu definieren, dürfen nicht eine so wesentliche Frage auslassen, wie die nach dem Alter des Protagonisten. Es soll nämlich bedacht werden, dass jugendlicher Jähzorn dem Wissen und der jahrelang gesammelten Erfahrung in der antiken Literatur gegenübergestellt werden[13]. Diese Dichotomie muss auch Plutarch bekannt gewesen sein. Im Vergleich dazu galt aber die Waghalsigkeit der Taten von Achilles, die auch von Alexander nachgeahmt worden waren, als eine Art Kompass für die Darstellung der Taten von Pyrrhos.

Unter Plutarchs Notizen des über die Teilnahme von Pyrrhos an der Schlacht bei Ipsos scheint die Anknüpfung und Hervorhebung des Alters von Pyrrhos ziemlich wesentlich zu sein – zuerst ging es um einen Jüngling im Alter von 17 Jahren (γενομένῳ δὲ περὶ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη; Plut. *Pyrrh*. 4, 1), dann noch um einen Minderjährigen (μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι; Plut. *Pyrrh*. 4, 4).

Trotz der klaren Quellengrundlage über die Geburtsstunde von Pyrrhos bleiben doch Zweifel offen. Aus dem Hinweis von Plutarch (*Pyrrh*. 2, 1) geht nämlich hervor, dass Pyrrhos noch ein Kind war (ἔπι νήπιον ὄντα), als Aiakides in die Verbannung ging und die Macht über das Königreich der Molosser von Neoptolemos' Söhnen übernommen wurde. Dieses Kindesalter wird übrigens durch Justin (XVII 3, 7) präzisiert, der von einem zweijährigen Kind schreibt

[13] Cic. *Sen*. 21: „temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis".

(*bimus*). Falls es also zu Unruhen im Lande der Molosser im Jahr 317 kamm, dann hätte die Geburt von Pyrrhos im Jahr 319 sein müssen, was theoretisch gesehen richtig sein sollte[14]. Leider wird das dadurch kompliziert, dass Pausanias ein Zeugnis hinterließ, laut dessen Pyrrhos sich um den Thron nach dem Tod von Alketas, dem Bruder von Aiakides, erfolglos bemühte, weil er ein zu junger und zu unerfahrener Herrscher war (Paus I 11, 5). Es muss noch angemerkt werden, dass sich die von Pausanias geschilderten Ereignisse wahrscheinlich im Jahr 312 abspielten. Wenn man also den von Justin und Plutarch angeführten Hinweisen folgt, hätte Pyrrhos damals sieben Jahre alt sein müssen; damit wäre er aber kein junger und unerfahrener Herrscher, sondern unbestritten ein Kind gewesen.

In einer separaten Veröffentlichung habe ich einen Beweisversuch unternommen, dass die ganze Geschichte einer Legende über eine wunderbare Errettung des künftigen Herrschers von Epiros untergeordnet war[15]. Als Kind sollte Pyrrhos von einigen Menschen befreit werden[16]. Im entscheidenden Moment der Expedition, als das Leben von Pyrrhos bedroht war, wurde er von einem Mann namens Achilles gerettet[17]. Außerdem kommen in der Erzählung Namen vor, die ihr legendäres Motiv verraten – und zwar der Name Angelos, der eindeutig mit der Tätigkeit eines Übertragens in Verbindung gebracht wird[18]. Nichtsdestoweniger muss unterstrichen werden, dass sich diese Geschichte nicht unbedingt nur auf propagandistische Fantasien stützt. Die Erzählungen von einer Flucht mit dem Kleinkind, um es vor drohender Gefahr zu schützen, sind in der antiken Literatur gut belegt. Dafür steht etwa das von Sueton angeführte Beispiel der Eltern von Tiberius, die mit ihrem kleinen Kind – dem späteren römischen Kaiser – geflohen waren[19].

Außerdem musste sich Plutarch auf eine sich durch gute Kenntnis der Epoche auszeichnende Quelle stützen, was auch durch die Namen bestätigt wird[20].

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[14] Lévêque 1957: 113; Flacelière, Chambry 1971: 3.

[15] Wolny 2010.

[16] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 2, 1; Iust. XVII 3, 17

[17] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 2, 8.

[18] Beachtenswert ist an dieser Stelle die Frage des Namens. Nach *Onomastikon Epeirotikon*, dass im Werk Hammond (1967: 796) veröffentlicht wurde, bezeichnete man die Person, die mit dem Namen Ἄγγελος benannt wurde, als „Molossian“. Eine solche Lösung akzeptierte Sandberger (1970: 31), der die Bemerkung hinzufügte, dass diese Person dem Umkreis von Aiakides gehörte. Wolny 2010: 186: „It is evident that the legendary plots unvail names of the people who kidnapped little Pyrrhus. What is worth noticing is the symbolic meaning of the name of Angelos“. Im Falle des Namens Ἀνδροκλείδης bediente man sich im *Onomastikon Epeirotikon* eines ähnlichen Gedankenganges wie im Falle des Namens Ἄγγελος: Hammond 1967: 797 („Molossian“); vgl. Sandberger 1970: 29; Wolny 2018: 19.

[19] Suet. *Tib.* 6, 1–2.

[20] Eine Art Beweis für die Bestätigung dieser Behauptung könnte eine Inschrift sein, die einen gewissen Hippias nannte, der Molosser war und in Ambrakia wohnte: Ἱππίαι [...] Μολοσσῶι ἐν

Natürlich kann man auch die Situation nicht ausschließen, in der die Flucht mit einem Kind wahrscheinlich gewesen wäre. Die epische Darstellung des Ereignisses weist jedoch darauf hin, dass die Besetzung eines zweijährigen Kleinkindes in der Hauptrolle mit der propagandistischen Aussage der ganzen Erzählung abgestimmt war. Die Annahme einer solchen Sichtweise zieht weitere Konsequenzen mit sich. Diese Geschichte setzte sich zum Ziel, Pyrrhos jünger als in Wirklichkeit darzustellen, weil man es als eine propagandistische Erzählung aus dem Jahr 317 sah, was eindeutig zur Feststellung führt, dass zum Zeitpunkt der Schlacht bei Ipsos Pyrrhos älter war. In diesem Kontext dürfte seine wirkliche Beteiligung an der Ipsos-Schlacht vielmehr bewusste Wahl sein, als sein jugendlicher Enthusiasmus, der durch den kämpferischen Taumel der Schlacht hervorgerufen wurde. Diese Vorstellung wird eine wesentliche Bedeutung für weitere Erwägungen in dieser Studie haben.

Zurück zur Geschichte über eine wundersame Errettung von Pyrrhos: Es muss betont werden, dass die in der ganzen Geschichte entstandenen charakteristischen Elemente der Hervorhebung der Wirkung von τύχη gedient haben, einer Kraft, die Pyrrhos geschützt hat[21]. In derselben Hinsicht erweist sich τύχη als die schützende Kraft für Pyrrhos bei Ipsos. Ein achtsamer Leser bemerkt in der von Plutarch verfassten Biographie problemlos, dass der Hinweis auf das Alter die Aufgabe erfüllt, sich auf die Geschichte über die wundersame Errettung von Pyrrhos zu berufen und sagen zu können, dass er als μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι bei Ipsos bedroht ist. In dieser Geschichte scheint derselbe Ton anzuklingen, der von Plutarch in einem anderen Werk, *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute*, benutzt wurde[22]. Dies erlaubt uns, die Beteiligung von Pyrrhos an der Schlacht bei Ipsos als einen zusätzlichen Präzedenzfall zu betrachten und seine Person mit Alexander dem Großen zu vergleichen.

Ἀμπρα[κίαι οἰκέον]τι; vgl. Lévêque 1957: 94; Kienast 1963: 115; Sandberger 1970: 114; Cabanes 1976: 18; Wolny 2018: 20.

[21] Allegre 1889. Das Motiv einer wunderbaren Errettung von Pyrrhos besitzt einen breiten Kontext in der antiken Literatur, außerdem ist es auch ein attraktives Motiv in der Kultur, wovon die Entstehung des Gemäldes von Nicolaus Poussin (1594–1665) zeugt. Das Gemälde wurde als *Le jeune Pyrrus sauvé* betitelt. Das Leitmotiv dieses Bildes, das sich im Nationalmuseum Louvre befindet, ist eine dramatische Szene, in deren Zentrum ein Säugling steht, der durch Frauen in die Arme eines starken Mannes überreicht wird; siehe Nederlof 1978, 30. Dieser Mann könnte hier die symbolische Achilles-Rolle spielen, er könnte auch ein aus dem Jenseits kommendes Gespenst des Alexander von Makedonien sein, das sich offenbart, um dem bedrohten Kind Hilfe zu leisten. Ein Versuch, dieses Kunstwerk intentional zu deuten, scheint in gewissem Sinne die Bedeutung der von Plutarch geschaffenen dramatischen Szene zu entdecken, wobei es dadurch mit dem irrealen Bildnis des Herrschers von Epiros assoziiert wird. Wenn also Pyrrhos mit so einem Attribut in vergangen Zeiten ausgestattet worden ist, so sollen seine Aktivitäten bei den Schlachten auch durch derartiges „genetisches Heldentum" gekennzeichnet sein, vgl. Wolny 2010: 187; Wolny 2018: 20.

[22] D'Angelo 1998; Cammarota 1998; Abbamonte, Stok 2017: 34–45.

DIE SCHLACHT BEI IPSOS – DIE HEROISIERUNG VON PYRRHOS. PYRRHOS ALS ALEXANDER DER GROSSE

Es scheint unbestritten zu sein, dass die spätere propagandistische Aktivität in der Umgebung von Pyrrhos, die für die eigentliche Schilderung des Herrschers von Epiros verantwortlich war, aus seinem angeblichen Heldentum Gebrauch machte[23]. Diese Situation spiegelt sich in dem Bericht Plutarchs wider. Der Biograph überliefert, dass der Aiakide die ihm gegenüber stehenden Feinde während der Schlacht bei Ipsos schlug und sich hervorragend unter den Kämpfenden auszeichnete (*Pyrrh*. 4, 4–5). Selbstverständlich hatte die durch Plutarch betonte Tapferkeit auf dem Schlachtfeld zur Aufgabe, Parallelen zwischen Pyrrhos und Alexander dem Großen erkennen zu lassen[24].

Die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Pyrrhos und Alexander werden durch Plutarch hervorgehoben. Er zeichnete sich durch eine Alexander ähnliche Schnelligkeit (τάχος) und körperliche Kraft (βία) aus. Während sich andere Herrscher durch Purpur (πορφύρα), Kopfnicken (κλίσις τραχήλου) oder eine gehobene Stimmlage (μεῖζον διλέγεσθαι) an Alexander orientierten, war nur im Falle von Pyrrhos eine ungezwungene Ähnlichkeit sichtbar[25]. Natürlich schenkten auch andere Autoren ihre Aufmerksamkeit den weiteren Eigenschaften, die die Führungskompetenzen von Pyrrhos unterstrichen, wie etwa Pausanias, der die Kühnheit und Voraussicht (πόλμαν καὶ πρόνοιαν) von Pyrrhos hervorhob[26].

Die Kraft dieses propagandistischen Vergleichs muss wirklich groß gewesen sein, wenn die Gestalt von Pyrrhos als eines Militäranführers in späteren Zusammenstellungen erscheint, die eine Art Ranglisten von Anführern bildeten. Das von Livius angeführte, wahrscheinlich aber fiktive Gespräch zwischen Hannibal und Scipio, zeigt einen hohen Rang von Pyrrhos, der gleich hinter Alexander rangiert (Liv. XXXV 14, 6)[27]. Diese Stellung bezeugen auch andere

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[23] Die Grundlagen für diese Pyrrhos freundliche Beurteilung können von Proxenos hervorgegangen sein, vgl. La Bua 1971: 27 f.

[24] Es soll betont werden, dass die Anknüpfungen an Alexander sowohl für seine hellenistischen Nachfolger (hier spielten nämlich ihre politischen Ansprüche, die sie legitimierten, eine Rolle) als auch für die späteren Nachahmer im Römischen Reich von Interesse waren; siehe Kühnen 2008: *passim*.

[25] Andererseits scheint es wichtig, dass es die Makedonier waren, die Pyrrhos mit Alexander verglichen. Vgl. Plut. *Pyrrh*. 8, 1–2: ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὗτος οὐ τοσοῦτον ὀργῆς ὧν ἔπαθον οὐδὲ μίσους ἐνέπλησε τοὺς Μακεδόνας πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον, ὅσην δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ θαῦμα τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ λόγον ἐνειργάσατο τοῖς ἰδοῦσι τὰ ἔργα καὶ συνενεχθεῖσι κατὰ τὴν μάχην. καὶ γὰρ ὅψιν ᾤοντο καὶ τάχος ἐοικέναι καὶ κίνημα τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τῆς φορᾶς ἐκεῖνον καὶ βίας παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν τούτῳ σκιάς τινας ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ μιμήματα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἔν πορφύραις καὶ δορυφόροις καὶ κλίσει τραχήλου καὶ τῷ μεῖζον διαλέγεσθαι, μόνου δὲ Πύρρου τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιδεικνυμένου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον.

[26] Paus. I 12, 2 (vgl. Ampel. 28, 3: „omnium Graecorum sapientissimus et militaris disciplinae peritissimus fuit“); Lévêque 1957: 664.

[27] Holleaux 1968: 184 f.

Quellen[28], interessanterweise auch Plutarch, der in der Vita von Flamininus die Version von Livius wiederholt (*Flam*. 21, 3). Bedenklich ist aber, dass Plutarch bereits in der Vita von Pyrrhos den Epiroten mit Alexander vergleicht (*Pyrrh*. 8, 1–2). Laut G.W. Adams war dieser Widerspruch durch eine Differenzierung von geschichtlichen Kontexten bedingt, die mit der Schwierigkeit einherging, die literarische Konvention von Parallelbiographien zu behalten[29]. Vor allem haben wir aber hier mit einer selektiven Benutzung von Quellen zu tun, die mit der von Plutarch angenommenen Konvention kohärent war[30]. Eine andere Sache ist es, inwieweit die Benutzung dieser Quelleneinzelheiten durch den Biographen wirklich nachdenklich war.

Die Anknüpfung an Alexander wird umso klarer, wenn man ein gemeinsames Element berücksichtigt, und zwar das Interesse an homerischen Helden, vornehmlich an Achilles[31]. Das Wiedererkennen eines tapferen Kämpfers in Pyrrhos ist nicht nur eine Frage der Abhängigkeit vom Musterbild namens Alexander – es soll hier auf einen komplizierten Prozess hingewiesen werden, bei dem der Held geschaffen wurde, was sich im Werk von Plutarch vollzieht. Die einer Veranschaulichung der Aktivität von Pyrrhos dienenden Musterbilder reichten tiefer hinein und griffen die homerische Welt auf. So kann man durch ἀρετή von Pyrrhos, also aufgrund einer Eigenschaft, die bei der ganzheitlichen Lektüre der Quellen über die militärische Aktivität des Anführers sichtbar wird, die charakteristische Figur eines hellenistischen Anführers definieren. Es ist in vielerlei Hinsicht ein konventioneller Riss, um einen Anführer zu zeigen, der eigenes Risiko in den Schlachten eingeht[32] und dessen persönliches Kampfengagement man mit einem heldenhaften Gefecht assoziiert. Das wird durch das aus dem homerischen Muster resultierende Paradigma des Prestiges eines Anführers bestätigt. Dieses Bild besteht aus vielen Teilen. Wenn man diese geschaffenen Elemente erkennen will, muss man sich der evaluierenden Entwicklung der griechischen Literatur bewusst machen, an deren Spitze die Tradition der Dichtungen Homers steht.

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[28] Vgl. App. *Syr*. 10; Paus. IV 35, 4; Luc. *Dial. mort.* 25; Baldwin 1990.

[29] Adams 2010–2011: 2: „The contradiction between the different Lives written by Plutarch was probably owing to the different contexts in which he was writing, illustrating the inherent difficulty of parallel lives as a biographical form". Vgl. Pelling 2002: 274 f.

[30] Zu Methoden der Quellenwahl bei Plutarch, siehe Pelling 1979 und 1995.

[31] Alexander benutzte in seiner Praxis Anknüpfungen an eine ganze Reihe von Göttern und Helden; siehe Kienast 1987; Ameling 1988. Andere Aspekte bezüglich der Ähnlichkeiten der Handlungen von Alexander gegenüber den Taten von Achilles sammelte Vorhis (2017). Die Nachahmung in Bezug auf die Imitierung der Taten von Achilles, die der Autor akribisch bespricht (S. 25–170), konnte auf die Schaffung einer Synthese des Universalhelden Achilles-Alexander gerichtet sein, der sich in die homerische Rhetorik einfügte, die für die hellenistische Welt und all jene Gemeinschaften universell war, die es anstrebten, dieser Welt gleich zu werden. Vgl. Cohen 1995: 483–487.

[32] Chaniotis 2005: 31.

Die erwähnten Anknüpfungen an Achilles haben sowohl im Falle von Alexander als auch von Pyrrhos eine besondere Bedeutung durch ihren ausgeprägt militärischen Charakter gewonnen. Die am makedonischen Hof verbreiteten Interessen an den Helden der homerischen Welt wirkten sich auf eine Identifizierung von Alexander mit Achilles aus (Plut. *Alex*. 5, 8). Die Abhängigkeit dieser Art lässt sich auch im Falle von Pyrrhos beobachten, dessen Abstammung, wie bei anderen, von Achilles abgeleitet wurde[33]. Dies war also eine noch wichtigere Sache als die Tatsache, dass Pyrrhos mit der Familie von Alexander verwandt war. Ein Hinweis auf die Wurzeln des Aiakiden-Geschlechts, das angeblich bis auf Achilles zurückreicht, ist vermutlich ein Werk der Propaganda auf dem Hof des Herrschers von Epiros. Beweise zur Unterstützung dieser Behauptung werden durch Quellen mit historiographischem Charakter geliefert. Man kann sie natürlich schon im Voraus in Frage stellen, indem man darauf verweist, dass sie eine spätere Tradition vertraten.

Ein solches Vorgehen wäre aber nicht ganz begründet. Es wäre nämlich schwer anzunehmen, dass es nur die spätere Geschichtsschreibung war, die in Pyrrhos einen Nachahmer von Achilles sah. Die Tatsache, dass der Epirote mit dem berühmten Helden selber verglichen werden wollte, ist im Lichte jenes im Bericht von Plutarch überlieferten Beispiels nur schwer zu beanstanden. Dieses Exemplum betrifft den Tod von Aeropos und der damit verbundenen grenzenlosen Trauer von Pyrrhos[34]. Die Episode, von der gesprochen wird, führt unentwegt zur Assoziation mit der Trauer von Achilles nach dem Tod des Patroklos (Hom. *Il*. XVIII 30–126) oder mit dem an die *Illias* anknüpfenden übertriebenen Jammer von Alexander nach dem Ableben von Hephaistion (Plut. *Alex*. 72, 3–7). Obwohl die von Plutarch geschilderte Situation mit einer weiteren Belobigung im Zusammenhang steht, nämlich jener Pyrrhos zugeschriebenen Fähigkeit, gut mit seiner nächsten Umgebung umgehen zu können, scheint sie doch grundsätzlich

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[33] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 1, 3; Paus. I 12, 1; Iust. XVII 3, 1–7. Die bereits früher in den Vordergrund tretende Anknüpfung des Bildnisses von Pyrrhos an die Handlungen und an Stellung von Achilles gewinnt außerdem eine angemessene Verankerung in den Münzforschung: Borba Florenzano (1992) führte eine ikonographische Klassifizierung der Münzen durch, indem sie auf konkrete Wiederspiegelungen der erwähnten genealogischen Pyrrhos-Legende hingewiesen hatte, die auf den homerischen Helden anspielt. Außerdem stellte sie die Frage der Bildnisse auf den Münzen von Pyrrhos, die an diese Geschichtspunkte anknüpfte; vgl. Carrocio 2011.

[34] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 8, 4. Die Frage der Trauer von Pyrrhos nach dem Tod von Aeropos scheint aber, trotz einer einfachen Parallele zwischen diesem Verhalten und dem Verhalten von Alexander, nicht ganz selbstverständlich zu sein. Vor allem kann man nicht annehmen, wie es Hammond (1967: 796; *Onomastikon Epeirotikon*) will, dass Aeropos ein Freund von Pyrrhos („friend of Pyrrhus“) war. Aus der Erklärung von Plutarch geht jedoch hervor, dass der Grund für die Trauer des Herrschers von Epiros nicht eine Trennung von einem seiner Freunde (φίλοι) gewesen ist, sondern das Gefühl einer mangelnden Genugtuung, dass Pyrrhos es nicht schaffe, gegenüber Aeropos seine Dankbarkeit zu erweisen.

glaubwürdig zu sein[35]. Das ändert allerdings nichts an der Tatsache, dass die Trauer von Pyrrhos übertrieben und künstlich sein konnte, weil sie im Sinne des Trauernden nur eine spektakuläre Geste sein sollte, die seinen Zeitgenossen vormachen sollte, dass sich hier die Geschichte von Achilles wiederhole.

In einer Reihe zahlreicher Anknüpfungen an Achilles war die Frage der körperlichen Ähnlichkeiten nicht unwesentlich. Als eine äußerliche Erscheinung dieser Art von Anknüpfung kann das glattrasierte Antlitz von Alexander genannt werden, wodurch er an den bartlosen Helden hat erinnern sollen[36]. Es sei vermerkt, dass die im Museum von Neapel aufbewahrte Pyrrhos-Herme ebenfalls einen glattrasierten Mann darstellt[37]. In diesem Sinne resultiert nicht nur aus den Schilderungen, sondern auch aus der Analyse der körperlichen Ähnlichkeiten eine gewisse Kohärenz zwischen Pyrrhos und Alexander, die sowohl im Aussehen als auch im Handeln einen gewissen homerischen Aspekt in sich fokussiert. Ähnlich wie Alexander durfte sich auch Pyrrhos mit heroischen Standards messen, was sich in seinem Fall vor allem in einer verschieden einzuschätzenden politischen Aktivität ausdrückt[38], aber auch seine Widerspiegelung in den *sui generis* theatralischen Taten findet, unter denen das Verhalten während der Schlacht einen wesentlichen Platz eingenommen hatte.

Das Verhalten während der Schlacht hat eine wesentliche Bedeutung für die Bestimmung der Autorität des Anführers. Die hellenistische Zeit fand einen besonderen Gefallen an aktiven Königen, die in sich strategische Weisheit auf dem Schlachtfeld, Tapferkeit und Vernunft vereinten. Das hatte eine zweifache Zielsetzung: eine erfolgreiche Führung der Truppen und eine entsprechende Beachtung des Herrschers durch das Militär[39]. Von besonderer Wichtigkeit

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[35] Für die Glaubwürdigkeit dieser Geschichte sprechen zwei Argumente. Erstens, wie es das *Onomastikon Epeirotikon* angibt, passt der Name Ἀέροπος in die Zeit von Pyrrhos; siehe Hammond 1967: 796 (*Onomastikon Epeirotikon*). Zweitens, wie es richtig Sandberger (1970: 15) suggeriert, hatte dieser Name vermutlich makedonische Wurzeln. Diese Theorie ist akzeptabel, denn Pyrrhos konnte durch Mitglieder der dortigen Elite umgeben sein, um die Beziehungen zu Makedonien zu vertiefen.

[36] Polyaen. IV 3, 2 behauptet, dass Ziel einer solchen Mode im Heer des Makedoniers war, es unmöglich zu machen, dass sie die Gegner während des Kampfes am Bart ergreifen.

[37] Winkes 1992.

[38] Die Beurteilung der Aktivität von Pyrrhos, insbesondere aus dem Blickwinkel der von ihm im Westen betriebenen Politik, ist nicht die beste. Für einen Teil der modernen Forscher mit Mommsen (1856: 359–361, 380 f.) an der Spitze, blieb Pyrrhos ein roher Mensch, an dem ein Brandmal eines zivilisatorisch unterlegenen Ethnos, aus dem er stammte, haftete. Nenci (1953: 59) wies darauf hin, dass Pyrrhos ein Abenteurer und primitiver Mensch („il rozzo") war, dessen Bedeutung darin bestand, charismatisch das Söldnerheer zu führen; siehe auch Griffith 1935: 64; Sekunda 2018: *passim*; vgl. Carcopino 1961. Eine ganzheitliche Verteidigung der Taten von Pyrrhos unternahm Lévêque (1957: 537–550, 651–672), indem dieser seine Aufmerksamkeit der Eigenart des geschichtlichen Zeitraumes und der sozial-politischen Wandlungen schenkte, vor deren Hintergrund Pyrrhos handelte, vgl. Wolny 2018: 18.

[39] Vgl. Perret 1942: 414.

scheint der Versuch zu sein, darüber entscheiden zu können, inwieweit Pyrrhos in dieses Ideal einer umfangreich verstandenen Tapferkeit (ἀρετή) hineinpasste. Die in unseren Hauptquellen gezeichnete Frage des Verhaltens von Pyrrhos während des Kampfes ist mit seinem impulsiven Charakter unzertrennlich verbunden. In Wirklichkeit geht das skizzierte Bild in die Richtung, den Helden in einer spezifischen literarischen Einstufung zu präsentieren. Das Verstehen dieser *stricte* literarischen Bemühungen sowie der Zielsetzung, die *par excellence* durch das Schrifttum von Plutarch widergegeben wurde, kann noch einmal dazu beitragen, eine formale Einkleidung zu entfernen, die diesen äußerst wichtigen Aspekt des Verhaltens von Pyrrhos verschleierte. Hinter der rhetorischen Schilderung sind möglicherweise Indizien versteckt, die auf die Spur einer vergessenen Belobigung der Taten von Pyrrhos führen, wobei diese unter dem Gesichtspunkt ihres Inhaltes mit dem Schaffen von Proxenos in Verbindung stehen könnte (ὑπομνήματα Πύρρου)[40].

In seinem Bericht möchte Plutarch vor allem dies zur Sprache bringen, dass Pyrrhos keine Muße kannte und sich nach dem Schlachttrubel sehnte. Plutarch schreibt: ruhiges Leben, ohne den Feinden Niederlagen zuzufügen und ohne sich selbst einer Gefahr auszusetzen, sei für Pyrrhos wie eine Seekrankheit langweilig gewesen (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 13, 2). Der an dieser Stelle von Plutarch dargebotene Wortschatz lässt die Zielsetzungen des griechischen Moralisten entdecken, der ein modernisiertes Bild des Herrschers von Epiros entwickelte. Die Langweile (ἄλυς) rief ein Symptom der Seekrankheit, d. h. Übelkeit (ναυτιώδης), hervor. Hier hat man klar mit einer Metapher zu tun, die eine lange Seefahrt evoziert, bei der ein Reisender frustriert ist, weil er keine Abwechslung erfährt. Eine ausführliche Analyse des Begriffs ἄλυς ναυτιώδης wurde in einem Aufsatz von P. Toohey durchgeführt. Der Forscher betont, dass Pyrrhos nach einem Medikament gesucht hat, um die Stagnationsphase seiner militärischen Aktivität abzumildern. Durch diese Suche verlor er letztendlich sein Leben. Wie Toohey unterstreicht, sei die unaufhörliche Überwindung der Langweile in der von Plutarch konzipierten Biographie von Pyrrhos eine lebenstreibende Kraft gewesen[41]. Eine Untersuchung dieser Frage führt sicherlich dazu, eine Kohärenz mit πόθος hervorzuheben – dem ungebremsten Willen von Alexander, der dadurch ausgelöst wurde, gemäß den heroischen Standards wichtige Taten zu vollbringen[42].

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[40] La Bua 1971: 27 f.

[41] Toohey 1987.

[42] Wenn man eine symbolhafte Anknüpfung an die Taten von Alexander in Betracht zieht, dann war es in diesem Sinne eine Art Antidot, die Untätigkeit des Makedoniers zu überwinden, der an der Spitze des Indien-Kampfzuges stand; siehe Gehrke 2011. Für Pyrrhos konnte eine Gegenmaßnahme, jene sinnbildliche Stagnierung während der Kampagne in Italien zu überwinden, wahrscheinlich die Sizilien-Expedition gewesen sein. Diese Parallele geht auf ein heldenhaftes Muster zurück, das heldenhafte Taten darauf baute, sich selbst Herausforderungen zu stellen, und nach immer tiefer greifenden Zielsetzungen suchte (das berühmte Gespräch zwischen Pyrrhos und

DIE INKOHÄRENZ DER ZWEI ABSCHNITTE AUS DEN WERKEN VON PLUTARCH (*PYRRH*. 4, 4 UND *DEM*. 29, 3). THORAX AUS LARISSA ANSTATT PYRRHOS?

Plutarch schrieb in Pyrrhos' Biographie, dass der Aiakide in der Schlacht bei Ipsos durch seine Tapferkeit (ἀρετή) auffiel. Er kämpfte gegen die Kräfte der Verbündeten und fügte seinen Feinden eine Niederlage zu. Nach der Schlacht verließ er Demetrios nicht (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 4, 1). Die Nachricht über die Beteiligung von Pyrrhos an der Schlacht ist sehr komprimiert. Sie lässt sich nur auf eine Bestimmung der politischen Lage von Pyrrhos zurückführen und unterstreicht seine Tapferkeit. Kennzeichnend ist die Tatsache, dass Plutarch in der Biographie von Demetrios keinerlei Nachrichten über Pyrrhos' Beteiligung an der Schlacht bei Ipsos gibt. Einerseits kann man versuchen, dies aus einer Quelle des Berichts Plutarchs zu erklären, also durch die Sichtweise eines früheren Autors, der die Lage von Antigonos schildert – seine in die Götter gesetzten Hoffnungen (Plut. *Dem*. 29, 1), die erhoffte Hilfe seitens seines Sohnes und seine Entschlossenheit, den Kampf bis zum Ende zu führen (Plut. *Dem*. 29, 4). Andererseits scheint der Sinn dieses Berichts darin zu bestehen, die Schuld an der Niederlage bei Ipsos Demetrios zuzuschieben und sie mit der Hervorhebung seiner Hybris zu assoziieren. In der Einleitung in die Ereignisse, die sich in der Schlacht bei Ipsos haben abspielen sollen, schildert Plutarch nämlich den Traum von Demetrios, in dem der Königssohn durch ein Gespenst von Alexander heimgesucht wird. Der Makedonier ist in einen kunstvollen, glänzenden Harnisch gekleidet, was die Tatsache vermitteln soll, ständig kampfbereit zu sein. Alexander fragt Demetrios danach, mit welchen Parolen er zum Kampf aufbrechen will, worauf dieser antwortet: Δία καὶ Νίκην. Weil die Antwort keine Auszeichnung für Alexander ist, beschließt dieser, Gegner von Demetrios zu unterstützen, was im Endergebnis dazu führt, dass Demetrios und Antigonos eine Niederlage erleiden (Plut. *Dem*. 29, 1)[43].

Inzwischen sucht ein böses Zeichen auch Antigonos heim, der vor der Schlacht beim Verlassen seines Zeltes gestolpert und umgefallen war, wobei er sich verletzt hatte. Sofort stand er aber auf und bat die Götter flehentlich und demütig um den Sieg oder um den schmerzlosen Tod vor der Bekanntgabe der Niederlage (Plut. *Dem*. 29, 2). Diese Haltung ist ganz anders, die zu untersuchende Lage weist auf die in den philosophischen Interessen Plutarchs vorhandene Darstellung der Mitwirkung von Tyche hin, die von dem menschlichen Willen unabhängig handelt[44]. Antigonos kommt im tapferen Kampf um, durch

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Kineas, das von Plut. *Pyrrh*. 14, 14 berücksichtigt wurde, hat die Aufgabe, auf die Ansprüche des Herrschers von Epiros hinzuweisen). Für interessante Bemerkungen zum Thema mythologischer Wechselbeziehungen am Beispiel von Alexander siehe Goukowsky 1978–1981.

[43] Weber (1999: 12) behauptet hingegen, dass „Traum des Demetrios in Plut. *Dem*. 29 *nicht* ausdrücklich auf den Tod des Antigonos hinweist" (kursiv im Original).

[44] Mossmann 1995: 213–217.

zahlreiche Pfeilschüsse getroffen. Er stirbt plötzlich, was mit der Erfüllung seiner früheren Bitte einhergeht. Der Schluss dieser Geschichte macht aus Antigonos einen Helden der Ereignisse. Kennzeichnend ist sein Tod, der eine endgültige Durchkreuzung seines Traums von der Wiederherstellung des Königreichs von Alexander bedeutet. Es hat zur Folge, dass die bisherigen Anhänger des Antigonos zur Seite seiner Verbündeten überlaufen. Am Leichnam des Antigonos bleibt nur Thorax von Larissa, der am Gefallenen brav ausharrt[45].

In diesem Kontext mag die kennzeichnende Frage enthalten sein, warum die Rolle nicht von Pyrrhos gespielt wird. Befand er sich nicht etwa im Interessenbereich des Apologeten der Taten von Antigonos? Dieses Indiz liefert natürlich noch keinen Grund dafür, um zu meinen, dass Pyrrhos die Front habe wechseln können. In dieser Lage hätte der Wechsel eines Verbündeten den Epiroten unglaubwürdig gemacht und den abenteuerlichen Aspekt seiner Aktivität in seinem Wesen enthüllt[46]. Diese Frage ist aber vielschichtiger. Während Plutarch die beiden Biographien aufbaute, folgte er sicherlich verschiedenen Quellen. Ihre Wahl, bestimmt durch außergeschichtliche Zielsetzung seines didaktisch-moralisierenden Schaffens, ist natürlich eine gut erkannte Sache[47]. Wie es richtig C.B.R. Pelling bemerkt, wird diese Frage im Falle der Demetrios-Biographie[48] sichtbar, wo Plutarch die Ansätze für sein Schaffen gleich an ihrem Anfang darbietet (Plut. *Demetr*. 1, 2–6)[49]. Es ändert nichts an der Tatsache, dass die Grundlage für seine Biographie der Bericht des Hieronymos von Kardia war, der die Dynastie der Antigoniden dank seiner persönlichen Beziehungen wohlwollend betrachtete, wobei er ihre Gegner weniger günstig darstellte[50]. Diese Frage kann ein besonderes Ausmaß zur Zeit der Herrschaft von Antigonos Gonatas erreicht haben, der Pyrrhos für seinen Gegner hielt[51]. Diese Feststellung kann nur begrenzt die Frage nach der Abwesenheit von Pyrrhos in der Schilderung

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[45] Plut. *Dem*. 29, 5; Sordi 1958: 304; Billows 1990, 438 f. Caldwell Rose (2015: 252) überlegt in seinem kritischen Kommentar die Herkunft von Thorax aus Larissa, den er mit der von Herodot erwähnten Person in Verbindung zu bringen sucht („Thorax is otherwise unknown, but he may be a descendant of another Thorax of Larissa, a member of the Aleuad clan mentioned on several occasions by Herodotus“); vgl. Hdt. VII 6; IX 1 und 58.

[46] Lévêque (1957: 106) findet, dass dieses Handeln durch politisches Kalkül von Pyrrhos bedingt war. Etwas anders sieht die Frage Garoufalias (1979: 223), der in den Entscheidungen von Pyrrhos eine Mitwirkung emotioneller Faktoren bemerkt, die aus seinen persönlichen Eigenschaften hervorgehen. Dessen ungeachtet lenkt er seine Aufmerksamkeit auf die Festigung des Bündnisses durch die Beziehung von Demetrios und Deiadameia. In diesem Zusammenhang scheint, dass das von Lévêque dargebotene Argument ausreichend ist und dass es nicht notwendig ist, es um sentimentale Motive aus dem Werk von Plutarch zu ergänzen.

[47] Duff 1999: 52–64, 204.

[48] Pelling 1995: 148–151.

[49] Vgl. Caldwell Rose 2015: 124–126.

[50] Hornblower 1981: 70–72.

[51] Tarn 1913: 257–274; Gabbert 1997: 29–32.

der Schlacht bei Ipsos beantworten, die in der Vita von Demetrios beschrieben worden war. Die Aussage beider Biographien macht die Quellenangaben einheitlich, aber anscheinend schließt sie ihren geschichtlichen Stamm nicht aus. Vielleicht wirft sie sogar etwas Licht auf das pragmatische Handeln von Pyrrhos und sein Verbleiben an Bündnissen, die sich nur aus den gegebenen Umständen ergaben. Wahrscheinlich kannte Plutarch die Stellungnahme der Quellen und versteckte bewusst eine tiefere Wahrheit unter den Zeilen: indem er Thorax von Larissa herausstellte, hob er hervor, dass Pyrrhos für Antigonos nicht sterben wollte[52]. Wenn er die ausgezeichnete Kampfbereitschaft des Pyrrhos während der Schlacht schildert, will er seine Aufmerksamkeit auf das Theatralische einer solchen Verhaltensweise lenken. Besonders stark betonen eben paradoxerweise die zu untersuchenden Auszüge der von Plutarch verfassten Demetrios-Biographie den Zusammenhang zwischen Pyrrhos und Demetrios und machen merkwürdigerweise den wirklichen Charakter der Beteiligung von Pyrrhos an der Schlacht bei Ipsos kenntlich machen.

DAS THEATRALISCHE IM VERHALTEN VON PYRRHOS IN DER SCHLACHT BEI IPSOS VOR DEM HINTERGRUND DER GESCHICHTE ÜBER HELDENDUELLE

Die Schlacht bei Ipsos ist in gewissem Sinne auch eine symbolische Konfrontation, ungeachtet dessen, dass es ein Ringen war, das zu einer politischen Entscheidung führte. Sie hebt nämlich einen Wettkampf hervor, und somit das Heldentum der kämpfenden Parteien. Diese Absicht wurde übrigens von Plutarch derart geschildert, dass die Schlacht bei Ipsos ein großes Gefecht war, in dem alle Könige gegeneinander um die Macht kämpften: τῆς δὲ μεγάλης μάχης, ἣν ἐν Ἰψῷ πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς ἠγωνίσαντο (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 4, 4). Die hier angedeuteten Auseinandersetzungen weisen also auf das mit dem hellenistischen Geist kohärente persönliche Engagement der Herrscher in der Schlacht hin. Dieser Wettkampf kann mit einem Duell assoziiert werden, mindestens dann, wenn man persönliches Engagement, Entschlossenheit und Hervorhebung der enormen Energie mitbezieht, die in dieses Gefecht gesetzt wurde. Der unter Demetrios kämpfende junge Pyrrhos schlug laut Plutarch nicht nur die Feinde

[52] Dies geht vielleicht nicht aus dem nahen Geschichtskontext hervor – insbesondere aus den von Plutarch dargestellten Begebenheiten rund um die Schacht bei Ipsos (bei Plut. *Demetr*. 31, 2 wurde Pyrrhos als ein Verbündeter von Demetrios bereits nach der Schlacht erwähnt und die geschilderten Umstände weisen darauf hin, dass Demetrios und seine Reiterei infolge seiner Involvierung in den Kampf gegen Antiochos das Kampffeld verließen und Antigonos dadurch keinen Entsatz bringen konnten), aber die spätere Ankunft von Pyrrhos bei den Ptolemäern in Ägypten kann hier schon ein gewisses Argument für das Erkennen von Pyrrhos' „politischem Opportunismus" sein. Außerdem weiß man nicht, inwieweit (und ob überhaupt?) Pyrrhos einen Einfluss auf Demetrios' Annäherung mit den Ptolemäern ausüben konnte. Vgl. Plut. *Demetr*. 32, 5; Lévêque 1957: 107; Kienast 1963: 116; Wolny 2018: 26–31.

nieder, sondern er zeichnete sich unter den Kämpfenden hervorragend aus: παρὼν ὁ Πύρρος τοῖς περὶ Δημήτριον συμμετεῖχε μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι, καὶ τοὺς καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐτέψαντο καὶ διάφανη λαμπρὸς ἐν τοῖς μαχομένοις (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 4, 4). Plutarch, indem er die Tapferkeit von Pyrrhos in der Schlacht bei Ipsos bestimmte, bleibt bei allgemeinen Feststellungen. Er betont aber das großartige Verhalten (λαμπρός) von Pyrrhos während der Schlacht, wobei er damit an andere Abschnitte in seinem Werk anknüpft, in denen Entschlossenheit, Kraft und Kampfgeist von Pyrrhos entfaltet wurden.

In der von Plutarch verfassten Pyrrhos-Biographie findet man zwei besonders transparente Duelle, die der Epirote durchgeführt haben soll (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 7, 7; 24, 4–6). Man kann es nicht ausschließen, dass Plutarch hier derselben Quelle folgt, die in seinem Bericht angeführt worden war, ebenfalls als Grundlage für eine Berichterstattung über Ereignisse, die sich in der Schlacht bei Ipsos abspielten. Dies lässt uns vermuten, dass es Teile eines größeren Ganzen sind. Das erste von den Duellen soll Pyrrhos mit Pantauchos geführt haben, das zweite hingegen mit einem mamertinischen Kämpfer. Diese zwei Agone sind fest im geschichtlichen Kontext verankert[53]. Die beiden wurden auch durch Pyrrhos heldenhaft gewonnen[54], obwohl die geschilderte Lage anfänglich nicht den Eindruck erweckt, dass der Sieg selbstverständlich war. Mit Hilfe eines Homer entnommenen Musters baut Plutarch dadurch Spannung auf, indem er eine mindestens kurz andauernde Atmosphäre schafft, dass man auf die Ergebnisse des Ringens wartet. In beiden Fällen stellt sich Pyrrhos einem würdigen und respektgebietenden Gegner gegenüber. Eine wesentliche Rolle spielt hier die Art und Weise, wie diese Duelle präsentiert werden, denen, ähnlich wie in der *Illias*, eine Charakterisierung des Helden vorangestellt wird[55]. Pantauchos wurde als der hervorragendste Anführer

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[53] Zum Duell zwischen Pyrrhos und Pantauchos, das noch im Zeitalter des Ringens mit Demetrios Poliorketes wahrscheinlich im Jahr 289 v. Chr. stattgefunden hatte, siehe Sandberger 1970: 175 f.; vgl. Lévêque 1957, 144. Zu Pantauchos: Klotzsch 1911: 187; Berve 1949: 694; Sandberger 1970: 175–177. Zum Duell mit einem mamertinischen Krieger, das nach Plutarch während des Rückzugs des Heeres von Pyrrhos von Sizilien nach Italien im Jahr 276 v. Chr. erfolgt sein soll, siehe Garoufalias 1979: 203; vgl. Carcopino 1961: 80. Der Zusammenhang, in dem das Duell von Pyrrhos ausgetragen gewesen sei, bildet eine Begebenheit, die von Lévêque als die Falle der Mamertiner („l’embuscade des Mamertins“) bezeichnet wurde. Plut. *Pyrrh*. 24, 2–6; Zon. VIII 6; Lévêque 1957: 497; Nederlof 1978: 206.

[54] In der Erzählung über dieses Duell ist das Verhalten der Zeugen dieser Begebenheit kennzeichnend. Wie Plutarch berichtet, endete dieses Duell definitiv das Gefecht zwischen dem Heer von Pyrrhos und den Mamertinern. Sie hörten auf, die Hinterfront der Armee des Epiroten zu bedrängen, sie hätten angeblich wie versteinert Pyrrhos betrachtet, als ob dieser ein übermenschliches Wesen gewesen wäre, vgl. Plut. *Pyrrh*. 24, 6.

[55] Ein Beispiel dafür kann hier die Schilderung der Angst von Priamos um das Leben von Hektor sein, die kurz vor dem Kampf, den er gegen Achilles austragen sollte, zum Ausdruck gebracht wurde. In seiner ängstlichen Inkantation weist der Greis zwar auf die Niederträchtigkeit von Achilles hin, vgl. *Il*. XXII 86, wobei er aber zugleich seine Hochachtung ihm gegenüber hervorhebt und die Einzigartigkeit des Gegners von Hektor betont.

von Demetrios charakterisiert[56]. Er zeigt alle wichtigen Eigenschaften auf, die einen unnachgiebigen Krieger kennzeichnen, das heißt: Tapferkeit (ἀνδρεία), Kraft sich dem Gegner entgegenzustellen (χείρ) und Körperkraft (ῥώμη σώματος)[57]. Der mamertinische Krieger ist ein Mensch von Riesenwuchs gewesen: ἀνὴρ τῷ τε σώματι μέγας, was selbstverständlich eine Assoziation mit seiner potenziell enormen Körperkraft weckt. Ein Attribut der Großartigkeit und Majestät dieses Gegners von Pyrrhos ist der Harnisch (ὅπλον), den das Adjektiv λαμπρός charakterisiert, das von Plutarch in der Phrase: καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις λαμπρός verwendet worden war (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 24, 4). Die von Plutarch geschilderte Lage führt ein organisiertes Spektakel vor Augen. Nach A. Chaniotis bildet das Theatralische eine Art Anstrengung von Einzelwesen oder Gruppen, die dazu dient, seine eigene Abbildung auszumalen. Ein solches Bildnis stellt in gewissem Sinne einen Betrug dar, denn es hebt sich von der Wirklichkeit ab oder es verformt sie zum Teil. Dazu dient natürlich ein ganzes Repertoire von Mitteln, die einen entsprechenden Eindruck beim Rezipienten hervorrufen sollen[58]. In diesem Sinne, wie es A. Chaniotis unterstreicht, muss das Theatralische mit dem Theater nicht verbunden sein. Das „theatralische Verhalten" (*theatrical behavior*) liegt verschiedenen Zeremonien und Ritualen des Alltags in jeder Gesellschaft zugrunde, unabhängig davon, ob es mit dem Organisieren von Theateraufführungen vertraut ist oder nicht. In der Geschichtsschreibung erscheint Tyche in der Rolle einer Organisatorin, die öffentlichen Auftritte beeinflussen dagegen die Denkweise der Zeitgenossen. In diesem Umfeld erinnerten die Helden des hellenistischen öffentlichen Lebens selbstverständlich an die Schauspieler auf der Bühne[59]. Von hier aus ist es schon nicht weit zu einer solchen Darstellung von Ereignissen, als ob sie Inszenierungen wären[60]. Es sei darauf hingewiesen, dass bei Livius, in seiner Schilderung des Kampfes zwischen Manlius Torquatus mit einem Gallier (Liv. VII 9, 6–10, 4), das Wort *spectaculum* dreimal vorkommt, obwohl es in diesem Zusammenhang eher auf einen (metaphorisch gedeuteten) Gladiatorenauftritt als

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[56] Das war am wahrscheinlichsten ein Makedoner; siehe O'Neil 2003: 512: „His service for king of Macedon and the fact that his name is a common Macedonian one and that later members of his family seem to be known, make a strong case for Pantauchus being a Macedonian".

[57] Plut. *Pyrrh*. 7, 7: Ὅ τε γὰρ Πάνταυχος ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ῥώμῃ σώματος ἄριστος ὢν ὁμολογουμένως τῶν περὶ Δημήτριον στρατηγῶν. Unzweifelhaft ist es auch eine Anspielung an die Taten von Achilles, weil Pyrrhos die Herausforderung von Pantauchos annimmt, wobei er die Hoffnung hegt, dass der Ruhm dieses Heroen ihm dann zuteil wird, mehr wegen seiner Tapferkeit als wegen seiner Herkunft.

[58] Chaniotis 1997: 222. Der Bereich theatralischer Organisierungen im öffentlichen Leben entwickelte sich in Rom, worauf sicherlich das hellenistische Modell nicht ohne Einfluss gewesen sein muss. Vgl. Kyle 2001: 34–43, 90, 188–190, 224.

[59] Chaniotis 1997: 220, 224.

[60] Vgl. Oakley 1985.

auf eine Theatervorführung hindeutet. Es ändert jedoch nichts an der Tatsache, dass es beim römischen Autor als ein Spektakel in Erinnerung geblieben war.

Der obige Kontext scheint ein Licht sowohl auf die Kämpfe zu werfen, die von Pyrrhos geführt werden, als auch auf die damit verbundene Aktivität des Epiroten bei Ipsos. Pyrrhos besiegt Pantauchos heldenhaft, auf eine nahezu theatralische Weise fügt dem mamertinischen Kämpfer eine Niederlage zu, was während einer Handlung stattfindet, die durch eine von Plutarch geschaffene Dramaturgie besticht. Pyrrhos verteidigt die Nachhut vor den Mamertinern; während er plötzlich einen Kopfstoß erhält, muss er sich zeitweise vom Schlachtfeld zurückziehen. Die körperliche Schwäche des Epiroten ruft einen hochmütigen Krieger zu einem Duell hervor, wobei er über ihn spottet. Trotz einer ihn schwächenden Wunde versetzt Pyrrhos seinem Gegner einen so heftigen Schlag, dass dessen Körper in der Länge zerschnitten wird und entzwei fällt (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 24, 5). Dieser Augenblick wird gewissermaßen zu einem Höhepunkt und unerwarteten Abschluss dieser ungestümen und spektakulären Kämpfe. Wenn es scheint, dass die Lage von Pyrrhos wegen eines ihm kürzlich versetzen Schlages schon entschieden ist und es ist anzunehmen, dass der selbstsichere Gegner unter Spott den Schlussakt begeht, Pyrrhos umzubringen, schlägt die Lage plötzlich total um. Die an dieser Stelle von Plutarch in den Erzählstrang einfügte Antiklimax erlaubt zum erneuten Mal, den heroischen Aspekt in der Darstellung von Pyrrhos zu definieren. Das Schwert (ξίφος) von Pyrrhos zerschlug nicht nur den Kopf des Gegners, sondern zerschnitt sogar den Harnisch, was der Kraft von Pyrrhos eine ungewöhnliche Dimension verleiht (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 24, 6) und ihn sogar in die Welt der homerischen Helden platziert; seine Tat ruft Hochachtung hervor (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 24, 2–6). Das Schwert von Pyrrhos wird hier zum Symbol einer inneren Kraft des Kämpfenden, die dem Aussehen seiner Gegner gegenübergestellt wird. Das Duell von Pyrrhos mit dem mamertinischen Krieger steht in gewissem Sinne mit der Episode in Verbindung, die seinen Kampf bei Ipsos betrifft. Die Handlungen von Pyrrhos in dieser Schlacht weisen auf einen wesentlichen Gegensatz zwischen dem wunderbaren Aussehen der Gegner von Pyrrhos und dem großartigen Handeln von Pyrrhos selbst auf dem Kampffeld (καὶ διάφανη λαμπρὸς ἐν τοῖς μαχομένοις) hin[61]. Der von Plutarch angewandte Wortschatz, der zur Charakterisierung der Taten des Herrschers von Epiros gebraucht wurde, ist mit den Formeln kohärent, die seine Gegner kennzeichnen[62].

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[61] Ähnlich zeigt sich die Lage, die den heldenhaften Kampf von Pyrrhos bei Eryx betrifft, vgl. Plut. *Pyrrh*. 22, 7–12.

[62] Es sind auch andere Aspekte dieser Gegenüberstellung zu erwähnen: In der Schlacht bei Ipsos ist Pyrrhos ein junger Mann, im Duell mit dem mamertinischen Krieger wird er hingegen verwundet, was eine Schwächung seiner Chancen vorwegnehmen kann. Trotzdem kommt er aus den beiden Situationen mit einem blauen Auge davon und in der Zeitperspektive verlaufen alle diese Situationen in Ehre und Glanz. Außerdem wird im Falle des Duells mit dem mamertinischen Krieger die von Pyrrhos nicht aufgewiesene Hochmut (ὕβρις) für seinen Gegner verhängnisvoll.

DIE SCHLACHT BEI IPSOS ALS EIN BESTANDTEIL DER BEURTEILUNG DER GESAMTEN AKTIVITÄT VON PYRRHOS IN DER BIOGRAPHIE VON PLUTARCH

P. Garoufalias weist in seiner exaltierten Bemerkung darauf hin, dass Pyrrhos zum ersten Mal bei Ipsos den Ruhm genießen und seinen eigenen Wert kennen lernen konnte[63]. Das ist selbstverständlich eine sehr moderne Auffassung. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die Beurteilung der Beteiligung von Pyrrhos an der Schlacht bei Ipsos auch mit einer anderen Stelle im Werk Plutarchs einhergeht. Diese Passage bezieht sich ebenfalls auf die Tapferkeit des Pyrrhos. Wie der Autor aus Chaironeia mitteilt, wurde der Epirote durch eine Person von Rang hoch eingeschätzt, die Plutarch als Ἀντίγονος bezeichnete (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 8, 4). Die Meinungen der Forscher darüber, wer dieser Antigonos war, gehen auseinander. G.N. Cross nimmt an, es handele sich hier um Antigonos Monophthalmos[64], während W.W. Tarn für Antigonos Gonatas plädierte, was auch P. Lévêque annahm: „c'est certainement Gonatas"[65]. Die zweite Lösung ist überzeugender angesichts der Tatsache, dass Antigonos Monophthalmos keine Zeit gehabt hat, seine Meinung zum Ausdruck zu bringen, aus dem einfachen Grund, dass er bei Ipsos gefallen ist. Zum anderen sind solche Theorien eine Folge eines allzu großen Glaubens an den historischen Wert der plutarchischen Biographie[66]. Es sei darauf hingewiesen, dass der Autor aus Chaironeia nach beinahe jeder Schlacht das Verhalten seines Helden lobt. Ein Beispiel dafür kann etwa das Gefecht bei Herakleia sein (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 17, 10). Man hat hier am wahrscheinlichsten mit einem apokryphen Motiv zu tun. Plutarch lässt einen seiner Helden sprechen, um auf diese Art und Weise das steigende Prestige von Pyrrhos anzudeuten und gleichzeitig einen entsprechenden Ansatzpunkt in seiner Laufbahn zu finden. Dazu dient mit Sicherheit auch die Unterstreichung der Minderjährigkeit von Pyrrhos (μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι), was zur Konsequenz hat, sich die oben schon genannte Fassung der Geburt von Pyrrhos und seiner wunderbaren Errettung anzu-

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Man kann aber nicht sagen, dass Pyrrhos, der in den obigen Situationen genügende Demut bewahrt und sich auf sein Handeln konzentriert, völlig frei von Hochmut ist. Indirekt weisen darauf etwa die Nachtkämpfe auf dem Gebiet von Argos hin (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 34, 1).

[63] Garoufalias 1979: 223.

[64] Cross 1932: 55; Garoufalias 1979: 223.

[65] Tarn 1913: 115; Lévêque 1957: 106; Gabbert 1997: 31.

[66] In der plutarchischen Erzählung ist die positive Einschätzung des Pyrrhos (seiner Tapferkeit bzw. Führungskompetenz) sozusagen verdoppelt (4, 4 und 8, 4) und auf diese Weise verstärkt. Die Grundlage für die von Plutarch geschaffene Erzählung ist die besungene Tapferkeit von Pyrrhos, die der Herrscher in der Schlacht bei Ipsos gezeigt haben soll. Dieses Verhalten wurde beurteilt, doch Verfechter dieser Beurteilung ist Antigonos, dessen Autorität hier propagandistisch ausgenutzt wurde. Diese Beurteilung beinhaltet auch rhetorische Züge, die Plutarch sehr oft in seinen Biographien benutzte. Ein Beispiel dafür ist etwa das berühmte Gespräch von Alexander mit den Gymnosophisten; siehe Plut. *Alex*. 64, 1–2; Mossmann 1995: 223.

eignen. Der Ansatzpunkt im Leben von Pyrrhos wird im konzeptuellen Sinn mit dem Ansatzpunkt seiner Laufbahn in Verbindung gebracht; im Endeffekt trägt es dazu bei, eine Grundlage für die gesamte Aktivität des Epiroten vorzubereiten. Ohne Zweifel ist die Aussage von Antigonos in diesem weiteren Kontext so zu verstehen, dass Pyrrhos selbst der beste Strategos gewesen wäre, sobald er nur höheres Alter erreicht hätte – ἂν γηράσῃ (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 8, 4).

SCHLUSSFOLGERUNGEN

Obwohl das Alter von Pyrrhos seine Beteiligung an einem militärischen Gefecht zuließ, war seine aktive und politische Rolle auf dem Schlachtfeld bei Ipsos nicht so wesentlich wie der propagandistische Eindruck von dieser Episode. Plutarch schrieb seine Notiz über das Verhalten des Pyrrhos in der Schlacht bei Ipsos, indem er die ihm zugänglichen Quellen verwendete und so umformulierte, damit sie mit dem Hauptansatz seines Schrifttums im Einklang stehen konnten, in dem das moralische Motiv der Wiedergabe von geschichtlicher Wirklichkeit übergeordnet war. Die Analyse von *exemplum* zeigt, dass Plutarch über keine komplexe Vorstellung von seinem Helden verfügt hat, denn dieselbe Person wird in der Pyrrhos-Vita und in der Demetrios-Vita unterschiedlich dargestellt. Die Erwähnungen aus den anderen Werken Plutarchs scheinen diese Inkonsequenz zu bestätigen. Leider kann man die von Plutarch benutzten Quellen, die der Ausmalung der Episode bei Ipsos dienten, nur dadurch erreichen, indem man das durch ihn angewandte Schema untersucht. Dabei wird man nicht um andere, nicht minder ausgezeichnete Quellen reicher, wie es bei anderen Helden seiner Berichte der Fall war, wie etwa bei Perikles. Die Betrachtung eines breiteren Kontextes des Werks von Plutarch lässt den Leser in die Geheimnisse vom Aufbau der biographischen Werke einweihen. Sie enthalten nämlich neben Nachdenken didaktisch-moralisierender Natur eine kompilatorische Neigung, biographische Urquellen einzubauen, deren Bearbeitung durch umsichtige Überlegung nicht immer begleitet wird. Die Oberflächlichkeit beim Lesen des ursprünglichen Berichts scheint die Erzählung von der Beteiligung an der Schlacht bei Ipsos zu veranschaulichen. Paradoxerweise ist diese Situation dennoch vorteilhaft, weil sie auf die Spur einer unbekannten Belobigung von Pyrrhos führt, die sich in der hellenistischen Zeit herausgebildet hat. Diese Erzählung, die vermutlich Teil einer größeren Einheit war, hatte zum Ziel, die von Pyrrhos unternommenen Aktivitäten in verschiedenen Bereichen seiner militärischen wie auch politischen Tätigkeit zu begünstigen. Die Erzählung vom Kampf des Pyrrhos bei Ipsos diente dazu, ein heldenhaftes Bild dieses Herrschers zu schaffen; daher fand sich die Notiz zu seiner Beteiligung an der Schlacht in der literarischen Überlieferung vor allem deswegen, um das Verhalten des Epiroten während dieses Gefechts selbst zu zeigen. Die Schilderung dieses Verhaltens wurde mit anderen Bestandteilen des heroischen Bildes von Pyrrhos abgestimmt; die Grundlage für diese Abstimmung

war in Anlehnung an die Standards des heldenhaften Epos. Die Verbindung dieses Bildes von Pyrrhos mit der politisch-sozialen Wandlung in Epiros und der Hellenisierung dieses Gebiets lassen vermuten, dass die Anknüpfungen an die Welt homerischer Helden in der Tradition des Königreichs von Epiros bereits verankert waren. Die Schaffung eines heroischen Bildes war auch eines der Motive, durch die man erfolgreich an die Person des Alexander und seiner Taten anknüpfen konnte. Dies kann nicht ohne Bedeutung für die Steigerung der Hochachtung vor Pyrrhos und für die Herausbildung konkreter politischer Zielsetzung gewesen sein, die sich sicherlich nicht nur auf Balkan-Teil der griechischen Welt beschränkte.

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CEDO ALTERAM, OR THE PROBLEM WITH SOME AUGUSTAN CENTURIONS IN TIMES OF PEACE*

by

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ABSTRACT: The aim of my article is to explain the source of the problems with the Augustan centurions, which Tacitus described in the first book of the *Annales*. Through the analysis of the promotion system inherited from the Republican period, I have made an attempt to determine which characteristics might have helped a soldier to become a centurion. Tacitus mentioned a centurion named Lucilius, who was given the nickname '*Cedo alteram*' because of his habit of breaking a rod on the back of a legionary and then simply ordering another one. Lucilius and other unpopular centurions became the object of the soldiers' wrath after the outbreak of the mutiny in 14 CE. The question arises as to whether the violent reaction of the soldiers was only the result of the behaviour of some centurions, or whether the system of granting promotions during the reign of Augustus was deeply flawed, enabling people with mental problems to have a military career. To find the answer, I have also used some elements of military psychology which, however, should not be overestimated due to the historical and cultural distance between the events of 14 CE and modern conflicts. In my opinion, the mutinies of the legions stationed in Pannonia and the Lower Germany are good illustrations of some of the serious problems affecting the Augustan army.

In the well-known passage from the *Annales*, Cornelius Tacitus describes Lucilius, a centurion killed by the Roman soldiers who mutinied in Pannonia in 14 CE:

> ...et centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militaribus facetiis vocabulum 'Cedo alteram' indiderant, quia fracta vite in tergo militis alteram clara voce ac rursus aliam poscebat[1].

Many scholars have already discussed in detail the events that sparked off this rebellion and contributed to the period of violent upheaval in the Roman army after the death of emperor Augustus[2]. In contrast, I would like to consider another

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[1] Tac. *Ann*. I 23, 3.

[2] On the mutinies of 14 CE, see in particular Gabba 1975: 76–91; Williams 1997; Malloch 2004; Pagán 2005; Woodman 2006; Salvo 2010. On Tacitus' presentation of the rebelling

problem, hitherto not addressed in scholarship: why a person like Lucilius, who was called '*Cedo alteram*' ("Give me another") by his subordinates and whose personal inclination for sadism was most probably known to his superiors, could still hold such an important military position. Tacitus also mentions centurions from the legions that mutinied shortly thereafter in Lower Germany (Germania Inferior) who were also engaged in excessive violence and were flogged for their actions[3] – a symbolic punishment for rank holders whose symbol was a vine rod (*vitis*) used for whipping (*verberatio*)[4]. The backlash from soldiers against such punishment in two provinces indicates that some centurions inclined toward brutality, so in this article I would like to investigate how they acquired such a fearsome reputation in the context of the rules of of military promotion.

Whatever it was that bred violence among Roman centurions, however, it was certainly not the supposedly harsh military discipline (*disciplina militaris*). A belief in the unusually severe discipline in the Roman legions remains perhaps the most widespread modern scholarly misconception about ancient warfare, despite the efforts of numerous classicists and historians (including William S. Messer, Jon E. Lendon, Simon James and Catherine Wolff)[5] who have been incessantly arguing since 1920 that the cohesion of the Roman army depended on the bonds of fraternity as well as training and not on the shared fear of commanders. Accordingly, Tacitus' account of Lucilius' behaviour cannot imply that his misdeeds were brought about by efforts to impose rigid discipline on his soldiers. Relevantly, the mutineers who served under Lucilius apparently did not ask for laxer discipline or lighter punishments, but for shorter military service and better pay, with centurions' cruel punishments mentioned only in passing: "Adstrepebat vulgus, diversis incitamentis, hi verberum notas, illi canitiem, plurimi detrita tegmina et nudum corpus exprobrantes"[6]. The passage quoted at the beginning of this paper suggests that centurions' excessive use of flogging was not part and parcel of military discipline, but rather a flagrant abuse of power over their subordinates.

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soldiers' personalities, see Kajanto 1970: 708–713. See also MacMullen (1984: 451–455) for a study on how Roman soldiers cooperated in similar situations.

[3] Tac. *Ann*. I 20, 1–2; I 32, 1.

[4] Harmand 1967: 330; Webster 1998: 130; Le Bohec 2001: 61; Cosme 2003: 339–348. The sole example of what is believed to have been a centurion's rod was found in the ruins of Flavia Solva in the province of Noricum; it is dated to the 2nd century CE. See Hannsjörg 2013: 231–240.

[5] Messer 1920; Lendon 2005, esp. pp. 169–178; James 2011, esp. pp. 22–24; Wolff 2012.

[6] Tac. *Ann*. I 18, 1. Cf. *Ann*. I 17, 2–3, in which passage Tacitus speaks about centurions soliciting bribes from the legionaries stationed in Pannonia. Paul Veyne (1997: 151) has pointed out that Roman society accepted this form of bribery as customary and that centurions mentioned in the *Annales* just took advantage of the opportunity given to them. Soliciting bribes for personal favours, however, differs fundamentally from centurions extorting a bribe from soldiers who had been sentenced to a flogging in exchange for waiving the sentence.

As mentioned above, the Roman disciplinary system prioritised fostering *esprit de corps* and promoting unit cohesion over bullying soldiers into obedience. Certain scholars have drawn striking and perhaps oversimplistic parallels between the Roman *contubernia* system (pairing soldiers to promote bonding) and the modern American "buddy" system; despite the obvious shortcomings of these far-reaching juxtapositions, placing these two bonding schemes in dialogue with one another highlights certain universals in military conditioning[7]. Modern military psychology emphasises that harsh discipline discourages soldiers, who respond better to commanders that promote unit solidarity and mutual trust among their troops: the peer pressure generated by comrades-in-arms improves soldiers' performance much more effectively than the fear of even the most severe punishment[8]. Surprisingly, any analysis of narrative sources referring to the late Republic and the early Principate showcases the fact that even well-integrated Roman legions still mutinied from time to time, implying that this type of insubordination did not result from excessive disciplinary measures[9].

A subset of scholars has argued that the nickname given to Lucilius by his subordinates reflects a more prevalent tradition of nicknaming particularly harsh centurions after rods, staffs and other tools used to discipline soldiers; nevertheless, evidence for this type of moniker remains scant. In the *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, Gaius Julius Caesar mentions a centurion named Publius Sextius Baculus (*baculum* means 'stick', 'rod') of the XII Legion, who between 57 (58?) and 51 BCE served under Caesar during the conquest of Gaul[10]. Baculus' *cognomen* might have been a nickname given by his fellow soldiers or, alternatively, it might have passed down to him from his ancestors. In Baculus' case, the *cognomen* appears to allude to the mark of his office, the rod-like *vitis*, with no other *cognomina* of that type appearing in the extant material. Lucilius' moniker, '*Cedo alteram*', might represent the custom of legionaries giving nicknames to their officers; remarkably, Lucilius' moniker appears to have become famous, a part of the lore of his legion. Discovering a tradition of nicknaming severe officers after instruments of discipline would enrich our limited understanding of Roman military culture; unfortunately, more evidence needs to come to light before one can argue for or against the existence of such nicknaming customs.

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[7] Smith 1990; Goldsworthy 1996: 252–256; Lendon 2005: 171.

[8] Moran 1966: 184; Kellett 1982: 92 f., 97-101; Marshall 2000: 43–46, 60; Holmes 2003: 294–297, 332 f.

[9] MacMullen 1984 still remains the best publication on this issue. Cf. Brice 2020.

[10] Caes. *BGall.* II 25, 1; III 5, 2; VI 39, 1. About Caesar's description of Baculus' brave deeds, see Horn 1961; Cowan 2007: 186, 200 f., 216. *OLD*: 223 (s.v. *baculum*): *baculum* roughly equals the Greek term βακτήριον, a rod used by officers of the Spartan army (Hornblower 2000: 61). It should be emphasised that no ancient accounts of the Roman army call a centurion's staff a *baculum*. Cf. Cic. *Verr*. V 142 (*baculum* as a lictor's rod).

In certain cases, it appears that centurions' *cognomina*, previously interpreted as *nomina loquentia*, were in fact ancestral names with no relation to someone's personal character or rank. For example, Raffaele D'Amato claimed that the late Republican centurion Minucius Lorarius of the *Legio Martia* had the *cognomen* given to him during his life[11]. The Italian scholar linked the Latin term *lorarius*, 'a harness-maker'[12], to the item held by Minucius' representation on his funerary stele and asserted that the curved object was not a centurion's staff but a leather belt, the symbolic representation of the nickname. In my view, several arguments undermine D'Amato's interpretation. Firstly, traditional representations of a centurion's *vitis* include both straight and twisted specimens. Secondly, since Minucius obtained Roman citizenship and equestrian status due to his exemplary military service, it is highly unlikely that he would have celebrated his life's achievements on his funerary stele by exhibiting a leather belt, the symbol of the derisive nickname given to him by his subordinates, rather than by depicting a twisted vine staff, the symbol of his military rank and a testament to his rise in socioeconomic status. Thirdly, if Minucius' *cognomen* 'Lorarius' does in fact refer to harness-making, then it is equally probable that it was handed down from his ancestors, since, as I noted above, no irrefutable evidence exists of soldiers giving their officers nicknames that would become their *cognomina*[13]. Bearing in mind that voluntarily adopting such a nickname would be inconsistent with what we know about Minucius' life, I argue that D'Amato has misinterpreted his material. Nevertheless, even if we exclude Minucius' *cognomen* as an example of nicknames given by soldiers to their officers, the story of Lucilius (and perhaps also that of Baculus) suggests that similar monikers could have occasionally been given by soldiers to their centurions, which in turn implies that at least some holders of that military rank had a predilection for excessively harsh disciplinary measures.

Another explanation for Lucilius' behaviour retroactively identifies him as a sufferer from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Today, it is widely acknowledged that combat stress presents a significant long-term threat to soldiers in active service, with abundant literature dedicated to recognising and alleviating its effects[14]. Jonathan Shay was first to search for accounts of PTSD symptoms in ancient Greek literary texts, with a particular focus on the Homeric corpus[15]. The scholarly community largely rejected Shay's hypotheses, since this

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[11] D'Amato 2011: 33. On the tombstone of Minucius Lorarius in general, see Franzoni 1982; Franzoni 1987: 46–48, no. 26; Keppie 1991: 115–121. *Legio Martia* was a *legio vernacula* organised in Italy at the end of Caesar's life: App. *BCiv*. III 69, 28.

[12] *OLD*: 1043 (s.v. *lorarius*).

[13] A few years ago I criticised D'Amato's view: Faszcza 2015: 18 f. (in Polish).

[14] See Trimble 1985; Young 1995; Weinstein, Salazar, Jones 1995; Jones 2006; Nash 2007.

[15] Shay 1991, 1994, 2002.

American psychiatrist has no philological training and frequently drew ahistorical analogies. Despite the criticism directed at Shay, many other scholars followed his example and began to retroactively diagnose ancient soldiers with PTSD: those studying the ancient Roman military, such as Aislinn A. Melchior and Kurt van Lommel, produced papers claiming to identify mental disorders in some legionaries[16]. Relevantly to Lucilius' case, Tacitus remains silent about the course of his military career or the number and nature of armed conflicts in which this centurion participated. Judging from biographies of other soldiers of his rank, Lucilius must have already been a veteran of several battles before he was promoted to the centurionate[17]. The question remains as to whether his assumed inclination for aggression should be identified as one of the symptoms of PTSD.

Military psychologists conducting research on the mental resilience of veterans of selected twentieth century conflicts (especially the wars in Korea and Vietnam) observed that intensive and enduring combat stress resulting in PTSD often manifests itself as an inability to cope with new conditions or situations, with concomitant stress turned into interpersonal aggression. Situations classified as stress-inducing included transfers to another type of unit or post, being entrusted with a new type of duties or adjusting to civilian life after discharge or retirement. Although not always comparable, diverse types of adaptive problems are among those symptoms of PTSD which manifest themselves most frequently[18]. Nevertheless, in Lucilius' case I maintain that the excessive flogging he engaged in stemmed not from his hypothetical "adaptive problems" but rather from his not being suitable to hold a military post with power over fellow soldiers.

Admittedly, mutineers appear to have experienced what one could classify as combat fatigue: Tacitus' accounts, even if embellished to provoke an appropriate rhetorical effect, clearly demonstrate that soldiers in that legion felt thoroughly exhausted from their experiences in the army, among which whipping was mentioned:

> At hercule verbera et vulnera, duram hiemem, exercitas aestates, bellum atrox aut sterilem pacem sempiterna[19].

It is significant that they primarily directed their aggression against centurions:

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[16] Melchior 2011; Lommel 2013.

[17] See Dobson 1972: 195–197. Centurions promoted from the ranks or *principales* had to have had at least several years of field service. Lucilius could have been a veteran of the Illyrian campaign, which was remembered as particularly fierce (Suet. *Tib*. 16, 1).

[18] Marmar, Horowitz 1988: 83; Young 1995: 158; Weinstein, Salazar, Jones 1995: 336 f.; Nash 2007: 58 f.

[19] Tac. *Ann*. I 17, 4. See also *Ann*. I 20, 1–2; I 32, 1.

> Repente lymphati destrictis gladiis in centuriones invadunt: ea vetustissima militaribus odiis materies et saeviendi principium[20].

As evidenced by other passages in Tacitus' work, legions stationed in Pannonia and Germania Inferior at that time included units consisting of veterans[21], at least some of whom had been through major physical or emotional traumas, or were simply experiencing weariness. Nevertheless, I do not believe that scholars can glibly diagnose these ancient Roman veterans with PTSD; even if we assume that modern and ancient troops have/had similar physiological reactions to combat stress, we should also emphasise that modern Western culture holds views on combat and killing very different from those prevalent in Roman times and, as a result, we cannot confidently assess how legionaries' cultural backgrounds affected their reactions to combat fatigue[22]. In the case of Lucilius, we cannot altogether rule out the possibility that his violent behaviour came from his suffering from some effects of combat trauma; such an interpretation, however, must always be grounded in traditional source analysis. Emphatically, Tacitus does not indicate that Lucilius engaged in excessive violence because of his past military experience. Certainly, the author could have had no personal interest in depicting the effects of combat fatigue or he may have remained unaware of its existence, but since he never linked Lucilius' behaviour to his past, what the text denotes must take precedence over any interpretive paradigms that could skew our perspective on the source material.

Furthermore, those who argue that a proportion of Roman centurions might have suffered from PTSD cannot adequately explain why Tacitus' Lucilius remains the sole centurion known by name who actively abused his subordinates, but he was emphatically not the only one against whom his legionaries rose[23]. To claim, extrapolating from Lucilius' behaviour, that the Roman centurionate invited or enabled soldiers with severe mental injuries would call into question the army's combat effectiveness; moreover, outliers unusual enough to warrant a mention in literary sources, such as Lucilius, do not accurately reflect the behaviour of an average centurion. Since we know next to nothing about the past campaigns and combat experiences of Lucilius and his fellow centurions, we

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[20] Tac. *Ann*. I 32, 1.

[21] Tac. *Ann*. I 26, 1–2; I 35, 2–6.

[22] Ancient authors describing military engagements in a narrative form were not unduly concerned with faithfully representing the atrocities of war, their focus being on emulating the literary conventions of the day; accordingly, they had little to say about soldiers' everyday lives and what little we know about them does not allow us to retroactively diagnose soldiers with symptoms of PTSD. Admittedly, including input from military psychologists in research projects on ancient armies may open new research avenues, but such input should always be carefully embedded in the context of cultural history, as Lendon (2005) has demonstrated. Cf. Lommel 2013: 174–177. On the general role of cultural backgrounds in military psychology, see Marshall 2000: 78.

[23] Tac. *Ann*. I 20, 1–2; I 23, 2; I 32, 1.

cannot recreate their biographies and consequently we cannot retroactively diagnose them with PTSD: another explanation must be found for Tacitus' references to violent Augustan centurions.

To set Lucilius' case in context, we may use the works of Caesar and his followers to reconstruct the general rules regarding the promotion of soldiers to the centurionate in the late Republican Roman armies. Both earlier and later authors agree in stressing that centurions of the late Republic were selected according to bravery shown in battle[24]. Occasionally, a common soldier set himself apart through an act that deserved a spectacular promotion: Caesar narrates that he promoted Cassius Scaeva by 42 ranks in 48 BCE[25]. Promoting the bravest soldiers made Roman centurions lead by example and inspire their fellow soldiers; by comparison, modern armies also tend to draw their commanding officers from soldiers who show leadership potential[26].

Nevertheless, certain scholars studying the Roman army have argued that the practice of rewarding bravery with promotions only began shortly before the 2nd century BCE, when the Greek historian Polybius of Megalopolis described the expectations commanders held for prospective centurions in a following manner:

> βούλονται δ' εἶναι τοὺς ταξιάρχους οὐχ οὕτως θρασεῖς καὶ φιλοκινδύνους ὡς ἡγεμονικοὺς καὶ στασίμους καὶ βαθεῖς μᾶλλον ταῖς ψυχαῖς, οὐδ' ἐξ ἀκεραίου προσπίπτειν ἢ κατάρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης, ἐπικρατουμένους δὲ καὶ πιεζομένους ὑπομένειν καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας.
>
> They wish the centurions not so much to be venturesome and daredevil as to be natural leaders, of a steady and sedate spirit. They do not desire them so much to be men who will initiate attacks and open the battle, but men who will hold their ground when worsted and hardpressed and be ready to die at their posts.
>
> (Polyb. VI 24, 9; transl. by W.R. Paton)

According to Caesar, what made a good centurion was no longer steadfastness and calmness – as Polybius claimed – but boldness and bravado. The scholarly consensus holds that this change resulted from the popularisation of cohorts at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st century BCE. Centurions were moved to fight in the first line and became "battering rams" intended to break the enemy's ranks[27]; accordingly, they suffered heavy casualties[28], because their

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[24] Wegeleben 1913: 5 f.; Radin 1915: 303–306; Harmand 1967: 328–333; Goldsworthy 1996: 182; Cowan 2007: 133 f. Cf. Parker 1926: 45 f. and 1958: 31–35 (about the internal gradation and the role of commanders in promoting centurions).

[25] Caes. *BCiv.* III 53, 3; Suet. *Iul*. 68, 4; Plut. *Caes*. 16, 2.

[26] Marshall 2000: 40 f., 114, 173; Holmes 2003: 340.

[27] Adcock 1940: 21; Harmand 1967: 338–342; Goldsworthy 1996: 182; Sabin 2000: 11; Lendon 2005: 302.

[28] E.g. Caes. *BGall.* II 25, 1; VII 51, 1–2; *BCiv.* I 46, 3–4; III 69–71; III 99, 1; *BAlex*. 43, 1–3. Cf. Tac. *Ann*. XII 38; *Hist*. III 22.

badge of office, a transverse crest (*crista transversa*) placed on their helmets, attracted the enemy's gaze[29]. Frequent deaths necessitated a rapid turnover of personnel in the centurion corps, and the new recruits rarely received any systematic training as commanders or combat leaders. Drawn from particularly bold legionaries, centurions would thus gradually become Rome's "battle champions". Even though our information on this shift in promotion practices comes chiefly from Caesar's *Commentarii*, which may not always accurately depict whole units of the Republican Roman army[30], it appears that the centurionate in the 1st century BCE did undergo the changes specified above.

The correctness of Polybius' statement, however, is open to some doubt. In Roman military culture, courage has always meant more than steadiness, as evidenced by numerous examples[31]. Perhaps Polybius meant to comment upon the uneasy balance between *virtus* and *disciplina* in the Roman army of that period: relevantly, Lendon claims that, until the 1st century BCE, experienced centurions restrained young, glory-seeking military tribunes who often exposed troops to unnecessary danger; the subsequent change in the centurions' role from restraining to inciting perhaps paralleled concurrent changes in the character of the military tribunate[32]. Lendon's conjecture appears convincing, especially in the light of the dearth of 1st-century tribunes names mentioned in the context of combat achievements, which from that point on was mainly associated with centurions. Relevantly, even before the 1st century BCE, some centurions were known for their boldness: for example, Lucius Siccius Dentatus, the archaic archetype of heroic soldier, willingly participated in one-on-one duels in front of armies[33]. From the Republican period onward, the sources, collected by Stephen P. Oakley, speak of numerous military single combats involving centurions[34]. Data concerning the 1st century centurionate indicates that many soldiers of that rank engaged in daredevil military exploits that went against the spirit of military discipline. When Caesar described the extraordinary achievements of his legionaries, those distinguished enough to feature in his writings were usually centurions. In the words of Charles S. Smith, a centurion became more than a level-headed superior: "a first-class fightin' man"[35].

In the early Imperial period, single combats still remained popular in the Roman army[36], even if sources from that period rarely describe soldiers' individual accom-

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[29] See Durry 1928; D'Amato 2011: 34 f.

[30] On the specifics of Caesar's narration on soldiers' deeds, see Rambaud 1953: 295–301; Harmand 1967: 349–383; Keppie 1984: 96 f.; Palao Vicente 2009.

[31] Lendon 2005: 172–211; McDonnell 2006: 12–71. See also Harris 1979: 9–53.

[32] Lendon 2005: 229 f.

[33] Dion. Hal. *Ant.* X 37, 3; Val. Max. III 2, 24; Plin. *NH* VII 101; Gell. II 11, 3; Fest. 208 L.

[34] Oakley 1985.

[35] Smith 1928: 17.

[36] E.g. Joseph. *BJ* VI 82–89; VI 168–179.

plishments in detail, although the works of Tacitus and Flavius Josephus are notable exceptions. Some passages, however, suggest that such brave feats were celebrated: during the reign of Tiberius, Valerius Maximus collected and cited examples of Roman acts of courage, including military duels from the past, closely related to *virtus* as one of the determinants of *Romanitas*[37]. Significantly, Josephus' account implies that, from the mid-first century CE onwards, Roman commanders also began to fight in battle in person according to an archaic custom, which was a reversal of the trend that was current at the time[38].

Another type of evidence that lends support to the view that centurions were expected to participate in battle concerns military awards and marks of honour given in the Imperial army. Roman military decorations (*dona militaria*), handed to legionaries in appreciation of individual acts of bravery, encompassed crowns (*coronae*), decorations (*phalerae*), bracelets (*armillae*), torcs (*torques*) and other types of awards[39]. From the second half of the 1st century CE onward, merit badges were given according to newly established criteria that took into account the recipients' rank[40]. Funerary reliefs of centurions and awards mentioned in their commemorating inscriptions clarify that members of this rank belonged to a battle-hardened elite. The said criteria most probably reflected an average number and type of awards granted to a common centurion in the period before the practice of awards was standardised. Since centurions were expected to fight at the heads of their units, just like in the late Republic, they had many chances to distinguish themselves in battle and to win awards; commendable achievements of former centurions in turn inflated the value of honours given to their successors after the standardisation of the decorating customs[41].

The mass of circumstantial evidence presented above suggests that centurions of the early Imperial Roman army were to inspire their subordinates through personal example by engaging in battles. Inspiring others, however, depended on the personal relationships a given centurion established with his troops. Some centurions of equestrian origin joined the army without any service in the military; hence, centurions promoted from lower ranks were particularly eager to show valour and prove that they deserved their elevated status[42]. Regardless of the careers of individual centurions, early Imperial centurions as a group gravitated toward and socialised with commanders and senior officers: more often than not they neither stressed their links to soldiers of lower ranks nor acted as their

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[37] Val. Max. III 2, 1–3, 2 *ext*. 9; Wiedemann 1996; McDonnell 2006: 49.

[38] Lendon 2005: 233–260.

[39] On various types of Roman military decorations: Maxfield 1981: 67–100; Linderski 2001.

[40] Maxfield 1981: 136–141 (in general), 184–209 (on centurions).

[41] Maxfield 1981: 185–200.

[42] See below in this article.

representatives[43]. Perhaps this severing of the rapport between some centurions and their subordinates underpins the palpable change in the common soldier's opinion of the centurionate, which as a class disassociated themselves from their subordinates and/or former peers by harshly punishing their minor misdeeds – but if this was indeed the case, when did this shift occur?

I argue that the deterioration in relationships between centurions and their subordinates in the legions coincided with and mirrored other changes happening in the Roman army of the late Republic. Centurions in the Republican army traditionally received twice the amount of pay and number of awards given to ordinary legionaries[44]; in the 1st century BCE the pay inequality increased to the point that, in comparison to an ordinary legionary, a centurion's salary was five[45], ten[46], or even twenty times bigger[47]. After being discharged, veteran centurions also enjoyed a higher social status[48]; Lucius Cornelius Sulla and Caesar even dared to appoint centurions as senators, which stirred up a major scandal among the members of the *nobilitas*[49]. This sudden and meteoric rise in the importance of centurions uprooted the social hierarchy in the army: as a group, the centurions had the ear of Caesar and of the future emperor Augustus, who even sent centurions as envoys to negotiate with the Roman senate[50]. Although Augustus thoroughly reformed and professionalised the Roman army[51], he did not address the glaring discrepancy between the centurions' formal rank and their overinflated power and impact. In the eyes of the ordinary legionary, the centurions became aloof and easily goaded members of the commanding elite, as events of 14 CE and preceding years demonstrated beyond all doubt.

According to surviving sources, soldiers probably first turned against their centurions when two legions stationed in Cilicia mutinied in 51 BCE. When Marcus Tullius Cicero, appointed as the new provincial governor, arrived in Cilicia, he encountered a situation which he described in the following manner:

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[43] Schmitthenner 1960: 4 f., 9 f.; Aigner 1974: 150 f.; de Blois 1987: 16. Cf. Tac. *Ann*. I 23, 4, although the example mentioned by Tacitus concerns a centurion who was not entirely willing to present the postulates of soldiers.

[44] Polyb. VI 39, 12–13; Liv. XXXIII 23, 7; XXXIV 46, 2; 52, 4; XXXVI 40, 12; XXXVII 59, 3; XXXIX 5, 14; 7, 1; XL 34, 2; 43, 5; 59, 2; XLI 7, 1; 13, 6; XLV 40, 5; 43, 4.

[45] Hirt. *BGall.* VIII 4, 1.

[46] Caes. *BGall.* IV 8, 1.

[47] Plut. *Pomp*. 33, 5; App. *Mithr*. 104, 490.

[48] E.g. Caes. *BCiv.* II 18, 4; Cic. *Phil*. 1, 20.

[49] Cic. *Ad Att*. XIV 10, 2; Cass. Dio XLVIII 22, 3; Oros. V 21, 3. It remains unknown by which means the representatives of the plebs (no matter whether *urbana* or *rustica*) could receive such a promotion. Unfortunately, our understanding of the plebeian culture and value system is insufficient. See Flaig 2003: 17–31; Dupont 2000: 9 f.

[50] Suet. *Aug*. 26, 1; Plut. *Pomp*. 58, 2; *Caes*. 29, 6.

[51] See especially Raaflaub 1980; Gilliver 2007; Speidel 2009; Cosme 2012; Eck 2017.

> Cumque ante adventum meum seditione quadam exercitus esset dissipatus, quinque cohortes sine legato, sine tribuno militum, denique etiam sine centurione ullo apud Philomelium consedissent, reliquus exercitus esset in Lycaonia, M. Anneio legato imperavi, ut eas quinque cohortes ad reliquum exercitum duceret coactoque in unum locum exercitu castra in Lycaonia apud Iconium faceret[52].

In his earlier letter addressed to his friend Titus Pomponius Atticus, Cicero imparts that the soldiers rebelled because the previous governor had frozen (and might have seized) their pay[53]. Centurions were not, however, with their subordinates when Cicero arrived in the province. Was the soldiers' anger also directed against their centurions, as in 14 CE? It is hard to find another explanation, because the general principles of military service were the same for centurions as for all soldiers, so they could not have been demobilised as a whole group and simply returned to Rome with the previous governor. So apparently they were not in the garrison because they might have felt threatened. In situations of unrest, no matter what the cause, the anger of soldiers could easily spread to everyone by whom they felt they had been offended. It seems, therefore, that the mutiny of 14 CE was not the first example of military unrest during which centurions could have feared for their lives. Cicero did not provide information on any sort of lynching, so the unrest probably did not end in bloodshed on this occasion.

One explanation for the growing rifts in the Roman army concerns how new centurions were inducted into the rank. In the final years of the late Roman Republic, the centurionate was opened up to equestrians joining the army without first having served as ordinary legionaries[54], and similar drafting practices were also in use in the Principate. Unsurprisingly, a growing split opened up between centurions promoted from the ranks of legionaries and new equestrian recruits who were made centurions on their arrival. The former group had to serve as *beneficiarii*, *cornicularii* and/or *optiones* before gaining the promotion, whereas the latter did not and thus enjoyed a more direct career path[55]. Both categories also differed with regard to the conditions they needed to fulfil before rising to the most important rank within the centurionate, i.e. the primipilate[56]. Predictably, equestrian centurions had less combat experience and could not easily relate to their subordinates. A regular promotion path in the Roman army ensured that soldiers got relevant combat and organisational experience that was

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[52] Cic. *Ad fam*. XV 4, 1.

[53] Cic. *Ad Att*. V 14, 1.

[54] *BHisp*. 25.4–7. Equestrian centurions could have also been mentioned in *BAfr*. 54, 4–6.

[55] Parker 1926: 47–51; Sander 1954: 88–100; Breeze 1971 and 1976; Webster 1998: 116; Wesch-Klein 1998: 22, 30 f.

[56] Dobson 1972: 198–206; Wesch-Klein 1998: 22; Dobson 2000: 141–147. On the ranks of Imperial centurions, see von Domaszewski 1967: 80–120; Le Bohec 2001: 43 f.

an asset when they ascended to the ranks of the centurionate: for example, holding the position of a deputy centurion (*optio*) for several years acquainted one with the duties of the superior one would eventually replace. Relevantly, extant military inscriptions from the Augustan period do not confirm that, at least in that period, every soldier promoted to the centurionate had to have held several positions before being promoted[57]. In other words, certain newly-minted centurions had never held any important offices before their promotion and had to learn everything as they went along, with some doing better than others.

No surviving information indicates that equestrian centurions asserted any kind of class superiority over ordinary soldiers, analogous to officers in the British Army in the 18th and 19th centuries[58]. Lucilius and the other violent centurions mentioned by Tacitus did not abuse their troops because they considered them inferior: in fact, all these centurions were most probably drawn from the pool of ordinary legionaries who had been promoted. Their excessive violence towards their subordinates might have stemmed from the general acceptance of officer brutality in the Roman army, since many of them did not receive promotion until fairly late in their lives, which deprived them of the necessary command experience. Since we have very few surviving records on the dishonourable discharge of centurions (*missio ignominiosa*), it appears compelling that centurions' superiors often turned a blind eye to their faults, including any excessive disciplinary actions directed at their subordinates.

As an aside concerning the findings of military psychologists, American researchers have found that up to 2% of all soldiers cannot feel fear, which is a serious mental disorder: civilians with the same condition often show a particular inclination to violence and crime[59]. Soldiers who cannot experience fear will be very effective in combat, but they will not build interpersonal relationships or reliably perform administrative duties. In times of war, sociopaths who would otherwise endanger others may become celebrated war heroes. Was Lucilius a cognitively-challenged person who could only express himself through acts of violence? In times of war, even emotionally unstable individuals with no talent for leadership might find themselves being promoted to positions of power, especially if they could boast of battle achievements that the Romans paid special attention to.

Relevant to that point, one could also examine the mutiny of 14 CE in the light of how the early Imperial and late Republican Roman armies selected individuals for promotion to a higher rank. Prioritising daring exploits and feats of bravado as the main criteria for being promoted, where such individuals would become

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[57] Wesch-Klein 1998: 21. See also von Domaszewski 1967: 28–50, 80–112; Breeze 1971 and 1976 about the establishment of the military promotion path in the 2nd century CE.

[58] Oman 1912: 195–207; Holmes 2001: 157–181.

[59] Grossman 1995: 5–8, 44, 131 f.

feared cohort leaders, would funnel into the centurionate all those who, apart from their aggression and combat skills, had no ability to command. Effective on the battlefield, such soldiers could easily break an opponent's ranks, but they did not know how to win their subordinates' loyalties or perform administrative duties in times of peace. The '*Cedo alteram*' case could therefore represent one outgrowth of the predominantly negative selection scheme for promoting soldiers to the centurionate. Lucilius could have been one of those fearless "battle champions". As a centurion, he demanded obedience and disciplined with brutality, because those were the only methods he knew, and this contributed to the outbreak of unrest as service conditions deteriorated. His behaviour went against the spirit and law of military discipline: unfortunately for him, Roman legionaries stationed in Pannonia were so loyal to one another that they turned *en masse* against their centurions, who received no support in the face of their soldiers' wrath. Lynched by rioting soldiers, Lucilius was just as much an architect of his own fate as he was a victim of a faulty promotion system that gave him power over others which he should never have been given.

Lucilius could simply have been one of those "battle champions" who was not fit for command, but was promoted because he was highly effective in battle. Tacitus mentions him due to his anomalous and abusive acts, which were condemned by his subordinates. Surviving sources relate that many soldiers who rebelled in that legion evaded punishment, perhaps being pardoned due to having been pushed to their limits by their overbearing officer. Nevertheless, certain standards had to be maintained: the ringleaders of that mutiny were summarily executed and it is not impossible that Lucilius' killers ultimately met the same fate[60].

In the light of these incidents and the growing unrest within the early Imperial army, I would like to argue that the dysfunctional promotion system probably directly influenced the subsequent establishment of a progressive promotional scheme in which a centurion promoted from the ranks first had to gain some necessary experience by holding other preparatory offices. Accordingly, Lucilius' case showcases the fact that such a reform was long overdue. Scholars of the Roman army often contextualise the bloody mutiny of 14 CE as a result of concurrent political tensions and link it to deteriorating relations between Germanicus and Tiberius. Meanwhile, the said mutiny could just as well have been linked to the faulty promotion system that elevated emotionally scarred or damaged soldiers who should never have received a position of responsibility. Roman military institutions, which are often superficially divided into "Republican" and "Imperial", evolved over time. The Augustan army shared more features with the late Republican legions than with the troops under the Flavians or Trajan; a shift from the late Republic to the early Principate did not mean that the military

[60] Tac. *Ann*. I 29, 4–30, 1 (on the execution of the leaders of the mutiny).

abandoned its Republican heritage. I firmly believe that the events of 14 CE can be explained by the negative selection procedures used to promote soldiers to the centurionate in the Roman military, and that such schemes can be elucidated through the findings of modern military psychology. Soldiers like '*Cedo alteram*' Lucilius could serve in the Augustan legions because the centurionate prioritised fearless and brash fighters over capable leaders and administrators.

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MILITARY TRIBUNATE IN THE CAREERS OF ROMAN SENATORS OF THE SEVERAN PERIOD. PART 2: SPECIAL DISTINCTIONS (*DONA MILITARIA*, *ADLECTIONES*, *COMMENDATIO AUGUSTI*)

by

DANUTA OKOŃ

ABSTRACT: In this article, the second in a series devoted to the office of the military tribune in the senatorial *cursus honorum* in the Severan period, the following findings are presented: (1) in the group of 123 military tribunes from the Severan period who subsequently became senators, special distinctions (*dona militaria*, *adlectio*, *commendatio*) were awarded to 49 people (approx. 40%); (2) *dona militaria* were granted to 8 of them; most people from this group are attested as *homines novi* and came from the provinces; (3) the gradual disappearance of references to *dona* in the source material may be the result of the intentional damage of inscriptions relating to emperors as award givers (e.g., due to the *damnatio memoriae*) or a change in the character of these distinctions (financial rewards replacing the traditional *dona*); (4) *dona* did not have any greater impact on the subsequent *adlectio* or *commendatio*; they did not become a part of the senatorial mode of promotion; (5) we know of 23 former tribunes who were adlected among the former magistrates; *homines novi* and provincials were the most numerous among them; (6) we know of 28 former tribunes who became *candidati Augusti* for magistracies; representatives of *gentes senatoriae* and residents of Italy were the most numerous among them; (7) *candidati* were people from the senatorial order, whereas *adlecti* were people from various orders; (8) in the group of 49 senators with special distinctions that was analysed, those distinguished once and twice dominate.

I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

This paper is the second publication devoted to the office of the military tribune in the senatorial *cursus honorum*. In the previous one[1], I analysed the general conditions: the source nomenclature for this office, the appointment procedure with the system of favouritism, quantitative issues and the *origo* and *ordo* of tribunes. The most important conclusions from that paper can be summarised as follows:

[1] *Military Tribunate in the Careers of Roman Senators of the Severan Period. Part 1: Introductory Issues*, Eos CVI 2019, pp. 59–76.

– The following terms were generally used to describe the office of the military tribune in epigraphic and literary material: *tribunus militum*, *tribunus legionis*, and *tribunus laticlavius*.
– The title of *tribunus angusticlavius* is not found in the epigraphic material, but only in literary sources.
– The decision to appoint tribunes was formally made by the emperor, following the recommendations of people from his entourage and the staff of the provinces (governors).
– The average term of office of a military tribune was 2 years.
– Around 588 *tribuni laticlavii* and five times as many *angusticlavii* served in the legions in the Severan period; service in one legion was the standard, but 13 served in two legions.
– Out of 123 tribunes who subsequently became senators, 62 were from the senatorial order (including 23 descendants of consuls) and 12 from the equestrian order; the social status of the others remains unclear.
– Comparisons of the *origo* and *ordo* of tribunes show the dominant role of favouritism in their efforts to be appointed to this office. This is explicitly mentioned in literary sources, while other sources document this phenomenon indirectly.

The above findings significantly clarify and supplement our knowledge. They also constitute a starting point for further deliberations.

In this article, I will present the extent to which holding the military tribunate was associated with special distinctions: *dona militaria* (military distinctions), *adlectio* (co-optation among former magistrates), and *commendatio Augusti* (imperial recommendation). As in the previous article, I will include all the tribunes from both the senatorial order (*laticlavii*) and the equestrian order (*angusticlavii*) – if they were subsequently awarded adlection into the Senate. I will try to discover the type and number of special distinctions found in their *cursus*, the conditions that determined their award (*ordo* and *origo*), as well as their impact on the careers of individual senators at the stage from the quaestorship to the praetorship[2]. The following text in no way changes the career typology outlined in the second volume of my *Album senatorum*[3], but it complements my previous research in an important way.

All the senators featured in the text below have biographical entries in the first volume of the *Album senatorum*[4].

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[2] The next article is in progress, discussing the praetorian and consular careers of former military tribunes.

[3] Okoń 2018, ch. IV: "Senatorial Careers – Conditions".

[4] Okoń 2017.

II. *DONA MILITARIA*

During their military service, tribune officers could receive so-called *dona maiora*: *coronae*[5], *hastae purae*[6] and *vexilla*[7], whereas sub-commissioned officers[8] and soldiers were awarded *dona minora*[9]: *torques*, *phalerae*, *armillae* and

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[5] The following types of *coronae* are known: *aurea*, *muralis*, *vallaris/castrensis*, *civica*, *navalis/classica*, *obsidionalis*, *ovalis*, *triumphalis*. In the absence of archaeological sources, we can only hypothesise as to their appearance and workmanship. In the case of the *corona aurea*, its raw material seems apparently obvious, but the term *aurea* could refer not only to the type of metal used (gold), but also to its colour (golden). As this distinction was quite common in various military groups, I have opted for the second of these possibilities (for financial reasons). Thus the *corona aurea* was not really made of gold, but rather it was golden in colour. Sources mentioning other gold crowns should be interpreted in a similar way. According to Aulus Gellius (V 6), the following crowns were also gold: "muralis [...] et castrensis et navalis", which is confirmed by Polybius (VI 39) for the *corona muralis* and by Festus (*De verborum significatione* 49 L) for the *corona vallaris* (*castrensis*). On the other hand, the *corona civica* was made of oak or holly leaves, the *corona obsidionalis* was made of grass, the *corona triumphalis* was made of laurel leaves and, later, indeed of gold and the *corona ovalis* was made of myrtle. It should be added that the same officer could receive several crowns of the same kind or of different types. – During the Severan period, only the *corona aurea*, *muralis* and *vallaris* are attested in epigraphic sources, while numismatic sources attest to the *corona triumphalis* in the case of emperors. They all belonged to the gold category (although in fact only the *corona triumphalis* was indeed made of gold), a fact which sheds an interesting light on the changes in the character of military distinctions.

[6] Since *hastae purae* could be awarded many times, only their number is mentioned in epigraphic material, e.g. *hastae purae II*. They were made of wood and covered with metal. A notable inscription from the Severan period relating to C. Didius Saturninus (*CIL* XI 7264 = *ILS* 9194) presents him as the holder of the *hasta pura argentea*, which clearly indicates that *hastae* were made of silver (in fact, silver-plated), so they were slightly less prestigious decorations than the gold-plated *coronae*.

[7] In the case of the *vexillum*, sources use the terms *vexillum* or *vexillum argenteum*. The inscriptions in honour of two praetorian prefects, T. Furius Victorinus and M. Bassaeus Rufus, are exceptions here. Furius (*CIL* VI 41143 = *ILS* 9002) was awarded, among other decorations, *vexilla obsidionalia* for his part in the victory over the Parthians (in the times of M. Aurelius and L. Verus); Bassaeus (*CIL* VI 1599 = *ILS* 1326) was awarded, among other decorations, *vexilla obsidionalia* for his role in the victory in the Sarmatian war (in the times of M. Aurelius and Commodus). The term *obsidionalis* was used in connection with the *corona obsidionalis*. It is possible that both distinctions (*vexillum* and *corona*) were awarded for achievements of the same or a similar type, especially given the decline of the *corona obsidionalis.* The term *argenteus*, on the other hand, is encountered as qualifying the *hasta pura*; it means silver or silver-plated. Bearing in mind the number and position of people distinguished with both types of the *vexillum*, it seems almost certain that the *vexillum obsidionale* was much more prestigious.

[8] I include centurions in this group, despite Le Bohec (2018: 73), who considers them to be officers, an opinion which in my view is too rash. That they should be considered as non-commissioned officers is confirmed, among other things, by the *dona militaria*: centurions were awarded the *dona minora* (as amply evidenced in inscriptions), and not the *dona maiora*, which was typical for officers.

[9] These decorations, intended for lower ranks, occur primarily in epigraphic and iconographic sources; in the case of the *phalerae* also in archaeological sources. Therefore, only in the case of the latter ones it is possible to learn something of their exact appearance, size and material (various metals and semi-precious stones). It may be assumed that the *dona minora* were financial rewards (with their

sometimes *corona* and *hasta pura*[10] (both from the *dona maiora* category, but awarded only once). Owing to this classification we can, in some cases, accurately determine the social status of a person who has been honoured or at what stage of his career he was, even if the inscription is not explicit about this[11]. Honorific inscriptions are often limited to the formula "donis militaribus donatus/ornatus", which minimises the amount of information available about the *dona*. Moreover, they are not always presented in a chronological order, which causes additional difficulties. However, the fact that *dona* were awarded for combat merit (a heroic act, participation in a war or an expedition)[12] and that inscriptions often provide the specific name of the war (*Parthica*, *Mesopotamena*, etc.) or at least the name of the emperor, gives us a basis on which to formulate conclusions about the relationship between military distinctions and a honorand's subsequent career, if it is at least partially documented. On the basis of epigraphical material, it can be concluded that the decision to award *dona* was made by the emperor, probably at the request of a tribune's direct superiors, e.g. a legionary or provincial legate. This gave the young tribune an opportunity to be remembered by the emperor and to establish a good starting position in the competition for future offices.

Only eight senators known to us from the Severan period (former tribunes)[13] have *dona militaria* attested in their *cursus*. From the group of the *laticlavii* these are C. Caesonius Macer Rufinianus[14], who received them from Marcus

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former name retained), and the decorated soldier himself financed the placing of their symbols on his armour, hence the differences in their appearance, quality and the material. Given this situation, it becomes obvious why the inscriptions of the Severan period never specify what material the *dona minora* were made of, despite the fact that, as indicated by archaeological remains, they differed from each other. – As regards other distinctions for lower ranks, one should mention *albata dec[u]rsio*, which was an honorary parade in a white robe, a rare type of an honorary distinction for combat merits. See the following cases: M. Iulius Rufus, a centurion from the Flavian period (*AE* 2006, 1480 = *AE* 2007, 1461); L. Antonius Naso, a *primipilaris* and later a tribune of the praetorians from the sime period (*CIL* III 14387 = *IGLS* VI 2781 = *AE* 2004, 82); NN, a *primipilaris* (*CIL* III 14387 = *IGLS* VI 2798 = *ILS* 9198 = *AE* 2004, 82); Cn. Iulius Rufus, a *primipilaris* from the time of the Antonines (*AE* 1998, 1435). This distinction was not in use in the times of the Severans.

[10] From the time of the Severans, there is no instance of the *hasta pura* being awarded to someone of lower than equestrian status.

[11] What is helpful in this respect is knowing about the maximum number of *coronae*, *vexillae* and *hastae purae* which a single honorand could obtain. Commanders of the consular rank could receive four such distinctions in each category. For those of the praetorian rank the number was three, and for tribunes two. See Maxfield 1972: 45 f. and 1981.

[12] It should be remembered that these distinctions were awarded both to ordinary soldiers and non-commissioned officers (centurions) for their performance in actual warfare, and to their commanders (legionary legates, prefects of *vexillationes*), who did not directly take part in warfare, but only gave orders.

[13] *Dona* were also awarded to C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes, but then he was already the governor of Pannonia Inferior.

[14] "Donatus donis militaribus a divo Marco" (*CIL* XIV 3900 = *ILS* 1182 = *InscrIt* IV 12, 102), specific distinctions not given.

Aurelius; [...]anus S[...][15] and an unknown praetor?[16] (*AE* 2003, 365), who probably received them from Commodus; an unknown consul?[17] (*AE* 1922, 38 = *ILJug* 2080), who was awarded by Septimius Severus, as (probably?) was T. Statilius Barbarus[18]. From the group of the *angusticlavii*, these are M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex[19] and M. Valerius Maximianus[20], who were given awards by Marcus Aurelius, and C. Domitius Antigonus[21], who probably received *dona* from Septimius Severus. Thus, the inscriptions attest three emperors (Marcus Aurelius, Commodus and Septimius Severus) as award givers. The fact that there is no mention of successive emperors (from the Severan dynasty) may be because almost all of them were sentenced to *damnatio memoriae* and, consequently, were not mentioned in inscriptions[22]. It cannot be assumed that all distinctions disappeared from military life, but it is possible that their character changed, e.g. they were replaced by financial awards, which would explain the lack of attestation in epigraphical sources.

Only in the case of M. Valerius Maximianus does the inscription mention (once, although *dona* were awarded four times[23]) a specific deed – the capture of the leader of the barbarians, Valaon, for which Valerius was awarded with "equo et phaleris et armis", an award which resembles the republican *spolia opima*, especially if we assume that the bounty received originally belonged to the defeated leader. In other cases we lack such information. However, it should be noted that in four of them: [...]anus S[...], an unknown praetor, M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex and M. Valerius Maximianus, the inscriptions indicate what types of distinctions were awarded (*corona muralis*, *corona vallaris*, *hastae purae*, *vexilla*, *equus*, *phalerae*, *arma*). One can get the impression that the

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[15] "[... donis] / [mi]litaribus c[oronis ... item]que vexillis [...]" (*AE* 2003, 1189 = *AE* 2004, 930 = *AE* 2011, 764).

[16] "[donato donis militari]b(us) ab Imp(eratore) Co[mmodo Aug(usto)...], [...has]tis puris d[uabus...]" (*CIL* IX 431 + 437 = *AE* 1969–1970, 143 = *Supp. It.* XX 2003, pp. 127 f., no 11 = *AE* 2003, 365).

[17] "[... donis] [don]ato bi[s ab imp.] Sep[timio Severo]" (*AE* 1922, 38 = *ILJug* 2080).

[18] "[donatus donis militaribus b]ello Parth(ico) Mesop(otameno)" (*CIL* VI 41197 = *CIL* VI 1522 = *ILS* 1144).

[19] "Donatus donis militaribus in bello Germanico ab Imperatore Marco Aurelio Anonino Augusto hastis puris II et vexillis II, corona murali et vallari" (*CIL* VI 1449 = *ILS* 1107).

[20] "Don(is) don(ato) bello Phart(ico) (!) [...] ab Imp(eratore) Antonino Aug(usto) coram laudato et equo et phaleris et armis donato quod manu sua ducem Naristarum Valaonem interemisset" (*AE* 1956, 124).

[21] "[ornatus militaribus honoribus]" (*AE* 1966, 262).

[22] See Kienast 1990: 156–181. As the author notes, even in the case of Caracalla, who was not officially condemned by the Senate, instances of damaging inscriptions with his name are found.

[23] Three times during the *quattuor militiae* and once as a legionary legate. He captured Valaon as the *praefectus alae I Aravacorum*, that is during his fourth *militia*.

accuracy of the enumeration of the *dona* depends on the importance and length of the honorand's career – in the case of a senator with a rich *cursus*, the enumeration of awards received before entering the Senate may have seemed unnecessary and hence it was restricted.

Of all the tribunes under discussion (8), one came from Italy[24], three from the West[25], one from the East[26], while three are of an unknown origin[27]. This confirms the thesis that the military staff were of provincial origin in that period; this phenomenon is already apparent in the times of the last Antonines.

It should be added that, out of the whole group, five were *homines novi*[28] and three were of origins unclear to us[29]; we do not find, however, representatives of *gentes senatoriae*.

The small number of beneficiaries of these awards (8 out of 123) leads us to conclude that young tribunes (at least *laticlavii*)[30] were generally not given major combat tasks, as they were treated as youth learning the craft of war. *Dona* were more often awarded to heroic soldiers, primarily centurions[31]. Thus it can be concluded that *dona* remained typical of military circles and were not included in the senatorial mode of promotion, although they indirectly influenced this promotion (e.g. as an argument when presenting candidates for offices or in the case of favouritism related to these offices).

For those few military tribunes who received awards, the tribunate and the *dona militaria* acquired during its term constituted a good basis for their further career, for promotion to magistracies and distinctions (see part V: Summary and Conclusions). It is worth emphasising that six out of the eight *donati* rose to consulship[32].

The above findings complement previous research on the *dona militaria*. A fundamental monograph by V. Maxfield[33] mentions two senators of the

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[24] C. Caesonius Macer Rufinianus.

[25] Anonymus consul? (*AE* 1922, 38 = *ILJug* 2080), M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex, M. Valerius Maximianus.

[26] C. Domitius Antigonus.

[27] T. Statilius Barbarus, [...]anus S[...], Anonymus praetor (*AE* 2003, 365).

[28] C. Caesonius Macer Rufinianus, C. Domitius Antigonus, [...]anus S[...], M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex, M. Valerius Maximianus.

[29] T. Statilius Barbarus, Anonymus consul? (*AE* 1922, 38 = *ILJug* 2080), Anonymus praetor? (*AE* 2003, 365).

[30] The situation was different in the case of *angusticlavii*, who may have been decurions or *primipilares* promoted to the equestrian order. At that time, they could have been aged 30 and older with rich experience in various fields.

[31] This fact is emphasised by Dobson 1993: 125.

[32] C. Caesonius Macer Rufinianus, C. Domitius Antigonus, T. Statilius Barbarus, M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex, M. Valerius Maximianus, Anonymus consul? (*AE* 1922, 38 = *ILJug* 2080).

[33] Maxfield 1972: 45 f. In her later work (Maxfield 1981), the discussion of the *dona* only covers the period up to the time of Commodus.

Severan period (including one former tribune) who were distinguished in this way (an unknown consul mentioned in *AE* 1922, 38 and Claudius Gallus), while Y. Le Bohec in an equally fundamental work on the Roman army[34] only notes that references to *dona* disappear from epigraphical sources during the time of Caracalla. Also in his entry on the *Dona militaria* in *Der Neue Pauly*, Le Bohec mentions these distinctions only until the times of Commodus. It may be added that A. von Domaszewski pointed this out many years ago[35], linking the phenomenon of the elimination of the *dona* with the coming to power of new oriental despotic regimes ("das neue orientalische despotische Regiment"). Even before him, similar statements had been made by B. Borghesi[36] and O. Fiebiger[37]. As regards more recent works, P. Faure mentions several cases of *dona militaria* during the reign of the Severans (awarded to centurions), although he emphasises that they were gradually replaced by financial awards[38]. The lack of sources does not allow me to draw conclusions whether similar changes took place in relation to officers, but I do not exclude such a possibility.

III. *ADLECTIONES*

Another distinction which is encountered in the *cursus* of Roman officers is *adlectio* (co-optation among the former magistrates)[39]. Two forms of *adlectio* may be discerned: internal and external. Internal *adlectio* was applied to people from the senatorial order and constituted an acceleration of their career by co-opting them among former officials at a given level in spite of the fact that they had not actually held the office in question. External *adlectio* was of a similar character, the difference being that the promoted people simultaneously changed their social status (usually by being raised from the equestrian to the senatorial order[40]). In both forms, the level of promotion was decided by the emperor by virtue of his censorial power and the age of the person honoured with *adlectio* was taken into account[41].

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[34] Le Bohec 2002: 66.

[35] Von Domaszewski 1967: 184. The book was first published in 1908.

[36] Borghesi 1864: II 340, 469.

[37] Fiebiger 1903.

[38] Faure 2013: 296.

[39] From the literature on the *adlectio* in the imperial period, particularly important are: Chastagnol 1975 and 1992; Coriat 1978; Leunissen 1989 and 1993; Pflaum 1960–1961.

[40] Cases of the advancement to the senatorial order of people of lower than equestrian status are attested for the Severan period, e.g.: [...]s Verus, a centurion, adlected probably by Macrinus; Claudius Aelius Pollio, a centurion who captured Diadumenianus (Macrinus' son), rewarded with *adlectio* by Elagabalus.

[41] It is worth recalling that the minimum age requirements for taking office (since the time of Augustus) were as follows: quaestorship: 25, aedilate/tribunate: 27, praetorship: 30. If the

It should be remembered in this context that the first obligatory office in the senatorial *cursus*, the quaestorship, already guaranteed entry to the Senate and was therefore attractive to people keen to make a career in the Roman Empire. There were at least 20 quaestors each year in the Severan period[42]; if there were more candidates in a given year, the office could be difficult to reach. Thus *adlectio* gave the emperor the possibility of granting the rank of quaestor above the set limit, thus eliminating conflicts among the candidates (and also among their *gentes* and patrons). It also created opportunities for the promotion of deserving army officers, as evidenced by the collected examples (see below).

In the case of the next rank, the tribunate/aedilate, the situation was similar. There were a total of 16 tribunes of the plebs and aediles each year, thus four former quaestors had no chance of holding these offices. This number could increase from year to year, so inevitable tensions resulted, though they were somewhat alleviated by the fact that patricians bypassed this level of promotion. Those dissatisfied could be awarded by the emperor with *adlectio inter tribunicios/aedilicios.* In the same way he could additionally promote, by means of external *adlectio*, deserving army officers from equestrian families who were of an age appropriate for this level (27–29 years). The other face of *adlectio inter tribunicios/aedilicios* was the need to find enough candidates for the praetorship. There were 18 praetors each year, which meant that if all the tribunes and aediles declared their candidacy for the praetorship, they would still be two candidates short. Owing to the consistent use of the *adlectio* procedure, a reservoir of people who could run for the office of praetor was created, making it possible to fill the office without problems.

Adlectio inter praetorios was used for slightly different reasons. After the praetorship, numerous posts awaited senators: governorships of legions, governorships of praetorian provinces, curatorships of roads, town curatorships, etc. As a rule, representatives of *gentes senatoriae* held up to four posts of praetorian rank, while *homines novi* received five to nine such posts[43]. However, not every former praetor wanted to go to a (sometimes distant) province and live for the next few years in a legionary camp or in its vicinity; as a result, there were vacancies. In this situation, *adlectio* was of help, moving lower-level senators higher in the hierarchy or advancing meritorious equestrians (especially those who had held *tres/quattuor militiae* and could take command of a legion). It should be added that former equestrians were much more willing than senators

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promoted person was younger than 25, he could be co-opted into the senatorial order without indicating the office being held (*adlectus in amplissimum ordinem*). In this case his further *cursus* proceeded in a standard way, according to the rules applicable to senators. See Окоń 2016 and 2018.

[42] See Окоń 2018: 17 for the possibility that this limit increased.

[43] Окоń 2018, ch. V: "Career Models".

to take up provincial posts, as they had become accustomed to such conditions during their previous service.

To sum up, *adlectio*, despite being uses as a general term, had various forms and consequently various meanings. *Adlectio inter quaestorios* guaranteed entry into the Senate, *adlectio inter tribunicios/aedilicios* was a form of supplementing the list of candidates for the praetorship, and *adlectio inter praetorios* was a means of ensuring that the positions of the praetorian rank would be filled. *Adlectiones* were, therefore, an important element in the policy of providing the Empire with all the required officials in central government; they were a necessity, not merely a whim of the ruler.

We currently know of 23 senators from the Severan period who were awarded *adlectio* after the military tribunate; as many as 21 of them were awarded this distinction only once. Two instances of *adlectio* being awarded more than once are worth discussing in more detail; they concern T. Flavius Secundus Philippianus (*adlectio* awarded three times) and Tib. Claudius Candidus (*adlectio* awarded twice).

The first case, that of T. Flavius Secundus Philippianus, who came from the East, caused numerous problems for researchers of that period. His *cursus* is known thanks to an inscription from Lugdunum, the dedication of an altar erected in the period when Philippianus was the legate of the province of Gallia Lugdunensis[44]. The offices mentioned in the inscription are presented chronologically as follows: as a military tribune of the Legio VII Gemina in Castra Legionis in Spain he became *adlectus inter quaestorios*, *tribunicios* and *praetorios*, which means that he did not hold any of the obligatory magistracies at all. If he served the military tribunate as *angusticlavius*, his first *adlectio* (*inter quaestorios*) was external, and the next two were internal. However, if he was a *tribunus laticlavius*, then all of the three *adlectiones* were internal. I also do not exclude the possibility that there was only one *adlectio* (*inter praetorios*), and that automatic co-optation among the lower senatorial magistrates (*inter quaestorios*, *inter tribunicios*) was an overinterpretation on the part of the person responsible for the text of the inscription.

Having received *adlectio inter praetorios*, Philippianus commanded two legions, the I Minervia in Bonn and the XIV Gemina in Carnuntum, followed by the legateship of Gallia Lugdunensis during the reign of three Augusti (Severus,

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[44] *CIL* XIII 1673 = *ILS* 1152 (= *CIL* III, p. CLXXIV): "[Io]vi Dep[ulsori] / Bonae Menti ac R[e]/duci Fortunae red/hibita et suscepta / provincia / T(itus) Flavius Secundus Philippia/nus v(ir) c(larissimus) leg(atus) Auggg(ustorum) prov(inciae) Lug(dunensis) / leg(atus) legg(ionum) I M(inerviae) et XIIII gem(inae) allect(us) / inter praetorios tribunici/os quaestorios trib(unus) militum / leg(ionis) VII gem(inae) cum Iulia Nepotil/la c(larissima) f(emina) sua et T(ito) Fl(avio) Victorino Phi/lippiano c(larissimo) i(uvene) trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) V Ma/ced(onicae) et T(ito) Fl(avio) Aristo Ulpiano c(larissimo) p(uero) lec/to in patricias familias / aram constituit ac / dedicavit.

Caracalla and Geta). This apparently simple listing of offices and appointments raises a lot of controversy.

The career of the senator under discussion largely coincided with the period of civil wars during the reign of Septimius Severus. The honorific inscription, from which we know his *cursus*, was dedicated in Lugdunum "Iovi Depulsori, Bonae Menti ac Reduci Fortunae" due to "redhibita et suscepta provincia" (i.e. the recovering of the province)[45], which clearly refers to the war with Clodius Albinus (hence its placement). However, the inscription may be selective, i.e. it may only enumerate functions directly related to warfare, omitting all others, e.g. administrative and religious ones, thus causing problems with the reconstruction of the *cursus* of Philippianus.

It is usually assumed (incorrectly, in my opinion) that Philippianus became *adlectus in amplissimum ordinem* around 180, and in 193 he was the legate of the Legio XIV Gemina, which supported Septimius Severus in his struggle for power. If so, in 196–198 he would have been the legate of Gallia Lugdunensis, the province which he lost in 196 and regained in 197 after the battle of Lugdunum[46]. This seems to be confirmed by the inscription dedicated to the gods on the occasion of his regaining of the province. However, this hypothesis does not explain why Philippianus was the legate of three Augusti in 198[47] (a mistake?) or on account of what merits he was awarded three *adlectiones* by M. Aurelius/Commodus. If they were given to him for his achievements in the Marcomannic Wars, it is surprising that there is no reference to this fact in the inscription, e.g. in the form of mentioning his having been awarded *dona militaria*. It is worth remembering that the inscription mentions Philippianus' military activity and *dona* undoubtedly belonged to this sphere.

That is why I suggest that Philippianus' career should be dated to a later period. As I understand it, he fought as a tribune of Legio VII Gemina in Spain in 196–197 on the side of the troops who opted for Septimius Severus. In this capacity he took part in the victorious battle of Lugdunum, and the triple award of *adlectio* was a result of his attitude and undoubted bravery (*dona* were out of the question, because this was an internal war). According to this reconstruction, the first *adlectio* was awarded after the battle of Lugdunum, i.e. in 197 or

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[45] *Ibidem*.

[46] *PIR*² F 362 (Groag); *RE* VI (1909), col. 2616, no 175 (Goldfinger); *RE* XII (1924), col. 1431, no 1742 (Ritterling); Barbieri 1952, no 241; Fitz 1993–1995: 554, 559, 626–628.

[47] Namely of Severus, Caracalla and Geta, i.e. between 209 and 211, because in this period Geta obtained the title of Augustus, and Severus and Caracalla already held this title. See Kienast 1990: 166. In the literature on the subject, the third "G" in *Auggg(ustorum)* is usually tacitly recognised as a later addition or an error (see analogous cases, e.g. *CIL* VI 228); consequently, it is assumed that Philippianus was a legate in 196–198. If this is so, the title of Geta was entered "in advance" (since he was then only Caesar) or added later (around 209–211). This is, in my opinion, possible, but not particularly likely.

198 (when Philippianus was around 27), the next around 198–199 and the third in 201–202, after which he was the legate of two legions and finally the legate of Gallia Lugdunensis. In this capacity he hosted Septimius Severus along with his court in 208 as the latter was marching on an expedition in Britain[48]. As governor, he founded an altar with the above-mentioned inscription (in 209 or a little later) commemorating the successful battle of Lugdunum and the recovery of the province from the enemy, an achievement to which he had personally contributed[49]. My proposal also explains the complicated titulature of his sons which appears in the inscription. The older one, T. Flavius Victorinus Philippianus, as *clarissimus iuvenis* is a *tribunus militum legionis V Macedonicae*, while the younger one, T. Flavius Aristus Ulpianus, as *clarissimus puer* became *lectus in patricias familias*. In practice, this means that Philippianus, the father of these two young men, was probably an equestrian who was promoted to the senatorial order, but his older son was born before this promotion (hence his more modest status), while the younger one was born after his father's *adlectio*, as the son of a senator, and he became a patrician in his childhood, which is clearly a reward for his father's attitude during the civil war. Probably the sons came from two successive marriages. The mother of the older one came from a more modest family (unknown to us), while the mother of the younger one (as his *cognomina* Aristus Ulpianus indicate) was from a consular family of the Ulpii Arabiani represented during the reign of the Severans by M. Ulpius Arabianus (consul around 194–196) and his son M. Ulpius Domitius Aristaeus Arabianus. Philippianus' second marriage was, in a way, a consequence of the special honours that were given to him after the Battle of Lugdunum. Thus his career is typical of a period

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[48] The chronology of Philippianus' career would be as follows: born around 170–171. A tribune in Spain until 196–197 (*angusticlavius*?), he fought against Albinus' troops in Spain and Gaul, taking part in the battle of Lugdunum in 197. In 197–198 he was adlected for the first time (*inter quaestorios*); around 198–199 *adlectus inter tribunicios*; and around 201–202 *adlectus inter praetorios*. The commander of Legio I Minervia around 202–204; of Legio XIV Gemina around 205–207; the legate of Gallia Lugdunensis around 208–211.

[49] The selection of the three deities as recipients of the inscription is noteworthy. Iuppiter Depulsor (pushing away enemies) was a deity especially worshipped in the Danube region and honoured by military men of various formations and levels. Dedications were associated with a direct threat to this region, especially in the second half of the second century. The appearance of similar dedications in other provinces (Proconsular Africa, Spain, Gaul) may have been associated with the return of veterans to their home provinces (and the transfer of a cult which was significant for them) or with the further career of the worshippers of Iuppiter Depulsor in other regions of the Empire. The figure of Philippianus, owing to his command of the legion in Carnuntum in Pannonia and his subsequent governorship of Gallia, fits into this model. The second honoured deity, Bona Mens, was the personification of the clear mind; in the context of Severus' expedition to Britain, this deity could be summoned to provide the Emperor with good plans and their successful implementation. The third deity, Fortuna Redux, looked after successful returns and in my opinion she was also summoned due to the *expeditio Britannica*. Thus, the choice of the deities as recipients of the inscription was not accidental and clearly indicated the intentions of the founder.

of a civil war, when the victorious side gains everything by climbing to the top of the social hierarchy despite a weak starting position; it is also a good illustration of the process of the fluctuation of elites in times of upheaval.

The second case is that of Tib. Claudius Candidus, who came from Africa; after *tres militiae* and the function of *procurator XX hereditatum per Gallias Lugdunensem et Belgicam et utramquae Germaniam*, he became "adlectus inter tribunicios item praetorios"[50]. His co-optation among the former tribunes suggests that he was over 27 years old at that time. The first *adlectio* was external, while the second one was internal, and as a result Candidus (like Philippianus) did not hold any of the obligatory senatorial offices. This is a good example illustrating the fact that equestrian magistracies supplemented senatorial ones by providing the knowledge and skills appropriate to public service. The inscription does not specify the reason why the *adlectio* was awarded twice; we may assume that some wartime merits were taken into account and that the procuratorial office held between the third *militia* and *adlectio* (Candidus was *praepositus copiarum expeditionis Germanicae secundae*) was to give Candidus a chance to earn some money and thus meet the financial census required from senators. Certainly the promotion was granted by Commodus, an emperor who, as the *Historia Augusta* attests (*HA Pert*. 6, 10), was liberal in bestowing such distinctions.

After another promotion (*inter praetorios*) Candidus performed a number of civil functions (*curator civitatum Teanensium*, *legatus pro praetore provinciae Asiae*, *logista civitatis splendidissimae Nicomedensium item Ephesiorum*) and later became one of Septimius Severus' military commanders (*dux exercitus Illyrici expeditione Asiana item Parthica item Gallica*)[51]. Before the Gallic expedition, he probably became a suffect consul, evidently due to his combat merits. It is worth adding that he was a countryman of Septimius Severus and a companion in the military service of his brother Geta (from the Legio II Augusta, in which he was a *tribunus angusticlavius*); moreover, he enjoyed the support of a powerful patron, Q. Antistius Adventus Postumius Aquilinus (consul around 167 and the legate of Germania Inferior and Britain).

Both cases illustrate what the careers of people with particular services rendered to the princeps on the battlefield looked like. The scarcity of similar

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[50] *CIL* II2/14, 2, 975 = *CIL* II 4114 = *ILS* 1140 = *RIT* 130.

[51] *Ibidem*. In my opinion, the chronology of Candidus' career is as follows: born around 152; the first *militia* around 170–172; the second, the military tribunate in Legio II Augusta in Britain, around 172–173 (under Antistius' governorship); the third, *praepositus copiarum expeditionis Germanicae secundae*, around 178–179; the procuratorship around 180–182; *adlectio inter tribunicios* around 182–183; *inter praetorios* around 184–185; then civil offices (*curator civitatum Teanensium*, *legatus pro praetore provinciae Asiae*, *logista civitatis splendidissimae Nicomedensium item Ephesiorum*) until he took command in the expedition against Pescennius Niger in 193. The Parthian expedition until 195–196, consulship around 195–196, Gallic expedition 196–197. After this expedition, Candidus became *XVvir sacris faciundis*, *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*, *et in ea dux terra marique adversus rebelles hostes publicos.*

appointments underlines the importance of both senators in the circles of power. It should also be noted that decisions about promotions were often forced by natural considerations, i.e. the dying out of the old *gentes* and a lack of senators of an appropriate age willing to undertake public service.

Out of the remaining 21 people, there are 10 instances of internal *adlectio* and 11 of the external type, which allows us to conclude that a single *adlectio* was standard. The mechanisms by which it was applied did not differ from the general mechanisms presented above. In the Severan period, numerous external and internal wars could have influenced the acceleration or slowdown of careers, so specific conditions emerged which affected the promotion of individual people.

In the group of senators with internal *adlectio*, four became *adlecti inter quaestorios*, i.e. were co-opted among the former quaestors: Ti. Cl(audius) Me[vius? P]riscus Ruf[inus I]unior, T? Cuspidius Flaminius Severus, L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus, Anonymus consul[52] (*CIL* IX 1592 = *ILS* 1126).

Three of them were *adlecti inter tribunicios*: C. Aemilius Berenicianus, [...]us L.f. Fab. Annian[us], Iulius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius [...]atus Laevillus Berenicianus, while the next three were *adlecti inter praetorios*: L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus, L. Valerius Publicola Messalla Helvidius Thrasea Priscus Minicius Natalis, [...]anus S[...].

All of the senators listed (who had been *tribuni laticlavii*) bypassed one of the obligatory offices, but otherwise their *cursus* was standard. Those who were promoted to the level of ex-quaestors clearly obtained *adlectio* for merits in military service, which immediately preceded their entry into the Senate. Seven[53] out of ten *adlecti* from the senatorial order were later appointed consuls, which shows that their position in the circles of power was well established and that their merits and experience were appreciated.

In the group of senators with external *adlectio*, two (the youngest ones) became *adlecti in amplissimum ordinem*: Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus (after four *militiae*)[54] and C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes (after two out of four *militiae*)[55].

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[52] This senator was also made patrician; however, since it is impossible to identify him, it is hard to determine why he was awarded the distinction twice.

[53] T? Cuspidius Flaminius Severus, L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus, Anonymus consul (*CIL* IX 1592 = *ILS* 1126), C. Aemilius Berenicianus, Iulius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius [...]atus Laevillus Berenicianus, L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus, L. Valerius Publicola Messalla Helvidius Thrasea Priscus Minicius Natalis.

[54] *Praefectus cohortis III Alpinorum*, *tribunus cohortis VI civium Romanorum*, *praefectus alae constantium*, *subpraefectus classis praetoriae Misenatium* (*CIL* VIII 4323 = 18528; *AE* 1911, 107 = *ILS* 9488). This proves that a young equestrian after the fourth *militia* could enter the standard senatorial *cursus*, starting with the quaestorship (at the age of 25).

[55] *Praefectus cohortis II Flaviae Comagenorum*, *tribunus militum legionis I Italicae* (*AE* 1920, 45 = *ILAfr.* 281).

None of the *tribuni angusticlavii* known to us became adlected *inter quaestorios*. It is possible that the line of people of the senatorial order was long and blocked such a promotion for equestrians. Two of them were probably *adlecti inter tribunicios*: Ti. Claudius Claudianus and C. Iulius Avitus, which meant that they held neither the quaestorship nor the tribunate/aedilate. Others (7) entered the Senate through *adlectio inter praetorios*: Q. Cerellius Apollinaris, L. Didius Marinus, C. Domitius Antigonus, M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex, M. Valerius Maximianus, Anonymus legatus Aquitaniae and most likely [L.? S]ept(imius) Maria[nus]; this means that they did not hold any obligatory office from the senatorial *cursus honorum*.

The careers of Vettius and Subatianus, young *equites* promoted early enough to go through the complete senatorial *cursus*, are particularly interesting. In the first case, that of Vettius, what was decisive was most likely his merits in military service on the Roman border (in Dacia and Moesia), while in the second case, that of Subatianus, his taking the side of Septimius Severus during his march to Rome (193 AD) was appreciated. Other equestrians entered the senate at a later age, when they were old enough to be ranked among the former tribunes or praetors. Before their adlection they served not only *tres/quattuor militiae*, but also civil procuratorships, so they were experienced in many areas. This resulted in a long and fruitful career; it is worth mentioning that nine of them became consuls[56].

The *origo* of the *adlecti* (in both categories) is also worth considering. Among the people with a single internal *adlectio* (10), three came from Italy[57], two from the East[58], one from Africa[59] and two from either Italy or the East[60], while the origin of two people is unknown[61]. Among the people with a single external *adlectio* (11), two came from Italy[62], four from the East[63], two from Africa[64], two from the West[65] and one from the Latin-speaking part of the Empire[66].

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[56] Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus, C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes, Ti. Claudius Claudianus, C. Iulius Avitus, C. Domitius Antigonus, M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex, M. Valerius Maximianus, Anonymus legatus Aquitaniae, [L.? S]ept(imius) Maria[nus].

[57] L. Valerius Publicola Messalla Helvidius Thrasea Priscus Minicius Natalis, Ti. Cl(audius) Me[vius? P]riscus Ruf[inus I]unior, Anonymus consul (*CIL* IX 1592 = *ILS* 1126).

[58] L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus, C. Aemilius Berenicianus.

[59] L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus.

[60] Iulius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius [...]atus Laevillus Berenicianus, [...]us L.f. Fab. Annian[us].

[61] T? Cuspidius Flaminius Severus, [...]anus S[...].

[62] Q. Cerellius Apollinaris, Anonymus legatus Aquitaniae.

[63] C. Domitius Antigonus, C. Iulius Avitus, L. Didius Marinus, [L.? S]ept(imius) Maria[nus].

[64] Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus, Ti. Claudius Claudianus.

[65] M. Valerius Maximianus, M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex.

[66] C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes.

In total (23)[67]: five *adlecti* came from Italy, seven from the East, four from Africa and two from the West, while the origin of the rest is unknown or unclear (several options are possible). The data relating to the *origo* show that provincials were the predominant group among the *adlecti*; apparently, they needed the support of the emperor more frequently in order to be given promotion to offices.

To sum up, *adlectio* (internal and external) was a form of supplementing the staff of the imperial administration with people who did not follow, either in part or at all, the standard senatorial path going back to republican tradition. In the case of those who belonged to the senatorial order, it was a kind of a safety valve that discharged intra-group tensions, while in the case of equestrians it was a form of reward for their past service. What is especially important is the fact that in the case of *adlectiones* the decision was entirely in the hands of the princeps, who formed the elite of the Empire in this way.

IV. *COMMENDATIO AUGUSTI*

Another form of special distinction was *commendatio Augusti* or an imperial recommendation for an obligatory senatorial office (that of quaestor, tribune/aedile or praetor)[68]. In the Severan period, as part of the system of senatorial promotion mentioned earlier, *commendatio* guaranteed the election to a given magistracy in practical terms[69]. In numerous senatorial inscriptions we find the

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[67] Including 21 people with a single *adlectio* (internal or external) and two with multiple *adlectio*.

[68] The literature on the subject of *commendatio* is quite modest: Levick 1967; Okoń 2008; Gizewski 2003; also the already cited works by Barbieri (1952) and Leunissen (1989). It is worth mentioning in this context a book by Appel (2019); although it does not discuss the imperial period, it is an excellent introduction to the presentation of the electoral procedures operating in it.

[69] To explain the essence of the *commendatio*, one should present its evolution from the times of the Republic. Originally, this term meant a spoken recommendation: during the election of magistrates in the Campus Martius, each citizen could approach voters and recommend his candidate. Those who put forward such recommendations were relatives, friends, acquaintances, patrons and clients – either of the candidate himself or of the people supporting him. During his short rule, Julius Caesar introduced the practice of sending the *comitia* a list of his candidates who were to be (and were) elected (Suet. *Iul.* 41). Thus the *commendatio* evolved from a spoken informal recommendation into a written "official" designation. This applied to half of all the positions available in the senatorial *cursus* with the exception of the consulship to which all appointments were made by Caesar alone (most frequently from among himself and his friends). In the case of the other half of the positions, unrestricted elections were allowed. During the second triumvirate a change was introduced: now it was the triumvirs who appointed all the magistrates according to their own will (Cass. Dio XLVIII 32, 1; 35, 1–3). Later Augustus abandoned this practice and returned to general elections, in the course of which he walked through the Campus Martius personally convincing the people to vote for his candidates (Suet. *Aug.* 56). Thus he referred to the old customs (a spoken recommendation) in order to keep up the appearances of the Republic. He did so until his health deteriorated; then he began sending a list with the names of his candidates to the *comitia* (8 AD), although he did not oblige the citizens to vote for them. The next princeps, Tiberius, transferred

following phrases: *quaestor candidatus Augusti*, *tribunus plebis candidatus Augusti*, *praetor candidatus Augusti*[70]. A *candidatus*, after obtaining his *nominatio*, held the office in the normal manner (which distinguished him from an *adlectus*), so he had to meet the age qualifications for his office[71].

It must be said that whereas *adlectio* allowed the list of officials at a given level to be completed, it was *commendatio* that opened it. The difference between *adlectio* and *commendatio* was a matter of prestige; it was definitely more honourable to achieve an office from the first places on the list than to be added to the list of former officials. It should be remembered that *commendatio* was used only for members of the senatorial order, whereas *adlectio* was used for representatives of various orders.

In the group of 123 senators (former military tribunes) identified from the Severan period, 28 were *candidati Augusti*, of whom twelve received the

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the election of magistrates to the Senate, changing the electoral body but maintaining the republican custom of the *commendatio* understood as a spoken recommendation. The *Tabula Hebana*, an epigraphic document from the time of Tiberius, describes primary elections in the Senate, and it mentions whitewashed boards on which the names of the candidates were written ("tabulas dealbatas in quib(us) nomina candidatorum scripta sint", see *AE* 1949, 215). There is no indication that those recommended by the princeps were specially marked on the boards. A list of names was read out before the actual elections (*nominatio*). We know that Tiberius personally described each of the candidates (Tac. *Ann*. II 28), characterising them either briefly or extensively. Undoubtedly, this method of presentation can be considered an imperial recommendation and a guide for senators on how to vote. After 27 AD (when he left Rome for ever), Tiberius used to send a list of names to inform the Senate about his own voting preferences (Tac. *Ann.* I 15). Over time, the practice of written *commendatio* became established. – The list of candidates for magistracies was created by the consuls; if the emperor was one of the consuls, he prepared the list and read it in the Senate with appropriate comments. There is no data on how many willing to hold a given office won the Emperor's favour. The only information we have comes from Tacitus (*Ann.* I 15), who mentions that Tiberius limited himself to recommending four candidates ("quattuor candidatos commendaret, sine repulsa et ambitu designandos"). It is difficult to say whether this limit was maintained by subsequent principes; this is rather doubtful given the ever-growing number of officials, e.g. praetors. It can be assumed that the number of candidates recommended by the Emperor increased, although, due to the lack of sources, the extent of this growth cannot be determined. Notwithstanding these issues, the category of *candidati Augusti*, i.e. people who ran for magistracies and in practical terms for whom the support of the princeps made their election certain, was permanently established. From the time of Vespasian, in fact, being a *candidatus Augusti* was tantamount to being appointed. The famous passage from the *lex de Imperio Vespasiani* reads: "utique quos magistratum potestatem imperium curationemve cuius rei petentes senatui populoque Romano commendaverit quibusque suffragationem suam dederit promiserit, eorum comitis quibusque extra ordinem ratio habeatur" (*FIRA* I, pp. 154–156). Although Pliny the Younger praised Trajan in the *Panegyricus* for giving the senators freedom of discussion during the elections, he did not specify whether the Emperor's candidates were also debated (Plin. *Pan*. 69, 2; 76, 2).

[70] The term *aedilis candidatus Augusti* is not found in the epigraphic material from the reign of the Severans. But this might be due to the incompleteness of our evidence. We do not encounter the term *consul candidatus Augusti* either, but in this case it is understandable, because the decision about the appointment to the consulship belonged to the emperor alone.

[71] See n. 40 above.

emperor's support once, fourteen twice and two three times (M. Gavius Crispus Num[isi]us Iunior, [...]ius T[...]). Thus *commendatio* granted once and twice can be considered as standard, whereas granting it three times can be seen as an exception worthy of closer examination.

The first of these two senators, M. Gavius Crispus Num[isi]us Iunior, came from an old Italian aristocratic family; he was a descendant of the consul of the year 155, M. Gavius Appalius Maximus; through his mother he was related to Camurius Numisius Iunior, the consul of the year 161. His grandfather was probably T. Appalius T.f. Vel(ina) Alfinus Secundus, an equestrian and an imperial procurator, while his (adoptive) grandfather was M. Gavius Maximus, a praetorian prefect from the time of Antoninus Pius. Thus, it can be concluded that Crispus' origins were distinguished; we find in his family both senators who rose to the consulship and equestrians of merit. All the obligatory magistracies held by Crispus (the quaestorship, the tribunate and the praetorship) as well as imperial *commendationes* for them probably coincided with Commodus' rule[72], which suggests that he was the emperor's friend. It is worth adding that he later held at least two praetorian posts (*legatus legionis X Geminae*, *proconsul Lyciae et Pamphyliae*), which was standard for members of the senatorial order of non-patrician origin. He then reached the consulship (maybe still under Commodus) and the proconsulship of the province of Asia (under Septimius Severus). It is difficult to date his career more precisely, but if we assume that he governed Lycia et Pamphylia at the end of the 2nd century and Asia under Severus[73], then he must have served in the army (as a tribune) around 170–175[74], that is, during the Marcomannic Wars, in which his legion, IV Flavia, participated actively. It is possible that his war merits stood at the beginning of Crispus' promotions and

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[72] I do not exclude the possibility that the first *commendatio* coincided with the rule of Marcus Aurelius, although there is no mention of this in the inscription, which is somewhat surprising in the case of the deified emperor. Crispus' career was reconstructed on the basis of several fragmentary inscriptions. See *AE* 1975, 795 = *SEG* XXVI 1253 + ZPE XXXVII 1980, op. 31–33 = *IvEph*. III 682; *CIL* XIV 4238 = *InscrIt* IV 1, 141; *CIL* VI 1556 + *CIL* X 6663 + 6665 + 8292 = ZPE XXXVII 1980, pp. 35 ff.; Şahin 1999, no 156; *CIL* X 8292 = Eck, ZPE CXXXI 2000, pp. 251 ff. (anonymous) = *AE* 2000, 1453. – On the basis of information derived from these inscriptions, we arrive at the following *cursus* (*in ordine inverso*): *fetialis*, *consul*, *proconsul provinciae Asiae*, *proconsul provinciae Lyciae et Pamphyliae* [...] / [...] / *legatus legionis X geminae*, *praetor candidatus*, *tribunus plebei candidatus*, *quaestor candidatus*, *tribunus laticlavius legionis IIII Flaviae*, *X vir stlitibus iudicandis*. Despite many efforts by researchers (especially W. Eck), Crispus' *cursus* still appears incomplete; it seems to lack e.g. the *dona militaria* for his participation in the Marcomannic Wars.

[73] I provide the dating of Crispus' stay in these provinces following Thomasson 1984: no 26: 221; no 30: 057; Thomasson 2009: no 26: 221; no 30: 057.

[74] Obviously, the timing depends on whether the proconsulship of Asia around 200 was held by Crispus at the age of 50 or 45. A different age was hardly an option, and if we assume a gap of 10–15 years between the consulship and the proconsulship of Asia, we come to the conclusion that he was consul around 185–190 and the legionary tribune around 170–175, i.e. evidently during the Marcomannic Wars (166–181). I establish Crispus' date of birth as being around 150–155.

that they were supplemented by his friendship with the emperor. This must be how he achieved the honour of the triple *commendatio*. I find no other justification.

The second person awarded the triple *commendatio*, [...]ius T[...], came from Gaul, as is indicated by the location of his honorific inscription. The inscription is damaged (which is not attributable to *damnatio memoriae*) and there are various possible ways to reconstruct the text[75]. Since my analyses show that multiple *commendationes* were more often awarded to people coming from the old *gentes* (see below), it is possible that the anonymous person was just such a case.

It is possible that there were more cases similar to the above-mentioned senators, but the scarcity of source material makes it impossible to assess the scale of the phenomenon.

It is worth paying attention to the social (*ordo*) and territorial (*origo*) origins of the people who received an imperial recommendation. In the group of people with a double *commendatio* (14), we find eight representatives of the old *gentes*[76], two representatives of the of *homines novi*[77] and four people of unclear origin[78]. In the group of people with a single *commendatio* (12), we see four representatives of *gentes senatoriae*[79], five representatives of the *homines novi*[80] and three people of unclear origin[81]. It can be clearly seen that the criterion distinguishing members of the old *gentes* from representatives of the *homines novi* is the number of recommendations for one person – we find multiple *candidati*

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[75] *CIL* XII 1862 = *ILN* L 1, 53: "[...]io Volt. T[...] / [...]ati Cati[...] / [...] trib. mil. leg. XI[...] / [... quaest. ca]nd. trib. plebei [...] / [...] praet. [...] Aug. [...]". In the lacuna, after the words *trib. plebei*, one can only insert the word *candidatus*, as any other proposals to supplement the lacuna would be illogical. Doubts are raised by the last line, which can be supplemented in two ways: "praet(ori) [cand(idato)] Aug(usti)" or "praet(ori) [leg(ato)] Aug(usti)". If we take the first option, the *commendatio* would be triple: *quaestor candidatus*, *tribunus plebis candidatus*, *praetor candidatus*; if we take the second, it would be double: *quaestor candidatus*, *tribunus plebis candidatus*. Research practice suggests the first option. I do not take into account the proposal by Pflaum (1978: 322 f.), who resolved the abbreviation *AVG* as *AVG(ur)*, because in inscriptions relating to the senatorial *cursus*, religious functions are usually mentioned at the beginning, right after the *nomen*.

[76] C. Caerellius Fufidius Annius Ravus Pollitianus, Q. Hedius Lollianus Plautius Avitus, Q. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus, [Lusius Laberius ? S]eptius [Ruti]lianus, [...] P. Neratius M[acer *aut* -arcellus], C. Novius Rusticus Venuleius Apronianus, Anonymus praetor (*CIL* VI 31780 = *CIL* VI 41202/3), Anonymus consul (*CIL* VI 1553 = *CIL* VI 41200).

[77] Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus, T. Clodius Aurelius Saturninus.

[78] Anonymus praetor (*AE* 2003, 365), M. Annaeus Saturninus Clodianus Aelianus, M. Caelius Flavus Proculus; [P]riscus.

[79] M. Fabius Magnus Valerianus, C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus, Iulius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius [...]atus Laevillus Berenicianus, Anonymus consul (*CIL* IX 1592 = *ILS* 1126).

[80] Ti. Claudius Claudianus, L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus, L. Marius Perpetuus, Q. Petronius Melior, P. Plotius Romanus Cassianus Neo.

[81] T. Marcius [C]le[mens?], [...] Tursidius (*vel* T. Ursidius) [...] Manilianus Titule[ius] Aelianus, Anonymus legatus Thraciae.

Augusti more frequently among the aristocracy, while single ones appear more often in the group of *homines novi*.

In total, among the *candidati Augusti* (28)[82] we find thirteen representatives of the old families, seven *homines novi* and eight people of unclear origin, so the group was dominated by senatorial aristocracy.

As regards the *origo*, in the group of double *candidati* six were from Italy[83], three from Africa[84] and five people were of unknown origin[85]. In the group of single *candidati* we find three people from Italy[86], three from Africa[87], two from the Latin-speaking part of the Empire[88], one from Italy or Africa[89], one from Italy or Asia[90] and two of unknown origin[91]. Comparing the two groups, we notice that the category of those recommended twice was dominated by Italians, while the category of those recommended once was dominated by provincials.

In total, in the group of 28 *candidati*, ten came from Italy, six from Africa and one from the West, while six were of unknown origin; we also find a few cases of people with two or three probable options of origin. In the whole group, the greatest number were from Italy.

The comparison of the *ordo* and *origo* of the *candidati Augusti* indicates that when giving recommendations the principes were guided not so much by the personal achievements of the candidates (which, at this stage of their lives, were probably not numerous), but by the tradition that favoured those who came from the old *gentes* (often originating from Italy). This situation was probably also influenced by the fact that the relatives, kinsmen and friends of the members of *gentes senatoriae* functioned in higher circles of power, which greatly facilitated their promotion.

We can draw additional conclusions by analysing the people awarded with *commendatio* according to the level of the office they held. Of all the candidates, sixteen gained support for the quaestorship, eleven for the tribunate, nineteen for

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[82] For the sake of full clarity: 2 triple *candidati* + 14 double + 12 single.

[83] C. Caerellius Fufidius Annius Ravus Pollitianus, T. Clodius Aurelius Saturninus, Q. Hedius Lollianus Plautius Avitus, Q. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus, [...] P. Neratius M[acer *aut* -arcellus], C. Novius Rusticus Venuleius Apronianus.

[84] Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus, M. Annaeus Saturninus Clodianus Aelianus, [Lusius Laberius ? S]eptius [Ruti]lianus.

[85] Anonymus praetor? (*AE* 2003, 365), M. Caelius Flavus Proculus, [P]riscus, Anonymus consul (*CIL* VI 1553 = 41200), Anonymus praetor (*CIL* VI 31780 = 41202/3).

[86] Q. Petronius Melior, Anonymus consul (*CIL* IX 1592 = *ILS* 1126), T. Marcius [C]le[mens?].

[87] Ti. Claudius Claudianus, L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus, L. Marius Perpetuus.

[88] M. Fabius Magnus Valerianus, C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus.

[89] P. Plotius Romanus Cassianus Neo.

[90] Iulius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius [...]atus Laevillus Berenicianus.

[91] [...] Tursidius (*aut* T. Ursidius) [...] Manilianus Titule[ius] Aelianus, Anonymus legatus Thraciae (*AE* 1907, 48 = *IGR* I 1481).

the praetorship (46 cases in total for 28 people). *Commendatio* was of particular significance in the case of the quaestorship, because it meant the introduction to the Senate and an opportunity for a career spanning the whole Empire. Out of sixteen people recommended for the quaestorship, nine were descendants of senatorial families and three were *homines novi*, while the social origin of the others is unknown to us. In the case of the next level – the tribunate/aedilate, five (out of eleven) recommended senators came from senatorial families, three were *homines novi* and the social origin of the others is unknown. While the rank of tribune/aedile did not yet open the path to an administrative career on a larger scale, this path was opened by the praetorship, giving the opportunity to take on such functions as legionary commands and provincial governorships. In this case, nineteen people were recommended: nine descendants of *gentes senatoriae*, three *homines novi* and seven of undetermined origin.

At all levels, representatives of *gentes senatoriae* predominated over *homines novi* – slightly less so at the level of the tribunate/aedilate, which was the result, on the one hand, of the fact that patricians bypassed this level and, on the other, of a smaller number of people waiting for this office (20 former quaestors), so for people of more noble birth it was easier than for *homines novi* to get this rank.

From the whole group of 28 tribunes with *commendatio Augusti*, at least fifteen later achieved the consulship. Descendants of *gentes senatoriae* achieved it after a fairly short praetorian career (up to 4 offices), whereas *homines novi* after a longer one (5–9 offices). The result was that *homines novi* remained in active service for a much longer time and were therefore definitely more useful – this is the context in which *commendatio* should be considered in their careers. It should also be remembered that those starting their careers in the equestrian order and passing through *militiae* had much more experience than the sons of senators, who could, but did not have to hold any office prior to the quaestorship, because the vigintivirate and the military tribunate (*laticlavius*) were not obligatory.

It can be assumed that in the Severan period (as before) *commendatio* had two meanings. For representatives of old families (who would have achieved offices in the standard procedure anyway) it was a form of distinction obliging the candidate and his family to be loyal to the princeps. I do not exclude the possibility that the princeps planned to win the favour of families in question in this way, which was especially important during the period of the destabilisation of power. Promoting the old aristocracy also gained importance during the period of the greater influx of *homines novi* to the Senate; it gave the impression of a balanced personal policy. In the case of *homines novi*, *commendatio* was also a form of distinction, but the princeps' intention was first of all to ensure that the candidate would be given the office in a specific time. This leads to the conclusion that the emperor already had an administrative career mapped out for these individuals or a specific role for them to fulfil in the Senate. New people in the Senate also strengthened the imperial party, which was especially important in the context of strengthening the power of a new

dynasty. It must be remembered that, despite all these nuances, both representatives of *gentes senatoriae* and *homines novi* met the requirements for senatorial magistrates with regard to education, competence and property.

To sum up, the recommendation was determined by the will of the princeps according to his own political priorities. On the other hand, external factors such as tradition and the support for a given candidate from the members of his *gens* or his influential patrons, the endorsement of his former superiors and his own merits (including military merits at the stage of the tribunate) also determined the choice of this or that candidate.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A list of special awards makes it possible to illustrate the scale of imperial support of the group of military tribunes[92].

NO.	NOMEN / NUMBER IN THE *ALBUM SENATORUM*[93]	DONA MILITARIA	ADLECTIO IN / INTER				CANDIDATUS AUGUSTI		
			amplissimum ordinem	quaestorios	tribunicios	praetorios	quaestor	tribunus plebis	praetor
a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j
1.	C. Aemilius Berenicianus – no 26				X (i)				
2.	[...]us L.f. Fab. Annian[us] – no 58				X (i)				
3.	C. Caesonius Macer Rufinianus – no 224	X							
4.	C. Caerellius Fufidius Annius Ravus Pollitianus – no 217						X	X	
5.	Q. Cerellius Apollinaris – no 265					X? (e)			
6.	Ti. Claudius Candidus – no 291				X (e)	X (i)			
7.	Ti. Claudius Claudianus – no 296				X (e)				X
8.	Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus – no 342		X (e)					X	X
9.	Ti. Cl(audius) Me[vius? P]riscus Ruf[inus I]unior – no 316			X (i)					

[92] The representatives of *gentes senatoriae* are underlined. The letter (e) in the category of *adlectiones* stands for an external *adlectio*, and the letter (i) for an internal one.

[93] Each senator's nomen is followed, for the reader's convenience, by the number under which he is listed, with a biographical entry, in vol. I of my *Album senatorum* (Okoń 2017).

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j
10.	T. Clodius Aurelius Saturninus – no 353						X		X
11.	T.? Cuspidius Flaminius Severus – no 393			X (i)					
12.	L. Didius Marinus – no 396					X? (e)			
13.	C. Domitius Antigonus – no 401	X				X (e)			
14.	M. Fabius Magnus Valerianus – no 428						X		
15.	T. Flavius Secundus Philippianus – no 480			X (i/e)	X (i)	X (i)			
16.	M. Gavius Crispus Num[isi]us Iunior – no 522						X	X	X
17.	Q. Hedius Lollianus Plautius Avitus – no 534						X		X
18.	Q. Hedius Rufus Lollianus Gentianus – no 536						X		X
19.	L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus – no 557			X (i)					
20.	C. Iulius Avitus – no 563				X (e)				
21.	L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus – no 699					X (i)		X	
22.	L. Marius Perpetuus – no 700						X		
23.	Q. Petronius Melior – no 796							X	
24.	P. Plotius Romanus Cassianus Neo – no 808						X		
25.	[L.? S]ept(imius) Maria[nus] – no 916					X? (e)			
26.	T. Statilius Barbarus – no 937	X							
27.	L. Valerius Publicola Messalla Helvidius Thrasea Priscus Minicius Natalis – no 988					X (i)			
28.	C. Vettius Gratus Sabinianus – no 1010						X		
29.	[...]anus S[...] – no 1593	X				X (i)			
30.	Anonymus consul? (*AE* 1922, 38 = *ILJug* 2080) – no 1077	X							

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j
31.	Anonymus consul (*CIL* IX 1592 = *ILS* 1126) – no 1076			X (i)					X
32.	Anonymus praetor? (*AE* 2003, 365) – no 1125	X					X		X
33.	Anonymus legatus Aquitaniae (*AE* 1992, 1794) – no 1611					X (e)			
34.	M. Annaeus Saturninus Clodianus Aelianus – no 1231							X	X
35.	M. Caelius Flavus Proculus – no 1276							X	X
36.	Iulius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius [...]atus Laevillus Berenicianus – no 1421				X (i)				X
37.	[Lusius Laberius ? S]eptius [Ruti]lianus – no 1447							X	X?
38.	M. Macrinius Avitus Catonius Vindex – no 1451	X				X (e)			
39.	T. Marcius [C]le[mens?] – no 1458								X
40.	[...] P. Neratius M[acer *aut* -arcellus] – no 1480							X?	X
41.	C. Novius Rusticus Venuleius Apronianus – no 1483						X	X	
42.	[P]riscus – no 1509						X		X
43.	[...]ius T[...] – no 1559						X	X	X?
44.	[...]Tursidius (*aut* T. Ursidius) [...] Manilianus Titule[ius] Aelianus – no 1566								X
45.	M. Valerius Maximianus – no 1578	X				X (e)			
46.	C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes – no 1012		X (e)						
47.	Anonymus consul (*CIL* VI 1553 = *CIL* VI 41200) – no 1606						X		X
48.	Anonymus legatus Thraciae (*AE* 1907, 48 = *IGR* I 1481) – no 1620						X		
49.	Anonymus praetor (*CIL* VI 31780 = *CIL* VI 41202/3) – no 1623						X		X

The table above lists 49 people with special distinctions in their *cursus honorum* (*dona militaria*, *adlectio*, *commendatio Augusti*), which is about 40% of the entire group under analysis, comprising 123 senators. As a rule, they received distinctions once (23) or twice (21). Being awarded distinctions three times (5) was less frequent; those atypical cases have been discussed above. *Adlecti* predominated in the group of those distinguished once (12), while *candidati* were most dominant in the group of those distinguished twice or three times (20)[94]. It is worth noting that among those awarded twice, the majority (13) had one type of distinction (twelve double *commendatio*, one double *adlectio*), and only eight had different types (four *adlectio* + *commendatio*, four *dona* + *adlectio*). Also among those distinguished three times, people with distinctions of one type predominated (three out of five)[95]. A pattern may be noticed: the more distinctions in the career, the more often we encounter *candidati Augusti* (and the fewer of them, the more *adlecti*); another regular occurrence is the dominance of one type of distinctions.

Analysing the problem of special distinctions collectively, we find that their distribution was as follows: 8 *dona*, 23 *adlectiones*, 28 *commendationes Augusti*. There is a visible disproportion between the *strictly* military and the magistrate distinctions in favour of the latter and a slight dominance of *commendationes* over *adlectiones*.

The careers presented above of those who received *dona* confirm that *dona* were awarded for specific achievements and not for the mere fact of holding an office. Interestingly, three *donati* did not receive any other distinctions and their career was standard; out of the remaining five, one became a *candidatus Augusti* twice (no 32 in the table above), while four were awarded *adlectio inter praetorios* (three external and one internal). The latter four (as far as we can reconstruct their careers) later served higher military and administrative functions, e.g. legionary and provincial commands. There are no representatives of *gentes senatoriae* in the group of those who received *dona*, while attested *homines novi* dominate; one cannot avoid the impression that *dona militaria* were rather a feature of the equestrian (or even lower) *cursus*.

One should look at the careers of people with *adlectio* and *commendatio* in terms of their social origins (*ordo*). Among those *adlecti* whose *ordo* has been identified, there were few representatives of *gentes senatoriae*, while in the group of *candidati* it was just the opposite: they were the most numerous. This means that *adlectio* was, as a rule, a part of the advancement of *homines novi*,

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[94] In the group of those distinguished twice: 16 *candidati*; in the group of those distinguished three times: 4 *candidati.*

[95] Two people were awarded *commendatio* three times, one was awarded *adlectio* three times, one was awarded *adlectio* and *commendatio* twice, one was awarded *dona militaria* and *commendatio* twice.

while *commendatio* belonged to the advancement of members of *gentes senatoriae*. All those recommended to the office (*candidati*) when they obtained imperial support were from the senatorial order, which distinguished this procedure from *adlectio*, applied to people from different orders.

On the basis of earlier analyses, it can additionally be stated that provincials were most numerous in the group of *adlecti*, while representatives of the Italian aristocracy formed the group of *candidati*. Research conducted in terms of the *origo* of these people confirms the great role of tradition in appointments to offices.

The above lists and analyses clearly show that the emperor had a number of instruments at his disposal to support a talented military tribune; at the same time, they prove that he did not use them frequently. At the early stage of a former tribune's career (up to the praetorship) what mattered were not so much one's own merits, but the influence of the *gens*, kinsmen, patrons and their possible relations with the ruling house. In the Roman senators' *cursus honorum*, important and prestigious offices appeared only after the praetorship and only then were they given a chance to demonstrate their own abilities. My next article will be devoted to this issue.

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A CRITICAL EDITION OF FRG. MANICH. RENUNT. (*FRAGMENTA QUATTUOR AD MANICHAEUM RENUNTIANDUM PERTINENTIA*), INCLUDING THE *TESTIMONIUM DE MANICHAEIS SECTATORIBUS*, AND OF AUG. EPIST. 79

by

PETER RIEDLBERGER

ABSTRACT: The present article contains a critical edition of the *Fragmenta quattuor ad Manichaeum renuntiandum pertinentia* (including the so-called *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus*), and of Augustine, *Epistula* 79. Contrary to currently available editions, the text offered in the article is based on several mediaeval manuscripts. Apart from a discussion of the manuscripts in question, this article further comprises a detailed analysis of the second part of the *Fragmenta quattuor*, namely Cresconius's subscription and Felix's testimony.

The two texts I am going to present here have been known for a long while, though only from early prints and one 16th century manuscript. Aug. epist. 79 was recently edited based on four mediaeval witnesses (Daur 2005: 92), but the result is unsatisfactory because of problematic editorial interventions (→ p. 165[33]). My own edition is based on eight mediaeval manuscripts (which include the one from which the early prints and the 16th century manuscript are derived). In addition, this article contains translations of these texts, an editorial introduction, and a commentary, although the latter is limited to the second half of the "Four fragments" (which happens to be the text I am most interested in myself)[1].

While the nomenclature for the second text is straightforward (its established designation is Aug. epist. 79), things are less obvious with the first text. It is, so far,

[1] This article is part of a project that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No. 677638. To my friends Dario Internullo, Tommaso Mari, and Clemens Weidmann I am very grateful for their crucial comments on my draft. The extent of my indebtedness to Aäron Vanspauwen is considerable: he saved me from several foolish mistakes, and not only pointed me to manuscript **L** (which I otherwise would have overlooked) but even provided me with reproductions (which would have been impossible to obtain while the Lilly Library is closed not only because of the current pandemic but also because of ongoing restoration work). I also wish to record my gratitude to all anonymous referees. Phillip Fackler and Matthew Hoskin took care that at least the English of the present article will not strike the reader as grossly substandard.

absent from the most thorough inventory of ancient Latin texts we possess, namely the Index to the *ThLL*[2]. However, it is listed in the *CPL*[3] as no. 727a[3], under the name *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus*. This title cannot be found in any manuscript or in any of the early modern printings. If I have not missed something, it is first used by Hamman in PLS II published in the years 1960–1962[4]. Given the lack of any other label and the ready availability of PLS, *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus* is the title employed by a majority of scholars who have worked on the text. Although this has been the default title, there are excellent reasons to discontinue it. For starters, *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus* does not sound like idiomatic Latin. More importantly, this title refers only to the latter two of the four fragments we find in the manuscripts (i.e., Frg. 3 and Frg. 4; in fact, almost all earlier editors only edited them, omitting Frg. 1 and Frg. 2); strictly speaking, it is only correct for the very last bit of the text (fragment 4), as even fragment 3 is neither a "testimony" nor "about Manichaean sect members".

In order to avoid any further confusion regarding the naming of these texts, I contacted *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* and inquired how this text should be cited to ensure consistency. Kees van Leijenhorst, who is in charge of the index there, kindly provided me with the following recommendation, which I gladly follow. The general abbreviation is Frg. Manich. renunt. (*Fragmenta quattuor ad Manichaeum renuntiandum pertinentia*). The first two fragments, however, are more accurately cited as variants of Aug. c. Fel.[5] This leaves us with "Frg. Manich. renunt. 3" for the bit on Cresconius, and "Frg. Manich. renunt. 4" for the denunciation by Felix.

(1) EDITIONS

I have abstained from indicating the following things in the apparatus in order to keep it readable and uncluttered: (i) the scribe of **R** planned to add a few initial letters in red, but forgot to do so; hence, Frg. 2 to 4 in this manuscript start with ...go, ...go, and ...elix, respectively (where "..." corresponds to the blank space

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[2] Given the highly obscure nature of many of the texts cited in this article, I will employ the *ThLL* abbreviations (explained in *Thesaurus linguae latinae. Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur*, Leipzig ²1990; online updates can be found on the website of the *ThLL*).

[3] E. Dekkers, E. Gaar, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, Steenbrugge ³1995.

[4] In the first edition of *CPL*, our text is missing. *CPL*² of 1961 lists it (p. 81, no. 322), although without using the label *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus*: "Addatur abiuratio (subdititia?) CRESCONII MANICHAEI et FELICIS, quam edidit A. Mai...". PLS II appeared in fascicles shortly afterwards, between 1960 and 1962. *CPL*³ no longer refers to Mai directly, but rather to the reprint in PLS II, and calls the text now *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus*. As Hamman *only* refers to Mai (who does not use this label), it was in all likelihood Hamman himself who invented it.

[5] For obvious reasons, *ThLL* citations exactly indicate the speaker. So in *ThLL*, the references would be to Aug. c. Fel. and to Fel. Aug. c. Fel., respectively. The reader will excuse my less careful style of citation.

the scribe left for the letter). (ii) **A** is damaged, primarily (but not exclusively) on its binding-side margin. Several letters per line are missing. I decided not to indicate the missing letters: this would have meant a second edition in a papyrological fashion, and that for very little gain. Sometimes, the letter can still be made out, and, invariably, one can see how much space the missing letters occupied and compare this to other manuscripts. On the basis of these observations, I conclude that nothing of editorial importance was lost in the damaged part. (iii) The early editions of Baronio, Labbé, and Mai are based, directly or indirectly, on one extant manuscript. It therefore does not make sense to list their (numerous) incorrect readings (or, in the case of Mai, haphazard conjectures), except in a few cases which will be discussed later. (iv) I do not indicate orthographic features (e.g., all manuscripts have *Thipasa* instead of *Tipasa*; the spelling of *Hippone* can be creative, including *Yppone*).

Frg. Manich. renunt. 1-4

(1) Augustinus episcopus ecclesiae catholicae:
Iam anathemavi Manichaeum et doctrinam eius et spiritum, qui per eum tam execrabiles blasphemias locutus est, quia spiritus seductor erat, non veritatis, sed nefandi erroris. Et nunc anathemo supradictum Manichaeum et spiritum erroris ipsius.

(2) Ego Felix, qui Manichaeo credideram, nunc anathemo eum et doctrinam ipsius et spiritum seductorem, qui in illo fuit, qui dixit deum patrem suam genti tenebrarum miscuisse naturam, et eam turpiter liberare, ut virtutes suas transfiguret in feminas contra masculina daemonia et ipsas iterum in masculos contra feminea daemonia, ita ut postea reliquias ipsius partis suae configat in aeternum globo tenebrarum. Has omnes et ceteras blasphemias Manichaei anathemo.

(3) Ego Cresconius unus ex Manichaeis scripsi, quia, si discessero, antequam gesta subscribantur, sic sim habendus, ac si Manichaeum non anathemaverim.

(4) Felix conversus ex Manichaeis dixi sub testificatione dei me omnia vera confiteri, de quo scio. Esse Manichaeos vel Manichaeas in partes Caesarienses Mariam et Lampadiam, uxorem Mercurii argentarii, cum quibus etiam apud electum Eucharistum pariter oravimus; Caesariam et Lucillam filiam suam; Candidum, qui commoratur Tipasa; Victorinam Hispanam, Simplicianum Antonini nepotem, Paulum et sororem suam, qui sunt Hippone.
Quas etiam per Mariam et Lampadiam scivi esse Manichaeas. Hoc tantum scio. Quod si aliud inventum fuerit me scire supra quam dixi, me reum ego ipse confiteor.

1 Augustinus] item *praem. omnes praeter* **ALM**; ego *praem.* **L** episcopus *om.* **P** catholicae ecclesiae *tr. omnes praeter* **ALM** **2** anathematizavi **BPTS²**, *et sic semper* **BPT**, *sed non* **S²** **4** et nunc *om.* **S** (*corr.* **S²**) **7** deum *om.* **S** (*corr.* **S²**) **10** et ipsas iterum in masculos contra feminea daemonia *om.* **P** (*a.c.*) **T** (*a.c.*) *Labbé* **13** Cresconius] C. *Baronio*; conversus *Labbé*

17 esse *om.* **MS** (*corr.* **S²**) **18** Lampadium **A**; Lapadiam **B** **20** Caesaria **AL** et Lucillam *om.* **S** (*corr.* **S²**) Lucilla filia sua **L** **21** Victorina Hispana **AL** nepotem] patrem **RV** **24** quam supra *tr.* **B**

Aug. epist. 79

Commonitorium sancti Augustini episcopi ad presbyterum Manichaeum

Sine causa tergiversaris, cum longe appareat, qualis sis. Quid tecum locuti fuerint fratres, indicaverunt mihi. Bene, quia non times mortem. Sed eam mortem debes timere, quam tibi ipse facis talia de deo blasphemando. Et quod intellegis mortem istam visibilem, quam omnes homines norunt, separationem esse mentis a corpore, non est magnum intellegere. Sed quod adiungis de vestro, separationem esse boni a malo, si mens bonum est et corpus malum, qui ea commiscuit non est bonus. Dicitis autem, quia deus bonus ista commiscuit. Ergo aut malus est aut malum timebat. Et tu gloriaris, quia non times hominem, cum deum talem tibi fingas, qui tenebras timuit, ut commisceret bonum et malum. Noli autem extolli animo, sicut scripsisti, quia vos magnos facimus, eo quod impedire volumus venena vestra, ne ad homines pestilentia serpat. Non enim apostolus, quos canes appellat, magnos facit, cum dicit "Cavete canes", aut illos magnos faciebat, quorum sermonem dicebat serpere ut cancrum. Itaque denuntio tibi in nomine Christi, †ut† si paratus es, solvere quaestionem, in qua defecit praecessor tuus Fortunatus (et ita hinc ierat, ut non rediret, nisi cum suis disputatione collata inveniret, quid contra respondere posset, disputans cum fratribus). Si autem ad hoc non es paratus, discede hinc, et noli pervertere vias domini, et illaqueare et venenis inficere animas infirmas, ne adiuvante dextera domini nostri, quomodo non putaveras, erubescas.

4 ipse tibi *tr.* **B** **6** mentis esse *tr.* **M** **8** eam **T** (*a.c.*) **15** cancer **AL** *Labbé* **16** solvere] **ALM** *Labbé et fortasse* **S** (*ante rasuram*); solve **BPRTVS** (*post rasuram*) **18** collata] collecta **M** **19** disputa **L** adhuc **M** es non *tr.* **B** (*a.c.*) **21** animas *om.* **S** (*corr.* **S²**)

14 Philippians 3:2 **15** 2 Timothy 2:17 **20** Acts 13:10

(2) TRANSLATIONS

Frg. Manich. renunt. 1-4

(1) Augustine, Bishop of the Catholic Church: I have already previously anathematised Mani, his teachings and the spirit that spoke such abominable blasphemies through him, for this spirit was seducing not towards truth but towards a heinous falsity. Also today, I anathematise said Mani and the spirit of his falsity.

(2) I, Felix, who had believed in Mani, now anathematise him, his teachings and the seducing spirit that was in him, who claimed that God the Father had mixed his nature into the folk of darkness and that he frees it in a shameful way, namely by morphing his virtues into women against male daemons and, inversely, into men against female daemons, later confining the remainders of this part of his

forever to the lump of darkness[6]. I anathematise all of these and any further blasphemies of Mani.

(3) I, Cresconius, one of the Manichaeans, have written what follows: "If I should withdraw before the *gesta* have been subscribed, I shall be considered as if I had not anathematised Mani".

(4) I, Felix, converted from the Manichaeans, have said with God as witness that I will truthfully confess everything I know. The following are male or female Manichaeans: in the region of Caesarea, Maria and Lampadia, the wife of Mercurius, the silversmith (together with these, we also prayed with the Elect Eucharistus), Caesaria and her daughter Lucilla. Candidus, who lives in Tipasa. Victorina from Spain, Simplicianus, the grandson of Antoninus, Paulus and his sister, who are in Hippo. I have learned through Maria and Lampadia that also these ladies are Manichaeans. I only know so much. However, in the event that it should transpire that I have knowledge of anything beyond what I have said, I myself acknowledge my felony.

Aug. epist. 79

Memorandum by the Bishop Saint Augustine to a Manichaean presbyter[7]

You prevaricate for no good reason, as it is obvious from afar what kind of person you are. The brothers told me what they have discussed with you.

It is good that you are not afraid of death. However, you should be afraid of that death which you prepare for yourself by uttering such blasphemies about God! And that you understand that this visible death, which all men know, is the separation of the mind from the body – this is not a great intellectual feat. But as to what you add from your teachings, namely that it is the separation of the good from the evil: if the mind is the good and the body the evil, then the one who mixed these together is not good. But you claim that the good God mixed these together. Hence, either he was evil, or he was afraid of evil. And you pride yourself on not being afraid of man, while you contrive such a God who was afraid of the darkness and therefore mixed good and evil.

And do not pride yourself (as you write) on us extolling you, because we try to fight your venom so that pestilence does not creep to the people. For the

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[6] I will not go into details here regarding Manichaean beliefs. For the idea of God transforming his virtues into alluring mates, cf. e.g. Aug. c. Fel. II 7. For the notion of the 'bolos' (*globus* in Latin, here translated as "lump"), cf. Williams Jackson 1938.

[7] This line is certainly a later addition: Augustine would not call himself "saint" nor would he leave out the name of the letter's recipient. Also note that there is no such thing as a Manichaean "presbyter".

apostle does not extol those he calls dogs when he says: "Beware of dogs!" nor does he extol those of whose preaching he said that it creeps like a cancer.

Therefore, I command you in the name of Christ, if you are ready, to solve the question in which your predecessor Fortunatus failed (and he left hither, never to return, except if he might find, after a discussion with his folk, something which he could object)[8]. However, if you are not ready for that, begone from here! Do not pervert the ways of the Lord! Do not try to ensnare and to poison the souls of the weak so as not to be embarrassed, with the help of Our Lord, in a way you never could have imagined!

(3) THE DOSSIER

In the early 20th century, while preparing an edition of the *Acta Archelai* – a long anti-Manichaean work in the guise of a minuted dispute with Mani himself as participant, which is completely extant only in a Latin translation – Charles H. Beeson discovered that several manuscripts contain an identical dossier of texts related to heresy and Manichaeism. He knew five such mediaeval manuscripts plus one early modern apograph; to this list, three more mediaeval manuscripts can now be added. With two exceptions[9], the mediaeval manuscripts are of approximately the same age (12th century) and, again with two or three exceptions[10], they stem from the same small region (Valenciennes), while all of them seem to have originated in the wider region of Northern France and Flanders. This suggests a common context of origin, and Beeson (1906: XXX) proposed some connection to the Cathars. The challenge posed by them might easily account for a renewed interest in heresies and Manichaeism and hence explain the production of the 12th century copies, although the date of the oldest manuscript (**A**, 10th century) is perhaps slightly early for any such connection; the original compilation of the dossier should therefore be explained in a different way. Said dossier comprises the following texts (Beeson 1906: XXX) which appear in identical order in these manuscripts (though not all of them have the full dossier, → p. 161):

1. Correspondence between Augustine and Quodvultdeus regarding the composition of *De haeresibus* (*ThLL*: Aug. epist. 221–224; manuscript-wise this is actually a kind of front matter to *De haeresibus* – the adoption of these letters

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[8] Cf. Aug. c. Fort. 37.

[9] Namely **A** which is from the 10th c. and **M** which is possibly from the 11th c.

[10] Namely **B** which is from the near vicinity of Bruges (hence, not from the Valenciennes region, but then again, not terribly far off), **A** which is from Arras (which is actually quite near to the Valenciennes region), and **L**, the provenance of which is unclear, although it probably stems from Northern France or Flanders.

into Augustine's epistolary collection is just a modern editorial custom, cf. Goldbacher 1923: LXXI–LXXII).

2. Augustine's *De haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum* (*ThLL*: Aug. haer.).
3. ***Fragmenta quattuor ad Manichaeum renuntiandum pertinentia* (*ThLL*: henceforth Frg. Manich. renunt.**; these four declarations do not feature any title in the manuscripts – their incipit is: "[Item or Ego] Augustinus episcopus ecclesiae catholicae [or: catholicae ecclesiae]. Iam anathema[tiza]vi", their explicit: "me reum ego ipse confiteor").
4. ***Commonitorium S. Augustini episcopi ad presbyterum Manichaeum* (*ThLL*: Aug. epist. 79).**
5. *Commonitorium quomodo sit agendum cum Manichaeis* (*ThLL*: Ps. Aug. comm.; *CPL*³ 533).
6. Extracts from *Acta Archelai* (incipit: "Quod iste Manes non sit auctor"; explicit: "carnes vero volucribus dari iussit"; *ThLL*: Act. Archel. 62, 2–66, 3).

Since the texts numbered 1, 2, 5, and 6 are well-known from various other manuscripts, we will instead focus on numbers 3 and 4 which occur exclusively in these dossier manuscripts[11].

Number 4 is known to us today as Aug. epist. 79 and is apparently a letter by Augustine in response to previous communication by an unnamed Manichaean.

The case of number 3 is more complicated. This text possesses neither a real *incipit* formula (→ p. 163) nor any *explicit* formula at all. It is pieced together from four different fragments, the first two of which are well known: they come from the end of Augustine's *Contra Felicem*, where the Manichaean Felix is ready to recant his Manichaeism but wants Augustine to go first so as to have a model anathema. The first declaration is actually Augustine's anathema of Manichaeism (Aug. c. Fel. II 22, CSEL XXV 2, p. 852, 12–17), the second one is Felix's (Fel. Aug. c. Fel. II 22, CSEL XXV 2, p. 852, 19–26). The last two fragments (Frg. Manich. renunt. 3 and 4), however, are not extant anywhere else. This is why they have been published by most early editors separately from the well-known rest and came to be regarded as a work in its own right, the so-called *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus* (→ p. 154). Yet by omitting the first two fragments (the presence of which clearly demonstrates the disparate nature of the collected snippets), the relationship between the third and the fourth

[11] Some authors describe a different setting. Escribano Paño (2014: 291) writes: "Al final de las actas [the discussion between Augustine and Felix], tras la abjuración de Felix, figura un añadido transmitido en dos manuscritos misceláneos". This is wrong; the text is never transmitted after c. Fel. Similarly, J. Lieu, S. Lieu (1981: 174): "Another version was given by Cardinal Angelo Mai from a Vatican manuscript where it followed the text of *De actis cum Felice manichaeo*". This is a misunderstanding of Mai's Latin: "post anathematismum, quo concluditur liber secundus actorum sancti Augustini cum Felice manichaeo, sequitur alius anathematismus". Mai is only talking about the anathemata (i.e., Frg. Manich. renunt. 1–2), not about the whole work.

fragment appears stronger than it is. In actuality, Frg. Manich. renunt. 3 and 4 do not belong together. The third fragment is a written declaration by a certain Cresconius who apparently has abjured Manichaeism but needs to wait until he can sign the official document before his conversion can go into effect. The fourth fragment is the stenographed testimony of a certain Felix (*not* Augustine's Felix!) who reveals everything he knows about his (apparently clandestine) fellow Manichaeans.

(4) THE MANUSCRIPTS

A Atrebatensis (Abbaye Saint-Vaast d'Arras), today Boulogne-sur-mer 45, 10th c., vellum, size unknown, ff. 86r–86v[12].

B Thosanus (Abbaye de Ter Doest), today Bruges 119, 12th c., parchment, 353 x 250 mm, ff. 178v–179v[13].

L Lillianus, of unknown provenance (Ricci: "Northern France or Flanders", Hamel: "France"), today Lilly Library Ricketts 162, Bloomington, Indiana, USA, 12th c. (Hamel even: second quarter of 12th c.), parchment, 220 x 132 mm, ff. 105r–106v[14].

M Marchianensis (Abbaye de Marchiennes), today Douai 275, 11th c., parchment, 330 x 240 mm, ff. 10v–11r[15].

P Amandiensis (Abbaye de Saint-Amand-les-Eaux), today Paris. Lat. 1918, early 12th c., parchment, 320 x 230 mm, f. 101v–102r[16].

R Salviensis (Prieuré de Saint-Saulve), today Rouen 470, mid-12th c., parchment, 295 x 205 mm, ff. 124r–124v[17].

S Aquicintensis (Abbaye Saint-Sauveur d'Anchin), today Douai 280, late 12th c., parchment, 330 x 250 mm, ff. 108v–109r[18].

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[12] *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, vol. IV: *Arras – Avranches – Boulogne*, Paris 1872, p. 601.

[13] A. De Poorter, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques de Belgique*, vol. II: *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque publique de la ville de Bruges*, Gembloux–Paris 1934, pp. 154–156.

[14] Ch. de Hamel, *Gilding the Lilly: A Hundred Medieval and Illuminated Manuscripts in the Lilly Library*, Bloomington, IN 2010, pp. 34 f.; Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, vol. I, New York 1935, p. 642.

[15] *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, vol. VI: *Douai*, Paris 1878, pp. 145 f. According to this entry and Zycha (see below, n. 24), even 10th c.

[16] Ph. Lauer, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, vol. II: *(Nos 1439–2692)*, Paris 1940, p. 238. Lauer's date is 12th c., my early 12th c. follows Beeson 1906: XXXII.

[17] H. Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. I: *Rouen*, Paris 1886, p. 97. The date given by me is based on the identification of Hugo (→ p. 169).

[18] *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, vol. VI: *Douai*, Paris 1878, pp. 148 f.

S² Second hand (corrector) in **S**.

T Tornaciensis (Abbaye Saint-Martin de Tournai), today Paris. Lat. 1908, 12th c., parchment, 295 x 210 mm, ff. 53v–54r[19].

V Vat. Reg. Lat. 562, 16th c., paper, 276 x 190 mm, f. 18r–18v[20].

Of these manuscripts, six (**BMPRST**) include the full dossier. **L** lacks no. 6 and never contained it (after no. 5, on the same page follows a collection of short texts and extracts, starting with Aug. epist. 184, penned by the same hand as the dossier). Nor does **A** include this text, although theoretically[21] it might have done so earlier, as the last surviving folio of **A** – which is, sadly, damaged – ends with part of the very first line of text no. 5. **V** is an early modern manuscript which contains only a portion of the dossier (nos. 3–6). Its creator apparently was not interested in copying the well-known texts of nos. 1 and 2. From an editorial point of view, the interest of this manuscript is negligible, as it is a direct descendent of one extant manuscript (**R**)[22]. The dates I give are based on the dates indicated in the catalogues (except where I have provided additional information in the pertinent footnote). The sizes, too, are taken directly from the catalogues as, unfortunately, I have been unable to see any of these manuscripts in the original[23]. The stated folio ranges indicate the portions with my texts (i.e., nos. 3–4), *not* those of the full dossier. Two early modern editors mention a Codex Gervasianus, which is, in all likelihood, identical with **R** (→ p. 168).

For any serious attempt to build a stemma, one would need to collate the whole dossier, an undertaking which is clearly beyond the scope for this little edition of mine. But let us review what the editors of other parts of the dossier thought about the relationships of the various witnesses, and also about the quality of individual manuscripts. For editing Aug. epist. 221–224 (my no. 1), Goldbacher only used one of our manuscripts (**A**; his G), so there are no comparisons between dossier manuscripts to be found in his work. The edition of *De haeresibus* (and also of Aug. epist. 221–224, hence, my nos. 1–2) by Vander

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[19] Ph. Lauer, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, vol. II: *(Nos 1439–2692)*, Paris 1940, pp. 233 f. Lauer's date is early 13th c., my 12th c. follows Beeson 1906: XXXII.

[20] A. Poncelet, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicum Latinorum bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Bruxellis 1910, p. 373.

[21] **A** and **L** are closely related, however (→ p. 163); if **L** never included no. 6, so perhaps neither did **A**.

[22] Beeson (1906: XXXIV) has shown this beyond doubt. **V** even copies the scribal subscription of **R** (→ p. 169).

[23] For the reproductions I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to Ludo Vandamme and Heidi Keereman in Bruges, to Sandrine Boucher in Boulogne, to Jean Vilbas in Douai, to Catherine Hubbard in Rouen, to Aäron Vanspauwen, and to whosoever is making it possible that reproductions of manuscripts held by the Bibliothèque Nationale and by the Biblioteca Vaticana can be found on the internet.

Plaetse and Beukers (CCSL XLVI 1969, pp. 263–345) uses **M** (their C) and **A** (their L), although the latter only indirectly through Goldbacher's edition. Interestingly, they succeeded back in 1969 in identifying most of the dossier manuscripts (pp. 266 f.), but they did not know of Beeson's earlier work, and their own work was ignored by anyone working on the so-called *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus*. In their stemma (p. 269), they do not indicate a position for **A**. For his edition of no. 4, Daur used **ABMR** (→p. 165[33]). He does not explain the individual weight he attaches to these manuscripts, although one can observe that he (quite inexplicably) prefers a reading of **B** against the consensus of **AMR**.

The standard edition of the *Commonitorium quomodo sit agendum cum Manichaeis* (my no. 5) was prepared by Zycha who used three of our manuscripts (**MPT**) as well as three other witnesses. According to Zycha[24], **P** (his T) and **T** (his P)[25] are very similar, with **P** being slightly more carefully written, while **M** is especially important ("hic codex libros ad secundam classem pertinentes pretio longe vincit"; to this second class belong **P** and **T** as well as one manuscript which does not contain the dossier, but just the *Commonitorium quomodo*).

We owe the most circumstantial discussion of our manuscripts to Beeson (1906). He edited the *Acta Archelai*, of which the dossier manuscripts merely provide extracts (my no. 6), giving Beeson the opportunity to compare their readings against a text which is based on more complete and better manuscripts. Beeson knew **MPRST**. He also underscores the striking similarity of **P** and **T**, with **P** being penned with more care (p. XXXII), although quite surprisingly, it is **T** which is correct in one place where all other dossier manuscripts known to Beeson fail (p. XXXV; this might however be a scribal conjecture). Beeson concurs with Zycha, too, when it comes to **M** (pp. XXXIV f.), calling it the best of the dossier manuscripts and pointing out that it alone among these preserves certain correct readings (which can be verified against the full manuscripts). However, there are several mistakes only to be found in **M**. According to Beeson (p. XXXV), **S** might either be a direct descendant or a sibling of **M**, while **R** is "am nächsten verwandt" with **S**. Beeson sums up: "Das ungenügende Material erlaubt mir nicht, das Verhältnis der HSS dieser Gruppe mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen".

My own observations, exclusively based on texts nos. 3–4, are as follows: **P** and **T** are indeed strikingly similar. This similarity even extends to the layout,

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[24] I. Zycha, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vol. XXV, Sect. VII Pars 2: *S. Aureli Augustini, Contra Felicem*..., Vindobonae 1892, p. LXXVII.

[25] I am sorry for the confusion: Zycha prefers to call Paris. Lat. 1908 "T" after its former owner Le Tellier (*Tellerianus*), while I derive my sigla consistently from either the place of provenience or of keeping.

actually even to the very spot where a missing line is later added in the top margin! The presence of mistakes unique to each manuscript (**P** lacks *episcopus*, **T** alone includes the wrong *eam*) suggests that they are siblings. There is no reason to doubt that **V** is derived directly from **R**. **A** and **L** are closely related; judging by my small sample, **L** could even be a direct descendant of **A**. Otherwise, it is not possible to identify any direct connections between manuscripts. Their text is quite uniform, and the occasional slip of the pen found in one does not resurface in any other manuscript.

One important observation regarding the first line is in order. In the two oldest manuscripts (**AM**), we have the text as found in c. Fel., from where it derives (*Augustinus episcopus* etc. being the subject of the first phrase). In almost[26] all the other manuscripts, this is reinterpreted as an *incipit*: *item* is added (and the word order of *ecclesiae catholicae* changed for no obvious reason)[27]. This *item* of course refers to *De haeresibus* by Augustine, which immediately precedes the fragments in the dossier manuscripts. The intact transmission of the first line suggests that **AM** might preserve better readings than others; it also corroborates the specific importance Zycha and Beeson attached to **M** (note that neither of the two used **A**; so their silence on this manuscript does not mean they doubted its worth).

(5) EDITORIAL ISSUES

Some editorial issues require further comment. First, *anathemare/anathematizare*. One may wonder whether this deserves any editorial attention, as it might be considered a negligible orthographic fluctuation[28]. But *ThLL* I 20, 64 f. claims that *anathematizo* is "frequentius ac prius ab ecclesiasticis adhibitum quam *anathemo*", so it is worth justifying my decision. The corrector of **S²** changed initially from *-are* to *-atizare* (against **S**), so it did matter at least to him. The **PT** group consistently uses *-atizare*, as does **B**, while **ALMR** employ *-are*. I have opted for *-are* in my edition because almost[29] all manuscripts, even **AR**

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[26] The exception is **L**, where an *Ego* is added, so that *Ego Augustinus* matches *Ego Felix* and *Ego Cresconius*.

[27] In Zycha's edition, the word order is: "Augustinus ecclesiae catholicae episcopus". However, the apparatus indicates that "Augustinus episcopus ecclesiae catholicae" is also broadly attested, across both manuscript families indicated by Zycha. Accordingly, *episcopus* directly after *Augustinus* is not an idiosyncrasy of the dossier manuscripts.

[28] Compare the editorial decisions of Baronio, Labbé, and Mai: all of them used manuscripts exclusively showing *-are* (namely a manuscript derived from **R**, **R** itself, and **V**), though Baronio consistently uses *-atizare*, whereas Labbé and Mai have *-are*.

[29] In the case of **A**, we do not know, as the last surviving word of this defective manuscript is *cum* in the title phrase *Commonitorium quomodo sit agendum cum*. **L** has *anathemaverint* at the start of text no. 5, hence also a uniform orthography, but a different one.

with *-are* in text no. 3, do have *anathematizaverint* right at the start of text no. 5, *Commonitorium quomodo sit agendum cum Manichaeis*. This gives us cause to suspect that the uniform orthography in other manuscripts reflects an aspiration for consistency introduced at the cost of a faithful rendering of the exemplar.

Secondly, there is a problem regarding a skipped line. Of "suas transfiguret in feminas contra masculina daemonia et ipsas iterum in masculos contra feminea daemonia", two manuscripts (**PT**) omit the part "et ipsas [...] daemonia". This can easily be explained as a case of *saut du même au même*, and the missing words are added in both cases later in the upper margin. In Labbé's edition (based on **R**, not on **PT**) we encounter the same lacuna. For various reasons, this same mistake must have occurred independently (→ p. 171).

Thirdly, the overall text quality of no. 3. We can check the text of the first two fragments against the version transmitted by the full manuscripts of *Contra Felicem*. When comparing Frg. Manich. renunt. 2 with Felix's anathema, one cannot but notice that the dossier text is clearly worse (for a full comparison, → p. 175[50]). Most disturbing is "qui dixit deum patrem suam genti tenebrarum miscuisse naturam". This was originally "qui dixit deum partem suam genti tenebrarum miscuisse", and by a slip of the pen, *partem* became *patrem*. Thus, we had a God the Father but unfortunately also an orphaned *suam*. Then, another scribe had the infelicitous idea of adding *naturam* to account for it. We shall see in the commentary that the text of Frg. Manich. renunt. 3 and 4 is problematic in places. This could be readily explained by the nature of these fragments, being minuted utterances of (possibly) substandard speakers. But the comparison just made should raise an alarm; any of the oddities we encounter could easily be due to a scribal mistake (or to an incompetent attempt at correction). There is no methodological way out of this dilemma.

Fourthly, the only real textual problem posed by Aug. epist. 79 is presented by "denuntio tibi in nomine Christi, †ut† si paratus es, solvere [or: solve] quaestionem". The two best manuscripts, **AM**, present *solvere* (as do **L** and Labbé's edition, and probably also **S** prior to an erasure which ostensibly removed a few letters following the now remaining *solve*), which is certainly preferable to *solve* of all other manuscripts. The latter apparently is a later modification to let the phrase run parallel to the subsequent conditional-imperative sequence "si [...] non es paratus, discede". Yet neither *solvere* nor *solve* can go with *ut*. Nor is it possible to understand *ut si*, both for reasons of semantics and grammar (i.e., the indicative *es*). Goldbacher, who only knew the *solve* variant, indicated a lacuna in his edition. But *solvere* could be dependent on *denuntio*, a construction Augustine uses (e.g. Aug. civ. X 11), in which case *ut* either hides a different word, or later crept in; any such corruption is easily understandable in view to the well-known construction *denuntiare ut*, as also found in translations of 2 Thessalonians 3:5, "denuntiamus autem vobis, fratres, in nomine Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, ut..." (identical wording in both the Vulgate and the Bible

Augustine himself used, cf. Aug. spec. 37 p. 242, 12 f., Aug. op. monach. 3, 4). Theoretically, as an alternative one might keep *ut* and change *solvere* to a corresponding form in the subjunctive; but this is hardly advisable, as it would remove a construction elsewhere attested in Augustine's writings, and render the construction more banal. Eventually, I have put *ut* into *cruces* as there is no way to decide whether it needs to be athetised or rather changed to a different (and, moreover, indeterminable) word.

(6) EDITORIAL HISTORY

No. 4 of the dossier was first published in 1576, as part of the Louvain edition of Augustine's works, though without indication of the manuscript used[30]. It was reprinted in subsequent editions of the letters by Vignier and Reinhart, who took over the Louvain text without any recourse to manuscripts. The Maurist edition in 1679 assigned the new number 79 to this letter (and we still know this text as Aug. epist. 79); further, the Maurists – who carefully indicated the manuscripts they used – stated (col. 911) that they could find it only in a single Vatican manuscript (i.e., my **V**)[31]. Goldbacher (to whom we owe the still authoritative modern edition of Augustine's letters) failed to locate any manuscript of the text and noted: "Epistulam LXXIX, quam Maurini in uno codice Vaticano se repperisse dicunt, cum in libris manu scriptis frustra quaesivissem, transscripsi ex edd. l s r m[32]; inscriptio deest". Divjak et al. (1996–2002: 1012, n. 196) add: "Die Ausgabe Goldbachers basiert auf älteren Editionen; die einzige Handschrift Vatikan. Reg. 562 des 16. Jh.s war ihm nicht bekannt". Divjak's alleged *codex unicus* Vat. Reg. 562, is **V**, i.e. the early modern paper manuscript which is a direct copy of **R**. It is to the credit of Daur (2005: 92) that he produced the first critical edition of Aug. epist. 79 using four mediaeval manuscripts (my **ABMR**); but questionable editorial decisions render his edition inferior to Goldbacher's[33].

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[30] Goldbacher 1923: LXXXIII: "theologi Lovanienses [...] magnam librorum mss., maxime Belgicorum copiam conquirebant". Given the provenance of most mediaeval manuscripts of this text, it is not surprising the Louvain editors came across it!

[31] Louvain (*Tomus II operum D. Aurelii Augustini [...] complectens epistolas per theologos Lovanienses*..., Antverpiae 1576, no. 244, p. 341); Vignier (*Sancti Aurelii Augustini [...] operum omnium [...] supplementum*, Hieronymus Vignier, Parisiis 1654, Tom. I, no. 142, p. 469); Reinhart (*S. Aurelii Augustini [...] epistolae CCLXXIIX [...] curae Lucae Friederici Reinharti*, Altdorffi 1668, no. 144, p. 941), Maurini (*Sancti Aurelii Augustini [...] operum tomus secundus [...] opera et studio monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti e congregatione S. Mauri*, Parisiis 1679, no. 79, col. 187; cf. col. 911: "Non reperitur nisi in Vaticano exemplari").

[32] These are the older editions: Louvain, the supplement by Vignier, Reinhart, and the Maurini.

[33] Daur does not explain the weight he ascribes to the individual manuscripts, his apparatus is often unreliable, and editorial decisions appear haphazard. In our text, there are two divergencies

Again, the case of no. 3 is more complicated. Of the four declarations, scholars focused on the latter two, the later thus called *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus*. Its first edition dates back to 1602, when the text was printed in the tenth volume of the *Annales ecclesiastici* by Cesare Baronio (1538–1607) as an addendum to an earlier volume[34]. Baronio states that his edition is based on a copy Nicolas Le Fèvre procured from a codex in the possession of the *Collegium Gervasianum*. Apart from the *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus*, Baronio only edits one additional text from the dossier, namely the *Commonitorium quomodo sit agendum cum Manichaeis*. Most modern scholars use Baronio's work in Theiner's later re-edition. There, the text is no longer relegated to an addendum, but instead moved to the correct place[35]. Unfortunately, Theiner's reissue includes an additional typo (*babendus*).

Philippe Labbé (1607–1667) created an independent edition which appeared posthumously in 1671. It comprises the full "Four Fragments" as well as the *Commonitorium ad presbyterum Manichaeum* (i.e., Aug. epist. 79) and the *Commonitorium quomodo*[36]. His edition is according to his own indication also based on the Codex Gervasianus. Accordingly, there should not be any differences in the text of the *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus* between Baronio and Labbé, but in fact there are (→ p. 171).

A further edition of (just) the *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus* is due to Angelo Mai[37]. His text is based on **V**, Vat. Reg. 562 (he mistakenly writes

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from Goldbacher, both unconvincing: first, Daur changes "Commonitorium sancti Augustini episcopi ad presbyterum Manichaeum" to "Commonitorium cuidam presbytero Manichaeo Augustinus" by conjecture, pointing to Aug. epist. Divj. 22. But the first line of epist. 79 certainly is a later addition (→ p. 157[7]). Hence, it must not be modified according to an address Augustine himself used. Secondly, for no apparent reason Daur retains the transposition "ipse tibi" based on **B**, against the consensus von **AMR**. Daur attempted to point out the parts missing in manuscript **A**, but his indications are unreliable (e.g., "non est" in my line 6 is completely gone, which Daur does not note; conversely, he claims that "et illaqueare et venenis inficere animas" in my line 20 is lost, although most of it can actually be made out under the repair strip glued on it). Furthermore, some readings escaped Daur's notice. Finally, he did not attempt to tackle the one real textual problem of the text (Daur just notes in the apparatus "*post* ut *lacunam coni. g* [= Goldbacher]").

[34] *Annales ecclesiastici auctore Caesare Baronio Sorano...*, Tomus decimus, Romae 1602, p. 952 (or: Romae 1603, p. 955), "Tom. 5. anno 404". The remarks by Oort (2017: 88, esp. n. 12) must be disregarded, as these are based on various misconceptions (this is about an appendix *to* the fifth volume, not *in* the fifth volume; the arrangement of later posthumous editions of Baronio differs from his own, so it does not mean anything if it is found in the sixth volume of a later edition). Decret (1970: 333, n. 3) claims it is edited *in* the fifth volume, which is wrong.

[35] *Caesaris [...] Baronii [...] annales ecclesiastici denuo excusi [...] ab Augusto Theiner, Tomus sextus*, Barri-Ducis 1866, p. 431.

[36] *Sacrosancta concilia ad regiam editionem exacta quae nunc quarta parte prodit auctior studio Philip. Labbei, & Gabr. Cossartii [...], Tomus quartus ab anno CCCLI ad annum DXXV*, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1671, coll. 1661–1663.

[37] Angelo Mai, *Novae patrum bibliothecae, Tomus primus continens Sancti Augustini novos ex codicibus vaticanis sermones...*, Roma 1852, pp. 382 f.

569, but indicates the correct folio number, so "569" must be a slip of the pen). His text is worse than either Baronio's or Labbé's because he modifies his manuscript's readings without notifying his readers. He drops *vel Manichaeas*, changes "quas [...] esse Manichaeas" to "quos [...] esse Manichaeos", and genderbends *Victorinam* to *Victorinum* (which allows him to identify this person with a Manichaean of this very name known from Augustine! For this Victorinus, → p. 184). Mai did not know of Baronio's or Labbé's earlier editions, and he firmly believes that the *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus* belongs to the end of *Contra Felicem* (apparently, he identifies the Felix of Frg. 4 with Augustine's Felix). Given these unannounced changes, it is unfortunate that Mai's edition is usually cited (cf. Oort 2017: 88 with n. 23), though this is unsurprising given that it was popularised by both PLS (II, col. 1389) and *CPL*³ [38].

In 2001, Decret (2001: 344, n. 8) merged the Baronio and Mai editions, and published a reproduction of a part of **V** (namely, Frg. Manich. renunt. 4; Decret 2001: 345). Oddly, Decret used Mai's edition as a base, citing conflicting evidence from Baronio only in footnotes, even though one can see in Decret's own reproduction of **V** that Mai's edition includes several misreadings[39]. (Decret overlooked Labbé's edition.)

Back in 2007, Perrin (2007: 84) promised an edition with comments to appear shortly thereafter. Yet nothing came of it (Perrin 2007: 84 f., n. 72, mentions only **R** and **V** as the base of his planned edition, though he cites Beeson, who already had pointed out four more mediaeval manuscripts).

(7) THE CODEX GERVASIANUS

Both Baronio and Labbé refer to a manuscript of the *Collegium Gervasianum*. This Codex Gervasianus was considered lost, but Beeson (1906: XXXII–XXXIV) managed to retrieve it. Let us quickly check the evidence. The notice in Baronio does not help much ("Post hanc [...] subiicienda sunt ista, quae inter cetera antiqua monumenta a Nicolao Fabro Parisiis accepta, ex Bibliotheca Col. Gervasiani descripta, in cuius codice in fine libri S. Augustini de haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum, haec posita leguntur" – "After that [...] one has to add [to the text printed in Baronio's 5th volume] a text which I have received together with further ancient works from Nicolas Le Fèvre in Paris and which was copied

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[38] When Hamman added Frg. Manich. renunt. 3 and 4 as *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus* to PLS, he apparently was not aware of the fact that this text was already included *twice* in the original PL: PL XLII, coll. 517 f. (indirectly from Baronio); PL LXV, col. 27 (Labbé).

[39] The explanation is that Decret took over the merged text unchanged from an earlier work of his (Decret 1978: II 138 f., n. 124), but it remains difficult to understand why he did not check it against his own reproduction.

from the library of the *Collegium Gervasianum*; in one of its codices, at the end of Saint Augustine's book *On Heresies to Quodvultdeus*, one can read the following"), but Labbé's indications are a great deal more informative: "In veteri codice, qui est in bibliotheca collegii Gervasiani Parisiis, diciturque fuisse liber prioratus S. Salvii episcopi et martyris ad Valentianas in marchia Franciae scriptus tempore Hugonis prioris, post librum S. Augustini de haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum episcopum proxime sequuntur nonnulla" – "In an old manuscript, which is kept in the library of the *collegium Gervasianum* in Paris and which is said to have been a book of the Priory of the Bishop and Martyr Saint Salvius near Valenciennes in the March of France, written during the time of the prior Hugo, there follows some text immediately after Saint Augustine's book *On Heresies to the Bishop Quodvultdeus*". At some point after Labbé's edition, the Codex Gervasianus vanished[40].

The *Collegium Gervasianum* must[41] be identified with the Collège de Maître Gervais, one of the constituent colleges of the University of Paris. Its library owned numerous manuscripts, some of which are known to have contained works by Saint Augustine (Chatelain 1988: 16). After the suppression of the Paris colleges, its library (just like those of the other colleges) went to the Collège Louis-le-Grand. The majority of these manuscripts finally ended up in the Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne[42], though during the revolutionary turmoil many others were lost. Around two generations later[43], the municipal library of Rouen acquired a manuscript from an unknown seller. This manuscript – which is my **R** – includes our dossier. At the very end of it, there is the following notice (f. 127v): "Liber Santi [*sic*] Salvii episcopi et martyris. Scriptus tempore Hugonis prioris". This is almost word for word the phrase Labbé used for the Codex Gervasianus. The notice was written by the same 12th century hand which also penned our dossier

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[40] Note that the Maurini, working not much later than Labbé, found their letter 79 only in **V**. They were seemingly unaware of **R**, which was kept in their hometown of Paris. Of course, this does not prove that the Codex Gervasianus had disappeared by then; it was probably just a case of oversight.

[41] While explicating the manuscripts on which the Maurini drew, Kukula (1898: 16) claims that Gervasianus as an adjective applied to a codex refers to the Aumônerie Saint-Gervais de Paris, which is, according to him, identical with the *collegium Gervasianum*. He does not give any proof for this, and I could not find any evidence that the sisters of St. Anastase (which is the more common name for this community running a hospital) kept a library. Decret (1970: 333, n. 3; 1978: II 138, n. 124; 2001: 344, n. 7) repeatedly claimed that Baronio edited the text from "un manuscrit de saint Gervais (Paris)". This is mistaken. Both Baronio and Labbé (whose independent edition seems unknown to Decret) are quite clear that the codex belongs to the *collegium Gervasianum*, without anybody being "saint". Oort 2017: 85, 88, 94 apparently follows Decret (without however saying so).

[42] There is no indication at all that the Codex Gervasianus was ever kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale (the claim by Oort [2017: 88, n. 17]: "The final conclusion seems to be that the MS Gervais is no longer there [i.e., in the BN]", is, accordingly, unfounded).

[43] To be precise, in 1857 (Beeson 1906: XXXIV).

in **R**. In addition, a certain Hugo is known (Beeson 1906: XXXIII) to have become prior of Saint Saulve around 1145, which nicely matches the date of the writing. According to Labbé, the Codex Gervasianus was a *vetus codex*, hence a mediaeval manuscript. To this circumstantial evidence pointing to an identification of the Codex Gervasianus with **R**, Beeson added an apparently decisive observation: "Eine Vergleichung der Texte von Labbé und Baronio zeigt, daß beide dieselbe Vorlage gehabt haben müssen, und die Collationierung nur eines Teiles der HS Rouen 470 [my **R**] beweist, daß sie mit dem oben genannten Codex Gervasianus identisch ist".

One might even go a step further. According to Baronio, he had received the text he used from Le Fèvre, who had it copied (personally or by order?) from the Codex Gervasianus. Nicolas Le Fèvre was the most important of Baronio's correspondents in France, who transmitted to him several unedited texts (Quantin 2009: 84–100). Luckily, several of their letters are extant, including one written in February 1591 by Le Fèvre to Baronio (Albericius 1759: 226; cf. Quantin 2009: 89–91):

> Fragmenta, quae requiris mitto. Nactus sum B. Augustini Commonitorium quomodo agendum sit cum Manichaeis, qui convertuntur; & quos poenitet huius nefandi erroris; subjicitur incerti auctoris, antiqui tamen & Mavi [*sic*] aequalis narratio; quod Maves [*sic*] non sit auctor huius haeresis [...]. Ad finem narrationis habentur: Explicit liber S. Salini [*sic*] episcopi, & Martyris scriptus tempore Hugonis prioris. Quae potius ad Monasterii nomen, cuius usui volumen conscriptum fuit, in quo ultimo loco posita sunt, quam ad auctorem refero.
>
> I send the fragments you need. I got hold of St. Augustine's *Commonitorium quomodo agendum sit*... . After that follows an account by an unknown author, who however is ancient and a contemporary of Mani: *Quod Manes non sit auctor huius haeresis*... . At the end of this account, there is: "Explicit liber S. Salini [*sic*] episcopi, & Martyris scriptus tempore Hugonis prioris". I take these words placed at the very end of the manuscript as referring to the monastery for the use of which it had been written, rather than to the author of the work.

The date of this letter, 1591, matches the palaeographic date of the **V** manuscript. The contents Le Fèvre mentions refer to no. 5 and no. 6 of the dossier manuscripts, which are contained in **V**. **V** is undoubtedly a direct descendant of **R**, the Codex Gervasianus. The scribe of **V** even copied (f. 24r) part of the colophon of **R**: in **R**, the single word "explicit", followed by a period, is on the last line of the text body. After a blank line, one finds in partly red letters "Liber Santi [*sic*] Salvii episcopi et martiris. Scriptus tempore Hugonis prioris". A request to the reader to pray for Hugo and several religious formulae follow suit. After some more blank lines, we read "De libro ipso scripsit Rodulfus primos V quaterniones". In **V**, however, we just read at the end of the last page with a dossier text: "Explicit liber Sancti Salvii episcopi et martyris, scriptus tempore Hugonis prioris". This is highly significant. What Le Fèvre describes is not the colophon

of **R** – it is the end of that part[44] of **V** ("Explicit liber...", not just "Liber..."; and according to Le Fèvre, this is placed at the very end, which is not true for **R**, which has additional text).

The pressmark Vat. Reg. Lat. refers to manuscripts which entered the Vatican library when the huge collection of Christina, Queen of Sweden, was acquired. There is no complete modern catalogue of these manuscripts, but thanks to a personal communication from Eva Nylander – who knows the history of Christina of Sweden's book collection better than anybody – I learned that Vat. Reg. Lat. 562 was bought in 1650 by Christina from Alexandre Petau. In all likelihood, Alexandre Petau had inherited the manuscript from his father Paul Petau who had died in 1614. Paul Petau, in turn, was a close friend of Nicolas Le Fèvre; so close, in fact, that Nicolas Le Fèvre included him in his will: "Item, je laisse et donne à Monsieur Petau, conseiller en la cour, mon bon ami, mes œuvres de Baronius" (Traube, Delisle 1903: 12, n. 1). Delisle (1903: 21 f.; cf. Traube, Delisle 1903: 12, n. 1) argued in an unrelated context that some manuscripts of Le Fèvre ended up in Petau's collection (though in Le Fèvre's will, he explicitly left his manuscripts to somebody else, viz. to de Thou). Therefore, it does not seem far-fetched to assume that "mes œuvres de Baronius" refers to Le Fèvre's notes and copies related to his support of Baronio (rather than to a printed edition of Baronio's works). Following this logic, **V** is Le Fèvre's own copy of the part of **R** he was interested in. Accordingly, it must be either the exemplar or a sibling of the very manuscript Le Fèvre mailed to Baronio and on which the latter based his edition[45].

This also has one further important consequence. Scholars claim that the editions of Baronio and Labbé are based on the Codex Gervasianus while Mai's is based on **V**. In the case of Labbé and Mai, this is undisputed. But Baronio was never in Paris: he only indirectly used the Codex Gervasianus. What he had in front of him was the text Nicolas Le Fèvre had mailed from Paris, and that was a very near relative of **V**.

So far, so good – everything seemingly falls into place. Unfortunately, there is potentially conflicting evidence which requires brief consideration. As both Baronio and Labbé expressly refer to the Codex Gervasianus, their respective text is certainly based on the same manuscript (even if, in the case of Baronio, only indirectly). As Baronio published before Labbé, but Labbé offers parts not included in Baronio, it is clear that both of them provide evidence independent from one another. Whenever their text diverges, hence, this

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[44] In **V**, this can be found at the end of f. 24r. On f. 25r, another text starts, by the same hand.

[45] I must stress, though, that I failed to identify the hand of **V** in any of the manuscripts of Le Fèvre kept in Paris (yet this does not mean much, as **V** could be "written to order", just as any other Le Fèvre manuscript).

must be due to mistakes by either of the two[46], whenever they agree, this should (at least at first sight) be good evidence regarding the contents of the Codex Gervasianus. However, such comparisons are only feasible for Frg. 3 and 4 and the *Commonitorium quomodo*, as Baronio provides just these texts. My own comparison here is limited to the texts I have worked on, i.e. Frg. 3 and 4.

The first name in the third fragment is given by Baronio just as "C.", while Labbé has "conversus". Following the stemmatic method, one must logically suppose that their common exemplar either had just "C." or perhaps "C" with a lacuna or an unclear abbreviation; at any rate something which Labbé likely expanded on his own devices. The problem is: both **R** and **V** have a clearly written "Cresconius"! It is very difficult to explain how Baronio and Labbé ended up bungling this (I might add that for anyone interested in Canon Law – which is certainly true for both – "Cresconius" is not an obscure name one might misread, as there is one very famous Cresconius, the author of the *Concordia Canonum*).

There is a more disturbing observation to make. In Frg. 2 (i.e., Felix's anathema), there is a phrase lacking from two manuscripts (**PT**), probably due to a *saut du même au même* (→ p. 164). Oddly, this very same line, "et ipsas iterum in masculos contra feminea daemonia", is also absent from Labbé's text. (This part is not included in Baronio's edition, so we cannot compare.) In **R**, one finds these eight words clearly written, and they do not coincide with a line of **R** (which would have provided an easy explanation, viz. Labbé skipping this line while copying from the manuscript).

And this is not even the most mysterious thing: Labbé's edition of Aug. epist. 79 has the wrong *cancer* for *cancrum* and the probably correct *solvere* for *solve*, both variants absent from **R** – but present in the closely related manuscripts **AL.**

Should we therefore assume that it was premature to identify **R** with the Codex Gervasianus and rather assume a reconstructed **g**, with the abbreviation "C." instead of "Cresconius", featuring a lacuna also detectable in other manuscripts and contaminated, furthermore, with variants from yet another family of manuscripts? Well, such an idea is impossible to refute, but I think it is not very likely. For this to be the case, **g** would need to be a copy of **R**, as both feature the notice about the prior Hugo and Saint-Saulve, and of the two, **R** cannot be the apograph (because, according to palaeographic observations, **R** was indeed written under the prior Hugo). There is not only the colophon – both Baronio and Labbé have the telltale mistake *patrem* for *nepotem*, only to be found in **R** and its apograph **V**. Further, apart from *solvere*, not any one of the differences found in **g** can go back to a later corrector, for no one would replace "Cresconius" by "C." nor would anybody remove a clearly correct line, or insert

[46] For example, Labbé has "Candidum, qui [...] Thipasa", just like all extant manuscripts (so Baronio's mistaken version "Candidam, quae [...] Thipasae" cannot go back to the Codex Gervasianus).

the ungrammatical *cancer* where *cancrum* belongs. So *if* **g** had existed, it was a degenerate copy of **R**. But then, we are not only faced with the phantom **g**, but also the problem of Le Fèvre's copy of **g**: we would need to assume a **v** as well, distinct from **V** (as **V** has "Cresconius", "cancrum", "solvere"[47], and the line missing in Labbé is present there). All of this is highly improbable.

My guess is that both Baronio and Labbé deliberately removed the name of "Cresconius", as they believed that fragments 2–4 all belonged together: in Frg. 2, a Felix is speaking, in Frg. 4 as well, whom at least Baronio explicitly (and Labbé, as it seems, implicitly) identified with the Felix of Frg. 2; hence, they had to edit out "Cresconius" from Frg. 3. This they did by conjecture and without alerting their readers. The loss of "et ipsas iterum in masculos contra feminea daemonia" could have happened at many stages; possibly Labbé introduced it when he copied from the manuscript, or, perhaps, it was the typesetter's fault (it will be remembered that the book appeared only after Labbé's death, who never had a chance to check any galley proofs). Admittedly, *cancer* and *solvere* are not that easy to explain. It must be noted that Labbé's version of Aug. epist. 79 teems with textual mistakes not found in any of the manuscripts[48]; perhaps *cancer* and *solvere* came into being by sheer coincidence? There is a good chance that these questions could be answered by a diligent collation of the *Commonitorium quomodo*. This much longer text is contained, after all, not only in both Baronio's and Labbé's editions but also in all manuscripts except **A**. Yet such an analysis is beyond the scope of this article.

(8) SOME BACKGROUND ON MINUTES AND MANICHEES

It has already been mentioned that the provenance of the first two declarations is well-known (they come from *Contra Felicem*), while the other two are not transmitted in any other context. Given the relationship of Frg. 1 and Frg. 2, one might conjecture that there is a similar link between Frg. 3 and Frg. 4 which is, however, not the case (→ p. 180). Let us first have a look at two passages of *Contra Felicem* which will help a great deal to make sense of Frg. 3 and Frg. 4.

Contra Felicem comprises the minutes of a "discussion" between Augustine and the Manichaean Felix (*PCBE* I, pp. 417 f., s.v. Felix 20). I have put "discussion" in quotes, because in truth, this was a show trial. From the very outset, there was not the slightest doubt regarding the outcome: the day before, Felix's books had been confiscated (c. Fel. I 12). At that point in time, he was still

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[47] However, much later the Maurini added the variant *solvere* in the margin of **V**, probably from Labbé's edition.

[48] I did not indicate these in the apparatus because of their limited helpfulness and the ensuing clutter, but here they are: *qui tecum locuti sunt* (instead of *quid ... fuerint*); missing *autem* after *dicitis*; *timuit* for *timebat*; *quid tu gloriaris* (instead of *et tu gloriaris*); *disputes* for *disputans*; *putaveris* for *putaveras*.

unfazed, proclaiming that he was willing to be burned together with his books if anything wrong was to be found in them. Yet when discussion had actually started, much of Felix's defiance was gone; he acknowledged the fact that he was helpless against the power of a bishop and the laws of the emperor (c. Fel. I 12). After much discussion of theological issues, an exhausted Felix asks for an intermission at the end of the first day (c. Fel. I 19–20):

FELIX dixit: Dilationem peto, ut possim respondere.
AUGUSTINUS dixit: Quando? Cras intermissus sufficit?
FELIX dixit: Intermitte mihi tres dies, id est hodie et cras et perindie, aut usque ad diem, qui est post dominicum, id est pridie idus Decembris.
AUGUSTINUS dixit: Video te dilationem ad respondendum petiisse. Humanum est ut concedatur tibi. Sed si respondere non potueris ad praestitutum diem, quid fiet?
FELIX dixit: Ero victus.
AUGUSTINUS dixit: Quid, si fugeris?
FELIX dixit: Reus ero civitatis huius et ubique et legis meae.
AUGUSTINUS dixit: Immo hoc dic: Si fugero, sic habear, tamquam si anathema-vero Manichaeum.
FELIX dixit: Hoc dicere non possum.
AUGUSTINUS dixit: Ergo aperte nobis dic, quia fugere cogitas, et nemo te tenet.
FELIX dixit: Non fugio.
AUGUSTINUS dixit: Ut video, non vis quasi victus abscedere. Sed saltem hoc dic: Si fugero, victus sum.
FELIX dixit: Dixi.
AUGUSTINUS dixit: Et unde apparebit te fugisse propter gesta?
FELIX dixit: Iube, ut quem elegero, cum ipso sim.
AUGUSTINUS dixit: Elige tibi aliquem de praesentibus istis fratribus, qui ad cancellum stant.
FELIX dixit: Sim cum illo, qui est in medio.
AUGUSTINUS dixit: Sicut tibi elegisti, usque ad diem cum illo eris?
FELIX dixit: Etiam, et ego hoc consentio.
BONIFACIUS dixit: Praestabit Christus, ut si cum illo veniam, christianus est.

Augustinus episcopus ecclesiae catholicae Hipponeregiensis, his in ecclesia coram populo gestis subscripsi.
Felix christianus, cultor legis Manichaei, his in ecclesia coram populo gestis subscripsi.

Felix: Please give me a respite, so that I can answer.
Augustine: When? Is a respite until the day after tomorrow enough?
Felix: Give me three days, i.e., today, tomorrow, and the day after, or [better still] until the day after Sunday, i.e., the day before the Ides of December.
Augustine: I see, you've asked for a respite in order to answer. It's only decent to concede that. However, in case you cannot answer on the agreed day, what will happen?
Felix: I shall be defeated.
Augustine: What happens if you run away?
Felix: I shall be guilty in this city, and everywhere, and according to my own law.
Augustine: Better say the following: "If I run away, I shall be considered as if I had anathematised Mani".

> Felix: I can't say that.
> Augustine: So admit to us candidly that you're thinking about running away. Nobody will stop you.
> Felix: I don't run away!
> Augustine: I see. You don't want to leave in your condition of being virtually vanquished. But say at least the following: "If I run away, I shall be vanquished".
> Felix: Consider it said.
> Augustine: For the purpose of the *gesta*, how shall it be established that you ran away?
> Felix: Tell me to choose somebody, and I shall stay with that person.
> Augustine: Choose any of the brothers here present who stand at the bar.
> Felix: I shall be with the one in the middle.
> Augustine: The one you have chosen, are you going to be with him until the determined day?
> Felix: Indeed. I confirm also that.
> Boniface: Christ shall grant that he is a Christian when I return with him![49]
>
> I, Augustine, Bishop of the Catholic Church of Hippo Regius, have signed these *gesta* in the church before the people.
> I, Felix, a Christian, a follower of the teachings of Mani, have signed these *gesta* in the church before the people.

Note Felix's restive signature (which seems to imply that the teachings of Mani make one a *real* Christian!). Felix seems to refer to Boniface's comment, but he cannot have signed immediately afterwards (as by then, there was no finished neat protocol to sign, which first had to be created from the stenographer's notes). Chronologically, Felix's signature is therefore likely to belong to the very start of the *second* day of discussion (note "in the church before the people", which matches the setting of the second day). Also during this second day, Felix again and again raised various points in order to defend Mani, only to be refuted just as often by Augustine. There is no discernable development. The end of the second day of discussion therefore comes as a complete surprise to any reader of the minutes as we have them (c. Fel. II 22):

> Post haec cum multis verbis inter se agerent,
> FELIX dixit: Dic iam, quid vis faciam?
> AUGUSTINUS dixit: Ut anathemes Manichaeum, cuius sunt tantae istae blasphemiae; sed si ex animo facis, tunc fac. Nemo enim te cogit invitum.
> FELIX dixit: Deus videt, si ex animo facio; non enim homo potest videre. Sed hoc peto, ut confirmes me.
> AUGUSTINUS dixit: In quo vis ut confirmem te?

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[49] My translation of Boniface's utterance is little more than a paraphrase of its likely content. Grammatically, there are problems which might either be due to the oral origin or to later scribal corruptions (*ut* with indicative; superfluous *si*, which perhaps should be changed to *sic*, as Clemens Weidmann suggests). Also note that Zycha prints *Sed cum illo* (instead of the straightforward conjecture *Sim cum illo*). Besides, *cras intermissus* is problematic, as *cras* as a noun should be neuter.

FELIX dixit: Prior tu anathema, ut et ego postea anathemem.
AUGUSTINUS dixit: Ecce manu mea etiam scribo; volo enim, ut et tu manu tua scribas.
FELIX dixit: Sed sic anathema, ut spiritum ipsum, qui in Manichaeo fuit et per eum ista locutus est, anathemes.
Augustinus accepta charta scripsit haec verba: Augustinus ecclesiae catholicae episcopus iam anathemavi Manichaeum et doctrinam eius et spiritum, qui per eum tam exsecrabiles blasphemias locutus est, quia spiritus seductor erat, non veritatis, sed nefandi erroris; et nunc anathemo supra dictum Manichaeum et spiritum erroris ipsius.
Et cum eamdem chartam Felici dedisset, etiam ille manu sua haec verba scripsit: Ego Felix, qui Manichaeo credideram, nunc anathemo eum et doctrinam ipsius et spiritum seductorem, qui in illo fuit, qui dixit deum partem suam genti tenebrarum miscuisse et eam tam turpiter liberare, ut virtutes suas transfiguraret in feminas contra masculina et ipsas iterum in masculos contra feminea daemonia, ita ut postea reliquias ipsius suae partis configat in aeternum globo tenebrarum. Has omnes et ceteras blasphemias Manichaei anathemo.
Augustinus episcopus his in ecclesia coram populo gestis subscripsi.
Felix his gestis subscripsi.

Later on, after they had exchanged numerous words:
Felix: Tell me, what do you want me to do?
Augustine: I want you to anathematise Mani, who is at the origin of these numerous blasphemies. But if you want to do it out of your own free will, do it now! For nobody forces you to do so against your will.
Felix: God sees if I do it out of my own free will, as man cannot see such a thing. But I ask this of you: lend me your support!
Augustine: In which way are you asking for my support?
Felix: You go first and anathematise, then I follow suit and anathematise.
Augustine: Look, I am going to write by my own hand, and I want you to also write by your own hand.
Felix: But make your anathema in a way that you anathematise the very spirit that was in Mani and through which he said these things.
Augustine was given a piece of paper and wrote the following words: [...]
And after he had passed this piece of paper to Felix, he, too, wrote the following by his own hand: [...]
I, Augustine, Bishop, have signed these *gesta* in the church before the people.
I, Felix, have signed these *gesta*.

The underlined passages constitute Frg. 1 and Frg. 2, respectively, of Frg. Manich. renunt., though the text in Zycha's edition is clearly better than the one which can be reconstructed by using the dossier manuscripts only[50] (still I left out the translation to save some space).

[50] In § 2, the dossier manuscripts have the patently mistaken *deum patrem suam* instead of *deum partem suam*; since *suam* is now orphaned, they add a *naturam* after *miscuisse* (→ p. 164). Both leave out *tam* before *turpiter* and write *transfiguret* instead of *transfiguraret*. They add a *demonia* after *masculina* and reverse the word order of *suae partis* to *partis suae*. I have mentioned earlier how the pseudo-*incipit* of the dossier version came into being (→ p. 163).

Note that the subscription of Augustine takes place, once again, "in the church before the people", so certainly at the next big public event occurring after the final minutes were created from the notes of the stenographers. Not so in the case of Felix: while he signed the first protocol "in the church before the people" (doubtless at the start of the second discussion which took place several days after the first), he apparently subscribed the *gesta* of the second day at a much less formal occasion, to finally get it over with. It is certainly significant that he no longer calls himself a Christian[51].

(9) PRELIMINARY REMARKS PERTAINING TO BOTH FRG. MANICH. RENUNT. 3 AND 4

We have seen that Frg. Manich. renunt. 1 and 2 stem from the same work, c. Fel. There, they are not continuous (i.e., some text between them has been removed). Frg. Manich renunt. 3 and 4 are not part of c. Fel., nor can they be some part of c. Fel. that was later lost, as there is no Cresconius in c. Fel. (Frg. Manich. renunt. 3), and the Felix of Frg. Manich. renunt. 4 was a Manichaean layperson ("Hearer"), as he prayed with the Elect Eucharistus, while Augustine's Felix was an Elect himself (cf. Decret 1970: 334 f., who also adduces further excellent arguments against this identification). These two fragments do not belong together despite the suggestion by J. Lieu and S. Lieu (1981; → p. 180).

Frg. Manich. renunt. 4 is certainly of African provenance, as the three mentioned place names indicate. The only hint regarding the origin of Frg. Manich. renunt. 3 is the name of the signee, Cresconius, which was hugely popular in Roman Africa (Riedlberger 2010: 28 f.). This does not prove that Cresconius signed his declaration in Africa (he could be, for example, one of those African Manichaean refugees who came to Italy after the Vandal invasion), but this seems the most straightforward explanation.

It is difficult to ascertain the date of these two fragments. They must belong to a period when African Manichaeans had very good reasons to publicly recant their beliefs. After Diocletian's persecution, legislation against Manichaeans resumed only in 371 (Riedlberger 2020: 428 f.), focusing on outlawing their assemblies. It gained further traction in the 380s with Theodosius I's enactments, and I would suggest 381 (the date of his earliest, and already quite comprehensive anti-Manichaean law, cf. Riedlberger 2020: 437–448) as the lower *terminus*. In the 430s, the Vandals completed the conquest of Africa, triggering a mass flight of Africans, including many Manichaeans (cf. Leo M. serm. 16, 5). From 477, King Hunerich eradicated African Manichaeism by either burning its adherents

[51] Humfress (2007: 251) confuses the sequence: "By the close of their next session, Felix had abjured Mani and his 'blasphemies', and had signed the acts as Felix *Christianus*". It is exactly the other way around.

or selling them into slavery (Riedlberger 2020: 485; 487, n. 147). There are no later references to Manichaeans in Africa[52]. So the upper limit could be as late as 477, but I think it is reasonable to lower it by several decades to around 430 as there is no clue of an earlier Vandal persecution of them, and their number was dramatically reduced during the invasion[53]. Given these factors, the timeframe I would suggest for both Frg. Manich. renunt. 3 and 4 is 381–430[54].

(10) COMMENTARY TO FRG. MANICH. RENUNT. 3: CRESCONIUS

I repeat this text here:

> Ego Cresconius unus ex Manichaeis scripsi, quia, si discessero, antequam gesta subscribantur, sic sim habendus, ac si Manichaeum non anathemaverim.

J. Lieu and S. Lieu offered a striking interpretation of this phrase in a 1981 article, though they fail there to offer a translation. However, in his later book, S. Lieu (1992: 200) renders it as:

> I, Cresconius, one of the Manichaeans, have written [this] because if I should depart before the proceedings have been signed, so I should be considered as if I had anathemised Mani.

But this is certainly mistaken, as Lieu ignores the *non* before *anathemaverim*. It is also lacking from the Latin text he cites (S. Lieu 1992: 201, n. 36), although every earlier edition (and every extant manuscript) correctly features the *non*. This must be an error of Lieu's. Most curiously, in the earlier joint article Lieu gives the correct text including *non* (J. Lieu, S. Lieu 1981: 174 f.), which (as already remarked) he and his wife do not translate. Despite including the *non*, his interpretation was already then based on an understanding which ignores it! They (J. Lieu, S. Lieu 1981: 175) claim: "the opening sentence implies that Cresconius is very anxious to make a statement of some sort which would establish his conversion lest he should 'depart' before the official *gesta* were

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[52] Accordingly, I find Oort's (2017: 93) suggestion, "it might be possible that the text dates from Vandal or even Byzantine times", scarcely convincing.

[53] Decret (1978: I 194), too, thinks that 430 should be retained as upper limit, though I do not find his argument compelling: he believes that there was a formal obligation imposed by the Catholic Church to disclose all known fellow-Manichaeans, and that the Catholic Church would not have been capable of enforcing this after 430. But the idea of such a *formal* obligation is purely speculative and implausible. And even if: in case anybody else (like, theoretically, the Homoean Vandals) chose to persecute Manichaeans, they, too, would surely have taken care to discover clandestine members.

[54] All of the proper names mentioned in Frg. Manich. renunt. 3 and 4 can be found in *PCBE* I (sometimes in an incorrect version, as Mandouze uses Mai's poor edition, so he has, e.g., Candidus, not Candida). I do not indicate these entries as they do not add anything new to the discussion.

properly signed". They connect this with the idea that Cresconius needed to rush his conversion because of some inheritance squabble, an idea which is flawed (Riedlberger 2020: 487–489).

Shaw (2011: 341) also offers a translation of Frg. Manich. renunt. 3:

> I, Cresconius, a member of the Manichaeans, have written this, because if I depart [i.e. die] before the public records are signed, I will still be held to be one, as if I had not abjured my identity as a Manichaean.

This is scarcely more convincing. He ignores the subjunctive *sim*, and *discedere* in the poetical meaning of "to die" would be quite surprising. My understanding, which I already have suggested elsewhere (Riedlberger 2020: 488 f.), is the following: *scribere* requires a complement, hence *quia* must introduce a direct object clause, as it regularly does in late Latin. The word *discedere* could be understood either in its regular sense (cf. the discussion about running away between Augustine and Felix) or in its technical juristic sense ("withdraw" from an earlier statement/decision, i.e., "changing one's mind"). So my translation would be:

> I, Cresconius, one of the Manichaeans, have written what follows: "If I should withdraw before the *gesta* have been subscribed, I shall be considered as if I had not anathematised Mani".

It should be clear what is going on: Cresconius has already publicly anathematised Mani, but he is not finished yet. Just as in the case of Felix, proper *gesta* must be created based on the minuted account of his anathema. Only when Cresconius has added a subscription *to this document* is his conversion concluded. However, producing this neat copy takes a few days, and if Cresconius "withdraws" in the meantime (i.e., avoids subscribing by either running away or changing his mind), he continues to be a Manichaean notwithstanding the public anathema.

This two-step procedure (public recanting plus later subscribing the official *gesta*) is confirmed by other evidence, such as Bishop Leo's statement on procedure during his anti-Manichaen persecution (Leo M. epist. 7, 1: "Quos potuimus emendare, correximus et, ut damnarent Manichaeum cum praedicationibus et discipulis suis, publica in ecclesia professione et manus suae subscriptione compulimus" – "Those we could improve, we corrected. We forced them to damn Mani together with his doctrines and disciples by way of a public declaration in the church and a hand-written subscription") and the beginning of the early 6th century pseudo-Augustinian anathematismata (*CPL*³ 534: "Capitula S. Augustini, quae debeant publica voce relegere et manu propria subscribere, in quibus suspicio est, quod Manichaei sunt" – "The declarations by Saint Augustine which those who are under suspicion of being Manichaeans must read out publicly and subscribe in their own hand-writing").

However, I must admit that there are no direct parallels for any such disclaimer as I suggest we can detect here ("I understand my conversion is void if I do not complete it by subscribing the final *gesta*"). I assume its function is to make it completely clear to the converts that they have a choice (allegedly, at least). They can still cancel the conversion process if they want to, and they have to confirm that they have been given a few days to think it through. Again, the case of Felix with the discussion about free will in his decision provides a parallel[55].

There is also, however, one intriguing difference between c. Fel. and Cresconius's statement. Augustine suggested to Felix that he declare an elopement of his as being tantamount to a renunciation of Mani ("Imo hoc dic: Si fugero, sic habear tamquam si anathemavero Manichaeum" → p. 173), while Cresconius's written declaration claims the opposite. If Cresconius withdraws, he will be considered as having *not* renounced Mani. Yet this difference is easily explained: Augustine wants to avoid an escape by Felix, and in order to prevent this, he encourages him to pronounce something against which Felix cannot act if he has the slightest sense of honour. In the case of Cresconius, we are faced with a more straightforward legal procedure: he signs that he has understood that this is not the final signature.

(11) COMMENTARY TO FRG. MANICH. RENUNT. 4: FELIX

Again, I repeat my text and translation:

> Felix conversus ex Manichaeis dixi sub testificatione dei me omnia vera confiteri, de quo scio. Esse Manichaeos vel Manichaeas in partes Caesarienses Mariam et Lampadiam, uxorem Mercurii argentarii, cum quibus etiam apud electum Eucharistum pariter oravimus; Caesariam et Lucillam filiam suam; Candidum, qui commoratur Thipasa; Victorinam Hispanam, Simplicianum Antonini nepotem, Paulum et sororem suam, qui sunt Hippone. Quas etiam per Mariam et Lampadiam scivi esse Manichaeas. Hoc tantum scio. Quod si aliud inventum fuerit me scire supra quam dixi, me reum ego ipse confiteor.
>
> I, Felix, converted from the Manichaeans, have said with God as witness that I will truthfully confess everything that I know. The following are male or female Manichaeans: in the region of Caesarea, Maria and Lampadia, the wife of Mercurius, the silversmith (together with these, we also prayed with the Elect Eucharistus), Caesaria and her daughter Lucilla. Candidus, who lives in Tipasa. Victorina the

[55] I cannot make sense of Decret's interpretation (1978: II 170 f., n. 69). He claims that all of this is very similar to the case of Augustine's Felix. He even thinks "cette souscription de Felix est d'ailleurs fort semblable à celle de Cresconius", with reference to "Felix christianus, cultor legis Manichaei, his in ecclesia coram populo gestis subscripsi", which is in my opinion quite different (it is a confirmation by signature of acts, of which we have numerous other examples). Decret thinks that Cresconius confirms by his signature that, if he is going to run away, he avows to be a Manichaean – but is "Cresconius unus ex Manichaeis" not already clear enough? He also thinks that then the worldly powers would intervene – but cf. below for *CTh*. XVI 5, 41.

> Spaniard, Simplicianus, the grandson of Antoninus, Paulus and his sister, who are in Hippo. I have learned through Maria and Lampadia that also these ladies are Manichaeans. I only know as much. If however it should transpire that I have knowledge of anything beyond what I have said, I myself acknowledge my felony.

Another problematic suggestion of J. Lieu and S. Lieu was to understand Felix not as a proper name, but as a predicative: "happily converted away from...", with Cresconius still being subject. This is clearly wrong[56]:

– Cresconius, the subject of § 3, *wrote* his statement (*scripsi*), the subject of § 4 however writes that he *pronounced* his statement (*dixi*). This cannot be a continuous text.
– Felix is a run-of-the-mill African name (*PCBE* I lists no fewer than 104 people of that name). By necessity, any ancient reader would take *Felix* as a name.
– In the context, "happily" does not make much sense. The preoccupation with voluntariness of conversions means that something like *libenter*, *sua sponte*, or *ultro* might be expected, but neither *felix* nor *feliciter* carries this meaning.
– J. Lieu and S. Lieu construe a continuous text because they claim that Cresconius had to rush his conversion due to a case of succession. As this is wrong in the first place (→ p. 178), the further step (i.e., the need to "explain away" Felix) no longer applies.
– While *felix* does appear as a predicative (*ThLL* VI 1, 443, 59–80), a predicative should always go with the verb (i.e., "as a happy person I have said"), not with a participle referring to the subject. If J. Lieu and S. Lieu wish to claim such an extraordinary thing, it would have been necessary for them to cite corroborating linguistic evidence. Yet the only reference they give (J. Lieu, S. Lieu 1981: 176) is a footnote pointing to the whole chapter of Kühner and Stegmann devoted to adjectives in a predicative function. This is hardly convincing[57].

Grammatically, there are two problems: first, the plural *omnia vera* is picked up by the singular *de quo*. This might easily be explained by a substandard language use of Felix. Less straightforward to understand is the second issue: the list of people, comprised of *both* women and men, is picked up at the end as "Quas [...] esse Manichaeas". As the feminine form is unexpected and cannot have come into being as a banalisation, and as it is palaeographically beyond doubt, as confirmed by both *quas* and *Manichaeas*, it is out of the question to

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[56] Neither does Decret (1990: 144, n. 21) accept the suggestion of J. Lieu and S. Lieu, although his counterarguments do not always seem completely clear.

[57] Their reference is Kühner, Stegmann 1976: II 1, 234–239. Yet the problem is certainly not whether predicatives generally exist in Latin; the issue at stake is rather if they can be combined with a *participium coniunctum*. The only cases Kühner, Stegmann (1976: II 1, 17 f. and 772) refer to are instances which would, as a verbal phrase, require a copula, such as "hunc virum optimum iudicatum".

remove this editorially. Neither can it refer to the people mentioned immediately before, as these, Paul and his sister, are a man and a woman. We can also exclude the solution of changing *Paulum* to *Paulam*, as the relative pronoun *qui* refers to these two people. Therefore, either the names of some more ladies fell out before *Quas etiam*, or some later "corrections" were introduced in order to accommodate earlier writing mistakes (so, perhaps *quae* was "corrected" to *qui* after *Paulam* became *Paulum*, but this is of course pure speculation and not the simplest solution). None of the people mentioned can be identified otherwise. The list runs as follows:

(1) Maria of Caesarea, direct contact of Felix, prayed with Eucharistus, knows more female Manichaeans.
(2) Lampadia of Caesarea, direct contact of Felix, prayed with Eucharistus, knows more female Manichaeans; she is identified as being the wife of the silversmith (or banker/moneychanger?) Mercurius.
(3) Mercurius of Caesarea, silversmith (or banker/moneychanger?), husband of Lampadia, apparently *not* a Manichaean.
(4) Eucharistus, a Manichaean Elect, probably of Caesarea; he is likely already known to the authorities, as his being Manichaean is already assumed in the declaration.
(5) Caesaria, probably of Caesarea, mother of Lucilla.
(6) Lucilla, probably of Caesarea, daughter of Caesaria.
(7) Candidus, probably of Caesarea, though living in Tipasa.
(8) Victorina from Spain, probably of either Caesarea or Hippo.
(9) Simplicianus, probably of either Caesarea or Hippo, grandson (or nephew) of Antoninus.
(10) Antoninus, grandfather (or uncle) of Simplicianus, apparently *not* a Manichaean (or alternatively already dead).
(11) Paulus of Hippo.
(12) The unnamed sister of Paulus, also of Hippo.

Some items in this list warrant further comment. First, *Victorinam Hispanam*. This might either be one woman, "Victorina the Spaniard", or two women, "Victorina" and "Hispana". Clearly, there is philologically or palaeographically no sound[58] way to distinguish between these two alternatives. But the exceedingly rare onomastic evidence for Hispanus/Hispana strongly suggests that Hispana is a toponymic adjective, not a proper name. In *PLRE* I to III, there is just one Hispanus (*PLRE* II, p. 566) from around 500, living in the Visigothic kingdom.

[58] But cf. Oort 2017: p. 93: "Whereas Baronio and [...] Migne read 'Victorinam Hispanam' as one name [...] the reproduction from the Vatican codex [...] clearly reads 'Victorinam, Hispanam', thus revealing two ladies". Yet the punctuation a 16th c. scribe preferred is of no evidentiary value regarding the sense intended by the original late antique author.

PCBE cannot add to this: there, we again encounter the same Hispanus (*PCBE* IV/1, p. 1017) plus one Hispana (*PCBE* I, p. 562), but she is a phantom – she is *our* alleged Hispana from the *Testimonium de Manichaeis sectatoribus*.

Secondly, Simplicianus. All mediaeval manuscripts except **R** confirm *nepotem*, just **R** – on which all so far available editions are based – has the incorrect *patrem*.

Thirdly, the toponyms. Felix mentions three cities: Caesarea, Tipasa, and Hippo. The problem is that for the majority of listed people, it is not clear to which place (if any) they belong. The only sure thing is that Candidus is alone to have a connection with Tipasa. Note that Felix explicitly says that he lives/stays (*commorari*) there, so Tipasa is surely not his hometown (i.e., the town of which he holds the citizenship). This is, I guess, rather Caesarea (which is some 20 km away and can easily be reached in a few hours' walk). I am not sure whether I understand Felix correctly, but I think he says that he is going to list all Manichaeans in the region of Caesarea, i.e., "esse Manichaeos vel Manichaeas in partes Caesarienses" refers not just to Maria and Lampadia, but also to the following names including Candidus (who, for now, stays in Tipasa). The last indication, Hippo, is more problematic, as this city is far off from Caesarea (more than 600 km, equalling several weeks of walking). It would make sense to assume that this is the reason why Felix has no first-hand knowledge but must refer to what Maria and Lampadia told him. But note that Maria and Lampadia referred to some women, which does not match Paulus (!) and his sister in Hippo[59]. Finally, Victorina and Simplicianus. Do they belong to the Caesarea list? Or does "qui sunt Hippone" also refer to them? There is no way to decide[60].

Fourthly, "quod si [...], me reum ego ipse confiteor". This of course recalls the account of Augustine and the other Felix ("Quid, si fugeris? – Reus ero civitatis huius, et ubique, et legis meae"). This is a declaration by which the speaker clearly expresses his understanding that any noncompliance is not just undesirable, but a clear violation with potentially grave consequences.

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[59] Oort 2017: 92, n. 30: "'Hippone' is 'from Hippo' and not 'at Hippo' as, for instance, stated in the relevant articles ('Maria 2' etc.) in PAC". Yet "in Hippo" is indeed *Hippone* in Latin, while "from Hippo" would require in post-classical Latin (from the times of Sallust and Livy!) a preposition (Hofmann, Szantyr 1972: 102). More interesting is *Tipasa* in the sense of "in Tipasa", as one might rather expect *Tipasae*, as the locative in the 1st declension doggedly stood its ground through much of Late Antiquity, and the ablative was still rare as late as the 5th c. (Löfstedt 1956: II 76–78). Yet in this unkempt text, nothing should surprise us; it could also easily be a later copying mistake.

[60] Oort (2017: 93, n. 34) is more optimistic: "In my view, there is no reason to read the text as stating that four of the denounced Manichaeans live *at* Hippo; it is only said that the two last mentioned (Paul and his sister) come *from* Hippo". Again, Oort misinterprets the meaning of a town in the ablative in a late antique text (location, not provenance) and the evidentiary value of punctuation in manuscripts or editions (naught).

Oort offers an onomastic discussion of these names although his reasoning does not seem to be compelling. He claims (Oort 2017: 92): "From the name Mercury we may possibly infer that, like her husband, the *auditrix* Lampadia came from a pagan background". The underlying assumption that there were no mixed marriages is wrong; and besides, Mercurius could possibly be named after the 3rd century saint and martyr of that name (would anybody assume that names such as Martinus or Dionysius indicate a pagan upbringing?). Equally unconvincing is his surprising result (p. 94): "Future research may perhaps corroborate the impression that – either after becoming a Manichaean in their adult years, or already as a child descending from 'Hearers' – the female Manichaeans were (re)named with names highly symbolic to the 'Religion of Light', such as Lampadia, Lucilla, and Candida". First, Oort ignores the fact that we are dealing with a denunciation. If it were as easy as that to track down Manichaeans (just check for females with names relating to light, especially if they assumed such names only later), there would be no way they could hide. Secondly, this alleged practice does not find any corroboration elsewhere: Manichaean women do not show a specific onomastic (Oort himself, p. 86, cites the famous cases of Eusebia and Margarita). Thirdly, all of these are well-attested African names which are also used by non-Manichaeans (as a quick *PCBE* check reveals). Fourthly, even in our sample, the majority of women do not bear such a name (Maria, Caesaria, Victorina), given that, fifthly, there is no Candida, but a Candidus (which is clear to Oort, p. 92, but forgotten in the sweeping statement at the end of his article). Oort (p. 90) even gave his paper a gender spin: "In all likelihood the text underwent some 'masculinisation' in the course of its tradition". In actuality, all of this "masculinisation" is due to the misreadings of one person we can clearly identify, namely Angelo Mai.

To understand Felix's declaration, we must quickly review the late antique perception of Manichaeans. In a way, there is much common ground with our own modern view of some of the more problematic cults, and of secret societies. Manichaean Hearers were required to support their Elect (who for religious reasons were not permitted to work themselves), which was interpreted as exploitation by outsiders (and in some cases might really have been exactly that, cf. Riedlberger 2020: 414 f.). In addition to this concern, there was a constant fear of the clandestine Manichaean who lived in the midst of an orthodox community while secretly repairing to the occult ceremonies of his cult. Around 400, after the detection of several African Manichaeans, the Roman bishop Anastasius established that no incoming Africans would be accepted as clerics except if they could produce a "clearance certificate", i.e., a document signed by five bishops vouchsafing for their trustworthiness (Lib. pontif. p. 87, 6–11). In one letter, Augustine mentions in passing a former Manichaean by the name of Theodosius, "per quem Manichaei nonnulli sunt proditi" – "by whom quite a few Manichaeans have been revealed". This treason merited Theodosius a return to the Catholic

Church (in this letter, Augustine asks how Theodosius is doing as a Catholic, expressing his hope that the Manichaeans uncovered by Theodosius have also been corrected in the meantime). The letter in question is Aug. epist. 222 from 427, one of the four letters to Quodvultdeus which comprise no. 1 of our dossier. Yet the best parallel is provided by another letter by Augustine, namely epist. 236. A certain Victorinus from Malliana (near Caesarea) used to act for years as a subdeacon of the Catholic Church, while clandestinely being a Manichaean Hearer and indoctrinating the unsuspecting, probably already in Malliana and certainly later in Hippo. During an interrogation before Augustine, Victorinus admitted to all of this and asked for forgiveness. He wanted to give up his Manichaean ways and remain a Catholic cleric. A horrified Augustine stripped him of his membership of the clergy and had him flogged and expelled from Hippo. It is not clear how and why Victorinus came to Hippo in the first place which is, after all, quite far from Malliana[61]. This letter Aug. epist. 236 is addressed to Deuterius, Bishop of Caesarea, warning him of Victorinus. Augustine reports Victorinus's demotion and advises Deuterius not to grant Victorinus admittance to the procedure of penance, except "si et alios, quos illic novit esse, manifestaverit vobis non solum Mallinae sed in ipsa tota omnino provincia" – "if he also reveals to you the others of whom he knows there, not only in Malliana, but outright in the whole province itself [Mauretania Caesariensis]". We do not know anything else about this incident. The chronological bracket is large, stretching from 411 to 430[62].

By comparing these episodes, we have a likely backdrop to our Frg. Manich. renunt. 4: Theodosius could return to the Catholic Church, but only after ratting out his former co-Manichaeans. The same was expected of Victorinus before he could undergo penance. My guess is that Felix, too, wanted to return to the fold of the Church. His denunciation is probably before a bishop given that Victorinus was expected to confess to Deuterius (not to worldly authorities). A requirement to reveal fellow-Manichaeans can be found in imperial laws only much later (Justinian's *CI.* I 5, 16 of the late 520s) and even then applies only to former Manichaeans who had lapsed again as well as to members of the civil or military state service (*militia*). An official testimony on known clandestine

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[61] Perhaps Victorinus preached Manichaeism only there, far from his home community. But then again, Augustine seems to assume that Victorinus knows Manichaeans in that region, i.e., Victorinus was according to him also a Manichaean in his earlier years. The interpretation of Decret (1974: 155), namely that Augustine went over Deuterius's head and had Victorinus exiled from Malliana is certainly wrong (Augustine, after all, writes to Deuterius to warn him of the returning Victorinus, who accordingly was banished from Hippo). A discussion of various ideas can be found in his later book (Decret 1978: I 195; II 140 f., n. 132).

[62] For the argument, cf. *PCBE* I, p. 1199, s.v. Victorinus 12. Decret (2001: 343 and nn. 4 and 5) suggests precisely 418, but his reasoning depends on his unconvincing claim that Victorinus was banished from Malliana, not from Hippo (cf. Decret 1978: II 140 f., n. 132; 171, n. 70: following this logic, Augustine must have been near that place to intervene, and one such trip took place in 418).

fellow-Manichaeans might be considered by a modern observer as "treason", but this of course has nothing at all to do with the legal concept of a *delatio*[63].

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ABBREVIATIONS

CCSL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina.
*CPL*³	E. Dekkers, E. Gaar, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, Steenbrugge ³1995.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
CI.	*Codex Iustinianus.*
CTh.	*Codex Theodosianus.*
PCBE I	A. Mandouze, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, vol. I: *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne (303–533)*, Paris 1982.
PL	Patrologia Latina.
PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vols. I–III, Cambridge 1970–1992.
PLS II	A. Hamman, *Patrologiae cursus completus... . Series Latina. Supplementum*, vol. II, Paris 1960–1962.
ThLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.*

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[63] Oort 2017: 94: "it fits well with the *modus operandi* prescribed in the (virtually contemporary) Theodosian laws", referring (p. 94, n. 38) to several laws, but specifically to *CTh*. XVI 5, 9. Likewise Decret (1990: 144) who calls Felix's testimony a "délation" with a note (n. 22): "Contraire au droit romain, le recours à la délation figure déjà dans legislation de Théodose contre les Manichéens", pointing to the same *CTh.* passage. Cf. also Decret 2001: 347. For the actual meaning of *delatio* etc. in this context cf. Riedlberger 2020: 454–457. It is unconvincing to adduce imperial laws in the context of these name lists as the only imperial constitution explicitly referring to the fashion of how Manichaeans may convert is exceedingly modest in its demands. A *simplex confessio* is enough and protects converts against any disadvantages threatened by the laws (*CTh*. XVI 5, 41 of 407, Honorius to the African proconsul). By this indulgent law, the emperor certainly diverges from the wishes of the Catholic bishops who would have preferred a more taxing procedure in order to combat fake conversions (cf. Riedlberger 2020: 479, 551).

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C O M M E N T A R I I

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THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF PROFESSOR IGNACY RYSZARD DANKA'S DOCTORATE

On Thursday, 5th December 2019, the Senate of the University of Lodz held a special session in the exquisite Biedermann Palace. The purpose of the meeting was to renew three doctoral titles the university had conferred fifty years previously. The celebrated title holders (two in chemistry and one in philology) have become important figures in their respective disciplines. This paper reflects on the academic career and achievements of the philologist, Professor Ignacy Ryszard Danka, a distinguished specialist in Indo-European studies and classical philology.



Fig. 1. Prof. Danka thanking the assembled audience after receiving his "renewed" doctorate
Phot. by Adam Wróbel

Born on 26th June 1937 in Łódź, Ignacy Ryszard Danka studied classical philology as well as Indian philology at the Faculty of Philology of the University of Warsaw from 1956 to 1962 graduating with an M.A. in classical philology. He completed his Ph.D. in 1969 at the Faculty of Philology of the University of Lodz for his dissertation *Pierwotny charakter Apollina i Artemidy. Studium na temat pochodzenia Letoidów i ich związków z innymi bogami* ["The original character of Apollo and Artemis. A study on the genesis of the Letoides and their relations with other gods"], supervised by Prof. Stefan Oświecimski. The work was published in book form in 1987 by the Ossolineum Publishing House (Wrocław). In 1983 he received the habilitation degree from the Faculty of Philology of the Jagiellonian University for his study *Stanowisko języków anatolijskich w rodzinie indoeuropejskiej i ich wzajemne związki* ["The position of the Anatolian languages in the Indo-European family and their mutual relations"]. He was elevated to the title of *Professor ordinarius* (full professor) in 2010 for his monograph *Pelazgowie. Autochtoni Hellady. Pochodzenie – język – religia* ["Pelasgians. The indigenous people of Hellas. Origin, language, religion"], published in 2007, as well as his whole academic output.

Professor Danka worked at the University of Lodz for 45 years, with a one-year break (1973–1974) spent in Germany. He rose through the academic ranks starting as a research assistant (1962–1963) and then going on to become senior assistant (1963–1969 and 1974–1975), assistant professor (1969–1973 and 1975–1983), associate professor (1983–1990) and, finally, university professor (1990–2007) – all affiliated with the Chair of Classical Philology. After his retirement in 2007, he started to work at the International Studies Academy (2008–2014).

His academic output comprises more than 150 publications (of which about 20 are co-authored), including four books (one in Latin) and eight edited or co-edited volumes. Among others, he is a co-author of the influential two-volume textbook *Języki indoeuropejskie* ["The Indo-European languages"], in which he presented the languages of the archaic Anatolian branch. His works are cited in numerous articles and studies on linguistics and religious studies. He has contributed to a variety of international journals including "Linguistique Balkanique", "The Journal of Indo-European Studies", "Orpheus. Journal of Indo-European and Thracian Studies", "Thraco-Dacica", "Vox Latina", "Živa Antika". His works have also appeared in valued Polish journals (e.g. "Acta Baltico-Slavica", "Eos"[1], "Meander", "Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego", "Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny", "Rozprawy Komisji Językowej ŁTN"). Despite having retired, Professor Danka is still active academically and has recently prepared a manuscript of a historical grammar of Spanish.

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[1] Note especially two articles by Prof. Danka published in "Eos": I.R. Danka, *De Feralium et Lemuriorum consimili natura*, Eos LXIV 1976, pp. 257–268; idem, *De Larum cultu rustico et familiari*, Eos LXXI 1983, pp. 57–71.

While Danka's scientific interests have been wide and far-reaching as well as interdisciplinary (combining the perspectives of literary studies, religious studies as well as linguistics), the main field of his research remains comparative historical linguistics. He is one of the leading Polish scholars in Indo-European linguistics. In the domain of literary studies, he has published articles on the comparison between Homer's works and Babylonian epics (*Gilgamesh*). As for religious studies, he has attempted to reconstruct the Indo-European creation myth and identify counterpart deities within the indigenous religions of Indo-European peoples (esp. in the Greek, Roman, Vedic, Baltic and Paleo-Balkan religions), and investigated the genesis and original properties of Greek deities, esp. those of Apollo and Artemis, the Roman religious festivals (Lemuria, Feralia) and lesser deities (Lares, Penates). Professor Danka's accomplishments in the field of Indo-European linguistics are at least as rich. The languages investigated in his works are numerous, ranging from the Anatolian languages (the habilitation thesis), to Romani (several articles, as well as a fruitful collaboration with the movement for the creation of a standard language and spelling), Sanskrit, Greek and Latin (numerous studies), Pelasgian (the 2007 monograph), to the Baltic and Slavic languages (mainly lexicographic works). The range thus far is impressive, yet Danka has also made contributions to the study of Oriental languages and other language families (e.g. in his paper on the names of the days of the week). Respected for the analytical and thorough approach, Danka's works have offered new insights and interpretations. Some of them propose new perspectives on important and controversial issues, e.g. the laryngeal theory or the question of three series of dorsal plosives. He has not shied away from addressing interdisciplinary topics and combined the findings of linguistics, archeology, anthropology, ancient history, religious studies and other humanities – his 1966 study on the Indo-European homeland is a case in point[2]. Moreover, Danka has conducted detailed research on the Indo-European lexicography, preparing an Indo-European etymological dictionary. The conclusions of this comparative research have not, as yet, resulted in the publication in book form; however, the work has produced a number of detailed articles published by Danka and his colleagues.

Combining his various interests, Ignacy Ryszard Danka has undoubtedly contributed significantly to the development of the fields in which he specialises. He remains an authority on comparative historical linguistics, Indo-European phonology and etymology in Poland and internationally. In the 1980s, he established the Łódź school of Indo-European studies.

Professor Danka has also been striving for years to promote the active use of the reconstructed Indo-European language, which perhaps most spectacularly

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[2] I.R. Danka, *Problem praojczyzny Indoeuropejczyków* ["The problem of the homeland of the Indo-Europeans"], Rozprawy Komisji Językowej ŁTN XII 1966, pp. 83–122.

illustrates his devotion to linguistics. Thanks to him, a number of scholars not only from Łódź (including his former students) are able to communicate in the reconstructed Indo-European language both spoken and written. This championing of the Indo-European language was also characteristic of Klan Ausran ["The Clan of Ausrans"], a group attempting to recreate the rituals of the Indo-European religion (named after the goddess of the dawn, Ausra), which Danka co-founded in 1954 and has led ever since. One of the main advances made by the group was the composition and delivery of religious hymns in the reconstructed Indo-European language.

Danka collaborated closely with other well-established names throughout his career, notably Prof. Andrzej Piotr Kowalski (University of Gdańsk), Prof. Robert Zawadzki (Jan Długosz University in Częstochowa), Prof. Henryk Ziomek (University of Georgia), Prof. Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak, Dr. Stanisław Jurkin, Dr. Józef Macjon and Dr. Tamara Roszak (University of Lodz). Co-authored studies created in the units he headed (mainly the Research Group for the Indo-European Dictionary and the Department of Linguistics and Indo-European Studies) were usually either inspired by him or created under his patronage. Noted for his supportive approach, Danka welcomed the suggestions of his fellows and assessed the advantages and disadvantages of their proposals objectively, encouraging both collaborators and their teams to pursue their own work, pointing to the interpretational possibilities and discussing problematic issues. His contribution to the co-authored works and inspiration for the works of his disciples were fundamental.

Professor Danka has participated actively in numerous national and international conferences (in Belgium, Czechia, Finland, Germany, Greece, Malta, the Netherlands, Romania, among other places). As a supporter of Living Latin, he has over the years been an enthusiastic participant at a number of Neo-Latinist conferences. He was himself an organiser of two large international conferences (2000, 2004) as well as a number of sessions and national conferences (in Łódź and Ożarów, among others). He chaired the sessions very often, an ideal man for the role thanks to his good command of numerous languages.

Since the very start of his career, Danka has delivered language courses of Greek and Latin and, over his time at the University of Lodz, he has taught, at one point or another, nearly all the subjects in the curriculum of classical philology. Recognised for his animated delivery and engaging manner, he had and has the ability to make difficult matters accessible and comprehensible to students. He always favoured the diachronic (comparative historical) approach and the etymological method in teaching foreign languages, which is clearly apparent in his publications as well. Apart from the regular classes, he taught optional courses, most notably a course in Sanskrit attended by both students and university colleagues (not only from Classical Philology). During those classes Professor Danka, a qualified Indo-Aryan philologist, shared his knowledge

of the ancient sacred language of India and its script, *devanagari*. At the meetings of the Indo-European section of the Polish Classical Association, held every month, he taught the reconstructed Indo-European language or gave lectures on grammatical and etymological issues.

Having been elevated to a professorship, he started teaching M.A. seminars which focused on a wide range of topics: etymology, Greek and Latin lexicology, religious studies, comparative linguistics, Italic dialectology and interpretation of the Iguvine tablets. Along with the seminars he supervised about forty master's theses.

Danka also collaborated internationally in academic tutoring. In cooperation with the University of Uppsala (Sweden) he organised and taught in 1993–1994 a course entitled *Peoples of the Baltic* with a final exam (participants received diplomas for completing the course). He also cooperated with the University of Vilnius and the Polish University in Vilnius, mainly in the fields of the culture of the Baltic peoples and the teaching of their languages.

A dedicated pedagogue, Professor Danka took care of the Classical Philology students' society in Łódź for 30 years, where he actively encouraged contributions from participants, ensured the continuity of the society along with the scientific level of the presentations during the society's meetings. He organised student tours and participated in two epigraphy camps in Lower Silesia. He was a patron of the Living Latin Section and for many years taught optional classes for students.

He has supervised six doctoral dissertations: by Prof. Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak (1996), Dr. habil. Idaliana Kaczor (1997), Prof. Elwira Kaczyńska (1999), Dr. habil. Joanna Rybowska (2000), Dr. Anna Maciejewska (2002) and Dr. Tamara Roszak (2006).

Moving on to his didactic and organisational accomplishments, Danka has received the Rector's Award in this field twice (1985, 1999). His work is continued by his colleagues both in Łódź (the above mentioned as well as Prof. Zbigniew Danek, Prof. Joanna Sowa, Prof. Hanna Zalewska-Jura) and in other academic centres, e.g. Jan Długosz University in Częstochowa (Prof. Robert Zawadzki, Dr. habil. Katarzyna Chmielewska). One of his former students, Prof. Elwira Kaczyńska held the prestigious scholarship of the Foundation for Polish Science twice (2001, 2002).

In the early 1980s, Professor Danka cooperated with the Esperanto Society at the University of Lodz. Together they created the Interdisciplinary Research Group for International Linguistic Communication, which he presided over for many years. The meetings of the Group (usually on a monthly basis) involved scientific presentations by experts from various fields. As the head of the Group, Danka organised conferences together with student organisations, thus pioneering a new forum for exchange of thought, open to scholars of various fields, students and anyone interested in the issues of international linguistic communication.

Danka is no stranger to organisational matters having held a number of administrative positions in the University, including Head of the Chair of Classical Philology in 1996–2005, a period noted for the unit's most vibrant development, and overseeing the Research Group for the Indo-European Dictionary in 1983–2002, and then in 2002–2007 the Department of Linguistics and Indo-European Studies. In 1986–2007 he presided over the Interdisciplinary Research Group for International Linguistic Communication affiliated with the Chair of Classical Philology.

In 1994, he was one of the founders of the journal "Collectanea Philologica" and has been its editor from 1995 to 2002 (he co-edited volumes I, III, V and VII and assisted in the editing of the others). Then, in 1997, he created the journal "Studia Indogermanica Lodziensia", whose editor he was until 2008. Since 2002 he has been a member of the editorial board of the Mycenaean journal "Do-so-mo".

Ignacy Ryszard Danka has been an active member of the Polish Classical Association. He co-founded the Indo-European Section in the Łódź Division of the Association, served as its deputy president and from 1980 to 2005 headed the Indo-European Section. From 1962 to 1973 he was secretary of the Łódź Division of the Association. From 1984 to 2007 he was a member of the Scientific Society of Łódź. Since 1982 he has been involved in the organisation of the Latin Language Competition for Secondary Schools. In 1995, he was nominated to be president of the Qualifications Committee supervising the professional development and specialisation of Latin teachers in four voivodeships (Łódź, Sieradz, Skierniewice and Piotrków).

Professor Danka's rich activity has been acknowledged on a number of occasions. He received ministerial awards – in 1987 as a co-author of an academic textbook, in 1988 for his own publication. In 2002 he received the Medal of the Commission of National Education. Danka's own university has recognised his work as well. In 1984, he received the Golden Award of the University, in 1985 the Medal "The University of Lodz in the Service of the Society and Science". He was also given the Rector's Awards for scientific achievements in 1984, 1987 and 2000. In 2007, both he and his team received the Rector's Award for cooperative achievement, a series of publications on Indo-European linguistics.

As an academic at the University of Lodz for 45 years, Danka enriched the institution not only with his scholarly insights, but also with his ebullient supportive nature, motivating students and colleagues alike. Highly-regarded as an expert on ancient and contemporary languages, he was and is devoted to popularising the knowledge of linguistics, religious studies and classical philology as well as the use of Living Latin and the reconstructed Indo-European language. He has been a much-valued mentor for many younger scholars and throughout his teaching career he delighted his own students, but also inspired specialists in other fields with his kindness and passion for research.

The special session of the Senate which prompted the creation of this article celebrated the achievements of three distinguished scholars who gained their

doctoral titles at the University of Lodz. Professor Danka was the first to be introduced and honoured in the course of the ceremony. Fulfilling his role as the honorary supervisor of the doctorate renewal, Prof. Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak presented Professor Danka's academic accomplishments and contributions, which we briefly described above. At the end of his address, he read out the text of the diploma awarded to Professor Danka:

Q. F. F. F. Q. S.

SUMMIS AUSPICIIS
SERENISSIMAE REI PUBLICAE POLONORUM

NOS
ANTONIUS ROZALSKI
SCIENTIARUM NATURALIUM DOCTOR
MICROBIOLOGICARUM DOCTRINARUM PROFESSOR ORDINARIUS
UNIVERSITATIS LODZIENSIS
H. T. RECTOR MAGNIFICUS

IOANNA JABLKOVSKA
HUMANIORUM ARTIUM SCIENTIAEQUE LITTERARUM DOCTRIX
LIBERALIUM DOCTRINARUM PROFESTRIX ORDINARIA
FACULTATIS PHILOLOGICAE
H. T. DECANA

LECTURIS OMNIBUS SALUTEM DICIMUS

EIUSQUE REI ADMONEMUS QUOD
UNIVERSITATIS LODZIENSIS SENATUS AUCTORITATE
CONSTITUTUM EST
UT DIGNITATES UNIVERSITATIS STUDIORUM
ARGUMENTIS INVESTIGATIONUM PER DECIES LUSTRA ACTARUM
CONFIRMATAE RENOVENTUR ET COMPROBENTUR

ITAQUE CUM VIR CLARISSIMUS ATQUE ILLUSTRISSIMUS

IGNATIUS RICHARDUS DANKA

HUMANIORUM ARTIUM SCIENTIAEQUE LINGUARUM DOCTOR
PROFESSOR ORDINARIUS

ABHINC DECIES LUSTRIS ANTE IN UNIVERSITATE NOSTRA
DOCTORIS EXCELLENTEM GRADUM DIGNITATEMQUE ASSECUTUS
DOCTORALI SACRAMENTO DICTO DIGNISSIMUS APPARUERIT
QUOD RITE CONSTITUTUS

PROMOTOR CHRISTOPHORUS THOMAS VITCZAK
HUMANIORUM ARTIUM SCIENTIAEQUE LINGUARUM DOCTOR
LIBERALIUM DOCTRINARUM PROFESSOR ORDINARIUS
CONFIRMAVERIT

NOS POTESTATE ATQUE LEGE NOBIS DATA
EIDEM CLARISSIMO ET VALDE MERITO DOMINO
HANC DIGNITATEM RENOVAVIMUS ET COMPROBAVIMUS

IN EIUSQUE REI FIDEM ET IN AETERNAM REI MEMORIAM
HOC DIPLOMA NOSTRAE UNIVERSITATIS SIGILLO SANCIENDUM
CURAVIMUS ET EIDEM DOMINO TRADIDIMUS

DATUM LODZIAE DIE V MENSIS DECEMBRIS ANNO MMXIX

PROMOTOR RECTOR MAGNIFICUS DECANA

At this point, and to a round of applause from everyone present, the diploma was presented to Professor Danka by His Magnificence the Rector, Prof. Antoni Różalski, who congratulated him.



Fig. 2. Prof. Danka receiving the diploma from the Rector, Prof. Antoni Różalski
Phot. by Adam Wróbel

The floor was given to the Professor himself, who thanked the audience for their warm appreciation and shared some memories from his career, as well as the principles and ideas he believes in, explaining why he has never considered other Indo-European languages such as Latin, Greek, English, German or Russian as foreign ones for speakers of Polish, as they all stem from one source and have a single ancestor language, Indo-European. As a tutor, he has endeavoured to emphasise the undeniable common patterns linking all of the Indo-European family and postulated the use of etymological methods in language teaching. He declared that he would always feel a strong emotional bond with the University of Lodz, even in retirement, and rounded off by warmly thanking those assembled for coming to celebrate his life and scholarly contributions, and expressing his appreciation for the kind words given in his honour by Prof. Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak.



Fig. 3. Prof. Danka's lively and expressive way of speaking.
Phot. by Adam Wróbel

The event was attended by a number of guests, including his daughter Dominika and his grandson Piotr. Among those gathered in the Biedermann Palace were also numerous students, former colleagues and friends of Professor Danka. After the official ceremony, the guests congratulated him, expressed their appreciation and, accordingly, sang *Plurimos annos*.

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DE IGNATIO RICHARDO DANKA LINGUAE LATINAE CULTORE ET DEFENSORE

Illud suum: "vivere sine eos qui nesciunt Latine" cum "ad Ignatium Ricardum Latine longe loquentem" Georgius Łanowski triginta fere annis ante scriberet[1], communem quandam allatis modo verbis expressit admirationem nostram omnium facundiae mirabilis, qua tot vigens linguis Ignatius Richardus Danka etiam Latini sermonis usu prae ceteris excellebat. Et Romanorum ille nostra in tempora perveniens sermo factus est cordi eius praecipue amabilis, cuius rei testimonium vix numeranda scripta eius Latina restant.

Omne studium, quo ad Latina pernoscenda usuque exercenda compelleretur, puerilibus iam annis ortum est, cum in scholis chimica neglegens experienda tantopere tamen illa in disciplina praestabat, ut hac de neglegentia magnam partem absolveretur. Et non remittebat Latinum colere sermonem etiam succedentibus annis, quando Universitatis Varsoviensis factus studiorum sodalis multum et longum tempus inter sermones Latinos cum fortuitis saepe collocutoribus degebat, plerumque Catholicae Ecclesiae sacerdotibus, hac uti lingua tunc usque potentibus. Et, sicut decuit, illud studiorum tempus in magistri honorem assequendum Latine scripto opere coronavit, dissertatione videlicet "De Babylonia Gilgamide cum carminibus Homeri comparata", quae illic temporis, id est anno MCMLXII conscripta, sex et triginta annis post Lodziae typis expressa in lucem prodiit.

Huic quidem urbi (ceterum et ortu et cultu Lodziensis) Ignatius Richardus Danka virtutem industriamque suam florentissimis vitae annis dono dedit, maximam hic – Lodziensi in Universitate Studiorum, ubi academica munera magnam vitae partem praestabat, demerens laudem peritissimi linguarum sicut scrutatoris ita etiam praeceptoris. Et nobis, illis annis philologiae classicae studentibus (inter quos et qui haec scribo fui), praeter ceteram qua eminebat indolem, factus est imprimis exemplo atque etiam cuidam miraculo, quanta cum sollertia quantaque facilitate ad agendum omnibus fere de rebus sermo Latinus adhiberi posset. Quae eius virtus non modo natali in urbe Varsoviaeque – ubi adolescebat – digne aestimata est, sed etiam animos studiaque alienigenarum in eum convertit, Dacoromanorum videlicet, qui Latini periti sermonis, hospites apud nostros

[1] Cf. Collectanea Philologica IV 2002, p. 5.

commorati, ob facundiam mirabilem cultumque eius linguae, quibus Richardus Danka excellebat, admiratione coacti bis eum Latinos in conventus sua in terra habitos invitaverunt. In congressu de duobus iis altero Ovidianis dicato studiis, cum de Romanorum deorum cultu a Nasone poeta suis in carminibus exposito lectionem habuisset, Ovidianam in Societatem sodalis sumptus est, cuius sodalitatis consessus maximam partem Latine gesti sunt. Altera etiam quadam mentione digna societas commemoranda videtur, LUPAE insignis nomine, de cultu Latinitatis sermoneque Romanorum sustinendo admodum demerita, cuius item duobus conventibus, Bohemorum scilicet Pragensi et Comitum Hagae qui habebatur, Ignatius Richardus Danka multa illic agens multaque disserens intererat.

Inter conventus supra dictos illos Dacoromanos primum notitia post etiam familiaritate quadam iunctus est Ignatius Richardus Danka patri Caelesti Eichenseer – amicissime quem "Quercolacunarium" appellare solebat – clarissimo tunc iam linguae Latinae tutori primoque ephemeridis cui est nomen "Vocis Latinae" moderatori. His in commentariis periodicis permulta opera et opuscula Ignatii Richardi inclusa apparebant et inter alia litterae, quibus continuo patrem Caelestem de novis semper studiis suis certiorem faciebat. Et ille invicem in Bavariam, regionem suam, invisendam Richardum Danka invitavit, qui una cum nupta sibi Iolantha aliquod tempus illic residens, in scholis Latinis, quae tunc institutae erant, grammaticam Latinam eodem utens sermone docebat. Notum est nomen Ignatii Richardi Danka studiaque eius Latina etiam aliis in terris – praeter Germaniam Italiamque apud Belgos, Batavos Bohemosque, ubi inter doctorum congressus Latini sermonis usu continuo eminens plurima variis de rebus disserebat et non paucas habebat lectiones.

Tot gentibus familiaris ne domesticis quidem spernebat interesse contionibus, Conciliis videlicet Lodziensibus, quos quindecim iam consessus ab ipso eius rei initio et adventu et oratione sua locupletabat. Quotannis enim, quamvis provectus iam aetate, vividus nihilominus ac strenuus, sibi tantum propria facilitate loquendi properante Latina lingua ad rem pertinentia quaedam ibi docebat et quaque habita illis in contionibus acroasi totius auditorii studia numquam languentia movebat. Post autem conviva praestantissimus in laeto amicorum grege de praesentibus praeteritisque multa et diversa agebat suoque et cantu et festivitate omnium animos iuvabat, ad proavorum illam linguam redemptam vetustati sibique praecipue amabilem libentissime decurrens.

Non modo volante, sed etiam scripta oratione fortem se linguae Latinae cultorem Ignatius Richardus Danka praebuit. Cuius operae tota quam reliquit hereditas non tantum rei conscriptae copia, etiam scripturae generibus miranda videtur. Praeter commemoratum iam iuvenile de Gilgamide opus manu quondam conscriptum, post autem liber ut genuinus editum, species litterarii operis diversissimae, quibus stilus eius exerceretur, enumerari possunt, ita ad venae appulsum poeticum sicut ad severa doctorum studia pertinentes. Et cum levior poetarum Musa compellebat animum Ignatii Richardi Danka ad temporis plerumque

incitamento condendos, aliquando etiam Latine solum reddendos carminum versiculos aliave eiusmodi conscribenda, tum usque recens studium rem dignam quaesitu vel plurimis pronuntiandi ad varias et re et stilo meditationes dandas litteris et per "Vocem Latinam" aliave opportunitatae divulgandas eum incitabat. Ceterum et illa priora non retinebat proprio in scrinio Richardus Danka, sed humanissimus et hominibus semper patens nullaque suo tantum recondens usui, omnia fere in publicum dedit, unde operum eius, quae typis expressa legi possunt, numerus – ni ratione fallor – quattuor et quadraginta crevit. Et scriptis suis saepe commentariorum editoribus maxime laudabilium commissis ne ea quidem periodica Ignatius Richardus Danka spernebat, quorum minor auctoritas erat[2] – omnes ille editores omnesque rei typis divulgandae moderatores, modo Latina edenda procurarent, fautor et defensor linguae Latinae strenuus stilo suo manuque adiuvabat.

Dimidia numero gravior autem pars eius operum, quae Latine conscripta ambitui publico dedit, sunt differentes et extensione et aliquando pondere tractationes de rebus, quibus investigatio scientiaque philologorum nixa est. Plurima his in commentationibus disceptanda Ignatius Richardus Danka iniit multaque nondum clara explanavit. Inter genuina rerum Romanarum studia, altera autem ex parte investigationem de ortu linguarum communi indeque exstante earum differentia divisus, suis in scriptis Latinis bifariam necessitate agebat, primum religionis Romanae veteris scrutator diligens, post autem Indogermanici cultus et linguae interpres strenuissimus. Ex numero commentationum, quae ad res Romanas pertinent, illam in Bucurestensi conventu habitam, post autem conscriptam "De religione Ovidiana" orationem afferamus[3], item de festis Feralibus Lemuriisque seu de Larum apud Romanos cultu dissertationes[4]. Altera vero studiorum eius pars, illa scilicet quae ad Indogermanicas spectat quaestiones, pro rei gravitate fusius atque diligentius et consideranda et exponenda videtur.

Est ille restitutus proavorum sermo, intelligendus hodie paucissimis, vox qua Richardus Danka vix iam de incunabulis resurgens usus esse traditur – studium eius pervicax cuique totum fere se dedit et una animi oblectatio iucundissima. Et

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[2] Exemplo commentariolum quod MAS (Memento Audere Semper) inscribitur, vilius et titulo et dignitate, fieri potest, ubi anno MCMXCIV, etiam anno sequente, quinquies Ignatii Richardi Danka nomen apparuit (sicut auctoris duarum de conventibus habitis relationum uniusque commentationis brevis, item duorum carminum Latine redditorum interpretis).

[3] *De religione Ovidiana*, in: N. Barbu, E. Dobroiu, M. Nasta (edd.), *Acta Conventus Omnium Gentium Ovidianis Studiis Fovendis, Tomis a die XXV ad diem XXXI mensis Augusti MCMLXXII habiti*, Bucurestiis 1972, pp. 213–232.

[4] Utraque apparuit in commentariis Societatis Philologae Polonorum, inscriptis Aurorae Graeco nomine ("Eos") – ceterum numinis Auroranis omnibus, id est sodalitati, cuius est ritum et linguam proavorum colere cuique Ignatius Richardus Danka praesidet, praecipue venerabilis: (1) *De Feralium et Lemuriorum consimili natura*, Eos LXIV 1976, pp. 257–268; (2) *De Larum cultu rustico et familiari*, Eos LXXI 1983, pp. 51–71.

praeter supra commemoratam facilitatem Latine loquendi multo magis miranda in hoc viro videtur volubilitas atque experientia semper idonea rei Indogermanica vocabula nanciscendi. Nobile est nomen Richardi Danka non modo apud nostros, verum etiam peregrinis aliquot in terris ob eius facultatem Indogermanice properanter loquendi, ob tot carmina aliosve versiculos huius linguae vocabulis resonantia ab eo composita, ob denique cultum omnem habitumque illius temporis, sodalium cum adiumento restitutum. Quibus de rebus praecipue a se adamatis et agit strenuus et diligens scribit – magnam partem Latine, quod honori praecipuo ipsi scriptori, non parvo etiam adiumento ad vitam retinendae Latinitati fit.

Latina Ignatii Richardi Danka de rebus Indogermanicis indeque orto posteriorum linguarum vinculo communi partim ad has linguas secundum vicinitatem similitudinemque ordinandas earumque communia reperienda, partim autem ad singularia vocabulorum consideranda atque explicanda pertinent. Agit itaque ille his in scriptis de sermonum Indoeuropaeicorum distributione[5], de vocabulorum copia linguis hodiernis et Latinitati communi[6] itemque de similitudinibus inter Slavorum linguas et Latinum sermonem conspiciendis[7], etiam de ipsa rerum Europaearum doctrina principiis Indoeuropaeicis conixa[8], ex parte autem altera Balticas separatim lexicas et etymologicas quaestiones et inter eas ciconiae nominis illis in linguis obvenientis originem disceptat[9] seu nasi adunci appellationem ad quasdam eius radices refert[10]. Etiam de veteribus Osco-Umbricis vocabulis a Georgio Untermann collectis ad tempus disserit[11], et id omne longe alio more praestat ac tum, cum orator rem suam (plerumque uberrime) explanat: nulla abundantia verborum, nulla fere ubertate sermonis, sed iusto semper ordine, cursu et finibus rei propositae bene constitutis beneque ponderata ratione. Id

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[5] *De nova sermonum Indoeuropaeicorum distributione*, Abruzzo. Rivista dell'Istituto di Studi Abruzzesi XIII 1975, pp. 109–123.

[6] *De communi vocabulorum copia, quae Latini sermonumque Europae Septentrionalis propria est*, in: *Acta Conventus Internationalis IX Academiae Latinitati Fovendae, Jyvāskylā, 6–13 Aug. 1997*, Jyvāskylā 1997, pp. 265–272.

[7] *Quibus propinquitatis similitudinisque vinculis linguae Slavicae cum Latina coniunctae sint*, in: *Acta Omnium Gentium ac Nationum Conventus Latinis Litteris Linguaeque Fovendis, a die XXX mensis Augusti ad diem IV Septembris A.D. MDCCCCLXXIII*, Melitae 1976, p. 551–558.

[8] *De rerum Europaearum doctrina instituenda, quae principiis Indoeuropaeicis, Latinis et Graecis fulta sit*, Collectanea Philologica III 1999, pp. 239–245.

[9] Utrumque nondum commemoratam partem studiorum et disciplinae Ignatii Richardi Danka in conspectum effert, labores scilicet eius in Balticas, et praecipue Lithuanicam, linguas inquirendas collatos. Primum est *De rebus lexicis et etymologicis Balticis. Similia Baltico-Graeca*, Collectanea Philologica I 1995, pp. 75–84 (una cum Christophoro Witczak), alterum autem *De Balticis ciconiae nominibus*, in: *Munera linguistica et philologica Michaeli Hasiuk dedicata*, Posnaniae 2001, pp. 1–4.

[10] *De nasi adunci origine et appellatione*, Vox Latina XIX 1983, pp. 440–442.

[11] *De Georgii Untermann Vocabulario Osco-Umbrico*, Studia Indogermanica Lodziensia VI 2007, pp.187–190.

demum est in scriptis eius linguisticis, quo iustissimam probi et strenui linguarum scrutatoris laudem demeruit quodque ordinarii professoris nomen honorabile aliquot annis ante ei attulit. Cuius laudis pars non minima sunt professoris Ignatii Richardi Danka Latine scripta opera ad supra commemoratas quaestiones pertinentia.

Latinam rem sustinere numquam Richardus Danka desiit. Et praevalente quodam studio ad cultum illum sermonemque Indoeuropaeicum delatus omni quidem tempore Romanorum lingua adhibita et agit et scribit et cantat libentissimus omnesque qui tantum praesidio sunt decrescenti revera – proh dolor – hodie Latinitati veneratur atque voce etiam ope adiuvat sua. Cuius erga Latinae linguae fautores reverentiae vestigia etiam inter scripta eius conspici possunt. Tum enim Latinis in conventibus quae gesta sint renuntiat[12], tum de Lodziensi Latine loquentium circulo quaedam lectoribus refert[13], tum etiam de omni schola Philologiae Classicae Lodziensis, ubi cultus ille Latinitatis creverit, scribit[14]. Iam iuvenilibus studiis suis valido Romanorum linguae factus adiumento, rei Latinae praesidium firmissimum etiam senescens remanet.

Quid optandum sit ei, hodie iam octogenario? Maneat quam fieri possit diutissime, sicut omne adhuc tempus remanet, dux et perfugium omnibus, qui cotidiani quaestus obliti cuiusquemodi mirabilia rerum colunt, qui veterum linguarum morumque studio vivunt, qui sicut ipse et Latinum et alios extinctos fere iam sermones ad priscum splendorem et voce et scriptione restituunt. Ea tantum curet aestimetque – sicut agit continuo – "amico quae dederit animo", nihil de posteritate exigendoque sibi monumento sollicitus. Id enim sibi iam exstruxit caementicio fundamine firmius – studiis et operibus suis.

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[12] Exempli gratia relatio *De Conventu Bucurestiensi* (Vox Latina VII 1971, fasc. 23, pp. 34–43) seu bipertita *Conventus Ovidiani Relatio* (pars prior: Vox Latina VIII 1972, fasc. 30, pp. 43–52; pars posterior: Vox Latina IX 1973, fasc. 31, pp. 10–24) laudari possunt.

[13] Sicut prius in conventu philologorum Lodzie anno MCMXCII gesto rettulit; est enim haec commentatiuncula illic habita et conscripta post eius oratio: *De linguae Latinae vivae sectionis creandae causis atque huius sectionis muneribus*, Vox Latina XXIX 1993, fasc. 113, pp. 425–427.

[14] *De schola Philologiae Classicae Lodziensis (ab initiis usque ad professoris Stephani Oświecimski munera deponenda)*, Collectanea Philologica I 1995, pp. 13–17 (una cum Christophoro Witczak et Roberto Zawadzki).

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Henning Börm, ***Mordende Mitbürger. Stasis und Bürgerkrieg in griechischen Poleis des Hellenismus*****,** Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2019 (Historia Einzelschriften 258), 362 S., ISBN 978-3-515-12311-2, €64,00.

Im vorliegenden Band, einer überarbeiteten Version seiner Habilitationsschrift, geht Henning Börm (= B.) der wichtigen Frage nach, welche Rolle Staseis, Konflikte politischer *factions* in den griechischen Poleis, in der Zeit des Hellenismus bis zur Etablierung der römischen Herrschaft spielten. Als Phänomen prägte Stasis die klassische Polis-Welt und endete auch unter der argeadischen Fremdherrschaft nicht. Daher ist B.s Ergebnis, wonach Stasis „ein *basso continuo* der hellenistischen Geschichte, ein integraler Bestandteil" war, „ohne dessen Analyse sich die Transformation der griechischen Welt zwischen Alexander und Augustus sowie die Mechanismen der römischen Expansion im Osten des Mittelmeerraums nur unvollkommen verstehen lassen" (S. 306), folgerichtig.

Der einleitende Teil steckt sorgfältig die Rahmenbedingungen für die Analyse ab: Stasis wird als Fachterminus für die innerstädtischen Konflikte definiert (S. 13 f., 35); die besonderen Charakteristika des Phänomens (etwa strukturelle Voraussetzungen, Verzahnung mit externen Konflikten) werden aufgezeigt (S. 14 f.); der Forschungsstand mit seinem bisherigen Schwerpunkt auf der Archaik und Klassik wird umrissen (S. 15–29); die Quellenproblematik wird skizziert (S. 30–33). So behandeln die literarischen Quellen Staseis häufig nur *en passant*, knapp und bezüglich der Beteiligten vage. Dennoch konstatiert B., dass es sich um eine „erstaunlich ergiebige" Evidenz handele, zumindest was die Verbreitung des Phänomens, die Muster und Topoi anbelange (S. 33). Der literarische Befund wird im analytischen Hauptteil in einem zweiten Untersuchungsschritt jeweils durch epigraphisches Material ergänzt. B. verweist diesbezüglich auf die Problematik einer Tendenz zur Ausblendung. So werde bereits Stasis als Begriff vermieden und durch Termini wie ταραχή, διαφορά, κρίσις, σύγχυσις oder νεωτερισμός ersetzt (S. 31).

Im Hauptteil (S. 37–272) werden anhand von instruktiven Fallbeispielen vom 4.–1. Jh. v. Chr., von Unruhen in ionischen Städten im Kontext des Alexanderzugs bis zu Fällen von Staseis unter Augustus, folgende Ergebnisse herausgestellt: Die makedonische Hegemonie bedeutete keine Zäsur für das Phänomen von Stasis, welches sich durch die hellenistische Zeit und die gesamte griechische Oikumene zog. Es ließ sich kein nennenswerter zeitlicher Einbruch feststellen. Der Eingriff von äußeren politischen Faktoren war meist Epiphänomen, nicht auslösendes Moment. Stasis gab indes auswärtigen Akteuren die Chance, sich als Wohltäter zu gerieren und somit in die Polis zu integrieren. Die weithin in den Poleis gefürchtete Stasis ergab sich primär aus den Feindschaften und Rangkonflikten der städtischen Eliten. Die Rolle von Unterschichten war wenig relevant (S. 162–170, 268–272).

Im abschließenden Teil (S. 273–311) wird Stasis noch einmal als ein strukturell bedingtes Phänomen charakterisiert, das nichtsdestotrotz einen „Indikator für die Relevanz und Vitalität der betroffenen Poleis" (S. 308) dargestellt habe. Unter anderem mit einem komparatistischen Ausblick werden Thesen in Frage gestellt, welche Stasis mit einer „kulturellen Eigentümlichkeit" der Griechen und ihrer Polis-Strukturen (Neigung zu Polarisierung und Desintegration; agonaler Geist), zu erklären versuchten. Diese schlüssige Distanzierung von jenem Erklärungsansatz hätte noch etwas nachdrücklicher ausfallen können.

Insgesamt handelt es sich um eine inspirierende, weiterführende und anschauliche Publikation von höchster Relevanz für die Hellenismusforschung, die Stasis als Element der Kontinuität überzeugend darstellt.

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SAPPHO AT ROME: A REVIEW ARTICLE

Thea S. Thorsen, Stephen J. Harrison (eds.), *Roman Receptions of Sappho*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019 (Classical Presences), XV, 455 pp., ISBN 978-0-19-882943-0, £95.00.

This volume, consisting of fifteen essays, tries to shed new light on the history of the reception of Sappho in Rome. Along with a more profound analysis of what can be labelled as "Sapphic" in Latin poets, further perspectives are offered through some new findings (i.e., the Papyrus of Cologne and the Newest Sappho, recollecting the *Brothers Song* and the *Kypris Song*) which allow us to better recognise how carefully Latin poets reworked their Greek predecessor. In the introduction ("*Ecce Sappho*", pp. 1–26), Thea Thorsen takes into account three Sappho scholars, Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker (1784–1868), Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931), and David M. Robinson (1880–1958), underscoring how their times were ideologically different from ours. After revisiting some important evidence for Sappho's ancient reception and focusing on Roman literature, the introduction integrates Shane Butler's new concept of Deep Classics with a particular interpretation of Kyaer Tofte's painting reproduced on the cover of the book: the shadow (something distant but, like Sappho, always present), the flower (symbolising the perishable nature of our world) and the bottle (associated with luxury, exuberance, and celebration).

The volume deals with many topics, although the level of persuasiveness of the discussions varies, so I have decided to organise them into six thematic groups (and some essays will appear more than once), focusing on the content displayed and from time to time adding some brief remarks of my own.

How many "Sappho(s)"?

Talking about the Roman reception of Sappho means facing authors (from Catullus and Lucretius on) who reworked a Greek model according to their own sensibility; to do so, however, they had many more – and much clearer – materials available to them than we do; that is to say not only direct testimonies, but also a considerable amount of literary criticism. On the other hand, the situation for us as later recipients of classical poetry means that, while the "original" Sappho is only available to us in fragments, the reworked Sappho that we find in Latin literature shows some peculiar features depending on how Latin poets decided to exploit the various elements of Sapphic poetry or of the Sappho legend to fashion a single poem or a part of it. Therefore, one could say that we cannot claim to deal with a single "Sappho", since we possess her mostly in terms of the (ancient and modern) perspective from which we are reading.

To introduce us to all these issues, Thea S. Thorsen ("Sappho: Transparency and Obstruction", pp. 27–44) focuses on some preliminary problems about *our* reception of Sappho: the loss of material about her, the lack of scholarly recognition of her work and some claims of inauthenticity. As for the first issue, we must hopefully state that some recently discovered papyri shed new light on Sappho's influence on Roman poets: one of the most striking instances is no doubt the words τάδ' ἄλλα | πάντα δαιμόνεσσιν ἐπι̣τρόπωμεν ("Let us entrust all other things to the gods", *P.Sapph.* Obbink, *Brothers Song*, 13–14), which closely recalls Hor. *Carm*. I 9, 9: "permitte diuis cetera". This statement is even more important if we think that the Horatian sentence is generally related to the "Epicurean" component of the poem.

Other precious testimonies, however, have been ignored: see for instance Chamaeleon's treatise on Sappho (4th/3rd cent. BC) which is left out of even the best-known reference sources such as *OCD*, but also Tatian's account (2nd cent. AD), referring to the poet's statue that was brought from Syracuse to Rome (not to mention the general distrust about the authenticity of Ovid's *Heroides* 15).

Some further stereotypes about Sappho are also far from being overcome. The first concerns Sappho's alleged ugliness, which is contradicted by some reliable testimonies depicting her as very beautiful: Alc. fr. 384 Campbell; Anacreon fr. 358, 3; Pl. *Phaedr.* 235C. Indeed, the only texts stressing the poet's ugliness date from much later than those previously adduced (*P.Oxy.* 1800, fr. 1, but I should observe that in Ovid's *Heroides* 15, 32 we read "formae damna [...] meae", see Elisei below), so their value should not be overestimated as has been the case in the past.

Something new also needs to be said about the idea of Sappho as a prostitute: this concept probably derives from the misunderstanding of a homonymy between Sappho the poet and another Sappho who was *actually* a *hetaera*. In the *Brothers Song*, indeed, we read that Sappho chastises her brother for his alliance with a *hetaera*, a circumstance that surprisingly confirms what we read in Herodotus (II 135), who tells us about a poem in which Sappho disapproved of the *hetaera* with whom her brother Charaxus had fallen in love. This antipathy is confirmed by a quotation from Posidippus in Athenaeus' *Learned Banqueters*. Any other attempt to demonstrate that Sappho was a *hetaera* rests on the misreading of ancient texts, the statements of which relating to Sappho's attractive power over a number of poets should not be understood in a sexual sense, but rather as symbolising her poetic relevance and style from which her male colleagues drew inspiration. To separate Sappho the poet from Sappho the *hetaera*, we can, therefore, rely on the third-century AD writer Aelian, who names Phaon, Sappho the poet, and Sappho the *hetaera* in three separate but consecutive passages (*VH* XII 18 f.), and on the Byzantine lexicon *Suda*, which shows in two separate entries "Sappho" as the Λεσβία [...] λυρική ("Lesbian lyric poet", Σ 107) and Sappho as the Λεσβία [...] ψάλτρια ("Lesbian lyre-player", Σ 108), an obviously ambiguous term. Overall, we must say that the only reliable evidence supporting this negative portrait of the poet is the oration of the Christian apologist Tatian who criticises Sappho as a "miserable little love-crazed whore of a woman" (γύναιον πορνικὸν ἐρωτομανές, *Ad Gr.* 33, 5, line 20 Marcovich). It is quite easy to imagine that this humiliating label has to do with the general contempt for everything which ancient Greek civilisation stood for in the eyes of the Christian writer, who saw the pre-Christian world as poisoned by all kinds of immorality.

Against the generally accepted (mis?)conception according to which Sapphic love is poor in kisses and caresses, Thorsen lists a conspicuous series of passages from Catullus, Propertius, and the disputed Ovid's *Heroides* 15 where the "amalgamation of love as sex and love as poetry […] proves particularly productive in Sappho's Roman reception" (p. 42).

'Roman' Sappho, therefore, is a poetic character whose 'true' essence blurs through the many lenses poets and critics put in front of her, so that it is perhaps not surprising to find authors who rework Sapphic cues also considering what literary criticism said about her and critics who follow earlier scholarly remarks and deliberately ignore her poetry. R. Hunter ("Notes on the Ancient Reception of Sappho", pp. 45–60) helps us to explore this topic: Quintilian, probably influenced by Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On Imitation*, does not mention Sappho among the Greek lyric poets; both critics, concerned with drawing the profile of the perfect orator or writer of πολιτικοὶ λόγοι, were reluctant to take into account Sappho's love pains.

The situation changes if we look at Catullus' diptych poems 50 and 51, which show a high level of poetic self-consciousness in terms of how to interact with an illustrious model of the past and also with contemporary critical reflections about it. Hunter's proposal starts from Ps.-Longinus' commentary on Sappho 31 (*Subl*. 10, 3): the Greek poet recalls a lot of physical symptoms to describe her love diseases (παθῶν σύνοδος, Ps.-Longinus says) and Catullus claims that watching Lesbia in love with another man "omnis eripit sensus" (51, 6). Ps.-Longinus, nonetheless, says something more, observing that Sappho seems to describe all those symptoms "as they belonged to someone else" (πάνθ' ὡς ἀλλότρια διοιχόμενα ἐπιζητεῖ). That closely resembles what Catullus does when he translates, because he actually looks back to the poetry of the past merely in search of *someone else's emotions* to be carried into his description of jealousy and dejection. Another Sapphic feature of Cat. 51 is probably the anaphora featured in the so-called *otium* stanza (see fr. 104a and 114 Voigt), while the stanza itself, with its sudden thematic change, could reflect the Sapphic technique

of μεταβολή, as we can see in fr. 111 Voigt. Did Catullus 'learn' these techniques merely by reading Sappho or perhaps also by taking into account contemporary critical observations about her style? In any case, the Roman poet does not limit himself to *one* rendition of his model: poem 50 develops the list of symptoms of erotic distress by focusing more on their behavioural *facies* (lack of appetite, the inability to sleep, etc.) than on the simply internal and physical one as in poem 51 and Sappho 31. Moreover, the description is highly metaphorical, so that the 'modernised' Sapphic rendition of love pains (Cat. 50) comes before the 'archaic' (or traditional) one (Cat. 51).

A critically reworked Sappho, in other words, foregoes the 'traditional' one. It is not, therefore, very striking that a contemporary of Catullus, Lucretius, even tries to activate a kind of 'anti-Sappho in Sappho', undermining, for example, Sappho's understanding of love (L. Fulkerson, "Lucretius and Sapphic *uoluptas*", pp. 61–76). A comparison of *De rerum natura* III 152–160 (about the general feeling of fear) and Sappho 31 shows that Lucretius describes the physical effects of fear in a manner that is very close to Sappho's love symptoms. In this way, the Latin poet makes a double poetic reversal: Sappho's poems had already reworked the Homeric experience of engaging in a battle with a superior who is often seen and feared like a god; in *De rerum natura* we see that love turns again into fear: Lucretius succeeds in showing "the unstable nature of all vividly felt human emotions" and the identity of love and terror (p. 69).

To see how critical observations about Sappho can be used to explicitly mark one specific poetic choice instead of another, we must wait for the Augustan age: as we read in R. Hunter's second essay, "Sappho and Latin Poetry. The Case of Horace" (pp. 151–164, a reprinting of a previous paper of 2007), after declaring in Sapphic terms (i.e. with intertextual allusions to Sappho 1 and 31) his love for Ligurinus (*Carm*. IV 1), Horace in *Carm*. IV 2 expresses his rejection of Pindaric style, showing a high degree of consciousness regarding contemporary literary criticism. We must, in fact, remember that the extant text of Sappho 1 comes to us from Dionysius' treatise (*Comp*. 23, 11) and that it is quoted there simply as an example of a smooth (γλαφυρά) style of composition, in opposition to the αὐστηρά ('harsh') poetic manner of Pindar which shows itself in the dithyrambs. So, since in *Carm*. IV 2 Pindar's poetry is compared to a swollen torrent and his dithyrambs are called *audacis*, we may suppose that Horace follows Dionysius' statement about both the roughness of Pindar's style and the importance of Sappho as the forerunner of Hellenistic/Roman poetic taste. That helps us to explain why Horace pursues Ligurinus "per aquas […] uolubilis" (*Carm*. IV 1, 40), because the imagery recalls the idea of Sapphic lines which flow easily and gently as expressed in Dionysius' treatise (see the general explanation in 23, 2: ὥσπερ τὰ ῥέοντα καὶ μηδέποτε ἀτρεμοῦντα).

Finally, just to confirm how challenging the path to knowing 'Sappho' is, this volume ends with the most comprehensive collection of Greek and Latin testimonies on Sappho to date, with English translations (Thea S. Thorsen, Robert Emil Berge, "Receiving Receptions Received. A New Collection of *Testimonia Sapphica* c. 600 BC–AD 1000", pp. 289–402). The authors explain the criteria applied to this collection and the differences from previous ones, the most significant of which are undoubtedly the choice to consider as a *testimonium* of a specific work or author a statement which actually includes some sort of reference to this work or author, and the organisation of texts in chronological order, with a temporal span from Alcaeus and Herodotus to c. 1000 AD. All the assembled items thus represent "a case of classical reception to the third degree, namely the present volume's contemporary reception of twentieth-century scholarly receptions of pre-medieval receptions of the poetry and poet-figure of Sappho" (p. 289): of course, all these degrees must be taken into account when approaching such a complex but at the same time fragmentary poet, in order to avoid biased or superficial interpretations of what antiquity let survive of her artistic magnitude.

(2) Catullus and Sappho (and Callimachus): rework and reversal

What has been mentioned above leads us to one of the core themes of the volume, i.e. the way Sapphic inspiration is reworked by Catullus in terms of a subtle reversal of some significant

Sapphic cues, along with the capability of getting closer to and then distancing himself from his model.

In her second contribution ("As Important as Callimachus? An Essay on Sappho in Catullus and Beyond", pp.77–94), Thea Thorsen deals with this relationship and begins with a teasing question: can Sappho be considered as important as Callimachus in the context of Roman literature? The answer is in the affirmative, but of course, many details need to be taken into account. Beyond any doubt, Sappho and Callimachus are the most appreciated Greek poets in Catullus, even considering the fact that he decides to artistically translate *only* their poems (instead of anything else) with an exact metrical rendition (the Sapphic stanza common to Cat. 51 and Sappho 31, the elegiac couplet common to Cat. 66 and Callimachus' *Coma Berenices*). Both poets, besides, could provide Catullus with cues to develop both erotic and literary topics (see p. 88: Thorsen does not agree with the idea that "Sappho is traditionally seen as the great model for concepts of love and gender, while Callimachus is seen as a model for poetics and aesthetic ideals"). For instance, Callimachus can pair a discussion of literary values and homoerotic love: see *Epigr.* 28 Pf. = *Anth. Pal.* XII 42 and *Epigr*. 30 (Mair and Mair). On the other hand, Catullus deals with Sapphic inspiration, showing how problematic a relationship with a (great) female model could be for a Latin male poet. A reading of poem 51 and poem 11 not only encompasses the main focuses of Catullus' love (jealousy and renunciation), but also enlightens his 'use/abuse' of the Sapphic model: in fact, the archaic poet is firstly 'embraced' (Cat. 51) and then 'dismissed' (Cat. 11). Thus, declaring his jealousy towards Lesbia (employing Sapphic vocabulary) and then his firm determination to end any relationship with her (again in a Sapphic stanza) is also a way of showing a personal poetic evolution from dependence to independence from Sappho. The Roman poet seems therefore to fashion a literary canon that, from Sappho *via* Callimachus, ends with himself; a canon, we may notice, "where the ancient dynamics of ζῆλος ('zeal'/'eagerness'/'rivalry') provide the principle for the selection and certain ideas of style and taste provide the intrinsic affinity" (p. 90).

Focusing now on Sappho, the multi-faceted tradition about her as a woman, a Muse or a *hetaera* helps Catullus in shaping Lesbia's portrait: L.M. Gram ("*Odi et amo*. On Lesbia's Name in Catullus", pp. 95–118) displays the many perspectives bound to the multiple significance of the name 'Lesbia' and argues that the first set of links is composed by the triplet Lesbia – Sappho – Muse. Many ancient sources used to consider Sappho as the tenth Muse (see e.g. *Anth. Pal.* VII 14 or VII 407, 1–4), and this parallel is also evident in a Latin poet who is very close to Catullus, i.e. Propertius (see II 3, 13–20). So, if we turn to Cat. 35, where the poet addresses a *puella* who is more learned than a *Sapphica Musa*, we can easily argue that Catullus too associates Sappho with the Muses. However, if we go further, accepting Heyworth's hypothesis (see p. 100) which reads *Sapphica Musa* as "the girl who inspired Sappho", it is also easy to connect this statement to Cat. 51: here, with the well-known reversal, Catullus plays the 'Sapphic' role of a jealous lover and contemplates *Lesbia*, her *Muse*, in love with another man, who inspires a poem written in a *Sapphic* stanza.

Lesbia's beauty should also lead us to dismiss the notion of Sappho's alleged ugliness, since many sources underline the legendary attractiveness of Lesbian women. As for Sappho the *hetaera*, Catullus could have exploited the ambiguousness of this account to assign to his beloved some features of the *hetaera* of New Comedy, such as unfaithfulness and promiscuity. Moreover, Sappho's alleged 'masculinity', regarding her dominating role in a homosexual relationship, could have helped Catullus to fashion Lesbia's role as an active subject. Finally, reflecting upon the most detrimental implications of the name 'Lesbia', namely its connection to sexual acts like *fellatio*, Gram agrees with all the previous scholarship and reads beyond the name Lesbia and some verbs like *glubit* (see Cat. 58) the obscene allusion to the Greek verb λεσβιάζειν.

To come closer to the issue of poetic reversal, O. Thévenaz ("Sapphic Echoes in Catullus 1–14", pp. 119–135) draws attention to some Catullan *polymetra* (namely poems 2, 3, 6 and 8) in order to find Sapphic echoes which rise from the opposition between Sappho's erotic voice and her nuptial voice. I will focus on poems 2, 3 and 8 (since in my opinion the connection between poem

6 and Sappho fr. 137 is too weak). I feel that the parallels taken into account are not all equally convincing: the most perspicuous one is undoubtedly found in Cat. 11, where the closing simile (lines 22–24, the poet compared to a flower cut by a plough), recalls what we read in fr. 105b Voigt (i.e. a wedding song), thus activating a clever reversal from a poem celebrating marriage, love and the loss of virginity to a poem in which a quasi-matrimonial situation breaks up into a sad farewell due to her numerous liasons.

Thévenaz takes into account other poems characterised by subtle intertextuality, e.g. the diptych of poems 2–3, which according to him were inspired by Sappho's *Ode to Aphrodite*. The first of the *passer* poems (Cat. 2) shows the ABA structure (invocation-narration-final invocation) typical of a cletic hymn and formally identical to that of the Sapphic ode (but precisely the fact that this structure is such a widespread feature of cletic hymns means that Sappho 2 cannot be considered as a primary source). A weak point of this analysis is the idea that the solemn Sapphic aura would be brought down to earth through a fictional dialogue with a sparrow (i.e. a courtesan's pet), while on the other hand, by means of idealising the epigrammatic situation, the *puella* would be elevated to divine status, since the sparrow is an attribute she shares with Aphrodite. I would not like to say how much humour and desacralisation even the cleverest reader of Catullus could perceive when reading the first *passer* poem, nor do I think he could be convinced that the dead sparrow's descent to the Underworld recalls the descent of Aphrodite's sparrow from Heaven to earth. I also have some difficulties in recognising intertextual parallels between the two poems and Sappho (Cat. 2, 7–8 ~ fr. 25–26 Voigt: χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον | ἐκ μερίμναν; Cat. 3, 10–11 ~ fr. 114 Voigt: "'Virginity, virginity, where are you gone, leaving me behind?' 'No longer will I come to you, no longer will I come'"). Similar observations can be made about Catullus 8. Instead of an alleged structural analogy with Sappho 2, I find the reversal triggered when Catullus makes a self-exhortation to stop the love pains more convincing: while Sappho would like Aphrodite to help her to *make* the beloved girl *want* to return her love, Catullus *does not want* to desire Lesbia *anymore.* Sappho's girl should fall in love with the poet even against her own will, while Lesbia is assured she will never be loved *invitam*.

(3) Literary forerunning and reverse aemulatio: Sappho in Horace and Ovid

We noticed above that Horace expresses the idea of Sappho as a forerunner of Augustan poetic taste. To understand how he views his condition of an epigone, Thea S. Thorsen in her third essay ("Sappho, Alcaeus, and the Literary Timing of Horace", pp. 165–184) tries to reconsider the relationship between Horace's *Carm*. IV 9 and I 15 through the double lens of Alcaeus frr. 42 and 283 and Sappho fr. 16, with particular regard to the latter. I must say that Thorsen's argument is not always lucid, even though the conclusions are fascinating. Some doubts arise when the scholar tries to argue a significant connection between Sappho and Helen in Horace's *Carm*. IV 9, 10–16 due to their position at the centre of a catalogue of Greek male poets and mythical heroes; the poet and the heroine would also be paired by their burning love (Sappho's *calores* are symmetrical to Helen, who "comptos arsit adulteri crinis"). To capture the essence of the discourse, it is perhaps better to concentrate only on *Carm*. I 15, where Nereus prophesies to Paris, who has just abducted Helen, all the disasters his actions will produce. In recalling what caused the Trojan War (i.e. Helen's abduction), Sappho fr. 16 particularly insists on the power of love, which led Paris to bring Helen to Troy, while the Greek princess shows neither grief nor regret in comparison with the Homeric account of *Il*. III 176, but on the contrary, plays a remarkably active role. Moreover, it is in fr. 16 that Helen is depicted as totally infatuated with Paris before her arrival at Troy. This strong statement also has a metapoetic function since it underlines the "upper hand" of the lyric genre "compared to the epic genre of Homeric war" (p. 168). A slightly different picture seems to be drawn by Alcaeus fr. 283 Voigt: his narrative of the relationship between Helen, Paris and the Trojan War shows that Helen's commitment strongly overcomes that of Paris (who, as in Sappho fr. 16, is not even named) but, in contrast to Sappho, the Greek princess seems totally lacking in rationality and overwhelmed by the strength of her love. That leads Thorsen to conclude that from

Sappho's perspective, in contrast to that of Homer and Alcaeus, the Trojan War 'depends' on a love affair in a hierarchic sense, as well as, from a metapoetic point of view, love and love poetry are far superior to war and epic poetry: as Helen 'controls' Paris, so the lyric inspiration 'controls' the epic one. That could help us to understand what Horace really wants to mean when composing *Carm*. I 15: he probably wants to show his awareness of the fact that Sappho has already tried to emulate both the Homeric and the Alcaic model, so he in turn is ready to emulate Homer, Alcaeus, *and* Sappho. To understand this we may add Alc. fr. 42 Voigt, where we find a summary of the wedding ceremony of Peleus and Thetis and the mention of the old Nereus leading his daughter to her future groom. It is quite clear that Horace, in *Carm*. I 15, is rewriting an elegant compression of the Iliadic narrative created by Sappho and Alcaeus, but in addition he develops the second suggestion that is present in Alcaeus: why does Nereus the prophet lead his daughter to the wedding ceremony despite his foreknowledge of all the ugly consequences of the nuptial banquet? In Horace: why does Nereus prophesy to Paris things that are by now unavoidable? Why, in other words, is there this belated (i.e. useless) prophecy? Probably Horace, in his bold attempt to emulate *three* Greek predecessors, is aware of the risk of this operation and shows the typical attitude of the Hellenistic-Augustan poets who feel that they 'come after' a long and respectable tradition (but, from another point of view, 'after' could also mean 'too late'). Nereus' lyric prophecy, which takes place *before* the events chronicled in the Homeric poems, but *cannot stop* nor *change* the course of events, expresses precisely this feeling: many things have already been done in poetry, so a younger artist has to make a greater effort than before in order to find his own place and reach poetic immortality.

If Horace, and Catullus before him, considered Sappho as the (lyric) inspiring model for their (lyric) poetry, Ovid definitely goes beyond his predecessors, merging many aspects of the Greek poet to offer his audience a picture of Sappho as a forerunner of *elegiac* poetry, but also as a reliable teacher of loving strategies. As J. Ingleheart ("*Vates Lesbia*. Images of Sappho in the Poetry of Ovid", pp. 205–226) argues, we find the first of the Ovidian portraits of Sappho in *Amores* II 18, 26. Even though the Greek poet is unnamed, Ovid not only mentions her as a forerunner of elegy, but also emphasises, in a stronger stress than before, her activity as a producer of *written* poetry, in harsh contrast to the tradition of oral performances of Lesbian poetry. Ovid is thus clearly depicting Sappho according to more modern literary ideas, which bring her closer to the spirit of Augustan poetry. This symbolic *magistra–discipulus* relationship seems further underscored when Ovid names Sappho and asks "quid enim lasciuius illa?" (*Ars am.* III 331): this 'Ovidian' adjective (see n. 35) lets the reader think that Ovid *himself* is *lasciuior* than Sappho, so he is fully entitled to recommend Sappho's readings in order to learn 'Lesbian' love in the lowercase meaning. These witty puns go on in *Remedia amoris* 757–766, a passage which in reverse establishes the role of Sappho as a mistress of heterosexual love: her poetry makes Ovid "meliorem [...] amicae" ("better company for my girl-friend") and, differently from Anacreon's poetry, leads the reader into "rigidos [...] mores" (with all the spicy meaning this expression evokes). Sappho is also the forerunner of all erotodidactic poetry (see also *Trist*. II 365: "Lesbia quid docuit Sappho nisi amare puellas?" – should this verse mean that Sappho's poetry helps Ovid to become a good heterosexual lover or that homosexual love with girls is the key-teaching of the Greek poet?). With all these features recognised, it is not surprising that in *Her*. 15 Sappho calls herself *uates*: in the Ovidian picture she plays a complex role, since she can deal with Aphrodite both in the religious and the erotic meaning. She plays her role as a forerunner in the sense that Ovid, instead of representing himself as a Sapphic poet, sketches a pre-Ovidian Sappho, portraying her "as the wanton instructor of women and the knowledgeable purveyor of erotic lore to men" (p. 225).

This connection of Sappho with elegy allows the witty 'Ovid' of *Her*. 15 to be very playful in making Sappho (the forerunner) display all the rhetorical strategies typical of her Roman 'disciple': when she addresses Phaon, her words, in fact, recall the *praecepta amoris* expressed in the *Ars Amatoria*. C. Elisei ("Sappho as a Pupil of the *praeceptor amoris* and Sappho as *magistra amoris*. Some Lessons of the *Ars Amatoria* Anticipated in *Heroides* 15", pp. 227–248) carefully lists all the features of Sappho's speech. Firstly, she praises her beloved's beauty, comparing him

and herself to mythological pairs such as Apollo and Daphne or Bacchus and Ariadne (ll. 21–30); a further aim of these comparisons becomes apparent in the following lines. Since she is perfectly aware of being not so beautiful, the mention of those fair heroines of the past allows her to underline her *true* beauty, that is to say her poetic talent, which is so great as to cast a shadow over the question of her ugliness. This strategy of underestimating one's own disadvantages (*excusatio vitiorum*, see ll. 31–40) while exalting one's good qualities (*commendatio virtutum*, see ll. 41–50) is also typical of Ovidian erotodidaxis: in *Ars am.* I 595–596 the poet recommends "si uox est, canta; si mollia bracchia, salta | et, quacumque potes dote placere, place", while the strategy of diminishing one's flaws is expressed in *Ars am.* II 661–662 ("dic habilem, quaecumque breuis; quae turgida, plenam, | et lateat uitium proximitate boni") as well as in III 261–263. The same is done by Sappho when she compares her *brevis mensura* with the *unmeasurable* extension of her fame (*nomen*, see *Her*. 15, 28). There can also be the intermediate situation of *accipere in meliorem partem* (i.e. not replacing a fault with an equivalent virtue, but by using a euphemism). Seeking the way of debunking the problem of having a dark complexion, Ovid distinguishes *niger* from *fuscus* (see *Am.* II 4, 40: "est etiam in fusco grata colore uenus") in order to soften the contrast with the more acceptable *candor* and so to mitigate the negative idea connected to physical 'darkness'. In *Her*. 15 Sappho does not claim to be *nigra* or *fusca*, but only says "candida si non sum" (35). This strategy naturally also works, in reverse, in the *Remedia amoris*, where in order to get rid of his erotic passion, the lover must consider only the girl's faults to convince himself that she is not worth loving (see *Rem*. 315: "profuit assidue uitiis insistere amicae" and again, but this time in reverse, 327: "turgida, si plena est, si fusca est, nigra uocetur"). All that being the case, I think that more evidence may be presented in support of the authenticity of *Her*. 15, and something more can also be said thanks to the comparison to the newest Sappho (see below).

(4) The newest discoveries and their importance

Some recently discovered papyri which have provided us with new fragments of Sappho help us understand something more about how Augustan poets received her poetry. For instance (according to R. Hunter, "Sappho and Latin Poetry...", p. 153), the fine Sapphic intertextuality of Horace's *Carm*. IV 1 mentioned above is confirmed by what we read in the new Cologne poem by Sappho (fr. 58), where the poet complains about old age (see *Carm*. IV 1, 29–31: "Me nec femina nec puer | iam nec spes animi credula mutui | nec certare iuuat mero"). The same fragment is used by S. Harrison ("Shades of Sappho in Vergil", pp. 147 f.), but his proposal is less convincing: a divine being (Dawn) carries a young man overtaken by old age (Tithonus) to the ends of the earth. Vergil could have reworked this cue in the story of Cycnus' metamorphosis after the death of his beloved, Phaeton (*Aen*. X 189–193), thus giving a smart homoerotic touch to Sappho's heterosexual account. By the admission of the scholar himself, this hypothesis is somewhat speculative (and I totally agree).

In any case, the most striking set of intertextual readings is provided by the newest Sappho papyrus, discovered by Dirk Obbink in 2014 and then published in 2016[1], which belongs to a Roman-period copy of an Alexandrian edition of Sappho and develops a couple of themes in particular (personal erotic desire and family/autobiography). These themes echo strikingly in *Her*. 15, so that

[1] A. Bierl, A. Lardinois (eds.), *The Newest Sappho: P. Sapph. Obbink and P. GC inv. 105, frs. 1–4*, Leiden–Boston 2016 (Studies in Archaic and Classical Greek Song, vol. 2). I report here a notice by the book's editors published on the Brill website (June 2020): "In the past years, following the first publication of this book, serious doubts have been raised about the reported provenance of the papyri discussed in this book, especially in Chapter 2: See M. Sampson, 'Deconstructing the Provenances of P.Sapph.Obbink,' in *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 57 (2020, 143–169). These questions about the provenance do not affect the authenticity of the fragments themselves – they appear to be authentic" (https://brill.com/view/title/32801).

the Ovidian poem becomes an even more precious testimony of Sappho's reception in Rome (and, in my opinion, many doubts about its authenticity can now be definitely overcome).

About that issue, we may read some interesting remarks in another essay by Thea S. Thorsen, "The newest Sappho (2016) and Ovid's *Heroides* 15" (pp. 249–264): in the new fragment called *Kypris Song*, Sappho addresses Aphrodite with an epithet Κύπρι, δέσ̣π̣ο̣ι̣ν̣' (something one would never expect, for instance, in epic poetry) and represents herself in a complaining pose that we could define as "loving but not loved": in *Her*. 15 Sappho says exactly the same thing (96: "non ut ames oro, me sed amare sinas") after invoking Aphrodite with a precious epithet (57: "tu quoque quae montes celebras, Erycina, Sicanos"), which could also contain an allusion to Sappho's exile in Sicily as we now can read in the newest fragments.

As for the family/autobiographic element of Sapphic poetry, the new findings add crucial evidence to what we already knew about this topic. The newest papyrus shows that the poet is very concerned about her brother Charaxus in view of a dangerous sea journey which he has undertaken or his 'enslavement' to a prostitute on whom he has been able to spend all his money (in addition to the already well-known fr. 5 and fr. 15 Voigt, see now fr. 5 and fr. 15 Obbink and *Brothers Song*). In both cases, Sappho is all but careless, and in the second one in particular she does not hold back from expressing her full disapproval of Charaxus' moral conduct.

We may find something similar in *Her*. 15, where Sappho says, for instance, "arsit iners frater meretricis captus amore" (63) and "factus inops agili peragit freta caerula remo" (65), expressions which adequately summarise the content of Sappho's fragments, also with apparent reference to the Herodotean account of Charaxus' misbehaviour (see Hdt. II 135). Secondly, in *Her*. 15, 117–120 Sappho complains about the mocking ingratitude that Charaxus showed when Phaon abandoned her (see 117–118: "gaudet et e nostro crescit maerore Charaxus | frater") which closely recalls behaviour Sappho complains about in fr. 16a Obbink: ⟧ α̣τ'· ὄττινας γὰρ | ἐὺ θέ̣ω, κῆνοί με μάλιστα σίννον- | τ'ἐξάδοκή[τω.] ⊗ ("For whomsoever I treat favourably, those most of all harm me without warning"). In Obbink's fragments and in the *Brothers Song*, Sappho strongly underlines her loyalty, which is so badly repaid by her brother. Similarly, *Her*. 15 features this sorrow (see 68–68: "me quoque, quod monui bene multa fideliter, odit; | hoc mihi libertas, hoc pia lingua dedit") and also reminds us of the importance of prayers and invocations to the gods in the relationship between the two siblings.

There is, however, a detail which shows how far the author of *Her*. 15 wants to push his Sapphic inspiration: while in Sappho's fragments about Charaxus we can see some optimism about the destiny that is in the hands of the gods (see fr. 16a: [ὄλβιον] μὲν οὐ δύνατον γένεσθαι | [πάμπ]α̣ν ἄνθρωπ[ον· π]εδέχην δ' ἄρασθαι | [ἔστιν ἔσλων μοῖραν. ἔγω] δ̣' ἔμ' αὔται | [τοῦτο σύνοιδα]), in *Her*. 15 the poet seems less confident about fate (see 59–60: "an grauis inceptum peragit fortuna tenorem | et manet in cursu semper acerba suo?"). That is probably due to the elegiac spirit of the text: also the optimism of the Greek model needs to be turned into something closer to the *flebile carmen* required by the rules of this genre.

(5) Sapphic Aphrodite in programmatic passages: the case of Lucretius and Horace

Some observations about the connection between Sappho 1 and the opening invocation to Venus in Lucretius' *De rerum natura* allow us to recognise the thin line that separates good intertextual proposals from more generic (and therefore not satisfying) solutions. L. Fulkerson ("Lucretius and Sapphic *uoluptas*", p. 66) reflects on the way Lucretius reworks Sappho's imagery: if Sappho 1 calls Aphrodite *symmachos*, Lucretius wants Venus to be his *socia* (in Greek: *epikouros*) in writing philosophical verses, thus activating a double set of allusive levels, both to the ancient poet and the Hellenistic philosopher. This observation can be enhanced by R. Hunter's argument ("Sappho and Latin Poetry…", p. 160): since Venus, metonymically, means also 'grace', Lucretius turns the Sapphic request for help from love affairs into the composition of elegant verses (see I 123: *amabile*, that is to say *uenustum*). In this way, the proem also gains a Callimachean nuance (see *Aitia* fr. 7, 13–14 Pf.). Hunter also finds a Sapphic reworking in Horace's *Carm*. IV 1 when the poet, involved not with one but two addressees, invokes the goddess' aid (see 1–2: "Intermissa, Venus,

diu | rursus bella moues? Parce precor, precor", where *bella* recalls σύμμαχος and "parce, precor precor" translates λίσσομαί σε...). Even if at the beginning of the poem he seems less than eager to fight for love again, his erotic desire will show in the end. So far, both scholars deliver a convincing analysis; some more doubt emerges when they try to go further in their intertextual comparison, wondering why neither Sappho nor Horace *actually* explain what exactly Venus should do to tame her/his love pains. In Fulkerson's view (p. 67), this fact would lead to the conclusion that the Sapphic goddess somewhat foreshadows the impersonal Love of Empedocles or the 'atomistic' Venus (or any other god) of Lucretius, that is to say, deities whose intervention cannot assure the total fulfilment of human desire nor the absence of strong delusions (see e.g. how the Iphigeneia story ends). Similarly, Horace's incomplete request should be an interpretation of what Sappho lets shine through her ode, the incapability of conjuring away the real pain of 'Aphrodite', i.e. of unrequited desire (Hunter, p. 159). If the latter explanation would probably need to be deepened, Fulkerson's proposal sounds a little anachronistic to me.

(6) A less echoing Sappho: Propertius, Vergil, and Roman Epigram

As for other Latin authors, the Sapphic influence is sometimes very slight, and is sometimes only less in quantity, but not in significance. After careful scrutiny of Propertius' elegies, S.J. Heyworth ("Sappho in Propertius?", pp. 185–204) argues that every time the Augustan poet seems to recall anything worth tracing back to Sappho, it can be more easily placed in parallel with some Hellenistic predecessors, if not with Catullus. At the end of his investigation, Heyworth argues that it is not Propertius, but only Cynthia who is influenced by Sappho. When we read *Carmina* II 3, 19 ("et quantum Aeolio cum temptat carmina plectro" etc.), we must conclude that Propertius means to praise his beloved's poetic ability, clearly influenced by the Aeolian poet.

S. Harrison ("Shades of Sappho in Vergil", pp. 137–150) argues that modern scholarship has not yet noticed the importance of allusions to Sappho in *all* three works by Vergil, considering only the description of Lavinia's love symptoms (*Aen.* XII 67–69) as having been influenced by Sappho fr. 31. There are many more elements worth taking into account, however. For instance, the image of the Evening Star shepherding flocks home (see the hexameters in fr. 104a Campbell) is reworked in the final lines both of *Ecl*. 6 (see 85–86: "cogere donec ouis stabulis numerumque referre | iussit et inuito processit Vesper Olympo") and *Ecl*. 10 (see 77: "ite domum saturae, uenit Hesperus, ite capellae"), but also *Georg*. IV 186–187: "Vesper ubi e pastu tandem decedere campis | admonuit". Neither Callimachus nor Apollonius, although they both mention ἀστὴρ αὔλιος, provide Vergil with such a reliable model. Differently from Hayworth, however, Harrison also tends to consider those Vergilian passages which show similarities with Catullus as having been influenced by Sappho: see *Ecl*. 8, 37–38 compared to Sappho fr. 105 Voigt *and* Catullus 62, 39–47, but also *Aen*. IX 434–437 (Euryalus) and XI 68–71 (Pallas) compared to Sappho fr. 104 Voigt *and* Catullus 11, 21–24; 61, 87–89; 62, 39–47. Vergil probably connects the Sapphic allegory of defloration to the idea that these young warriors (to whom Sapphic allusions could also add some kind of homoeroticism) will not be allowed to know the status of marriage.

Of course, Aeneas is also involved: the beginning of the *Aeneid* could recall Sappho fr. 17, 1–7 Voigt/Campbell, representing heroes leaving Troy. Moreover, in Book IV Aeneas keeps resisting Anna's entreaties and is compared to an oak standing against the Alpine north winds (see Sappho fr. 47 Voigt: Ἔρος δ' ἐτίναξέ <μοι> | φρένας, ὠς ἄνεμος κὰτ ὄρος δρύσιν ἐμπέτων): Vergil reworks his model so that "the Sapphic invincibility of love is […] itself overcome for communitarian purposes" (p. 146).

Finally, G. Nisbet's survey ("Sappho in Roman Epigram", pp. 265–288) shows that, in the span from the 1st century BC to late antiquity, some Greek epigrammatists used to quote Sappho (see Tullius Laurea in *Anth. Pal.* VII 17, Philodemus of Gadara *ibidem* XII 7, Damocharis in *Anth. Pal.*, Planudean Appendix 310). On the Latin side, we can read something undoubtedly Sapphic in Valerius Aedituus (1st century BC), whose lines describing love symptoms were preserved in Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* ("uerba labris abeunt, | per pectus manat subito <subido> mihi sudor"). On the

other hand, very little evidence is available to argue that Sappho had a strong influence on Martial's epigrams (see pp. 274 ff.).

To sum up, this volume's overall contribution to a deeper awareness of how Sappho was received in Rome is unquestionable. From among the parallels discussed, only a few seem too bold and in need of being more substantiated. Perhaps, a Latin poet significantly missing in this volume is Seneca *tragicus*: since two choruses of his tragedies, written in Sapphic metres (*Phaedra* 274–324 in minor Sapphic hendecasyllable and *Medea* 579–606 in Sapphic stanza), deal with erotic issues (jealousy and the overwhelming power of love), some possible relationship with the Greek poet could have been investigated.

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ROMAN MONARCHY: SUCCESSION POLICIES AND THE LEGITIMATION OF POWER (A REVIEW ARTICLE)

Paweł Sawiński, *The Succession of Imperial Power under the Julio-Claudian Dynasty (30 BC–AD 68)*, Berlin: Peter Lang, 2018, 298 pp., 28 figures, ISBN 978-3-631-75773-4, €53.90.

Oliver Hekster, *Emperors and Ancestors: Roman Rulers and the Constraints of Tradition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015 (Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation), XXXII + 395 pp., 109 figures, 5 tables, ISBN 978-0-19-873682-0, £110.00.

Many accounts of the history of ancient Rome use terms whose meaning would seem to be self-evident, such as *dynasty*, *legitimation* or *succession*. Successive studies try to explain how emperors drew up their dynastic policy, legitimated their rule or appointed successors. Unfortunately, few of them endeavour to place those terms we know well from other areas of research (such as constitutional law, theory of law and state, or sociology) in the realities of the Roman Empire, or at least attempt to use the terminological and conceptual apparatus of classic scholars such as Max Weber in analyses of that kind[1]. No doubt any such attempt would need to start by defining the political power of a Roman emperor, a concept which, while crucial to an understanding of the several centuries over which the principate lasted, has never been elucidated in a satisfactory manner. Thus most studies simply refer to the classical understanding of the term *power*, focusing on two different aspects of it: some attach particular importance to the formal aspects of the matter, and so focus on the act of holding power, while others stress the consequences of wielding power. Both those approaches consciously – or, more often, unconsciously – refer to the most classical theories of research into Roman history, which were formulated decades ago.

Theodor Mommsen tried to define the emperor's power and the principate in constitutional terms. He saw in the principate a continuation of the Republic, where the "first" citizen, while holding extraordinary power had to share it to an extent at least, with the Senate within the framework of republican institutions[2]. That formal approach had an alternative in the form of the vision of the pragmatists, who were interested not so much in the institutional foundations of Augustus' power as in the consequences of its use in specific situations: "The convenient revival of Republican institutions, the assumption of a specious title, the change in the definition of authority – all that made no difference to the source and facts of power. Domination is never the less effective for being veiled. Augustus applied all the arts of tone and nuance with the sure ease of a master. The letter of the law might circumscribe the prerogative of the First Citizen. No matter: the Princeps stood pre-eminent, in virtue of prestige and authority tremendous and not to be defined"[3].

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[1] Historians of ancient Rome have rarely made use of the work of Max Weber, who developed a theory on the relationships between political power, legitimation and authority; see M. Sommer, *Empire of Glory: Weberian Paradigms and the Complexities of Authority in Roman Empire*, Max Weber Studies XI 2011, pp. 155–191; cf. C. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*, Berkeley 2000.

[2] T. Mommsen, *Römische Kaisergeschichte*, München 1992, p. 94: "Alles, was Princeps ausführt, bewegt sich im Kreise republikanischer Ämter"; "Er [*scil*. Augustus] steht nicht über den Gesetzen, sondern die Gesetze stehen über ihm".

[3] R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1939, pp. 2 f.

Those ideas can be seen to be continued, albeit not to the same degree, in the studies under review here. The first of those, by Paweł Sawiński (= PS), focuses on the ways in which the continuity of political power was secured and on the institutional foundations of the Roman Empire, while the other, by Oliver Hekster (= OH), attempts to define the role played in that continuity by biological, adoptive and imaginary ancestors. Thus the reader can first follow the actions which led to power being transferred, and then observe how those who came to hold that power saw the part that their predecessors had played in the process.

PS's book comprises an introduction, two principal parts and an appendix which discusses the dates when the successive emperors rose to power (or, their *dies principatus*). There are twenty-nine illustrations, featuring coins, bas-reliefs and statues. In the "Introduction", the author very briefly discusses his sources and presents an overview of the state of research on the subject. He also explains how he understands dynastic policy (p. 12: "by *succession policy* I mean primarily those deliberate actions of the princeps aimed at determining political succession and ensuring that his chosen successor would assume power smoothly. Under that term I also include any actions of the incumbent emperor taken with a view to increasing the popularity of his anticipated successors, intended to secure them support of various circles of Roman society, particularly the army and the plebs; as well as dynastic murders used by any current princeps to eliminate potential rivals in the struggle for the throne or to pave the road to succession for his envisioned successor") and why he has limited his inquiry to the Julio-Claudian dynasty (p. 11: "the enormous size of the subject matter dissuaded me from my original intention of discussing the problem as it unfolded throughout the principate"), as well as justifying his use of certain terms (such as *monarchy*, *co-regent*, or *the throne*).

In Part One ("The Succession Policies of the Julio-Claudian Emperors"), PS defines the part played by family members in the succession plans of the first five Roman emperors. It can be somewhat puzzling that the narrative is not consistently constructed from the perspective of the emperors, taking instead the form of analyses of the *cursus honorum* of their potential successors (although they do not always reach a clear conclusion, as exemplified by the case of Nero Claudius Drusus) and descriptions of selected honours which they received, especially posthumously. The definition of succession policy adopted in the book did not require such analyses, but their principal sources, that is, inscriptions from the days of Augustus and Tiberius (the *Decretum Pisanum de augendis honoribus Lucii Caesaris*, the *Decretum Pisanum de honoribus Gaii Caesaris*, the *Tabula Hebana*, the *Tabula Siarensis* and the *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre*, different in nature from all the preceding ones[4]) no doubt considerably complement the picture painted by the accounts of later Roman historians, as the study shows the times of Augustus and his successors primarily through the eyes of Roman historians from the generations that followed. One can only regret that PS does not discuss the consequences of that or avail himself of literary sources of a different kind, dating from the first half of the first century CE[5].

Even though the author does discuss a number of problems in an engaging manner (such as that of "Doppelprinzipat"), he quickly returns to the mini-biographies of potential heirs, so one cannot see the broad socio-political view in its entirety (or even, in fact, compare the status of all

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[4] PS has translated these documentary sources into Polish and supplied them with commentaries; see T. Fabiszak, P. Matela, P. Sawiński (transl., comm.), *Senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre. Uchwała senatu rzymskiego w sprawie Gnejusza Pizona Ojca*, Poznań 1998; T. Fabiszak, M. Idczak, P. Sawiński (transl., comm.), *Tabula Siarensis. Senatus consultum de honoribus meritis Germanici Caesaris. Uchwała senatu rzymskiego w sprawie uhonorowania zasług Germanika Cezara*, Poznań 2001; T. Fabiszak, P. Sawiński (transl.), P. Sawiński, J. Wiewiorowski (comm.), *Tabula Hebana. Tablica z Heby*, Poznań 2006.

[5] See e.g. A.J. Woodman, D. West (eds.), *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, Cambridge 1984.

the potential successors at any given time), which may have allowed one better to understand the decisions taken, or the lack thereof. Fortunately for the work as a whole, a large majority of the discussion concerns Augustus' times (with just the adoptions of 4 CE discussed on pp. 81–110), a period which seems to be particularly dear to the author, as PS is quite familiar with both the historiographical issues concerning the era and the sources dealing with it. Indeed, the greatest merit of the work in question is that all the reasoning follows from an analysis of the sources, thanks to which the author easily disproves and rules out successive theories, some of which have been repeated uncritically for years. He also easily confronts diverse media (literature, architecture, coins, art etc.) with one another, placing them in the context of current debates, a familiarity with which is demonstrated by the hefty bibliography.

PS's excellent familiarity with the works of ancient historians may also be seen by some as a weakness of the study under review, since nearly all the issues discussed are considered from a biographical perspective. Consequently, the author's reasoning focuses chiefly on details, some more important, some less so, and the psychological motives of the people involved, thus too rarely bringing up the objective conditions and causes of events resulting from a variety of factors. On the one hand, there are insightful analyses, such as that of the scope of Agrippa's power (pp. 38–40); yet, on the other, the author delves into discussions which might well make an interesting starting point for a completely different text (such as on p. 45, on the princeps being forbidden to make eye contact with corpses). While the sheer amount of source material used is often impressive, this sometimes makes it difficult for the author to articulate the distinction between actions resulting from the emperor's policies and local initiatives. Interaction between the two did of course exist; however, one does not learn PS's opinion in this regard and is left to guess how the fact that a town in Asia Minor minted coins with Agrippa's image on them after his death was relevant to the succession policy; one would rather expect a comment on Domitian's restitution coins, since those feature Agrippa among the Roman emperors[6]. It is also regrettable that PS does not analyse epigraphic material originating in the provinces[7], and in particular provincial oaths[8], which were not merely expressions of loyalty to the emperor, but reflected provincial views of the principles of dynastic succession. One such oath, coming from Conobaria in Spain and dated to 6/5 BCE, would have made a good starting point for a discussion of the position of Gaius and Lucius Caesar in relation to those of Agrippa Postumus and Tiberius[9].

PS emphasises his belief that Augustus intended to make a family member his successor. His daughter Julia, who in the course of her successive marriages gave birth to Gaius and Lucius, played a key role in his plans[10]. However, that strategy collapsed as the two brothers, both of whom Augustus had adopted, died, so the princeps had to decide to appoint Tiberius as his successor. Still, in the author's opinion the fact that Tiberius was simultaneously required to adopt Germanicus indicates that he wanted a blood relative of his to become princeps after Tiberius'

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[6] H. Komnick, *Die Restitutionsmünzen der frühen Kaiserzeit. Aspekte der Kaiserlegitimation*, Berlin–New York 2001, pp. 90–96.

[7] See e.g. F. Hurlet, *Les collègues du prince sous Auguste et Tibère: de la légalité républicaine à la légitimité dynastique*, Rome 1997, pp. 573–600.

[8] P. Hermann, *Der römische Kaisereid. Untersuchungen zu seiner Herkunft und Entwicklung*, Göttingen 1968.

[9] J. González, *The First Oath pro salute Augusti Found in Baetica*, ZPE LXXII 1988, pp. 113–127.

[10] PS agrees here with an author he otherwise criticises, Beth Severy (*Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire*, New York–London 2003, pp. 62–78), in whose opinion, "A search for political successor to Augustus in this period [*scil*. 25–17 BCE], however, proves unfruitful and anachronistic, since many of these actions were motivated by a desire to consolidate Augustus' hold on power, rather than transmit it to an heir" (p. 62).

death. The main points of Augustus' succession policy were promoting the potential successors in public through accelerated *cursus honorum*, high-prestige military commands[11], and placing their images on coins. Initially, similar steps were taken by Tiberius; however, after 23 CE, that emperor took no further measures to appoint a successor, and Caligula remained similarly passive in the matter. It was only Claudius who returned to the first emperor's policies, foregoing them as he married Agrippina the Younger and adopted Lucius Domitius (Nero). The latter had no interest in any kind of succession policy after his accession.

In Part Two ("The Princeps is Dead, Long Live the Princeps: The New Emperors Taking Over"), PS discusses the way Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero succeeded their predecessors, confirming a pattern for the new ruler's investiture and indicating the actors involved in its implementation, that is, the Praetorian Guard, the Senate, and the *plebs urbana*. The first stage (for all save Tiberius), was a praetorian acclamation accompanied by an oath of loyalty sworn to the new ruler's name. That choice was then approved (by means of a *senatus consultum*) by the Senate, which granted the new princeps a package of specific powers (from Caligula's time on, probably as a seed of the later *leges de imperio*). The third and final stage of the investiture consisted in the people adopting a *lex* sanctioning the decree of the Senate. Even though the author's reasoning is based on only four cases, his argument is punctuated with interesting observations and analyses concerning the significance of the emperors' last wills, titulatures and *recusationes imperii*, as well as the assassination of potential rival candidates. PS also brings up the issues of the legitimation of imperial power in Part Two, although it is more of a side project. He does not, however, expound on them in depth; in particular, he does not clarify how they relate to succession policy. At any rate, in discussing Claudius' position, he omits his *consecratio* of Livia, which could certainly have helped the reader understand the subject.

In the "Conclusions", drawing on Tacitus' *Histories* I 15–16 (Galba's speech delivered during his adoption of Lucius Calpurnius Piso), PS stresses how diametrically different the situation was after the last ruler from the Julio-Claudian dynasty died, and that the dynastic principle Augustus supposedly followed (when choosing successors exclusively from among members of his own *domus*) went against the practice of picking the best candidate through adoption, where it was personal merit that mattered most, rather than birth[12]. Still, one cannot help noting that the principle in question held, in general terms, until the end of the 1st century CE, as the first emperor to be adopted from outside his predecessor's family was Trajan. Moreover, a son's succession by birth had hardly become less attractive by that point in time, as indicated by the words addressed by Pliny the Younger in the name of the senators to none other than Trajan – "men will more readily forgive a ruler for a son who proves unworthy than for a successor who was a bad choice"[13] – or by a passage from Suetonius which has Vespasian say that either his sons will succeed him or he will have no successor[14]. But to return to the Julio-Claudian dynasty – it should also be observed that over the course of nearly a hundred years, a successor was officially appointed only twice: successfully in Tiberius' case and fruitlessly in 22 CE (in the case of Nero Claudius Drusus), which may make one wonder whether "succession policy" is actually a helpful term when analysing the Roman Empire.

While PS looks for the institutional foundations of political power and the universal principles of transmitting it under the Julio-Claudian dynasty, interpreting all sources in the light of the

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[11] PS wrote on the subject before, in his study *Specjalni wysłannicy cesarscy w okresie od Augusta do Tyberiusza. Studium nad początkami pryncypatu* ["The Special Imperial Envoys in the Times of Augustus and Tiberius. The Study on the Beginnings of the Principate"], Poznań 2005.

[12] Tac. *Hist.* 1.15–16; see Y. Klaassen, *Contested Successions. The Transmission of Imperial Power in Tacitus' Histories and Annales*, PhD diss., University of Nijmegen 2014.

[13] Plin. *Pan*. 7, 7.

[14] Suet. *Vesp*. 25.

emperors' self-presentation, OH, in his book dealing with emperors' ancestry, sees the Empire (and the Roman emperor) in a way that is certainly much more nuanced. He approaches it as a dynamic ideological construct, forever redefined by re-interpretations of Roman tradition and by the diverse expectations of many actors, expressed in a variety of media[15]. Even so, he is not interested in all categories of sources (with literary sources, for instance, merely serving as reference points for some of the problems discussed); rather, he only pays attention to specific types of sources – imperial coinage, inscriptions, state monuments and portraits. Particular emphasis is placed on the differences between topics imposed by Rome (that is, by the emperor) and expectations expressed by local communities. In other words, OH is interested in how dynastic succession was portrayed, and how that portrayal changed under the influence of Rome's interaction with the provinces.

OH's study comprises two principal parts preceded by an introduction and followed by a conclusion, complemented by chronological tables, family trees and a bibliography. The work is splendidly illustrated: over a hundred black-and-white photographs let the reader peruse many of the sources on which the author's reasoning is based. The first chapter ("Introduction to Dynastic Rule") outlines the methodological scope of the study: it brings closer the problems of the principle of dynastic rule in the context of succession under the principate, analyses the meaning of kinship in Roman political life and explores how those issues were presented to the public; these problems are discussed in this book over a period from the reign of Augustus to the death of Constantine (31 BCE–337 CE)[16].

Part One ("Family Ties") opens with Chapter Two ("Running in the Family"), which describes the role and importance of ancestors, especially fathers (biological and adoptive) to the men who acceded to the throne and to the legitimation of their power. None of the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty inherited his power from his natural father, so they publicly pointed to both their adoptive fathers (thus Tiberius and Nero) and their fathers by birth (thus Caligula and Claudius). After Nero's death, the *domus augusta* became *domus deserta*, with the model emperor Augustus as a reference point; then under the Flavii, biological kinship was particularly stressed, especially by Titus, the first emperor to take over from his biological father; meanwhile, Trajan showcased both his adoptive and his biological father. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries, Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus were important as fathers, but the institutionalisation of the Empire weakened the significance of the emperors' links to their predecessors.

In Chapter Three ("Your Mother's Son"), the author analyses the role of female ancestors. Like Chapter Two, this one discusses coinage, comparing its accounts with those of other media. OH stresses the role of Augustus, who created the imperial family, in making the images of women public at the time of "adoptive" emperors. Both Plotina and the two Faustinas held an important place in the visual communication of successive emperors. However, the depiction of women became vitally important under the Severi, as exemplified by Julia Domna, Julia Soaemias and Julia Avita Mammaea. As OH aptly notes, "Ultimately, imperial sons commemorated their fathers much less than fathers proclaimed their sons. This was a reversal from Republican practice. Imperial mothers, on the other hand, seem to have gained more importance over time within the construction of emperorship" (p. 109).

In the chapter which follows ("We Go Way Back"), the author analyses epigraphic sources, confronting them with selected literary ones and focusing on the first two "founding fathers": Augustus and Nerva. However, if the importance of the former (and occasionally, of Julius Caesar) to many emperors in the 1st century seems obvious, Nerva's role as that of an imperial ancestor, which he played for nearly one hundred and twenty years, is worth highlighting. From Augustus'

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[15] For the precursor of this approach, see P. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, London 1992.

[16] OH makes extensive use of L. Claes, *Kinship and Coins: Ancestors and Family on Roman Imperial Coinage under the Principate*, PhD diss., University of Nijmegen 2013, a dissertation he supervised.

day on, the imperial family (the *domus augusta* or *domus divina*) was central; from Nerva's, it was chiefly the living members of that family.

Part Two of the book ("Claiming Kinship") deals with genealogies of a particular kind, with Chapter Five ("Some Have Ancestors Thrust Upon Them") concerned with fictitious imperial genealogies from the 3rd and 4th centuries CE. In 195 CE, Septimius Severus was the first to present himself as a son of Marcus Aurelius, and thus a brother of Commodus. Although Elagabalus and Severus Alexander painted themselves as sons of Caracalla, and Decius as a descendant of Trajan, over time emperors simply began to draw on the "good" emperors. Constantine and his successors consistently used biological, adoptive and fictional ancestors alike. So did many senatorial families.

Family trees included not just fictional kin, but also gods and heroes (Chapter Six, "Sons of Gods and Heroes"). Under the Julio-Claudian dynasty, Venus Genetrix and Aeneas featured in various media, but their presence never equalled that of Augustus. With Nero's death, divine progenitors became less significant. Even though Minerva took the place of Venus for a while under Domitian, eventually gods came to be depicted simply as the emperors' companions (*comites*). For Commodus, that role was fulfilled by Hercules, but Sol, Neptune, Apollo, and Mars appeared with a similar function, even though Jupiter never did. From the 1st century CE onwards, the most important form of legitimation was membership of the *domus divina*, as well as being a *princeps a diis electus*. In OH's opinion, references to gods were merely a way to "introduce the princeps into the local religious imagery" (p. 267), as demonstrated for example by the emperors' status in Egypt.

The final chapter ("The Tetrarchs: Divine Brothers and Fictive Fathers") concentrates on the relationships within the college of Augusti and Caesares (the Tetrarchy), whose members were not connected by any blood ties. The reign of four men deviated from the three hundred years of tradition which drew on kinship and belonging to the *domus augusta* as well as on women's support. Under the new system, those were replaced by references to gods (Jupiter and Hercules), but this setup did not last, as members of the dynasty descended from Constantine invoked kinship, real and imaginary, again.

OH's study is filled with surprising interpretations, important remarks, and inspiring conclusions, but its greatest merit, particularly when compared to PS's book, lies in looking at the image of emperors and their predecessors with the long-term perspective in mind. This lets one see the differences between the messages formulated by successive rulers and the provinces and notice the development or disappearance of certain attitudes, but also shows that while Augustus and Tiberius both stressed their ancestry (the one as *divi filius*, the other as *divi Augusti filius*), relationships of that kind gradually receded into the background, at least in coin emissions. Only Titus, Commodus and Caracalla, who were biological sons of their predecessors, made their fathers a leitmotif of their coinage (pp. 55 f., 62–64). For the others, usually adopted sons, their relationship with their fathers (at least as expressed in numismatic sources) was not crucial to their public image; additionally, such ties were stressed in the East much more often than in the western part of the Roman Empire. OH may be right to see the reasons for this in the tendency to draw on the traditions of the monarchies of the Hellenistic period, but it could simply mean adjusting the message to the expectations of the audience, because "the emperor was, to a large extent, what people expected their emperor to be" (p. 223).

OH's analyses also make it possible to draw more general conclusions regarding both the forms taken by succession policy and the legitimation of political power. Meandering as it did between autocracy and institutionalism, the Roman monarchy rarely based its image on emphasising dynastic continuity; neither did it particularly showcase potential successors. In spite of PS's arguments, it remains an open question whether, even in the case of Augustus' reign, we should speak not of the succession of a specific candidate, but rather of the building of a strong familial support structure ensuring the smooth transmission of power[17]. There are good reasons why coins where the reverse shows the incumbent emperor together with a son appear only under the

[17] Severy, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 62–78.

Antonines (p. 86)[18], and why their fathers' images were not the most important part of emperors' self-presentation or an explanation for their accession. Thus in the Roman Empire we have a situation not encountered in other monarchic states. In almost all monarchies, descent is the main factor guaranteeing the legitimacy of power. Why, then, did emperors so rarely invoke family ties to justify their position? Or did an emperor's power need no legitimation, as Mommsen once claimed[19]?

PS's work would seem to deny the above. In his view, an emperor's power rested on three institutional supports: *tribunicia potestas*, *imperium proconsulare maius* (both of which were to be granted successors in advance), and *auctoritas* (which he does not define). This way of conceptualising an emperor's position is widely accepted[20] and seems to be a compromise, in that it tries to take into account both the formal and the informal aspects of political power. An influential interpretation of the principate as a system based on *auctoritas* was put forward by Karl Galinsky[21], but most likely it was not "a principal concept" of the Empire, as is indicated by its absence from the public messages created by successive emperors, but also particularly by a new interpretation of a passage from Augustus' autobiography (*RGDA* 34, 4), which serves as a starting point for that elaborate theory. As Gregory Rowe argued, it had been misunderstood before and the expression "a]uctoritate [omnibus praestiti" referred not to any poorly defined concept or term (Mommsen), but rather to a specific event: Augustus attaining the position of *princeps senatus* in 28 BCE[22]. Furthermore, looking at the matter from the constitutionalist point of view, one should stress that if on 16 March 37 CE, as Suetonius would have it, Caligula was accorded *ius arbitriumque omnium rerum*[23], and from that point on at least, emperors were *de iure* above the law, they needed to hold no offices, let alone draw on unclear terms[24].

Based on these and other premises, the first coherent theory of the Roman monarchy since Mommsen and Anton von Premerstein[25] was proposed some decades ago by Egon Flaig[26], who has consistently maintained it to this day[27]. In the opinion of Flaig, and of Paul

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[18] Still, during the Early Empire only Maxentius, the son of the tetrarch Maximian, was omitted in imperial succession, while Helvius Pertinax, who reigned for three months in 193 CE, refrained from appointing his son (also Pertinax) as his successor and from promoting him on coins.

[19] T. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, vol. II, Leipzig ^{3}1887–1888, p. 884.

[20] J. François, J. Scheid (eds.), *Les structures de l'Empire Romain, Rome et l'intégration de l'Empire (44 av. J.-C.–260 ap. J.-C)*, vol. I, Paris 2010.

[21] K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction*, Princeton 1996, pp. 10–41.

[22] G. Rowe, *Reconsidering the Auctoritas of Augustus*, JRS CIII 2013, pp. 1–15.

[23] Suet. *Calig.* 14, 1. One should probably see in that act a prototype for the later collected *leges de imperio*: Tac. *Hist*. IV 3, 2; *CIL* VI 930; see P.A. Brunt, *Lex de imperio Vespasiani*, JRS LXVII 1977, pp. 95–116.

[24] See *Inst*. II 17. 8: "princeps legibus solutus est"; *Dig*. I 4, 1: "quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem"; see J. Béranger, *Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du principat*, Bâle 1953, pp. 55 f., and 68 f.

[25] A. von Premerstein, *Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats*, München 1937.

[26] E. Flaig, *Den Kaiser herausfordern. Die Usurpation im Römischen Reich*, Frankfurt–New York 1992. OH presents his views on pp. 11 f., concluding: "It may not have been a dynastic principle, but it still meant that Roman imperial succession was a dynastic matter". PS fails to notice Flaig's position altogether.

[27] E. Flaig, *A Coerent Model to Understand the Roman Principate: 'Acceptance' instead of 'Legitimacy' and the Problem of Usurpation*, in: J.-L. Ferrary, J. Scheid (eds.), *Il princeps romano, autocrate o magistrate? Fattori giuridici e fattori sociali del potere imperiale da Augusto a Commodo*, Pavia 2015, pp. 81–100; idem, *How the Emperor Nero Lost Acceptance in Rome*, in:

Veyne[28], whose position Flaig develops, the Roman Empire was a military dictatorship devoid of classical legitimacy and characterised by an *Akzeptanzsystem*. Political power in the Empire rested on "acceptance" and on a dynamic relationship between the emperor, the Senate, the army and the *plebs urbana*. Flaig built his theory by distinguishing between "the legitimation of a system of government" and "the legitimacy of a ruler". He believes the monarchic system in Rome was fully legitimated socially, but the emperor was not, as there was no procedure that would have legitimated his power. No action taken by the Senate, the people or the army – neither a *senatus consultum*, nor a *lex de imperio*, nor even an imperatorial acclamation – granted the right to rule. As soon as a rival candidate appeared, it was ultimately the confrontation between the armies backing them that decided who would be the emperor. After an emperor's death, there was a "considerable chance" a son of his would succeed him, but it does not follow that a "dynastic principle" existed. When emperors fell, their sons died too, which never happened in other monarchies of that type (such as the Danish, French or Ottoman monarchy). Nor was an emperor ever removed as a result of an institutional procedure; they were violently replaced instead (through usurpation). Two in three Augusti and Caesares were assassinated, and it took until Theodosius II for an emperor's power to be transmitted to the third generation.

None of the approaches to the principate outlined above (be it Mommsen's, Syme's or Flaig's) fully defines the emperor's standing. The picture painted by the constitutionalists ignores the fact that a new emperor was an *imperator* hailed by the army[29], whose choice would then only be sanctioned, first by the Senate, and secondly by the people. Had the emperor been, as Mommsen saw it, a "magistrate", there would have had to be formal criteria to become one, as in the case of other magistracies. Why were there no clear principles to follow when appointing a new emperor? The pragmatic approach inherited from *The Roman Revolution*, on the other hand, fails to explain why Augustus and his successors went to so much trouble to frame their reigns as part of the institutional tradition of the Republic. The legal foundations of their power must have meant much more than a mere camouflage for autocracy. There was a reason why emperors who ignored those rules, such as Caligula or Caracalla, lost their lives quickly. The Restitution of the Republic was more than a catchword. Then there is Flaig's approach, which definitely overestimates the emperors' communication. The failures of Nero, Commodus and the "military emperors" of the 3rd century that he chose as material for his analysis can hardly be explained solely by the loss of connection to one of the major social groups. Self-presentation never outweighed the realities of everyday life. After all, why was everybody able to submit to Diocletian after years of chaos?

In investigating the issues associated with an emperor's power, such as its legitimation and transmission, one must take into account a great many aspects. The legitimation of power is a complex term, even in David Beetham's classic framework. Most importantly, it is not limited just to the actions of those in power[30], as desired by Mommsen, Syme, and above all Flaig. Their error is repeated by all those interpreters of the principate who try to describe the Roman political system either by relegating it to a single dimension, setting the Roman reality in the heavy interpretative

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B.C. Ewald, C.F. Noreña (eds.), *The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual*, Cambridge 2011 [= YClSt XXXV], pp. 277–288.

[28] P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique*, Paris 1976, pp. 589–729.

[29] See A. Pabst, *Comitia Imperii. Ideelle Grundlagen des römischen Kaisertums*, Darmstadt 1997, pp. 155 f.

[30] D. Beetham, *The Legitimation of Power*, London 1991. Seen from that perspective, the rant of J.E. Lendon (*The Legitimacy of the Roman Emperor: Against Weberian Legitimacy and Imperial "Strategies of Legitimation"*, in: A. Kolb (ed.), *Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrrschaftspraxis. Konzepte, Prinzipien und Strategien der Administration im römischen Kaiserreich*, Berlin 2006, pp. 53–63), misses the point entirely.

framework of well-known and better-defined political systems, or by calling upon sociological theories, which shift the discussion into completely new territory. In order to efficiently grasp the multi-dimensional nature of the principate, legitimation and succession, one must reconcile oneself to its specific complexity[31] as well as having at one's disposal tools capable of analysing that complexity, as power can be legitimated on a variety of levels: those of rules, convictions and behaviour. The government has legitimacy if it follows certain rules; those rules are justified by the convictions of both those in power and those being ruled, and manifest signs exist of those being ruled accepting the specific set-up of power.

One cannot help observing that the interpretation of ruling (*Herrschaft*) put forward once by Max Weber essentially pointed in the same direction. This is not the place to discuss the intricacies of his theory, but the reader would be advised to bear in mind that Weber was fully aware that, on the one hand, no system of rule could be described one-dimensionally, and that, on the other, the "pure types" (*reine Typen*) he distinguished were meant not to define reality, but to help analyse it[32]; to explain rather than describe it. Let us try, following Michael Sommer, cited above[33], to see if Weber's categories, by now almost a hundred years old, might not still hold more interpretative power than the ever more numerous studies which in their attempts to understand the principate focus on a single aspect of it (such as "propaganda", "self-presentation" or "communication"), ignoring the multidimensionality of Roman reality.

Weber distinguished between three types of legitimate rule: rational, traditional and charismatic. In the case of the first type, those being governed obey a legally established, impersonal order and its representatives. The purest example of this type is a bureaucracy; however, the Roman Empire was not such an order, at least not in the modern sense of the word. The Empire was governed by a few hundred officials assisted by minor officers and private individuals who shouldered some tasks of the state. The professionalisation of government was accompanied by its legalisation, one of whose important traces is the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*; that in turn reinforced the institutionalisation of the principate[34]. Strong personal ties between the emperor and magistrates, and between magistrates, their colleagues and assistants, as well as between the emperor and his subjects, all depicted so vividly by Fergus Millar[35], were gradually replaced with legal regulation and procedure (*Vergesellschaftung*).

With traditional rule, obedience is shown through reverence and, within customary limits, to a ruler indicated by tradition. In Rome, those limits were defined by the *mos maiorum* – the codified and tradition-hardened principles of institutions, codes of conduct, hierarchies, and human relationships[36]. Socially, those complemented religion (*religio*); ideologically, they connected the polity of citizens to the gods. They sanctioned the unrestricted power that the *pater familias* had over his family members, the relationships between friends (*amici*), the interaction between the patron (*patronus*) and client (*cliens*), as well as the rules of political competition. Even as the institutionalisation of the Empire went ahead, law never fully replaced tradition. There were reasons why great Romans

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[31] L. Olszewski, *Władza, religia i charyzma w świecie rzymskim* (an unpublished paper in the materials of a symposium in honour of Professor Lesław Morawiecki).

[32] M. Weber, *Die drei reinen Typen der Legitimen Herrschaft*, in: idem, *Soziologie, weltgeschichtliche Analysen, Politik*, ed. by J. Winckelmann (ed.), Stuttgart 1956, pp. 151–166.

[33] Sommer, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 162–180.

[34] P. Eich, *Zur Metamorphose des politischen Systems in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Die Enstehung einer "personalen Bürokratie" im langen dritten Jahrhundert*, Berlin 2005.

[35] F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World, 31 BC–AD 337*, London 1977.

[36] B. Linke, M. Stemmler (eds.), *Mos maiorum. Untersuchungen zu den Formen der Identitätsstiftung und Stabilisierung in der römischen Republik*, Stuttgart 2000.

worthy of imitation carried on being present in the public discourse as *exempla*, enabling the continued renewal of the idealised past[37].

With the third type of rule, obedience is given to a charismatic leader through the personal belief that the leader is a hero or model. In the setting of the Republic, charisma probably corresponded to *felicitas*, an essential attribute, not just of all commanders, but also of emperors. A "good" princeps had *virtus*, most often linked to victories and military success, while *providentia* and *pietas* expressed an important religious aspect of his power, with *aequitas* and *liberalitas* referring to guaranteeing the quality of the coin minted by him and to his generosity. Imperial benefits were also of importance; those were *pax*, *concordia*, *fortuna*, and *salus*. *Felicitas* captured the relationship between luck and material wealth, but the most important among them was *victoria*, quickly transformed from an attribute of the emperor into an imperial benefit[38].

To the legions, Augustus and the successive emperors were *imperatores*, supreme military commanders who, regardless of their personal aptitude, guaranteed victory, riches and prosperity. No wonder the triumph was restricted to the family of the princeps, becoming an obligatory part of each emperor's biography. They each had charisma, not just in the eyes of the legions, but also in the eyes of millions of inhabitants of the Empire, Italy and Rome. The military facet of "charisma" on which Augustus founded the principate proved nearly fatal to the Empire. In the 3rd century, a landslide of usurpers plunged the Empire into chaos, from which it only extricated itself when emperors began to identify themselves with powerful deities. Emperors discovering "divine laws" brought about an alliance between the Empire and Christianity, opening a brand new chapter in the history of legitimation, one which would require an entire book to do it justice.

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[37] M.B. Roller, *Models from the Past in Roman Culture: A World of Exempla*, Cambridge 2018.

[38] C. Noreña, *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West: Representation, Circulation, Power*, Cambridge 2011.

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WILL RESEARCH INTO THE HISTORY OF CITIES CHANGE OUR HYPOTHESES CONCERNING LATE ANTIQUITY? (A REVIEW ARTICLE)

Mark Humphries, *Cities and the Meanings of Late Antiquity*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2019 (Brill Research Perspectives), 112 pp., ISBN 978-90-04-42260-5 (e-book ISBN 978-90-04-42261-2), €70,00.

In the still topical and lively discourse on understanding particular phenomena connected with Late Antiquity, we have taken note of a very interesting and relevant publication. Its author, Mark Humphries (= H.), is a well-known scholar in the fields of Antiquity and Late Antiquity, and is currently the head of the Department of Classics, Ancient History and Egyptology at the University of Swansea. His research is focused on such subjects as the growth of Christianity in the Late Antiquity Mediterranean, relations between Imperial and local authorities in the 3rd–6th centuries, or the transformation and transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. The most significant areas of interest in those publications by H. which I have referred to or discussed in my own research are Late Antique sources[1], the history of Christianity[2], cities[3] and elites[4], as well as his methodological and historiographical propositions relating to defining and understanding the phenomena that accompanied the transformations in the broadly conceived Roman world in the period spanning from the late 3rd century up to the turn of the 7th century[5].

The current study, *Cities and the Meaning of Late Antiquity*, is undoubtedly an important contribution to the discourse on the significance and understanding of Late Antiquity. At the same time, it is a noteworthy voice in the scholarly dispute that has been going on since the late decades of the 18th century, namely how to interpret the process which Edward Gibbon referred to as "the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire". In the last half-century, this dispute has seen several significant

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[1] M. Humphries, *Chronicle and Chronology: Prosper of Aquitaine, his Methods and the Development of Early Medieval Chronography*, Early Medieval Europe V 1996, pp. 155–175; idem, *Rufinus's Eusebius: Translation, Continuation, and Edition in the Latin Ecclesiastical History*, Journal of Early Christian Studies XVI 2008, pp. 143–164; idem, *Narrative and Space in Christian Chronography: John of Biclaro on East, West, and Orthodoxy*, in: P. Van Nuffelen (ed.), *Historiography and Space in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2019, pp. 86–112.

[2] M. Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed*, Oxford 1999; idem, *Early Christianity*, London–New York 2006; idem, *Liturgy and Laity in Late-Antique Rome: Problems, Sources, and Social Dynamics*, Studia Patristica LXX 2014, pp. 171–186.

[3] M. Humphries, *Valentinian III and the City of Rome (425–55): Patronage, Politics, Power*, in: L. Grig, G. Kelly (eds.), *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 2012, p. 161–182.

[4] M. Humphries, *Family, Dynasty, and the Construction of Legitimacy from Augustus to the Theodosians*, in: Sh. Tougher (ed.), *The Emperor in the Byzantine World. Proceedings of the 47th Byzantine Spring Symposium, Cardiff 2014*, New York–Abingdon 2019, pp. 13–27; idem, *Roman Senators and Absent Emperors in Late Antiquity,* Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia XVII 2003, pp. 27–46.

[5] M. Humphries, *Late Antiquity and World History: Challenging Conventional Narratives and Analyses*, Studies in Late Antiquity I 2017, pp. 8–37.

developments. As there is no space here for any more detailed presentation, I shall only refer to a couple of "milestones" in the discourse thus far. The theory of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire and the ancient classical civilisation was also predominant in the second half of the 20th century (although already in the 1920s Henri Pirene referred to the period of the transformation and the definitive end of Antiquity only during the Arab Conquest[6]). Alexander Demandt presents an overview of the whole history of interpretations and evaluations of the fall of Rome as seen in later periods, making reference to the fall and the decomposition of the Roman Empire even in the title of one of his works[7]. On the other hand, the path initially set out by Pirene was later pursued by Peter Brown, who perceives Late Antiquity as a period of transformation rather than the decline of the Roman world. He does not accept remaining in a kind of a stalemate situation between the deplored ruins of Antiquity and the nascent new reality, preferring instead to connect those opposite points by means of a bridge of diversified transformation[8]. Brown's standpoint has been accepted by some scholars. In a rather radical view of this subject, Glen Bowersock[9] questions the significance of the fall of Rome and claims that the exaggerated view of this process is only a projection of the fears prevailing among scholars of the past centuries in reaction to the changes taking place in the world. Incursions of foreign religions and cultures, which Gibbon would consider as criteria instrumental to the fall, have become a part of the 20th century reality accepted by Bowersock's contemporaries, hence "the fall of Rome is no longer needed"[10]. Regardless of the correctness of such hypotheses, Bowersock points to something important here: our appraisal of history depends on our perception of the present times and goes through the process of dynamic changes. The first decade of the 21st century has brought a departure from Brown's theory. Wolf Liebeschuetz has depicted the decline and fall of the Roman city very clearly and although he discerns some elements of transformation in the *civitates* of Gaul and the cities of Spain in his later collection of articles on the East and the West in Late Antiquity, he still upholds his view of religious and ethnic conflicts having an overwhelmingly negative impact on the course of events[11]. Definitely more in support of the theory of the fall of Rome and the Roman civilisation, Bryan Ward-Perkins has stressed the traumatic experience of the Barbarian invasions and their long-term effects as well as the destruction of the economic system established in Antiquity[12]. As regards the eventual fate of the cities, a similar view has been proposed by Rene Pfeilschifter[13]. In recent years, we have once again noticed a revival of thinking in terms of a transformation, especially among those scholars who are involved in research on the invasions and the subsequent settlement

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[6] H. Pirene H., *Les villes du moyen âge. Essai d'histoire économique et sociale*, Bruxelles 1927.

[7] A. Demandt, *Der Fall Roms: Die Auflösung des Römischen Reiches im Urteil der Nachwelt*, München 1984.

[8] P. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity: From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad,* London 1971, p. 7.

[9] G.W. Bowersock, *The Vanishing Paradigm of the Fall of Rome*, Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences XLIX 1996, No. 8, pp. 29–43.

[10] *Ibidem*, p. 43: "It is a world that finds hope and inspiration in the religious intensity and mixed cultures of late antiquity. The fall of Rome is no longer needed, and like the writing on a faded papyrus, it no longer speaks to us".

[11] W. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, Oxford 2001; idem, *East and West in Late Antiquity. Invasion, Settlement, Ethnogenesis and Conflicts of Religion*, Leiden–Boston 2015 (esp. the chapter "Transformation and Decline: Are the Two Really Incompatible?", pp. 29–54).

[12] B. Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*, Oxford 2005, esp. pp. 117–122, 128–137.

[13] R. Pfeilschifter, *Die Spätantike. Der eine Gott und die vielen Herrscher*, München 2014, p. 154.

activity of the Germanic tribes within the territories of the Roman Empire. 28 years after the publication of a study on the Roman Empire and the Germanic peoples, Herwig Wolfram has undertaken a narrative along the lines of the Roman Empire and *its* Germanic peoples, which is a reflection of his inclination towards the theory of transformation[14]. Likewise, in his recent monograph on Theodoric the Great, Hans-Ulrich Wiemer paints a picture of the still existent world of Roman Italy surviving in co-existence with the realm of Ostrogoth Italy[15].

What kind of position does H.'s latest study occupy among all these various views and hypotheses? In a well-ordered manner, the author conducts his narrative through a range of various aspects of the existence of Late Antique cities. Following the first two brief chapters with an introduction to the subject matter and a presentation of sources as well as the current state of the academic debate on the history of the Late Antique cities, the subsequent six chapters deal with the following topics: what a city in Late Antiquity really was; the cities and the Roman state in Late Antiquity; cities and economic transformation in (Late) Antiquity; religion and the city; the remnants of the material substance of the cities and their societies; and, finally, a recapitulation with a reference to the title of this study, *Cities and the Meanings of Late Antiquity*. This final part brings a fundamental question concerning the cities of Late Antiquity, namely if what we can see is the decline, fall, transformation or rise. The author uses the method of illustrating specific issues with examples of the processes taking place in selected cities and he looks for differences and similarities among those processes, in an attempt to find some universal patterns. This particular method could be considered effective, but only with the reservation that sometimes incomparable circumstances (not so much phenomena in general) are subjected to comparison. If a comparative juxtaposition of Constantinople, Thessalonica, Rome, Arles, Mérida, and Carthage in the 4th century should not lead us to evaluating processes taking place in some radically different circumstances, we would definitely embark on comparing fairly diverse phenomena happening in the vastly different circumstances over the course of the 5th century or, even more so, in the 6th– 7th centuries. Is this something for which the author should be criticised? I do not think so, because as he has been able to demonstrate that certain processes take place in similar ways, he also proceeds to show that some phenomena which are considered typical of the period can be found in the cities of Late Antiquity (in various forms and levels of intensity) in spite of the very diverse political circumstances and forms of superior authority. The source base used by the author comprises written sources, both historiographical and literary (including Christian literature), works on rhetoric, epistolography, but also epigraphy, codices of laws (both Roman and "Barbarian"), and the very thoroughly employed results of the latest archaeological research. The bibliography comprising no less than 403 items used for the purpose of this study gives us some idea of the author's vast scope of literary and academic competence, attesting to his presence in the mainstream of the discourse on Late Antique history and civilisation.

In his introduction, H. begins with a reference to Peter Brown's lecture given at Harvard University in 1976, quoting the sentence "I wish I had been one of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus" (p. 2). As we know, those seven fervent Christians of Ephesus escaped the persecutions during the emperor Decius' reign by taking shelter in a hillside cave near the city. Completely unaware, they fell asleep and woke up almost two centuries later, in the emperor Theodosius II's reign. They sent one of their number, named Malchus, back to Ephesus and he was quite astonished to see the sign of the cross above the city gate, churches in the city, and Christian priests moving freely in the streets. However, the city did not seem to have changed in any other aspect and he thought that he was still in Decius' time and that by some miracle the former persecutor's heart had been changed.

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[14] H. Wolfram, *Das Reich und die Germanen. Zwischen Antike und Mittelalter*, Berlin 1990; idem, *Das Römerreich und seine Germanen. Eine Erzählung von Herkunft und Ankunft*, Köln 2018.

[15] H.U. Wiemer, *Theoderich der Grosse. König der Goten – Herrscher der Römer*, München 2018.

It was only his naive question about Decius and an encounter with a local bishop that allowed him to discover the truth about his two-century long sleep and his return to the same, yet already very different, city. H. makes this story a symbolic *leitmotiv* of his study, with Malchus walking through the streets of Late Antique cities, also wandering around beyond the city walls, looking into church interiors, walking around the sites such as the urban fora and various amphitheatres, taking notice of what had remained and what had changed.

In his discussion of the Late Antique city, the author shows how the *decorum* of the city was represented in the rhetoric of Late Antiquity. Menander Rhetor (3rd century CE) established a certain model of how to praise a city with reference to its location, climate, the origins of its founders and the most significant events in its history. In his comparison of the description of Antioch as found in a speech by Libanios (pp. 21–23) and the one included in John Malalas' chronicle (pp. 23–25), H. points to a new view of the glorification of cities in the Christian milieu of Late Antiquity. Libanios, a continuator of Classical (pagan) Antiquity, and John Malalas, a representative of the values of the Christian era, are not very different in their laudations of the climate and infrastructure of the city, but in their respective evaluations of its historical events and developments their paths diverge completely. To Libanios, the essential facts are connected with the city's origins related to Alexander the Great and the Seleucid Empire as well as the incorporation of Antioch into the broader structure of Roman power, while John Malalas' interest in the grand history of Antioch is focused on references to the Seleucid ruler Antioch IV Epiphanes and the Maccabean Revolt, the Apostle Peter's and Paul's visit to the city, and the persecution of local Christians. And once again, the author points out that the descriptions of the city as found in Libanios and John Malalas are reminiscent of how Malchus would have viewed Ephesus before his sleep and after his awakening. Christianity, the Church, and all the ecclesiastical institutions became significant elements that distinguished the city in Late Antiquity. They were situated in prominent places in many ancient cities or somewhere very close by. With the advent and growth of new urban development, they would become central points of the municipal public space, as the author points out in his account of the description of Iustiniana Prima by Procopius of Caesarea (pp. 29 f.)[16]. Along with the aqueduct, porticoes, squares and the grand secular buildings, it is the splendour of the churches that creates the glory of the city erected in the emperor Justinian's native region, foreshadowing its future metropolitan status.

In his discussion of the roles of the state and state politics in the cities of Late Antiquity, the author indicates several characteristic features. The first one concerns a transformation in the general appearance of cities brought about by the rising threat of Barbarian raids. Cities such as Athens in the 3rd century or Aquileia in the 5th century would erect new defences and fortifications at the expense of allowing the demolition and reuse of building material from ancient structures or reducing the spatial area of the city. Walls designed to contain the urban settlement area, not just the core of the city, became an essential element of the urban landscape (p. 32). As an important characteristic of Late Antiquity, H. considers an increase in the number of the Imperial residential cities, of course to the advantage of the specific cities (pp. 33–35). The prerequisites for the existence of the Tetrarchy had made it necessary to establish more than one Imperial residence at locations closer to the boundaries of the Roman Empire. Trier, Milan, Thessalonica and Nicomedia gained in prominence as a result of the rebuilding and development of the representative urban space, hippodromes, mausoleums and public monuments attesting to the emperors' power (the author cites the example of the Arch of Galerius at Thessalonica; cf. p. 33). In this particular context then, it is easier to speak of growth rather than decline or fall. H.'s account of the development of city topography as designed to serve the purposes of public ceremonies and etiquettes connected with the court and the emperor (where the author draws on the example of Constantinople) is both meaningful and convincing (pp. 35–37). The cities' relations with the central authority are emphasised on

[16] Procop. *Aed*. IV 1, 19–25.

the occasion of the emperor's ceremonial arrival (*adventus*) in those cities where he held no official residence. H. recalls the spectacular *adventus* of Constantius II in Rome in 357, the tragic results of the efforts undertaken by the local authorities of Dadastana during their reception of the emperor Jovian in the year 364 (pp. 38 f.), and the exultant public welcome ceremonials in Rome held for the images arriving in substitution of the rulers themselves (Anastasius I and Phocas, p. 39). The author demonstrates that the emphasis on the association between the ruler and the city and the reassertion of his presence there (even during his absence) was an element of the manifestation of a certain continuity of ancient forms and customs. He also points out that this tradition did not disappear under Barbarian rule: let us mention such events as the *adventus* of Theodoric the Great in Rome in the year 500 (with the preservation of all the crucial elements from the Imperial period as well as the ceremonial greetings by the clergy, the Senate and the people) and Clovis' solemn arrival at Tours (p. 43). A completely new element, unknown in Classical Antiquity, is the *adventus* of the holy relics as exemplified by the official reception of Saint Stephen's relics by Theodosius II and Pulcheria in Constantinople in the year 420/421 (p. 40). It is a pity that H. does not take the phenomenon of "Barbarian" continuity into consideration, with such examples as the solemn *adventus* of Saint Martin of Tours' relics in Braga under King Chararic's reign[17].

The area in which H. comes closest to the pessimistic views held by the proponents of the "decline and fall of ancient civilisation" theory is his account of the economic processes taking place in the changing world of the Late Antique cities. He takes notice of the decline in the long-distance trade beginning in the West in the course of the 4th and 5th centuries and in the East in the 6th and 7th centuries (p. 45). However, he also advises us to avoid generalisations and cites examples of economic growth such as the church estates at Petra in Jordan (p. 46) and the thriving seaports both in the Roman Empire (Caesarea Maritima) and beyond, e.g. Marseilles in Gaul under Merovingian rule (pp. 48 ff.). His conclusion that there is no one model of economic prosperity or decline (only various narratives of many different cities) is correct. In spite of all that could be said about Rome, where the Forum of Augustus became a place like a quarry, there was agrarianisation of the urban space, and a considerable decline in the local and regional settlement to the north of Rome (pp. 47, 50)[18], we could not fail to notice the stable situation of the cities in northern Africa over the 6th century, or the growth of the *civitates* in Gaul, the cities in Spain or the ports as hubs of economic activity. We can only agree with H.'s opinion that the economic history of Late Antique cities is a "tale of many cities" (p. 47).

At the beginning of his analysis of the expansion of Christianity in the Late Antique cities, the author notes that the new religion had been growing, from the beginning, in the *civitates* rather than in the rural areas (p. 52). He believes that the most characteristic traits that distinguish the cities of Late Antiquity from those of Classical Antiquity are the rise in the stature of the bishops and the greater scope of their authority, but also transformations in the functionality of public spaces. Ever since the synod of Serdica (343), cities had become the bishops' principal seats of residence. It was already in Constantine's reign that they had obtained the right of arbitration in legal disputes as well as the rights to liberate slaves and participate in the *cursus publicus* network. H. is correct in his opinion that the role and position held by the bishops form a kind of a bridge connecting Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, even though he does not observe that, in the western part of the Roman Empire, the bishops' strong position in the cities was not just a question of granted privileges, but also of hard necessity. The Barbarian invasions in Gaul, Spain and Africa caused the nearly complete disappearance of the central state administration. Those circumstances led to situations in which the bishop was frequently the only local authority capable of negotiating or settling the terms of co-habitation with the newly arrived strangers. By assuming the role of the *defensor*

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[17] Gregorius Turonensis, *De virtutibus Sancti Martini*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* I 2, ed. B. Krusch, p. 595, 28 ff.

[18] For a comparison, see Ward-Perkins, *op. cit*. (n. 12), the maps on pp. 140 f.

civitatis, he would quite naturally become a locally recognised figure of authority – in religious, administrative, or even military matters[19]. In this sense, the bishops as those who took over the prerogatives of the secular authorities of Classical Antiquity should be seen as a specific bridge between the earlier period and Late Antiquity. Another characteristic feature of the expansion of Christianity in cities was the banishing of pagan elements from the public space, which the author illustrates by citing the example of Milan (p. 57). This cultural transformation was foreshadowed by such phenomena and occurrences as demolishing or taking over the sites of pagan worship for religious or secular purposes. Entrenched in the structure of a Late Antique city, Christianity contributed to the actual extinction of some forms of urban life known from Classical Antiquity, as reflected in the example of public games. Legally prohibited in cases of attempting to practise pagan traditions, and morally condemned by the Church, they were banished from the public space of the city at times even by physical means such as the erection of a church within the arena of the amphitheatre at Tarragon and the reuse of the architectural *spolia* from the Milan amphitheatre for the construction of the foundations of the S. Lorenzo Church (p. 79).

Transformations in the public space of Late Antique cities were accompanied by the changing lifestyles of the elites. Except for military and clerical circles, the local elites had continued to remain stable since the period of Classical Antiquity, although their lifestyles and forms of status aggrandisement had been changing over time. Work in service of the city and its citizens was still glorified, although the ancient classical notion of euergetism as directed towards the urban community was replaced with the Christian concept of *caritas* focused on the individual human being and associated with the hope of attaining one's own spiritual advancement. The manifestations of familial status would not take the form of participating in municipal celebrations, or in events held at the extramural cemeteries or the amphitheatre, as they were becoming more prominently displayed in the hierarchy of receiving the Eucharist and the preference for burials in the proximity of churches located within the city walls. However, some forms of elite self-aggrandisement remained unchanged (office diptychs, funerary inscriptions with references to Christian *virtutes*, name inscriptions in the hippodrome and amphitheatre auditoria (e.g., Rome, Aphrodisias; cf. pp. 72 f.).

The final chapter (pp. 82–90) contains the author's conclusions. The question "decline, fall, transformation, or rise" recurs once again. H. reverts to the departure from Peter Brown's transformation theory and the tendencies towards the views represented by Wolf Liebeschuetz, Ine Jacobs, Bryan Ward-Perkins, and some other models of the decline and fall. He also recalls the results of research showing that the collapse of the 6th and 7th centuries was followed by a revitalisation of urban life (e.g. Adriaan Verhulst's exploration of some parts of Gaul). The author concludes that the crisis of the cities is not an exclusive characteristic of Late Antiquity as such processes also took place in Classical Antiquity, but he proposes that the urban phenomena of Late Antiquity should not be taken into account as part of one general formula, as they need to be regarded as a multitude of different narratives with diverse symptoms. Very much would depend on where, when, and in what conditions such accounts are created and the evaluation or appraisal of the processes happening in the cities of Late Antiquity must be formulated with local/regional diversity and sensibilities (which, let us add, tend to change over time) being taken into consideration. It is true that many phenomena or events happening in the cities of the period could not be regarded as instances of positive or even neutral transformation even with the best of intentions. It is also true that certain social processes such as transformations of public space, changing urban topographies, or the ransacking and demolition of ancient buildings in order to make way for new architecture can be observed in a great number of towns and cities. However, in the author's opinion, one cannot ignore the fact that the particular contexts of such phenomena tend to change. The

[19] S. Baumgart, *Die Bischoffsherrschaft im Galien des 5. Jahrhunderts*, München 1995; G. Maier, *Amtsträger und Herrscher in der Romania Gothica. Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu den Institutionen der ostgermanischen Völkerwanderungsreiche*, Stuttgart 2005, pp. 279–289.

development of cities in Late Antiquity was varied and should not be seen as one homogeneous and uncomplicated history. In spite of the fact that we have to deal with many micro-histories here, we should not give up on searching for some more analytical approaches. However, we need to stop trying to fit the history of cities in Late Antiquity into the uniform patterns of transformation or decline. Instead, we should attempt to examine and compare the histories of specific places from the vantage point of analytical and theoretical perspectives. The history of Late Antique cities is not a history of just one or several municipalities, but of many thousands of different cities. And this is exactly what, in my opinion, makes Mark Humphries' book a valuable publication and what makes it particularly significant to further research in this field. Despite the still-ongoing modern tendency to confine history within patterns and models, the author portrays it as it really is: vivid, diverse and multi-faceted.

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