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EPIGRAPHIC HABIT AND HISTORY
OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN*

by

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ABSTRACT: This paper investigates the epigraphic habit in the Eastern Mediterranean from the inception of alphabetic writing into the seventh c. CE. It considers all categories of inscriptions, not just epitaphs, as in most earlier studies. It examines the epigraphic habit through quantitative analysis of 32,157 inscriptions sampled from ten areas in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Black Sea coast to central Greece, western and central Asia Minor, Phoenicia, and Egypt. The shapes of the epigraphic curves are due to different factors, including the pre-Greek epigraphic habit, Hellenisation, the Roman presence, wars, and Christianity. Two epigraphic maxima are identified in the Eastern Mediterranean: in the third c. BCE and in the second c. CE.

The unprecedented profusion of inscriptions in stone permeating public spaces from agoras, streets, temple grounds and cemeteries was aptly recapped by Louis ROBERT, who called classical antiquity – as compared with the pre-modern Europe – “civilisation de l’épigraphie”¹. If not exactly universal, the habit of inscribing in stone was no longer the almost exquisite domain of royalty and the divine as had been the case in the great civilisations of Mesopotamia and Egypt². Although inscriptions were used as a source or at least quoted as such already in antiquity by Herodotus, Pseudo-Demosthenes, Onesikritos, Arrian, and

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¹ ROBERT 1989, the quotation is on p. 66.

² BRESSON 2005.

Pausanias, among others³, the reflection of their uneven chronological distribution and their importance for a historian is quite recent. The idea of linking the chronological distribution of inscriptions with political events and constitutional transformation in antiquity was first raised by Reginald AUSTIN and Benjamin MERITT⁴, while the term “epigraphic habit” owes its enormous following in modern scholarly literature to a 1982 article by Ramsey MACMULLEN⁵. The groundbreaking paper of Charles W. HEDRICK published in 1999 in “Hesperia” is a source of inspiration to any student of Greek history in its convincing attempt to find not just a coincidence but also a causal link between the vagaries of the Athenian constitution and the shape of the epigraphic curve. Among other things, this paper tests HEDRICK’s method on broad material from outside of Athens, simultaneously trying to overcome his limitations derived from the exclusive reliance on the PHI Greek Inscriptions database⁶.

INSCRIPTIONS, THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION, AND EPIGRAPHIC CULTURE

Although epigraphy is tied to important issues of ancient cultures, such as the level of literacy and the role the written word played in Mediterranean societies, this paper will not attempt to contribute to any of them. It will focus instead on patterns of chronological distribution of ancient inscriptions in the hope of contributing to a better understanding of the historical processes of the rise and fall of the classical urban culture, of the shifting relationship between ancient cities and territorial powers, and of the proliferation and demise of ancient democracy. It will ask questions about the role religion played in shaping epigraphic habits.

³ Hdt. VII 228 (epitaphs on tombs of Greeks killed at Thermopylai); Hdt. V 77, 4 (epigram commemorating Athenian victory over Boiotians and Chalkidians, known also from a fragmentary *IG* I³ 501); Ps.-Dem. 59, 76 (a stele inscribed in now faint archaic Athenian characters is kept in the temple of Dionysos Limnaios); Onesikritos, *FGrH* 134 F 34 (alleged inscription on the tomb of Cyrus the Great, quoted also, in different form, by Aristoboulos, *FGrH* 139 F 51b; Plut. *Alex.* 69); Arr. *Anab.* II 5, 4 (alleged inscription on a tomb of Sardanapalos/Ashurbanipal). Although his rendition of the inscription cannot be verified, Arrian refers to a real artifact: HELLER 2015: 337. Among many inscriptions to which Pausanias refers one may list the one inscribed on the monument celebrating victory of Kyniska, a Spartan princess, in chariot races in Olympia (VI 1, 6) which survived to our days (*IvO* 160). We do not include the celebrated example of a surviving ancient inscription (*IG* I³ 83) and an ancient historian seemingly quoting it *in extenso* (Thuc. V 47), since Thucydides in all probability quoted the treaty between Athens, Argos, Mantinea and Elis after a copy kept in Athenian archives: D. COHEN 1956. See also SMARCZYK 2006.

⁴ AUSTIN 1938: 25 (on increasing numbers of inscribed decrees): “It was doubtless intimately connected with the rise of Athenian democracy, which probably insisted that the laws by which it was governed should be accessible to everyone”; MERITT 1940: 91: “the democratic habit of inscribing things on stone”.

⁵ MACMULLEN 1982.

⁶ On these limitations see HEDRICK 1999: 390–393.

Inevitably it will ask whether we can speak of one epigraphic “culture” in the Eastern Mediterranean or of a number of disjointed or interlocking cultures⁷. Knowing full well that the written culture of the Eastern Mediterranean was predominantly Greek, this paper will pay particular attention to non-Greek epigraphic habits and how the pre-Greek background shaped the seemingly Greek epigraphic culture in various areas studied here. Bearing in mind how widespread and how long-lasting the ancient habit of writing in stone was, this paper will attempt to ascertain whether one can approach the epigraphic culture as an issue of *longue durée*. This paper is concerned with the quantitative study of ancient inscriptions, out of necessity leaving out issues that are not susceptible to chronological sequencing of epigraphic data. One example is regarding women commissioning inscriptions and being commemorated epigraphically. We are unable to review this issue for quantitative studies since the evidence is very limited both chronologically and territorially. Among the areas which provide the most epigraphic evidence for women is Miletos, with some 120 inscriptions commemorating *hydrophoroi*, well-born girls serving in the cult of Artemis at Didyma⁸. Another example is Olbia, where *tituli honorarii* were often set up for women or by women⁹. But, bearing in mind how marginal *tituli honorarii* are within the epigraphic output of this city (ca. 2.7%), the numerical strength of inscriptions set up for women or by women is statistically insignificant.

This paper draws upon a number of case studies conducted by a larger team which also included the authors of this paper. The results of this study were published recently as a book from which this paper largely draws¹⁰. Ten discrete areas were selected for case studies regarding the chronological distribution of inscriptions: (1) the north coast of the Black Sea (Bosporan Kingdom and Chersonesos); (2) the west and north-west coast of the Black Sea (Mesambria, Kallatis, Istros, and Olbia); (3) Boiotia (Thebes, Tanagra, Thespiiai, and Oropos); (4) Delphi; (5) Olympia; (6) western Asia Minor (Miletos, Ephesos, and Pergamon); (7) central Asia Minor (mostly Greater Phrygia), with individual studies of Eumeneia, Laodikeia, Pessinous, Aizanoi, and Aphrodisias (Karia); (8) Phoenicia; (9) Alexandria; (10) the Fayum Oasis. As the map below shows, the selected areas cover most of the Eastern Mediterranean, including the Black Sea region. The case studies were selected this way to have territories with a wide range of characteristics covered: big and small cities, places hosting major temples, areas of old, Greek or pre-Greek writing culture, territories in which inscribing began only after they became Hellenised, areas ethnically (mostly) Greek and areas where Greek was the language selected for writing even if

⁷ As suggested by BODEL 2001: 6–15.

⁸ GÜNTHER 2014.

⁹ E.g. SEG XLVI 948; IOSPE 190, 192, 193, 200.

¹⁰ NAWOTKA 2020a.

the majority of the population spoke an indigenous tongue, cities central to the culture and economy of the Greek world and peripheries of the Greco-Roman world. These case studies tabulate inscriptions datable to at least a century principally for the period from the beginning of the alphabetic writing until the end of antiquity, symbolically placed in the mid-seventh c. CE, to coincide with the Arab and Slavic raids, which put an end to the post-classical urban life in most of the Eastern Mediterranean. This upper chronological limit is in line with the dominant modern perception of the end of antiquity¹¹. It is also of relevance from the strictly epigraphic point of view since, in numerical terms inscribing in stone came to a virtual standstill after the mid-seventh c., while most of the late-Antique categories of inscriptions ceased to exist in the Byzantine age¹².



Map 1: Case studies of epigraphic distribution in the Eastern Mediterranean

¹¹ NAWOTKA 2020b: 2, with reference.

¹² MANGO 2020.

Table 1 below contains data on the total number of inscriptions from all studied cities/territories, the proportion of inscriptions datable to at least a century or quarter-century, and non-Greek and bilingual inscriptions. This is a revised table 11.1 from our book¹³. It has been updated using new data available after the table 11.1 was closed (November 2019). The new figures do not change the overall picture of the epigraphic output in the case-study areas in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Table 1

City/territory	All inscriptions	% of inscriptions datable to a century	% of inscriptions datable to a quarter-century or half-century (when indicated)	Greek inscriptions	Latin/ bilingual (Greek-Latin) inscriptions	% of Latin/ bilingual (Greek-Latin) inscriptions	Inscriptions in other languages
Bosporan Kingdom	1,599	93.50	89.93 (half c.)	1,595	3	0.19	1
Chersonesos	704	93.18	82.39 (half c.)	625	79	11.22	0
West and North-West Black Sea	1,437	87.05	33.68	1,285	152	10.58	0
Boiotia	6,201	85.69	45.41	6,189	12	0.19	0
Delphi	3,728	87.00	73.00	3,711	17	0.46	0
Olympia	1,109	63.57	45.18	1,096	13	1.17	0
Miletos	2,476	59.49	36.79	2,455	20	0.80	1
Ephesos	5,777	34.33	23.69	5,456	321	5.56	0
Pergamon	1,305	69.20	45.40	1,277	26	2.00	1
Phrygia and Aphrodisias	3,344	71.20		3,284	30	0.90	30
Phoenicia	2,594	38.80	23.10	1,715	597	23.00	234
Alexandria	1,133	61.87	19.77	977	141	12.45	15
Fayum	750	40.00	21.00	345	3	0.40	402
Total	32,157	66.55		30,050	1,414	4.40	684

¹³ NAWOTKA 2020d: 217.

By their very nature, quantitative epigraphic studies tabulate only surviving inscriptions, not knowing, however, what proportion of the original epigraphic output survived to the modern age¹⁴. The end result of tabulating inscriptions is the so-called “epigraphic curve”, now a generally accepted term for a linear or other graphical representation of the chronological distribution of inscriptions¹⁵. Graph 1 shows the aggregate curve for the Eastern Mediterranean, combining the individual case studies.

INSCRIPTIONS, THEIR NUMBERS, AND CATEGORIES

Nobody has counted all surviving ancient inscriptions, and the estimates for Latin inscriptions run at some 4,500 Republican-age specimens, while the EDCS Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby lists 532,661 specimens (mostly Imperial), rightfully asserting that these are almost all surviving Latin inscriptions¹⁶. Epigraphers further estimate that some 70% of all surviving Latin inscriptions are epitaphs¹⁷. John DAVIES has estimated that there are upward of 200,000 Greek inscriptions¹⁸, which is a much higher assessment than the 100,000 proposed by Charles HEDRICK¹⁹. Our study suggests that HEDRICK’s figures are notoriously low: for Ephesos, it is “fewer than 4,000” compared to our 5,777. For Delphi, it is “only about 2,000” compared to our 3,728²⁰. Therefore it is more prudent to accept DAVIES’ estimates. Alongside dominating Greek inscriptions, a number of Latin, Egyptian, Semitic, and other indigenous inscriptions from the Eastern Mediterranean survive. Their number is unknown too, although Werner ECK estimates the number of Latin inscriptions from the East (Asia Minor, greater Syria, Egypt, Cyrenaica) is at least 4,000, and another 14,000 from the Balkans recorded in volume three of *CIL* needs to be added, as well as a few thousand more that were found later²¹. There are also thousands of Semitic, Egyptian, Phrygian and other inscriptions from the Eastern Mediterranean. Thus the estimated total number of ancient inscriptions from the Eastern Mediterranean lies between 200,000 and 300,000. Epigraphy of the Eastern Mediterranean is not nearly as dominated by epitaphs as that in the West: in our study, their share is closer to 25% than to 70% as in

¹⁴ See HEDRICK’s (1999: 393–395) pessimistic remarks on the practical impossibility of estimating the proportion, even in the case of Athenian decrees, the most studied category of ancient inscriptions.

¹⁵ See e.g. section “Epigraphic corpora and epigraphic curves” in TROUT 2009: 170–173.

¹⁶ <https://db.edcs.eu/epigr/hinweise/hinweis-en.html>, accessed on 17 December 2022.

¹⁷ SALLER, SHAW 1984: 124; MEYER 1990: 74; WOOLF 1996: 22–23.

¹⁸ DAVIES 2003: 326.

¹⁹ HEDRICK 1999: 390–391.

²⁰ See NAWOTKA 2020c: 126, and GRZESIK 2020: 52, for explanation on our count of inscriptions.

²¹ ECK 2009: 19–20.

the Latin West. They dominate in the Bosporan Kingdom, while in neighbouring Chersonesos, their proportion is much lower. They dominate in Boiotia and also in Phrygia, whose epigraphic culture developed fully under the Empire. In some places, however, very few epitaphs are recorded, the best examples being Delphi and Olympia, where no ancient cemetery has been identified so far. It is low not only in the cities where ancient cemeteries have not been archaeologically identified, like Delphi, but also in Olbia where archaeologists have studied ancient cemeteries²². This phenomenon can be explained by the local burial tradition, which did not include the use of epitaphs – instead, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic sculptures, terracotta figurines, or marble and limestone steles were placed on the grave. This markedly lower proportion of epitaphs highlights an enormous distinction between the epigraphic culture in the East and the epigraphic habit in the West. In our project, we count inscriptions under five broad categories, typical for epigraphy of the East: epitaphs, decrees, together with other legislative acts (*nomoi*, sacred laws), *tituli honorarii*, no matter whether they were inscribed on statue bases or on other surfaces, dedications, and other inscriptions, not included in the dominant categories. The exceptions were taken for Miletos, where inscriptions of the top officials of Apollo and Artemis of Didyma, *prophetai*, *hydrophoroi*, and *tamiai*, take the place of dedications as a significant category of inscriptions, Phoenicia, where *inscriptions forestières* are counted instead of decrees, and Delphi with manumissions instead of epitaphs²³.

This project, as earlier ones within the field of the chronological distribution of ancient evidence, limits its scope to the published source material as this is the only viable road one can take. Our understanding of inscriptions is narrow and, again, in agreement with the prevailing epigraphic convention. An *inscription* is understood as being a piece of text carved by the human hand onto a durable material, like stone, metal, or plaster, which is addressed to a wide audience and often presented to the public. Most of them meet the criteria of Eck's *Memorialinschriften*, the most typical category of ancient inscriptions cut in stone, "this durable material [...] selected almost exclusively for an enduring public memorial of events, deeds and people"²⁴. We agree with earlier scholars that in the majority of cases, the decision what to inscribe was made locally, even in respect to letters and edicts of kings and Roman emperors²⁵. Thus this project studies local epigraphic habits, aiming ultimately at finding principles uniting all or many of them. In keeping with the epigraphic convention, we include *instrumenta domestica* and graffiti painted on or cut into walls, stone, or rock, but not *diplomata militaria*, cuneiform, and early alphabetic Semitic inscriptions,

²² See e.g. PAROVIČ-PEŠIKAN 1974; SKUDNOVA 1988; PAPANOVA 2006.

²³ On categories of inscriptions tabulated in our project see NAWOTKA 2020b: 18–22.

²⁴ ECK 2009: 17.

²⁵ COOLEY 2012, with reference.

e.g., on clay tablets from Ugarit. The tablets from Ugarit were never meant for public display, as was the case with most inscriptions in stone, and *diplomata militaria* represent the epigraphic culture of Rome, not of places where they were found. The largest category of inscriptions excluded from this project are pottery inscriptions. The place where pottery (or fragments of pottery) is eventually found often differs from its place of origin, thus, inscribed pottery says nothing about the epigraphic habit of the place where it was unearthed. Then, inscriptions on tiles and amphorae were never meant for public display. Furthermore, the sheer quantity of pottery inscriptions (some 200,000 from Rhodes alone) and stamps on tiles would, in some places, distort the overall picture of the local epigraphic habit²⁶. For instance, 157 datable stone inscriptions were tabulated for Berytos and Heliopolis, while 110 Rhodian amphora stamps have been identified in Berytos alone²⁷; the quantity of stamped amphora uncovered in Pergamon overshadows the epigraphic production in this city²⁸.

Decrees, widely believed to have been the most typical way of expression for a democratic *polis*²⁹, are attested very unevenly, both in a temporal and geographical sense. In most cities where they are recorded, decrees are a feature most typical of the Hellenistic age. There are important exceptions to this rule. In Olympia, the category titled “decrees” already contained large numbers in the late-archaic age; however, these were often sacred laws, not proper decrees passed by the *boule* and *demos*. In most cities, the number of inscribed decrees diminishes in the first c. BCE, to die out in later centuries. Incidentally, this rule does not apply to Chersonesos and Olbia, two Greek cities that stayed outside the Roman *provincia* in the Imperial age. Both the diminished numbers of inscribed decrees in most places under Roman rule and the flourishing of the habit of inscribing decrees in Olbia and Chersonesos seem to speak of a powerful, if difficult to define, connection between Roman rule and the death of the democratic habit of inscribing decrees by the *boule* and *demos*. Some places are completely (Phoenicia) or almost completely devoid of decrees (Bosporan Kingdom, Phrygia, Alexandria). There seems to be a clear link between the status of a city and the habit of inscribing decrees: in cities of the Bosporan Kingdom, as well as in Alexandria, places that were never free and always directly controlled by a territorial power (a Bosporan or Ptolemaic king or a Roman emperor through his prefect), almost no decrees were inscribed, which suggests none were passed. Hellenistic Ephesos inscribed numerous decrees while independent and almost none when controlled by kings.

²⁶ PANAGOU 2016: 208–209.

²⁷ AUBERT 2004: 33.

²⁸ BÖRKER, BURROW 1998.

²⁹ BERTRAND 1985.

In our book, inscriptions are, in general, tabulated in 25- and 100-year brackets. Presenting material in 25-year brackets is akin to MACMULLEN's 20-year brackets; the 25-year brackets appear in some other earlier studies³⁰. This division of material stems from the desire to interpret minima and maxima of the epigraphic curve with reference to historical events evolving within a generation or within the reign of a king or emperor who might have affected epigraphic production in a particular city. In most cases, we accept the dates established by the editors or epigraphers who re-studied the published inscriptions.

PREVIOUS STUDIES OF THE EPIGRAPHIC CULTURE

So far, the bulk of research on the chronological distribution of ancient inscriptions has been concerned with Latin epigraphy of the age of the Empire. After the pioneering studies of Jean-Marie LASSÈRE on epitaphs in Roman Africa and Stanisław MROZEK on the frequency of inscriptions throughout the early Empire³¹, the real interest of scholarship in understanding the temporal distribution of ancient inscriptions has been generated by the classical paper of Ramsey MACMULLEN, which circulated the term "epigraphic habit"³², now gradually superseded by the term "epigraphic culture" as more reflective of the social context in which inscriptions were commissioned³³. His paper is still the principal point of reference for any study of the chronological distribution of ancient inscriptions, with a lasting contribution of drawing attention to the very uneven chronological distribution of inscriptions as well as promoting the idea of inscriptions as cultural phenomena and not exclusively as sources of text³⁴. MACMULLEN's epigraphic curve is almost flat for the period 1–100, rising at the beginning of the second c., to reach a high maximum in 180–220³⁵. The basic premises of MACMULLEN's paper in his study of the epigraphic habit in the Roman Empire are: exclusive concentration on epitaphs from just seven cities in Roman Africa, model-based dating used to tabulate inscription onto 20-year brackets, belief in the existence of a single principle explaining the shape of the epigraphic curve, and his willingness to extrapolate the result of his study into all of the Roman Empire. MACMULLEN and the epigraphers following in his footsteps argue that their epigraphic curves coincide with and reflect changes within Roman society, in particular reflecting the coveted Roman inheritance law that was spreading throughout the provinces, resulting in a growing number

³⁰ E.g. LE BOHEC 1989.

³¹ LASSÈRE 1973; MROZEK 1973.

³² MACMULLEN 1982.

³³ On epigraphic culture see WOOLF 1996: 30; BELTRÁN LLORIS 2015.

³⁴ BELTRÁN LLORIS 2015: 129.

³⁵ MACMULLEN 1982: 242, fig. IV.

of Roman citizens³⁶. Since allegedly only Roman citizens could make a valid will, the introduction of the universal franchise under Caracalla meant that the importance placed on being a Roman citizen was diminished, which in turn led to the sharp drop in the total epigraphic production rate of the third c. CE³⁷.

There seems to be a broad agreement that there was a pattern in the chronological distribution of (Latin) inscriptions from the early Empire. But is this true? The pattern of the chronological distribution of epitaphs, established principally by LASSÈRE's study of seven cities in Roman Africa and to a degree confirmed by MEYER's epigraphic curve for Thessaloniki, was not identical, not even within other Latin-writing provinces. The graph representing epitaphs from Lugdunum shows a peak between 75–100 CE, much earlier than in Africa, with a steep decline almost a century after the decline was identified in Africa, and in the number of papyri and ostraca from Egypt³⁸. Curves based on dated inscriptions are very different from that drawn by MACMULLEN on the basis of his statistical model, not on counting datable inscriptions. This applies to MACMULLEN's curve for Lydia³⁹, MEYER's curve of Athenian epitaphs⁴⁰, and the curves for Sicily, drawn by PRAG⁴¹. The analysis of the curves resulting from the past epigraphic studies does not allow for identifying one pattern of chronological distribution of inscription in the Early Empire, let alone in antiquity *sensu largo*. Another theory explaining the epigraphic maximum in the second half of the second c. CE comes from Greg WOOLF to whom inscriptions were cut in order to "fix an individual's place within history, society and the cosmos"⁴², which was criticised for misapplying psychology to epigraphy and for failing to explain the dropping epigraphic curve in the age of anxiety in the first half of the third c.⁴³.

MACMULLEN and his school rely heavily on a statistical model in dating inscriptions in order to move around the low number of securely dated inscriptions. He expounds his model in reference to LASSÈRE's dating of African inscriptions:

4,160 texts, only two datable to a single year, the rest in 25 categories that touch on the empire, for example, "Augustus," 25 texts, where I have divided that number by the years of the reign, 25 – (27 B.C. to A.D. 14 = 41) = .61 texts per year over A.D. 1–14. There is also "end of Republic/Trajan," 602 texts running from 40 B.C., the date somewhat arbitrarily chosen, down to

³⁶ MEYER 1990.

³⁷ MEYER 1990: 89, 92.

³⁸ See MEYER 1990: 90, fig. 4 for the curve of epitaphs from Lugdunum, and NAWOTKA 2020b: 4, graph 0.2 for the curve of papyri from Egypt.

³⁹ MACMULLEN 1986.

⁴⁰ MEYER 1990: 92, fig. 6..

⁴¹ PRAG 2002: 22, fig. 2.1 and 23, fig. 2.2.

⁴² WOOLF 1996: 29, 32.

⁴³ PLEKET 1999: 83–84.

A.D. 117, i.e., 157 years = 3.83 per year. For a specific single year, e.g. A.D. 2, I would add 3.83 to .61 to produce the total for that year, and add still more from other overlapping categories. To the categories “early”, “mid”, and “late” I assign the values 0–9, 40–60, and 90–99⁴⁴.

This model is valid on the condition of a more or less equal distribution of inscriptions per year in each of MACMULLEN’s categories (e.g. “Augustus” or “early Empire”). It is impossible to say whether this assumption is correct since the sample of precisely datable epitaphs in Roman Africa is much too small to produce any sound statistical analysis⁴⁵.

The surviving epigraphic output from the East paints a strikingly different picture than that resulting from MACMULLEN’s model. The number of inscriptions that are datable to at least a quarter-century, e.g. 1,369 from Ephesos, 911 from Miletos, 2,816 from Boiotia, 2,735 from Delphi, leave no doubt that divergent epigraphic habits existed in the Eastern Mediterranean, and in Africa. In this respect, Sicily, with its 828 inscriptions datable to at least a century seems closer to the East than to Africa⁴⁶. In our case studies, we do not consider inscriptions dated by the editors as “Hellenistic” or “Imperial”. Those better-dated point to a tremendous difference between *per annum* frequency figures when one considers inscriptions tabulated in 25-year brackets, both in the Roman and Hellenistic age, e.g.: in Miletos, there are 10.5 inscriptions from 50–75 CE (0.42 per year) vs. 71.5 from 125–150 CE (2.86 per year), or 13 from 15–135 BCE (0.52 per year) vs. 72.5 from 225–200 BCE (2.9 per year)⁴⁷; in Ephesos there are 33.5 inscriptions from 50–75 CE (1.34 per year) vs. 188.5 from 100–125 CE (7.54 per year)⁴⁸; from Delphi there 36 inscriptions from 75–50 BCE (1.44 per year) vs. 330 from 175–150 BCE (13.2 per year)⁴⁹; from Boiotia, there are 34.5 inscriptions from 150–125 BCE (1.38 per year) vs. 775.5 from 225–200 BCE (31.02 per year)⁵⁰. The distribution of inscriptions per year is anything but equal if measured using a large number of specimens datable with some precision. Thus the dating model of MACMULLEN does not seem valid when applied to Greek epigraphy or perhaps to epigraphic output in classical antiquity in general. Therefore, using a data-based model, one that calculates the yearly epigraphic production by

⁴⁴ MACMULLEN 1982: 241, n. 14.

⁴⁵ As shown convincingly in CHERRY 1995: 145–149.

⁴⁶ PRAG 2002: 22, fig. 2.1.

⁴⁷ Figures after NAWOTKA 2020c: 122, graph 6.2. Figures like 10.5 stem from the method applied by us in assigning inscriptions to centuries, quarter-centuries or half-centuries. If editors date an inscription e.g. to the second–first c. BCE, we assign one half of it to each century and a similar principle is applied to assigning inscriptions to quarter-centuries or half-centuries.

⁴⁸ Figures after NAWOTKA 2020c: 128, graph 6.6.

⁴⁹ Figures after GRZESIK 2020: 55, graph 2.2.

⁵⁰ Figures after SZELĄG 2020: 36, graph 1.4.

dividing the total number of inscriptions from a given period by the number of years in that period, as MACMULLEN does, may very easily produce invalid data and is, to quote David CHERRY, “little more than informed guess-work”⁵¹. Creating further models using the inadequate model of chronological distribution of ancient epigraphic production may dangerously veer from history into fantasy. This study arises from the perceived need to confront the alleged universal nature of the epigraphic habit in the Roman empire with evidence derived from a representative sample of Greek inscriptions. As it does not study epitaphs from Roman Africa, its aim is not polemical with MACMULLEN and his school. It applies different methodological principles tabulating datable inscriptions from a much broader area, in a much wider chronological framework, and taking into account all categories of inscriptions, not only Imperial-age epitaphs.

LITERACY, ECONOMY, POPULATION DENSITY, AND QUANTITY OF SURVIVING INSCRIPTIONS

The total number of inscriptions in the areas studied in our project is 32,157, or between 10.72% and 16.07% of the total estimated surviving epigraphic output of the Eastern Mediterranean. This number is by far the highest of all epigraphic projects, and even the lower estimate of 10.72% of the total epigraphic output of the area makes this sample statistically significant. However, one caveat has to be made: table 1 displays enormous differences within the proportion of datable inscriptions in various cities/regions, from the lows of 34.33% for Ephesos and 38.8% for Phoenicia to the highs of 93.5% for the Bosporan Kingdom and 93.18% for Chersonesos. Since this project has not performed any autopsy of stones or squeezes, for the most part, we rely on dates established by editors (or other epigraphers who have re-studied the inscriptions). Therefore, this discrepancy in the proportion of dated inscriptions depends overwhelmingly on the editorial principles of various earlier scholars and in most cases, on their willingness to risk dating inscriptions on letter shapes. A good illustration of this is Phoenicia, where up to 70% of Phoenician-language inscriptions are dated, while in the standard corpora of Greek and Latin inscriptions published by Jean-Paul REY-COQUAIS, only 10% of inscriptions from Tyre and 40% from Arados are datable. In a sense, the ratio of datable Phoenician-language inscriptions from Phoenicia is somewhat inflated, and the pre-Hellenistic local maxima of the epigraphic curve of Phoenicia are probably overstated⁵².

Notwithstanding these issues, this project has documented, first, a great discrepancy in the number of the surviving inscriptions from the cities under consideration: the discrepancy is far bigger than the difference in their relative size

⁵¹ CHERRY 1995: 150.

⁵² GŁOGOWSKI 2020: 168.

and economic prosperity in antiquity. A case in point is Alexandria, the largest or second-largest city in the Mediterranean, with 1,133 inscriptions, whilst tiny Delphi has 3,728 inscriptions. Each large city analysed in our project produced many more inscriptions than Alexandria: Ephesos (5,777), Miletos (2,476), Aphrodisias (1,693), and Pergamon (1,305), in fact, even a couple of smaller cities produced more: Thespiai (1,361) and Tanagra (1,309). The size and the generally recognised economic prosperity of Alexandria were non-factors when it came to epigraphic production. Of course, excavating is difficult in densely-populated Alexandria, but the situation is the same, for instance, in Athens and Rome, where the surviving epigraphic output numbers tens of thousands of inscriptions. Most likely, therefore, the low number of surviving inscriptions from Alexandria testifies to a comparatively low rate of epigraphic production in the city. Another example is Phoenicia, which had quite a substantial population, a number of sizable cities, was prosperous throughout most of antiquity, and was endowed with a long indigenous tradition of writing. Yet the number of surviving inscriptions from Phoenicia is no match to similarly sized regions, be it Boiotia or Phrygia with Aphrodisias; in fact, the total number of the epigraphic output in Phoenicia is smaller than in some cities studied in this project, most notably Delphi and Ephesos.

The example of the Fayum Oasis sheds light on the issue of relations between inscribing on stone and the general level of literacy and proliferation of writing in everyday life, as well as in public administration. The Fayum has produced 31,928 papyri and ostraca, or ca. 30% of all documents of this type found in Egypt⁵³. The inhabitants of the Fayum surely lived in a world in which written documents (both public and private) were commonplace, which implies that at least some literacy existed outside the local elite. This contrasts with a very small number of inscriptions: 750 over a period of some 2800 years. We cannot extrapolate the evidence from the Fayum throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, yet the data from informal pottery inscriptions (graffiti and dipinti) found in the Black Sea area and not counted in this study⁵⁴, or from some 700 graffiti, mostly from sanctuaries in Thebes⁵⁵, or from ostraca or clay *bullae* from Phoenicia⁵⁶, likewise not counted here, seem to suggest that writing was a feature of everyday life in the Hellenistic and early Roman age and that it was not limited to the elite. The example of the Fayum is telling in more than one way. However deep pharaonic

⁵³ Number of papyri based on the Trismegistos database, accessed November, 2023: <https://www.trismegistos.org>.

⁵⁴ E.g. SAPRYKIN, MASLENNIKOV 2007 (1,266 graffiti from the Bosporan Kingdom); NAWOTKA 1999 (some 250 graffiti from Nymphaion); SOLOMONIK 1984; BÖTTGER, ŠELOV 1998 (2,233 dipinti from Tanais).

⁵⁵ SZELĄG 2020: 31.

⁵⁶ E.g. ARIEL, NAVEH 2003; PISANO, TRAVAGLINI 2003; KAOUKABANI 2005.

Egypt was immersed in writing culture, commissioning hieroglyphic inscriptions was limited to kings, important priests, and high-ranking officials, while the nature of most Egyptian inscriptions was religious. The fast expansion of inscribing in stone in the Hellenistic Fayum can be attributed both to the introduction of the Greek habit of inscribing, which was much less elitist than the pre-Greek Egyptian epigraphic culture, and to the internal evolution of Egyptian religion of the Late Age. In the Hellenistic age, inscriptions of a religious nature still dominated the epigraphic landscape of the Fayum, but now active participation in cult and inscribing became culturally more accessible to people not belonging to the highest elite of Egypt⁵⁷. The same evolution is not visible in Alexandria, which lacked pre-Greek epigraphic culture and which, alongside other Greek cities in Egypt, drew more upon the imported Greek epigraphic culture⁵⁸.

These examples prove that there is no easy and obvious link between writing and inscribing. Certainly, few people who were familiar with informal inscriptions on pottery or with documents on perishable material (like papyrus) ever commissioned an inscription on stone. One obvious reason is the expense of acquiring and preparing an appropriate stone and inscribing the text (and often painting it), not counting the possible cost of acquiring the right to display one's inscription in a public or private place. These issues have been investigated most thoroughly regarding Athens⁵⁹, Delos, and Roman North Africa⁶⁰. The price range for a stele with a decree is recorded as being between 20 and 60 drachms, and for a simple tombstone, even less, while the price of elaborate tombs might exceed one talent⁶¹. Even if the recorded price range of an inscribed tombstone put it out of the range of most people, the price of a stele was certainly affordable in every town. This is even more true in the case of Alexandria, one of the richest cities of the ancient Mediterranean, which makes the low number of inscriptions from Alexandria even more puzzling as it is not explainable on economic grounds alone.

One can argue that in some cases, at least, there is a link between the period of urbanisation of an area and the number of produced inscriptions. The rural Fayum, although populous, prosperous and largely literate, produced very few inscriptions. Pre-Greek Phrygia (eighth–sixth c. BCE), although endowed with the indigenous writing culture, has yielded a small amount of evidence: 15 inscriptions from Midas City and 13 from the rest of western Phrygia⁶². The

⁵⁷ See WILIMOWSKA 2020: 202, graph 10.2.

⁵⁸ BOWMAN 2020.

⁵⁹ RAEPSAET 1984; LOOMIS 1998: 121–165; OLIVER 2000.

⁶⁰ DUNCAN-JONES 1974, catalogue: “Prices in the African provinces”, nos. 77–212 and pp. 78–79; HØJTE 2005: 52–54.

⁶¹ In greater detail: NAWOTKA 2021.

⁶² CARLESS UNWIN 2020: 147.

examples of the Fayum and Phrygia reveal the connection between Greek-type urbanisation and the desire to display lapidary inscriptions in public. Urbanisation seems, therefore, to be a very important factor with regards to public inscription production, however, the examples of Alexandria and Phoenicia, to a degree, indicate that it was not always a mitigating factor.

LANGUAGE OF INSCRIPTIONS, ETHNICITY AND THE ROMAN EPIGRAPHIC HABIT IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

As table 1 shows, the great majority of inscriptions are in Greek, with Latin and Greek-Latin bilinguals coming in a distant second (4.4% of the total), and inscriptions in all other languages accounting for little more than 2%. Unsurprisingly the beginning of Latin/bilingual epigraphy in the East coincides with the beginning of the Roman rule. The numbers and percentages of Latin/bilingual inscriptions as part of the total epigraphic output vary significantly from a measly 0.19% in the Bosporan Kingdom to a whopping 23% in Phoenicia. There are divergent reasons for that. In Phoenicia, it is explained by a combination of the presence of the most successful Roman veteran colonies in the East (Berytos and Heliopolis), the continued use of Latin throughout the centuries by their inhabitants, the strong influence of the Roman honorific habit with 60% of *tituli honorarii* in Latin, and one local phenomenon: a large number of so-called *inscriptions forestières* of Hadrian, that marked the borders of the imperial domain in Mount Lebanon⁶³. The percentage of Latin inscriptions is much higher in cities that hosted Roman garrisons for a prolonged period, no matter whether they belonged to a province, like Alexandria, or stayed outside the borders of the Empire, like Olbia and Chersonesos. The high proportion of epitaphs among the inscriptions from these *poleis* is related to the adoption of the Roman preoccupation with erecting tombstones⁶⁴. The correlation between the high or, better still, increased number of Latin epitaphs and the Roman military presence is best known in Alexandria, where the enhanced Roman military assets in periods of revolts of *boukoloï* or the war with Zenobia are followed by a rising number of Latin epitaphs⁶⁵. Among non-garrisoned cities, the highest proportion of Latin/bilingual inscriptions is in Ephesos, which produced more public bilingual inscriptions than all the other cities of the province of Asia combined⁶⁶.

Since there was no language law in the Roman Empire, the decision of what language to use in epigraphy was made intuitively. The nature of the document seems to have been less important than the personal preference and identity

⁶³ ECK 2009: 32–33, 37–38; GŁOGOWSKI 2020: 174, 176–177.

⁶⁴ WOJCIECHOWSKA 2020: 191–192; PORUCZNIK 2020: 86; HALAMUS 2020: 105–106.

⁶⁵ WOJCIECHOWSKA 2020: 191–192 and graph 9.6.

⁶⁶ BURRELL 2009: 70, after KEARSLEY, EVANS 2001.

of whoever commissioned the inscription and the linguistic preference of the audience⁶⁷. Thus in Ephesos only 11 out of over 70 Imperial documents are in Latin⁶⁸. A partial explanation for the comparatively large number of Latin inscriptions in Ephesos is the pronounced Roman presence in the city, where the proconsul of Asia and probably more than one procurator resided⁶⁹. The governor was very active in civic affairs in Ephesos, and this is reflected in the large number of inscriptions (mostly Greek) stemming from his decisions, larger than in any city in the province of Asia⁷⁰. Latin is prominent in inscriptions commissioned not so much by governors and procurators but by their staff, clearly willing to demonstrate their superior Roman identity in the overwhelmingly Greek society of Ephesos⁷¹. Ephesos, the vibrant commercial centre of the Aegean in the Imperial age⁷², certainly attracted more important business people from the West, Italy in particular, than other cities in the region, among them *equites*, *publicani*, and Imperial freedmen who, alongside Roman soldiers, used Latin in their inscription(s) as a conscious decision that reflected their Roman pride and social position⁷³. The *conventus civium Romanorum* is attested epigraphically in Ephesos in the first c. BCE and under Augustus the city became a centre of imperial worship⁷⁴. Some bilingual monumental inscriptions show the unequal status of both languages: in the inscription commemorating the renovation of the Artemision in 6/5 BCE, the Latin letters, placed in the upper register, are twice the size of their Greek counterparts⁷⁵, in the inscription which still graces the monumental gate of Mithridates and Mazaeus, freedmen of Agrippa and *clientes* of Augustus, leading to the Commercial Agora in Ephesos, the Latin parts gain prominence through the placement on the projecting panels of the gate embellished with statues of members of the imperial family⁷⁶.

In many places studied in our project a reciprocal influence of the Greek and Roman epigraphic habit is visible. Perhaps the most obvious example of the influence of the Roman epigraphic culture is the proliferation of elaborate epitaphs

⁶⁷ ECK 2009: 18.

⁶⁸ ROCHETTE 2011.

⁶⁹ ECK 2009: 22.

⁷⁰ ECK 2009: 23; HARTER-UIBOPUU 2012.

⁷¹ ECK 2009: 29, 39.

⁷² DAVIES 2011.

⁷³ WEBER 1999; ECK (2009: 27) points out that *publicani* and soldiers were dedicators of most of the 20 Latin *tituli honorarii*, whereas the total number of honorific inscriptions for senators is no less than 140. For foreigners in Ephesos in general see WHITE 1995: 57–63, 66–79 (a catalogue of 106 foreigners attested in Imperial Ephesos).

⁷⁴ *I.Eph.* 658. BURRELL 2009: 70; ECK 2009: 25.

⁷⁵ *I.Eph.* 1522. GRAHAM 2013: 383–385.

⁷⁶ *I.Eph.* 3006 of 4/3 BCE. BURRELL 2009: 72–78; GRAHAM 2013: 391–394.

in the East, with formulae stating exclusive burial rights to a family grave and threatening violators with hefty fines⁷⁷. The gravestone formulae stating that fines are to be paid to the *fiscus* obviously repeat the provisions of Roman law⁷⁸. Another feature is the adoption of the dative instead of the usual accusative in a number of *tituli honorarii* from the same period attested in many places⁷⁹, although not in equal proportion: with one example in Boiotia⁸⁰, a few in Istros⁸¹, a few in Phoenicia⁸², and more in Alexandria and in Ephesos, including the *titulus* for Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, the founder of the famous library⁸³. In reciprocity, some Latin *tituli honorarii* adopted the accusative instead of the dative⁸⁴. In general, our study supports the earlier findings of Werner ECK that the testimony of inscriptions goes against the idea that the language of the ruling class in the Roman East, let alone that of the common man, was Romanised. Even those Eastern Greeks who were pursuing a career in the Roman army or administration, in most cases, selected Greek for their inscriptions. Hence, the proliferation of Latin inscriptions is directly linked to the presence of western Roman soldiers, magistrates, support staff, and business people in cities of the East or, on occasion, to the deliberate decisions of the Emperor⁸⁵.

Languages other than Greek and Latin are much less common in inscriptions from the Eastern Mediterranean. They are not attested in continental Greek cities studied in our project, while Pergamon and Miletos brought one bilingua each: a Greek-Lydiaan dedication to Athena in Pergamon⁸⁶ and a Greek-Aramaic dedication to Zeus-Dusares in Miletos, commissioned by Šullai-Syllaios, a minister of the Nabatean king Obodas III⁸⁷. For all attention it attracted in modern academic

⁷⁷ E.g. *Milet* 564 of 175–192 CE: τὸ ἡρώων Φλαβίας Ὑγίας ζῆ καὶ κληρονόμων/ αὐτῆς, ... ἐτέ/ρω δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται ταφῆναι, ἐπὶ ὃ θάψας ἀποδώσει/τῷ κυριακῷ φύσκῳ*, βφ' καὶ τῇ ἱερωτάτῃ Μιλησίῳ βου/λῇ, βφ' καὶ ἔσται τῷ τῆς τυμβωρυχίας ἐνκλήματι ὕ/πεύθυνος. περὶ τούτων ἔνγραφον ἀπόκειται εἰς/τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἰουλίας τῆς Φιλέρω/τος <μ>ηνὸς Ληναίωνος κέ', ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου/Φλ(αβίου) · Σουλπικιανοῦ μη(νὸς) Ληναίωνος ι'.

⁷⁸ Protection of tombs in Roman law: DE VISSCHER 1963.

⁷⁹ This shifting grammar in accordance with the Latin usage is akin to the word-for-word translation of official Roman documents quite common in the East: COOLEY 2012: 172–173.

⁸⁰ A *titulus honorarius* for Hadrian: *I.Thesp* 435.

⁸¹ *IScM* 175, 177A, possibly damaged *IScM* 176. Bilingual *IScM* 175 clearly shows a Latin calque.

⁸² *IGLS* VII 4016a–b (Arados); *IGR* III 1098 (Sidon); *I.Tyr* II 24 = *I.Tyr* II 36 (Tyre); *IGR* III 1103 (Tyre?).

⁸³ *I.Eph.* 5113. Another *titulus honorarius* for Celsus is in Latin (*I.Eph.* 5103). BURRELL 2009: 78–83.

⁸⁴ *I.Eph.* 811. ECK 2009: 28.

⁸⁵ ECK 2009: 38–40.

⁸⁶ *I.Perg.* 1 of the early third c. BCE. See SCHÜRR 1999 for translation and interpretation.

⁸⁷ *Milet* 165 of 9/8 BCE. The modern edition is: HACKL *et al.* 2003: 127–128.

literature⁸⁸, the inscription of Syllaos is little more than a curiosity item in the epigraphic culture of Miletos. Inscriptions in languages other than Greek and Latin survive, in a sizeable quantity, in areas with pre-Greek epigraphic culture: Phrygia, Phoenicia, and Egypt. In Phrygia, all Phrygian inscriptions belong to the eighth–sixth c. BCE, while the abundant epigraphic production of the Hellenistic and Roman age was almost exclusively Greek with a sprinkling of Latin and bilingual (0.9%)⁸⁹. The reason for the total disappearance of inscribing in Phrygian is unknown, and one can only speculate whether it had to do with the greater prestige of Greek in the era after the demise of the native Phrygian statehood.

The two case studies in Egypt produced very different, if not unexpected, results. In Alexandria, the proportion of Egyptian and Egyptian-Greek bilingual inscriptions is small⁹⁰. In the Fayum, the Egyptian-language epigraphic output matches Greek if all inscriptions are considered (398 Egyptian vs. 342 Greek), but in this case study, the Egyptian inscriptions are counted from the inception of inscribing in the Fayum ca. 2000 BCE. In the period after inscribing in Greek was introduced in the Fayum, Greek inscriptions are far more numerous than Egyptian⁹¹.

The language composition of the epigraphic output in Phoenicia is the most complex of all areas in our project. Since the inception of alphabetic writing in the tenth c. BCE well into the third c. BCE Phoenician was the dominant language, although Greek started to make inroads already in the fourth, if not the fifth c. BCE. This process precedes Alexander's conquest, with the earliest Greek inscriptions in Phoenicia being dedications to Phoenician gods commissioned by Cypriots⁹². The fast-growing number of Greek texts in Hellenistic Phoenicia was initially connected with the dominance of Hellenistic powers in the Levant, which brought inscriptions erected in honour of Hellenistic kings⁹³, royal correspondence⁹⁴, and epitaphs of foreign mercenaries⁹⁵. But already in the third c. BCE, there are sure signs of the attraction of Greek language and culture among the Phoenician elite – a noteworthy example being an elaborated Greek epigram commemorating Diotimos the δικαστής (*šūfet* in Phoenician) of Sidon, who had

⁸⁸ E.g. ROCHE 1996: 80–83; HEALEY 2001: 101, 179; HACKL *et al.* 2003: 127–128, 132, 606; AL-SALAMEEN 2008: 22–25; TERPSTRA 2015: 80, 93.

⁸⁹ CARLESS UNWIN 2020: 147 and table 1 in this paper.

⁹⁰ WOJCIECHOWSKA 2020: 184–186: only 15 out of 1,133 inscriptions from Alexandria are hieroglyphic, Demotic, hieroglyphic-Greek, Demotic-Greek, hieroglyphic-Demotic-Greek.

⁹¹ WILIMOWSKA 2020: 200–204.

⁹² ICS 343; SEG XXX 1678; see DALY 1980; MASSON 1982; SEG XXXV 1490; BAALIM II 1985, 182; LEMAIRE 1991: 113; GŁOGOWSKI 2020: 170.

⁹³ I.Tyr II 1; 18–19; 386–387; SEG VII 326; LV 1658; SALAMÉ-SARKIS 1986.

⁹⁴ I.MNB 1.

⁹⁵ MACRIDY 1904; JALABERT 1904. Although this group of texts is usually dated to the Ptolemaic rule (third c. BCE), several features of these inscriptions seem to indicate rather the second c. BCE, cf. SEKUNDA 2006: 135–149.

won the Nemean games⁹⁶. The next step was the decline of Phoenician and the dominance of Greek from the second c. BCE on. Between the first c. BCE until the fourth c. CE Greek was, however, rivalled in the epigraphy of Phoenicia by Latin as the language of the dominant power in the Levant⁹⁷. Inscribing in Semitic languages never disappeared completely in Phoenicia. Aramaic, thought to have displaced Phoenician as the spoken language of the native population in the Roman period⁹⁸, appears in a small number of inscriptions⁹⁹. Inscriptions in Hebrew are rare too¹⁰⁰, while the local Jewish community preferred Greek in their epigraphic expression¹⁰¹.

Our study confirms once again that there was no unequivocal link between the language selected for inscribing and the ethnic identity of the person who commissioned the inscription, a good example being Greek inscriptions commissioned by Roman *negotiatores* (Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ πραγματευόμενοι) in Thespiai¹⁰². Onomastics sometimes provide a clue, with some names denoting Jewish identity¹⁰³, some clearly Egyptian¹⁰⁴, all in Greek inscriptions. Another example is *šūfet* Diotimos, who, through the careful choice of the Greek word for his official title (δικαστής rather than more usual ἄρχων), selected to allude to his Phoenician identity, while his Greek name could be adopted by a native Phoenician for contacts with Greeks¹⁰⁵. Greek inscriptions are sometimes accompanied by decorations and other non-verbal elements of the inscribed monument. The Egyptian style of an inscribed monument, solar discs, and Egyptian religious motives, quite often accompany Greek texts both in the Fayum, Alexandria, and in Egypt in general¹⁰⁶. Some of them were commissioned by Hellenised Egyptians, e.g. a dedication set up by Petenephties,

⁹⁶ IAG 41 of ca. 200 BCE. BIKERMAN 1939; STAVRIANOPOULOU 2013, 177–179.

⁹⁷ GŁOGOWSKI 2020: 171–174 and graph 8.4.

⁹⁸ BRIQUEL-CHATONNET 1991: 19–20.

⁹⁹ Several cases can be pointed out: BRIQUEL-CHATONNET, BORDREUIL 2001; BRIQUEL-CHATONNET 2005 (Aramaic dedication, at Mount Lebanon near Byblos, 110/109 BCE); CIS II 160 (bilingual Nabatean-Greek dedication, Sidon, 2 BCE); BÉS 1979.178; AGGOULA 1997 (dedication, Palmyrene, Arqa near Tripolis, uncertain context, 182 CE); JACQUES 1987 (Syriac, mosaic, near Ptolemais-Akko, the fifth c. CE); DESREUMAUX, GATIER 1993 (bilingual Syriac-Greek, mosaic, doubtful provenance, fourth–fifth c. CE).

¹⁰⁰ E.g. IJO 3, Syr 30.

¹⁰¹ CIJ II 870–874; 876–883; IJO 3, Syr 1–3; 10–14; 16; 23–24; 28.

¹⁰² I.Thesp 352 and 373. SZELĄG 2020: 34.

¹⁰³ E.g. Μούσσιος (for Moses) in I.Eph. 1677. See WILLIAMS 2002.

¹⁰⁴ I.Fayoum I 76: dedication to Egyptian gods commissioned by an Egyptian named Pmois. I.Fayoum I 2 contains a dedication to the Egyptian goddess Taweret by two sisters with double names (Greek and Egyptian): Eirene-Nephersouchos and Theoxena-Taues, daughters of a Greek-Egyptian couple Demetrios and Tasis.

¹⁰⁵ STAVRIANOPOULOU 2013: 177–179.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. I.Fayoum I 6, 12, 34, 125; I.Alex. Ptol. 30, 34, 54. CLARYSSE 2020.

son of a priest of the crocodile-god Sobek¹⁰⁷. But some were set up by people whose names are not Egyptian. If purely Greek names and patronymics of dedicants are indicative of their ethnic identity¹⁰⁸, the Egyptian character of some of these monuments may relate not to the ethnicity of people who commissioned them but rather reflect their personal religious choices. Jewish ethnic/religious identity is most commonly shown through engraved menorah, the most prominent one carved into a step of the Celsus Library in Ephesos. Other examples are also known from Ephesos¹⁰⁹, Phoenicia¹¹⁰, and the Bosporan Kingdom¹¹¹. In two tombstones from Ephesos, Jews are named as those responsible for their upkeep¹¹², in another one, the deceased are described as 'Ιούδα and 'Ιουδέος¹¹³. Another example of manifesting separate identity are double names used by Jews in Greek inscriptions, e.g. Αἰλιανὸς ὁ καὶ Σαμουήλ in Aphrodisias¹¹⁴.

In the areas studied in our project, the largest collection of engraved non-verbal items are tamgas in the Bosporan Kingdom. Tamga is a sign widely used by the Eurasian steppe people, brought to the north shore of the Black Sea in the first c. BCE¹¹⁵. Some of them resemble symbols known in the Persian heartland¹¹⁶, hence the Bosporan tamgas are generally associated with the Iranian Sarmatians, well attested in the Bosporan Kingdom of the Roman age, and also among its elite¹¹⁷. Most Bosporan tamgas, including those carved into stelae and statues, have no connection with the original monuments¹¹⁸. The so-called royal tamgas were, however, integral parts of otherwise Greek inscriptions from the age of king Rhoimetalkos II (131–153)¹¹⁹. We do not count tamgas because of their non-verbal character, yet a parallel between tamga-engraving and the epigraphic culture of the Bosporus, especially of its eastern part, should be noticed. The epigraphic maximum in the eastern (Asiatic) Bosporus falls in the second half of the second

¹⁰⁷ *I.Fayoum* I 34.

¹⁰⁸ *I.Fayoum* I 6 and 12.

¹⁰⁹ *I.Eph.* 413: a fragmentary inscription of which only τὸ θυσιαστήριον accompanied by engraved menorah survived, possibly from a synagogue. See HORSLEY *et al.* 1987: 231–232.

¹¹⁰ E.g. *IJO Syr.* 7; *Syr.* 10. GŁOGOWSKI 2020: 173.

¹¹¹ *CIRB* 736 (a Greek-Hebrew epitaph); 746; 1225.

¹¹² *I.Eph.* 1676 and 1677.

¹¹³ *SEG* LIV 1192. On *Ioudeos* as the ethnic/religious marker in Asia Minor see STEBNICKA 2011: 106–115.

¹¹⁴ *SEG* XXXVI 970. STEBNICKA 2011: 214.

¹¹⁵ See SOLOMONIK 1959; DRAČUK 1975; JACENKO 2001.

¹¹⁶ BOARDMAN 1998: 1–13.

¹¹⁷ HALAMUS 2017.

¹¹⁸ DRAČUK 1975: 97–99.

¹¹⁹ JACENKO 2001: 45–46, 50–51; DRAČUK 1975: 98.

c. CE¹²⁰. The epigraphic production of this age was composed mainly of building and honorific inscriptions from Tanais, Hermonassa, and Phanagoria, some of them bearing royal tamgas¹²¹. Although we do not know the primary motivation for incorporating tamgas into Greek inscriptions in the Bosporus, royal tamgas in particular, their presence made the inscriptions at least partly accessible also to illiterate subjects of the Tiberii Iulii of the Bosporus. The unmistakably Iranian character of tamgas was, at the same time, a clear reference to the prominent position of the Sarmatian component within the elite of the multiethnic Bosporan Kingdom.

THE BEGINNING OF THE EPIGRAPHIC CULTURE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Inscribing on stone and metal started at widely different points in the territories under consideration in our project. It first began in areas with a strong pre-Greek writing tradition: ca. 2000 BCE in the Fayum and the tenth c. BCE in Phoenicia¹²². Additionally, it began between the ninth c. BCE in Olympia¹²³ and the third/second c. BCE in the case of Greek inscriptions in Phrygia (the earliest inscriptions in Phrygian date to the eighth c. BCE)¹²⁴. Apart from areas with a pre-Greek tradition, the earliest examples of inscribing are associated with established temples. Specifically, the earliest votive offerings from Olympia date to the ninth c. BCE¹²⁵, the earliest Boiotian inscriptions date to the eighth c. BCE (from Oropos) and the seventh c. BCE (dedications from sanctuaries: Kabeireion in Thebes and Ptoion in Akraiphia)¹²⁶, while the earliest inscriptions from Delphi are dedications on bronze cauldrons dated to ca. 600 BCE¹²⁷. Inscribing in Miletos began in the eighth c. BCE and the majority of archaic inscriptions come from Didyma, most of them dedications, whilst inscribing in Ephesos started in the seventh c. BCE¹²⁸. As a rule, the earliest inscriptions are private, often votive, and consist of dedications. An interesting early phenomenon is an epigraphic peak in the eighth–seventh c. BCE Tyre, the earliest in our project, created by ca. 80 stelae with epitaphs, most of them uncovered at Al-Bass cemetery¹²⁹.

¹²⁰ See HALAMUS 2020: 109, graph 5.4.

¹²¹ HALAMUS 2020: 110; JACENKO 2001: 50–51; TREISTER 2011: 319–320.

¹²² WILIMOWSKA 2020: 205–206; GŁOGOWSKI 2020: 169.

¹²³ KOMAR 2020: 68–69.

¹²⁴ CARLESS UNWIN 2020: 146–147.

¹²⁵ KOMAR 2020: 68–69.

¹²⁶ SZELĄG 2020: 33–34.

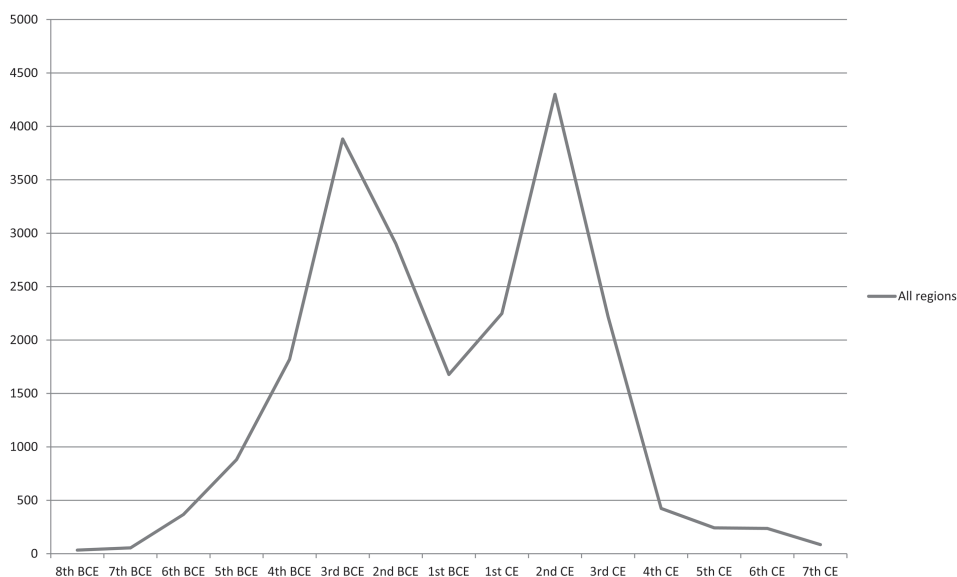
¹²⁷ GRZESIK 2020: 53–54.

¹²⁸ NAWOTKA 2020c: 121, 127.

¹²⁹ Stelae published in SADER 2005 and ABOUSAMRA, LEMAIRE 2014. See GŁOGOWSKI 2020: 169–170 and graph 8.1.

Contemporary epigraphic output from other Phoenician cities consisted mostly of royal inscriptions (dedications, epitaphs). Judging by the cheap local stone and inferior craftsmanship, these stelae from Al-Bass were commissioned by people clearly below the top tier of Tyrian society¹³⁰. They were not commoners either¹³¹. Nevertheless, the impressive collection of early Tyrian epitaphs seems to testify to a rather broad epigraphic culture in Tyre. In the eight c. BCE, people there were already allowed and willing to commemorate themselves or their deceased relatives with inscribed stelae in the fashion usually associated with classical or Hellenistic *polis* rather than the Levant of the archaic age.

CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INSCRIPTIONS



Graph 1: Aggregate epigraphic curve for the Eastern Mediterranean

Graph 1 shows the consolidated epigraphic curve of the Eastern Mediterranean with two maxima, primary in the second c. CE and secondary in the third c. BCE, divided by a minimum in the first c. BCE¹³². The first issue in the study of epigraphic culture is epigraphic maxima. The maximum in the third c. BCE falls in Mesambria, the entire region of Boiotia (including all major Boiotian cities), and Alexandria. In Alexandria, the epigraphic maximum coincides with the

¹³⁰ ABOUSAMRA, LEMAIRE 2014: 211–213.

¹³¹ Among them was a priest of Astarte-Isis: ABOUSAMRA, LEMAIRE 2014: 102–107, no. 40, of ca. 700 BCE.

¹³² This is the updated version of graph 11.2 in NAWOTKA *et al.* 2020: 226. See p. 222, graph 11.1 for epigraphic curves in all cities/regions.

age of maximum power and prosperity of the Ptolemaic Kingdom. However, this connection is largely indirect. The most numerous category of third-c. BCE inscriptions from Alexandria are epitaphs, presumably more affordable to common people during economic booms than when the economy is stagnant¹³³. The maximum in the second c. BCE falls in Delphi and Pergamon. The link between the power and prosperity of the state and the number of inscriptions is more evident in Pergamon than in Alexandria, primarily due to royal patronage¹³⁴. The maximum in the Fayum falls in the first c. BCE¹³⁵. The maximum for the Bosporan Kingdom occurs in the first c. CE, the second half of which is the period with the highest recorded number of inscriptions in this region¹³⁶. The maximum of the second c. CE falls in: Chersonesos, Olbia, Istros, Kallatis, Ephesos, Miletos, Aphrodisias, and the majority of the cities in Phrygia and the whole region of Phoenicia¹³⁷. In Miletos, the second c. CE marks the overall maximum, and the quarter-century with the second-highest recorded epigraphic output also falls in this century (125–150 CE). This local quarter-century maximum is largely due to several public and private inscriptions that celebrated Hadrian as emperor and, on scores of private altars, as a god¹³⁸. The popularity of Hadrian also contributed to the absolute quarter-century epigraphic maximum in Ephesos. Other contributing factors were inscriptions (decrees and *tituli honorarii*) associated with the activity of a great local benefactor Vibius Salutaris¹³⁹.

In a few cases, a particular reason can be identified as the cause for the maximum in a particular century. In Delphi, the cause was the high concentration of manumission records in the second c. BCE, with a stunning 765 (out of a total number of 1,132 second-c. BCE inscriptions) being recorded. Also, thanks to manumissions, the two quarter-centuries with the highest numbers of inscriptions fall between 175–125 BCE. Without manumissions, the clear epigraphic maximum in Delphi would have occurred in the third c. BCE and the quarter-centuries with the highest and second highest numbers of inscriptions would have been 275–250 and 350–325 BCE¹⁴⁰. The phenomenon of manumission inscriptions seems to be limited largely to central and northern Greece between the second c. BCE and the third c. CE

¹³³ WOJCIECHOWSKA 2020: 187–190 and graph 9.1.

¹³⁴ An important category of Pergamene inscriptions are those from the Great Altar cut in the second quarter of the second c. BCE. NAWOTKA 2020c: 132 and n. 85 (with reference).

¹³⁵ WILIMOWSKA 2020: 202, graphs 10.1 and 10.2.

¹³⁶ HALAMUS 2020: 107–110 and graph 5.3.

¹³⁷ HALAMUS 2020: 104–106 and graph 5.1; PORUCZNIK 2020: 82, 85–89, 91–93 and graphs 4.1, 4.3, 4.5; NAWOTKA 2020c: 121, 125, 127, 130–131 and graphs 6.1, 6.5; CARLESS UNWIN 2020: 154 and graph 7.6; GŁOGOWSKI 2020: 173–175 and graph 8.5.

¹³⁸ NAWOTKA 2020c: 122, 125 and graph 6.2.

¹³⁹ NAWOTKA 2020c: 130–131 and graph 6.6.

¹⁴⁰ GRZESIK 2020: 57–58 and graph 2.2.

and has never been plausibly explained¹⁴¹. The unexpectedly late quarter-century maximum in Alexandria (600–625) is caused by a group of 33 inscriptions from circus factions of the Kom el-Dikka theater, all beginning with the expression νικᾷ ἡ τύχη¹⁴². These are the last dated inscriptions from Alexandria. Without this deposit, the quarter-century maxima would belong at the turn of the second c. CE¹⁴³.

The epigraphic maximum in Olympia occurs in the fifth c. BCE, following on from very high numbers in the sixth c. BCE; the number of inscriptions recorded per quarter-century between 525 and 450 BCE was not exceeded until 125–150 CE. As attested by archaeological evidence, the epigraphic maximum in the fifth c. BCE coincides with a period of great prosperity for Olympia, which in the late-archaic age progressed from an essential shrine to a major pan-Hellenic cult centre and the seat of the most important Greek athletic events. Olympia received many dedications and inscriptions commemorating victories, and these inscriptions resulted in the epigraphic maximum of the late sixth–early fifth c. BCE. Meanwhile, the later decline was caused, among other things, by the fading habit of commemorating military victories, noticeable from the second half of the fifth c. BCE¹⁴⁴. A contributing factor was the rise of Delphi as the pan-Hellenic stage for honouring deserving individuals in the fifth c. BCE, thus superseding Olympia in this role¹⁴⁵.

Epigraphic culture in the Eastern Mediterranean often reveals itself through a combination of primary and secondary peaks. The secondary peak of Sidon is caused by inscriptions associated with the building activity of king Bodashtart at the sanctuary of Eshmun at Bostan esh-Sheikh¹⁴⁶. The early peaks in the two largest Phoenician cities (the primary peak in Tyre in the seventh c. BCE and the secondary peak in Sidon in the sixth c. BCE) make this section of the epigraphic curve for these two cities and, to a degree, for Phoenicia in general, similar to the curve drawn by PRAG for Sicily, where the first peak falls in the sixth c. BCE and is primarily caused by Punic dedications¹⁴⁷. The examples of (Punic) Sicily, Tyre and Sidon demonstrate the importance of a pre-Hellenistic indigenous epigraphic tradition in shaping the epigraphic curve. Together with examples from Olympia and Miletos in the pre-Hellenistic portion of their epigraphic curves, they testify to the role of dedications and votive inscriptions, often associated with major sanctuaries, in shaping the epigraphic curve in its early stages. The secondary

¹⁴¹ ZELNICK-ABRAMOVITZ 2005.

¹⁴² SEG XXXI 1485–1510 (33 inscriptions).

¹⁴³ WOJCIECHOWSKA 2020: 191–192 and graph 9.4.

¹⁴⁴ KOMAR 2020: 69–71 and graphs 3.1 and 3.2.

¹⁴⁵ GRZESIK 2019; KOMAR 2020: 69.

¹⁴⁶ GŁOGOWSKI 2020: 169.

¹⁴⁷ PRAG 2002: 22–23 and fig. 2.2.

peaks of Boiotia and Olbia fall in the fourth c. BCE with a vast (for the region) number of proxeny decrees, public dedications, and other inscriptions. This reflects the growth of Olbia, which was becoming an inter-regional centre at that time, and the constitutional shift to democracy sometime in the fourth c. BCE¹⁴⁸. The fourth c. BCE is marked by the strong and, at times, dominant position of the Boiotian League in Greece and military defeats and destruction suffered by some of the largest Boiotian cities (Thebes, Plataiai, Thespiiai and Orchomenos). The first factor explains the high epigraphic production rate, while the second demonstrates that the maximum of the fourth c. BCE is distinctly less than the absolute maximum of the third c. BCE. The destruction of Thebes by Alexander in 335 BCE and its slow and incomplete rebuilding inaugurated by Kassander may have contributed to the local minimum in the fourth c. BCE, situated between the peaks of the fifth c. BCE and the third c. BCE. There is also a visible minimum in 350–300 BCE, while at the same time, in the rest of Boiotia, we can observe a rising epigraphic curve¹⁴⁹. The secondary peak of the third c. BCE falls in Chersonesos, Delphi and Miletos. The secondary peak of Chersonesos reflects the advantageous economic situation of this *polis* from the late fourth to the early third c. BCE, a time when Chersonesos controlled a large *chora*. A contributing factor was the chance discovery of a large number of painted epitaphs re-used in the construction of the Tower of Zeno within the citadel of Chersonesos¹⁵⁰.

In Delphi, the third c. BCE was the golden age of honorific culture, with a stunning 45% of *all* decrees dated to this century. Many of these decrees were commissioned by external powers, testifying to the position of Delphi as a pan-Hellenic centre used by various states to advertise their Greekness, the best example being the honorific decrees set up by the Aitolians who controlled Delphi for most of the third c. BCE¹⁵¹. Secondary peaks in the second c. CE fall in the Bosporean Kingdom, Pergamon, Eumeneia, Tyre, and Alexandria. In the Bosporean Kingdom, the secondary peaks reflect the continued stable situation in the age of the unquestioned Roman protectorate and the increased presence of Sarmatian elites in the public life of the Kingdom¹⁵². The secondary peak of Pergamon is, to a degree, a reflection of the general economic prosperity of western Asia Minor in the age of the Antonines. The particular concentration of the epigraphic output in the first half of the second c. CE has much to do with local recognition, *tituli honorarii* and altars of Hadrian, a noted benefactor of the Asklepieion¹⁵³. The secondary peaks of Tyre and Alexandria both echo the general prosperity

¹⁴⁸ NAWOTKA 2014: 175–176; PORUCZNIK 2020: 84.

¹⁴⁹ SZELĄG 2020: 36–38.

¹⁵⁰ HALAMUS 2020: 103–104.

¹⁵¹ GRZESIK 2020: 57.

¹⁵² HALAMUS 2020: 110–111.

¹⁵³ LE GLAY 1976; NAWOTKA 2020c: 133.

of the age of the Antonines. In addition, the period of 175–225 CE is the most intense time for epigraphic production in Alexandria, caused mainly by the interest in Egypt shown by Septimius Severus and his dynasty; it also reflects the increased Roman military presence in the country that was shaken by the revolts of the *boukoloï*. The increased Roman military involvement in Egypt conditioned Alexandria's absolute peak of Latin and Greek/Latin bilingual inscriptions in 175–225 CE¹⁵⁴. Finally, the secondary peak of the third c. CE falls in Istros, Kallatis, Ephesos, and all of Phoenicia. In western Pontus, the secondary peak is mostly a continuation of the very high epigraphic production rate from the second half of the second c. and the first half of the third c. CE. The same is true of Phoenicia. The secondary peaks in Ephesos, per century and per quarter-century, in the third c. CE and in 200–225 echo the high level of building activity in the city and coincide with the pinnacle of prestige the city reached upon acquiring its third and fourth *neokoria*¹⁵⁵.

Since in most areas, pre-fourth c. BCE and late-Antique epigraphic output was low, epigraphic minima are truly diagnostic in the age of generally high epigraphic production, from the late-classical age until the mid-third c. CE. For the outlying/border periods, three prevailing trends are noticeable. In the late-urbanised areas of Phrygia and Aphrodisias, the low point occurs in the third c. BCE, as inscribing was developing slowly at this time. Epigraphic production in Pergamon, Phoenicia, and the Fayum was also low during this century mainly due to their small Greek and Hellenised populations. The third trend is the decline of epigraphic output in the third c. CE, apparent everywhere except Eumeneia. However, the dating of inscriptions from Eumeneia is problematic and uncertain¹⁵⁶.

EPIGRAPHIC CURVES AND HISTORY: GLOBAL TRENDS, LOCAL FACTORS

For all divergence among epigraphic curves in our case studies, most epigraphic maxima, measured by the number of inscriptions per century, fall between 300 BCE and 300 CE. Examples of earlier (Tyre, Sidon, Olympia) or later (Alexandria) maxima all have a specific local explanation. These are either tied to the developed pre-Greek epigraphic culture (Phoenicia), specific forms of commemoration combined with the transformation of the sanctuary from local to pan-Hellenic (Olympia), or a chance discovery of a comparatively large cache of inscriptions from circus factions, an age-specific category of documents (Alexandria). In all other cities/regions under consideration, the primary and, in most cases, secondary epigraphic maxima fall either in the early to

¹⁵⁴ WOJCIECHOWSKA 2020: 191–192.

¹⁵⁵ NAWOTKA *et al.* 2020: 223–224.

¹⁵⁶ CARLESS UNWIN 2020: 150–151.

mid-Hellenistic age or in the second c. CE. Sometimes, the primary and secondary maxima fall in the same broad period. The early to mid-Hellenistic maxima are typical of central Greece (Boiotia, Delphi), Mesambria on the Black Sea coast, some cities of western Asia Minor (Pergamon and largely Miletos) and, to a degree, Alexandria. Maxima in the second c. CE are attested throughout a much wider area: most of the Black Sea region, parts of western Asia Minor (Ephesos and, to a degree, Miletos), Aphrodisias, most of Phrygia, most of Phoenicia and, to a degree, Alexandria. It is important to note that areas that do not fit into this pattern, besides Olympia, the Bosphoran Kingdom, Chersonesos, Olbia, Eumeneia, Tyre, and the Fayum present a mixed picture where some maxima fit the pattern while others fall outside it. As a rule of thumb, marginal areas and those urbanised and Hellenised at a late stage are more likely to present a curve with late maxima. This is best illustrated by the example of Eumeneia, where epigraphic activity was still very high in the third c. CE. Maxima of the old cities of continental Greece and some of Asia Minor tend to fall in the Hellenistic age. All this information shows that there was not one globally dominant shape of the epigraphic curve in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, in ca. 43% of all identifiable cases, a maximum (per century, per half-century, per quarter-century) falls in the second c. CE. The peak of the Antonine age in epigraphy, postulated by MACMULLEN, has to be applied with utmost caution to the Eastern Mediterranean¹⁵⁷. Our studies suggest that the peak of the Antonine age is the case of a higher probability of discovering extensive epigraphic output in many areas, especially outside continental Greece, in the second c. CE, rather than an absolute historical principle. Nevertheless, since the epigraphic maxima identified in our project, both the Antonine and the early-Hellenistic peaks, are matched by similar peaks in Egyptian papyri, also when tabulated by a quarter century¹⁵⁸, they are very likely representative of high writing production on stone and perishable materials in periods of economic prosperity, comparative political stability and optimism. The economic factor should not be eliminated from this equation since a substantial proportion of papyri resulted from or related to business activity.

The age of the Antonines and early Severans was undoubtedly a period of considerable epigraphic production as not a single example of the absolute epigraphic minimum, either per century, half-century, or quarter-century occurs in the second c. CE. Seven primary and six secondary per century minima fall either in the first c. BCE (Chersonesos, Olbia, Istros, Kallatis, Tyre, Sidon, Alexandria) or in the first c. CE (Chersonesos, Istros, Kallatis, Mesambria, Miletos). They are often accompanied by distinct per quarter-century or per half-century local minima: 100–50 BCE in Chersonesos, 75–50 BCE in Alexandria, 50–25 BCE in Phoenicia, 25–1 BCE in Boiotia, and 50–75 CE in Miletos, Ephesos, and

¹⁵⁷ MACMULLEN 1982: especially 234–237.

¹⁵⁸ NAWOTKA 2020b: 3–4 and graph 0.2 (graph drawn by J.K. WILIMOWSKA).

Pergamon. The coincidence of minima per century and local minima per quarter-century and half-century leads to the conclusion that between the first c. BCE and the first c. CE, there was indeed a noticeable downturn in epigraphic output in the Black Sea region, western Asia Minor, the Levant, and parts of Egypt, while in central Asia Minor, epigraphy had not yet begun in earnest. Similarly, as in the case of the peak of the Antonine age, the exceptions to the rule for an epigraphic downturn in the first c. BCE or the first c. CE are too numerous to suggest a global trend of diminished epigraphic production in this period. However, it is still noticeable in many places. Although no obvious evidence can be presented and many local factors have to be taken into consideration, it would be hard not to notice the coincidence between the downturn in epigraphic production and the beginning of Roman rule in the East, or, more precisely, the establishment of a Roman provincial and sub-provincial administration.

INSCRIPTIONS, DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM

The issue of the causal link, not only a temporal coincidence, between periods of democracy and ample inscribing, was raised in the early days of quantitative epigraphic study. Charles HEDRICK shows a strong coincidence between periods of a democratic constitution and epigraphic maxima and makes a strong point for the causal link between these two phenomena¹⁵⁹. There is no doubt about the coincidence, but the causal link between democracy and attested inscribing of decrees in Athens has been disputed by some scholars¹⁶⁰. Krzysztof NAWOTKA gathered evidence for the near-universal transformation from oligarchy to democracy in Ionia, Aiolis, and the old Greek cities of Karia, brought about by Alexander the Great in 334 BCE and reflected in the sudden proliferation of inscribed decrees in the last third of the fourth c. BCE¹⁶¹. The argument for studying causal links between ancient democracy and inscribing is based on the premise that inscribing decrees was the habit of a democratic *polis* as opposed to the secrecy typical of oligarchy and tyranny. Caution needs to be applied here since the rising epigraphic curve and the suddenly increasing numbers of inscribed decrees in western Asia Minor in the last third of the fourth c. BCE need to be read against the background of what Richard BILLOWS calls the “rebirth of Ionia”, i.e., the rejuvenation of cities of Ionia and adjacent areas at the beginning of the Hellenistic age following the stagnation in the classical age. BILLOWS notices numerous

¹⁵⁹ Most notably HEDRICK 1999. Even his critics agree with the coincidence between inscribing of decrees and periods of Democracy in Athens: PÉBARTHE 2005.

¹⁶⁰ To MEYER (2013) this has more to do with the Athenian habit of honouring people than with democracy. To TRACY (2000: 338) the declining inscribing of Athenian decrees in the age of Demetrios of Phaleron was connected with his laws on restricting extravagance in memorials.

¹⁶¹ NAWOTKA 2003; see also graph 0.11 in NAWOTKA 2020b: 13. See also CARLSSON 2010 for the connection of ample legislating and democracy in the Hellenistic age.

growth factors: refounding of cities, new settlers in existing cities, extensive monumental buildings (temples, walls), and royal patronage¹⁶². In principle, the epigraphic curves are congruous with BILLOWS' observation with a local peak in Ephesos followed by an extremely low epigraphic curve prior to the mid-fourth c. BCE and a steady curve rise in Miletos in the last quarter-centuries of the fourth c. BCE and the first quarter of the third c. BCE¹⁶³. However, the composition of the total epigraphic output in Ephesos in 350–275 BCE is telling, too: out of 85.5 inscriptions datable to this period, 61 or 71.34% are decrees or abbreviated decrees¹⁶⁴. This stunning proportion of decrees, typical epigraphic products of democratic Hellenistic *polis*, occurred in the years of democratic revolutions attested in Ephesos in the 330s BCE and its direct aftermath¹⁶⁵.

The difference between the epigraphic curves of the three large cities of western Asia Minor, Miletos, Ephesos and Pergamon, in the Hellenistic age is stunning. After the first quarter of the third c. BCE, the Milesian and Ephesian curves diverge most radically of all the periods under consideration. This may not result from the economy alone as both cities prospered in the Hellenistic age, although in the first c. BCE, especially towards the end of this century, Ephesos seems to have been outstripping Miletos as the leading trade centre of western Asia Minor¹⁶⁶. The principal reason for this divergence may lie in the deeper cultural and political attitudes of the two biggest cities of Hellenistic Asia Minor. The Hellenistic age saw a huge epigraphic output in Miletos, with the recorded numbers of inscriptions being consistently high, with the absolute per quarter-century maximum in 225–200 BCE, to drop slightly in the second and first c. BCE. The very high numbers of inscriptions recorded between 225–175 BCE are associated with the intense production of decrees, 50 out of 100 inscriptions datable to this period¹⁶⁷. This is a sign of vigorous democracy with its principle of openness¹⁶⁸ and a reflection of Milesian foreign policy, which necessitated the hiring of large mercenary armies and led to the mass franchising of Cretan mercenaries, as recorded in scores of abbreviated decrees¹⁶⁹. These factors seem to have been more important in shaping the epigraphic curve of Miletos in the mid-Hellenistic period than economy. Namely, 225–175 BCE was the most prolific period for inscriptions in the history of Miletos, with high numbers

¹⁶² BILLOWS 2007.

¹⁶³ NAWOTKA 2020c: graphs 6.6 and 6.3, respectively.

¹⁶⁴ NAWOTKA 2020c: graph 6.6.

¹⁶⁵ NAWOTKA 2003: 23–24.

¹⁶⁶ DAVIES 2011: 194–197.

¹⁶⁷ NAWOTKA 2020c: graph 6.3.

¹⁶⁸ NAWOTKA 2014: 178–179.

¹⁶⁹ NAWOTKA 2020c: 123.

also for 250–225 BCE. At the same time, the stephanephoric list of 232/231 to 184/183 BCE includes Ἀπόλλων Διός 11 times, and the divine *stephanephoria* is commonly explained as a sign of economic trouble when no mortal wanted to pay the costs of the office from his pocket¹⁷⁰.

Much like in earlier periods, Miletos chose to assert its independence by fielding large mercenary armies and warring with neighbouring Greek *poleis*, barbarian tribes, and territorial powers. In its foreign policy, Miletos was typically an ally, not a subject, even to the mightiest of kings. Ephesos asserted its drive to freedom most forcefully in the 330s BCE, during the age of Macedonian conquests in Asia Minor. Its democracy was most vigorous between 334 and the beginning of the third c. BCE. Indeed, the local maximum of 325–300 BCE, built predominantly upon inscribed decrees, remained the highest until 1–25 CE; epigraphic production between 275 and 1 BCE stayed depressed. This was the period in which the Ephesian attitude was to avoid wars, which came at a price, i.e., the submission and payment of tribute to Lysimachos, the Seleukids, the Ptolemies and the Attalids, and hosting Hellenistic kings and their families who selected Ephesos for their residence more than once¹⁷¹. This attitude of the Ephesians is aptly called *Lauheit* or lukewarmness by modern scholars¹⁷². The ensuing low epigraphic production contrasts that in Miletos, whose active and self-conscious democracy commissioned numerous decrees and *tituli honorarii*, primarily related to the vigorous foreign policy of the *polis*. The difference in the epigraphic curves of Miletos and Ephesos and its likely explanation are valid for the Hellenistic age, the golden age of Greek democracy, but not for the age of the Roman Empire when both Ephesos and Miletos evolved towards what VEYNE and GAUTHIER would call a *régime des notables* or an oligarchy¹⁷³. In Pergamon, the inscribing of decrees increases tremendously in the final years of Attalos III and continues after his death and the granting of freedom to the city. Obviously, inscribing decrees was barely compatible with the royal rule, as kings preferred different ways of expression: dedications showing their piety, building inscriptions, edicts, and letters. All of this suggests that inscribing decrees, let alone adopting them by a show of hands, was predominantly the epigraphic habit of a free and democratic *polis*, which limits the chronological timeframe regarding the inscribing of decrees primarily to the Hellenistic age. The epigraphic curves of Miletos and Ephesos largely converge in the first c. CE except that the Augustan peak was reached in Miletos in the last quarter of the first c. BCE and in Ephesos in the first quarter of the first c. CE. Subsequently, both curves drop to reach local minima in the third quarter of the first c. CE, after which they

¹⁷⁰ Milet 124.

¹⁷¹ KNIBBE 1998: 91–97.

¹⁷² BÜRCHNER 1905: 2789; DAVIES 2011: 192–194.

¹⁷³ VEYNE 1976: 122–131; also QUASS 1993: 11–13.

rebound vigorously. One wonders whether this development can be attributed to the applied conservative fiscal measures, among them the curtailing of municipal privileges in the East under Augustus, Claudius, and Vespasian¹⁷⁴.

In Delphi, the overall number of published inscriptions is attributable to several specific local factors, from extensive archaeological excavations and the meticulous efforts of French epigraphers to the ancient habit of inscribing on building stones of temples and terraces which made local inscriptions less prone to destruction than those inscribed elsewhere on stelae¹⁷⁵. Contributing factor to the very high number of inscribed decrees (936.5 between the fourth and the first c. BCE) was the international position of Delphi, a principal Greek shrine and oracle in the late-classical and Hellenistic age, in which more outsiders than citizens commissioned and were honoured through inscriptions. The connection between democracy and the inscribing of decrees is similarly as visible as in western Asia Minor: Delphi, already democratic in the mid-fourth c. BCE, suddenly starts to inscribe more and reaches a peak in the third c. BCE – a secondary peak if all inscriptions are considered and an absolute peak if manumission records are not included. The majority of decrees are dated between the mid-fourth and the second c. BCE, i.e. to the period of the blossoming of Delphic democracy¹⁷⁶.

Broadly speaking, the cities and regions in this project, whose datable epigraphic production is numerous enough to allow for sound conclusions to be made, connect (chronologically at the very least) the number of inscribed decrees with the rise of democracy in the late-classical and Hellenistic age; this connection was also observed by HEDRICK regarding Athens¹⁷⁷. However, some cities/areas in our project produced little or almost no decrees. One example is Alexandria, from which just three decrees survive: one issued by an association¹⁷⁸, one by a body whose identification is not possible due to damage to the stone¹⁷⁹, and one possibly by the *boule* and *demos* if we accept BRECCIA's restoration¹⁸⁰. If it is correct, this decisively proves that early Hellenistic Alexandria did have a *boule* and that the council and people legislated at least for some time¹⁸¹. The minute number of decrees is most probably a consequence of the fact that Alexandria was usually administered by officials appointed by the king or prefect, which left little space for the *boule* and *demos* to act in the periods

¹⁷⁴ JONES 1940: 130–131.

¹⁷⁵ GRZESIK 2020: 52.

¹⁷⁶ GRZESIK 2020: 55–57 and graph 2.1.

¹⁷⁷ HEDRICK 1999: 394, fig. 4.

¹⁷⁸ *I.Musée d'Alexandrie* 47.

¹⁷⁹ *I.Musée d'Alexandrie* 162.

¹⁸⁰ *I.Musée d'Alexandrie* 164: [ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ/ καὶ τῷ] δήμῳ πρυταν[έων γνώμη].

¹⁸¹ For a summary of discussion on the existence of *boule* in Alexandria see G.M. COHEN 2006: 368–372.

when these democratic bodies existed¹⁸². The example of Phoenicia is even more striking, with no decrees and very few other inscriptions referring to the legislative activity of the *boule* and *demos* among some 2,600 surviving specimens¹⁸³. Before a more detailed study is conducted, two explanations can be offered: either Phoenician cities were not democratic for any prolonged period, thus they were not prone to publish decrees in stone, or, for some cultural reason, it was not deemed appropriate to inscribe legislative acts at all.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY AND THE EPIGRAPHIC CURVE

Whether there was a temporal coincidence only or a causal link between critical political events and the epigraphic curve is of fundamental importance in this paper. This putative link is better studied in places where it is possible to tabulate inscriptions in 25-year brackets. Some of the examples are obvious. For instance, the production of Greek inscriptions began in the Fayum only after Ptolemy II started to settle veterans in the region¹⁸⁴. The prolonged siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar and the city's subsequent decline probably caused its epigraphic curve to sink in the sixth c. BCE. This coincides with a pronounced local maximum at Sidon, the dominant Phoenician city during the Early Persian period. Conversely, the falling out of grace with later Achaemenids and the calamitous destruction of Sidon by Artaxerxes III are reflected in a local minimum during the fourth c. BCE¹⁸⁵. In Miletos of the sixth c. BCE, a comparatively high number of datable inscriptions (with a local maximum in 550–525 BCE) reflect the prosperity of archaic Miletos and the elevated regional position of Apollo's temple and oracle at Didyma. The sudden decline of the curve after ca. 500 BCE is due to the city's destruction at the end of the Ionian revolt in 494 BCE. There is little doubt that the low of 475–450 BCE, the absolute minimum of the Milesian epigraphic curve between 600 BCE and 375 CE, resulted from the Persian destruction of the city¹⁸⁶. The reign of Alexander is reflected in a different way in continental Greece and Asia Minor¹⁸⁷. The destruction of Thebes in 335 BC is marked by a distinct local minimum of the epigraphic curve in the fourth c. BCE¹⁸⁸. The sharp rising curve in Miletos and Ephesos after 350 BCE echoes Alexander's liberation of the Greek cities of Asia Minor. This event is

¹⁸² WOJCIECHOWSKA 2020: 192–193.

¹⁸³ GŁOGOWSKI 2020: 173–174.

¹⁸⁴ The earliest Greek inscription of Fayum is *ILouvre* 8 [1–3] = *SB* I 677 [a–c] dated to 274–270 BCE.

¹⁸⁵ GŁOGOWSKI 2020: 169 and graph 8.1.

¹⁸⁶ NAWOTKA 2020c: 122 and graph 6.2.

¹⁸⁷ See WALLACE (2010: 45–52) on dissimilar policy of Alexander regarding democracy and oligarchy, in continental Greece and western Asia Minor.

¹⁸⁸ SZELĄG 2020: 42–43 and graph 1.8.

also clearly visible in other cities of this region¹⁸⁹. The time in which the Ptolemaic Empire was most prosperous and important – the third c. BCE – is also the period when Alexandria reached its per century epigraphic maximum¹⁹⁰. Meanwhile, the most crucial period for the Attalid Kingdom coincides with the absolute epigraphic maximum per quarter-century in Pergamon (175–150 BCE), followed by its secondary maximum in 150–125 BCE. This resulted from, to a degree, the frantic legislative production in the city that was freer to act during the final years of Attalos III, eventually being liberated in 133 BCE following his last will¹⁹¹.

The destructive raids of Burebista in western and northern areas of the Black Sea coast resulted in absolute epigraphic minima in Olbia (no inscriptions in 50–25 BCE), Istros (epigraphic minimum of the first c. BCE), and Kallatis¹⁹². In Alexandria, recorded epigraphic output increased in the age of Kleopatra VII¹⁹³. The coincidence between the reign of Augustus and the epigraphic curves from the Eastern Mediterranean is mixed, with distinctly rising curves in Kallatis (25 BCE–25 CE)¹⁹⁴, Olympia (a local quarter-century maxima, the highest between 350 BCE and 50 CE)¹⁹⁵, Miletos (a local maximum in 25–1 BCE), Ephesos (the local peak of 1–25 CE is a quarter-century absolute maximum for the period preceding 100 CE), Pergamon (a local quarter-century maximum in 1–25 BCE, the highest in the period 125 BCE–125 CE)¹⁹⁶, and Alexandria (1–25 CE marks the highest quarter-century reading between 200 BCE and 150 CE)¹⁹⁷. However, Augustus does not seem to have positively influenced the epigraphic curves of Boiotia, Delphi, Phoenicia, the Fayum, and large parts of the Black Sea area. These mixed results should somewhat mitigate ALFÖLDY's (and others') enthusiastic opinion about the role of Augustus in creating the Imperial epigraphic culture¹⁹⁸. Readings from the end of the Julio-Claudian and beginning of the Flavian dynasties are mixed, with clear minima in many places, like Istros, Boiotia, Delphi, Miletos, Ephesos, and Pergamon. This is not a universal trend: in Olympia and the Fayum, local maxima fall in 50–75 CE. The reign of Hadrian is the high point of inscribing in the Eastern Mediterranean, and maxima in many places are associated

¹⁸⁹ NAWOTKA 2003.

¹⁹⁰ WOJCIECHOWSKA 2020: 188–190.

¹⁹¹ NAWOTKA 2020c: 132–133 and graph 6.8.

¹⁹² PORUCZNIK 2020: 85, 89, 91–92, graphs 4.2, 4.4, 4.6.

¹⁹³ WOJCIECHOWSKA 2020: 191 and graph 9.4.

¹⁹⁴ PORUCZNIK 2020: graph 4.6.

¹⁹⁵ KOMAR 2020: graph 3.1.

¹⁹⁶ NAWOTKA 2020c: graphs 6.2, 6.6 and 6.8.

¹⁹⁷ WOJCIECHOWSKA 2020: graph 9.4.

¹⁹⁸ ALFÖLDY 1991 (most examples listed by ALFÖLDY originate in the Latin West); GORDON *et al.* 1997: 210–212.

either with his activities (most notably: *inscriptions forestières* in Phoenicia)¹⁹⁹ or his popularity, marked by commemorative *tituli honorarii* and the erection of altars (public and private) where he could be worshipped. Hadrianic maxima are noticeable in Olbia, Boiotia, Olympia, Miletos, Ephesos, Pergamon, and Phoenicia²⁰⁰. In Delphi, the number of inscriptions dated to the reign of Hadrian far exceeds the number of inscriptions produced during the reign of any other emperor²⁰¹. This connection of absolute or local maxima with the reign of Hadrian is much in line with HEDRICK's graph for Attica, where the highest peak after 300 BCE occurs under Hadrian²⁰². The evidence gathered in this case study suggests that in the Eastern Mediterranean, the absolute epigraphic maximum coincides with Hadrian and not with Septimius Severus, as suggested by MROZEK and MACMULLEN²⁰³.

Epigraphic maxima and minima often, but not in a prevailing majority of cases, coincide with certain political phenomena and reigns of important kings and emperors. The Augustan, Antonine, and Severan peaks were not truly global trends, discernible in all areas in the Eastern Mediterranean. It can only be inferred that a new Roman dynasty, besides the Flavian, was likely to coincide with an uptick in the epigraphic curve, but its arrival was not necessarily the catalyst. With this reservation, the temporal coincidence between the upturn of epigraphy and the change of dynasty is another global trend observed in our project. One needs to bear in mind that local factors often mitigate it or make the link causal and not exclusively chronological.

THE END OF THE ANCIENT EPIGRAPHIC HABIT AND THE END OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

In most cases (except for Eumeneia), the third century CE sees an evident decline in epigraphic output. Before relating it to the so-called "Third Century Crisis", one needs to realise that not every quarter-century drop in epigraphic production should be considered a clear indicator of a crisis. Crises can only be identified when the epigraphic curve drops significantly and remains depressed for a prolonged period or, better still, forever. In the Bosporan Kingdom, the absolute half-century maximum of 50–100 CE is followed by 350 years of decline, with a sudden drop after 250, and a virtual halt of epigraphic production after 400. These two sudden curve declines coincide with two foreign invasions

¹⁹⁹ GŁOGOWSKI 2020: 174, 177.

²⁰⁰ PORUCZNIK 2020: graph 4.2; SZELAĞ 2020: graph 1.4; KOMAR 2020: graph 3.1; NAWOTKA 2020c: graphs 6.2, 6.6, 6.8; GŁOGOWSKI 2020: graph 8.7.

²⁰¹ GRZESIK 2020: graph 2.2: twice as many inscriptions as under Trajan, whose reign has the second highest number.

²⁰² HEDRICK 1999: 392.

²⁰³ MROZEK 1973; MACMULLEN 1982.

of the Bosporan Kingdom: by Goths ca. 250 and by Huns in the second half of the fourth c. In Chersonesos, inscribing declined after 250 CE, while a slight recovery was noted in the second half of the sixth c., stopping after 600. The epigraphic curves of western and north-western Pontus stay at a high level until the mid-third c. in Olbia and Istros, until 275 in Kallatis, and throughout the third c. CE in Mesambria. Certainly, Olbia and Istros, and possibly Kallatis, fell victim to the Goths in the mid-third c., which resulted in a much diminished epigraphic production rate during the second half of the third c. Mesambria, comparatively immune to barbarian raids due to its position on an offshore island, is the only place in western Pontus where the epigraphic output recovered in later antiquity. Epigraphic output in Boiotia, Delphi, and Olympia declined in the third c. CE and came to a virtual standstill after the fourth c., with one inscription in Boiotia in the sixth c. and 1.5 in Olympia²⁰⁴.

The case studies of Asia Minor are very dissimilar. In Pergamon, the epigraphic output collapsed after 225 to cease after 375. In Miletos, epigraphic production diminished in stages after 200 to recover, uniquely among the cities in this project, under Emperor Julian. The renewed elite activity associated with his rule is noticeable in some places in Asia Minor and Africa, where the sudden increase in monumental building activity is explained by Julian restoring part of municipal income to the cities of the Roman empire²⁰⁵. After that, the epigraphic curve remains depressed, with a small uptick under Justinian. Ephesos' epigraphic production diminished slightly after 225, followed by a decline related to the destruction inflicted by an earthquake and the raid of the Goths in 262²⁰⁶. Again, an uptick occurred under Justinian, followed by small-scale inscribing until the mid-seventh c. In most of Phrygia and Aphrodisias, epigraphic output stayed at quite a high level until 300, while in Pessinous until 400. Aphrodisias experienced a sudden decline in epigraphic production after 300, but later it rebounded to reach a local maximum in the fifth c. CE. Inscribing declined in Asia Minor in the fourth to seventh c. as compared to the first through third c., e.g. in Miletos to 46.5 from 532.5, in Ephesos to 149 from 1515, in Pergamon to 0 from 392.5. Apart from Ephesos, the decline is more pronounced than 90% estimated by Sylvain DESTEPHEN for major cities in Asia Minor²⁰⁷.

Inscribing in the Levant was quite strong in Late Antiquity. In Phoenicia, the third century CE brought the secondary epigraphic maximum, and inscribing

²⁰⁴ NAWOTKA *et al.* 2020: 233–234.

²⁰⁵ On the enthusiastic reception of the short reign of Julian in Asia Minor, demonstrated by the fact that a much larger number of statues were commissioned for him than for his predecessor Constantius II and his successor Valens, see WARD-PERKINS 2016: 303. On Africa: SAASTAMOINEN 2015: 465.

²⁰⁶ FOSSEY 1979: 3–4; SCHERRER 1995: 16–17.

²⁰⁷ DESTEPHEN 2020: 19.

diminished markedly only after 325. The epigraphic curve rebounded to its third highest level in the sixth c. This is much in line with the conclusions reached by DI SEGNI in her study of inscriptions from Palestine and Roman Arabia, where epigraphic activity peaked in the fifth and sixth c. CE and the epigraphic curves stayed relatively high until the Arab conquest²⁰⁸. Also, in Alexandria, the epigraphic curve remained very high in the third c. It then dropped in the fourth and especially in the fifth c., but rebounded vigorously in the sixth c., particularly in the seventh c., with the absolute quarter-century maximum occurring in 600–625. Also, in the Fayum, the epigraphic curve reached a local maximum in the seventh c.

The downward trend is not registered simultaneously throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, nor with the same intensity. There is a clear distinction between the area that includes the Black Sea, the Balkans, central Greece, and western Asia Minor, where the decline in epigraphic production is apparent, and central Asia Minor, the Levant, and Egypt, where there is no sign of a crisis in inscribing. The most obvious distinction between these two discrete territories is that barbarian raids severely affected the Balkans and the coastal areas of Asia Minor, bringing about the collapse of organised city life. The epigraphy of central Asia Minor and the Levant, sheltered from the calamities of wars that raged in the East of the Roman Empire from the mid-third c. until Late Antiquity, did not present signs of decline until the seventh c.

War was not the only factor of decline because, in Late Antiquity, the epigraphic output also dropped in areas not ravaged by enemies, as is the case with central Greece, while the epigraphic curve in western Asia Minor did not rebound significantly for generations after the Gothic raids of the mid-third c. This is no place to go into the discussion about the transformation of Late Antique cities²⁰⁹. Ine JACOBS indicates the mid-sixth c. as the turning point for most cities of the East when local civic communities could no longer maintain local architecture²¹⁰. This late-Antique urban transformation coincides with a shift in epigraphic curves. Even if, in Late Antique Asia Minor, urban prosperity was concentrated predominantly in a small group of cities, the strongest, best connected to central government and the Church, Ephesos and Aphrodisias among them²¹¹, the curves from western Asia Minor demonstrate that epigraphic production in these cities was not nearly as strong as in the inland areas of Phrygia and Karia. This speaks to the combination of factors influencing the shape of the epigraphic curve: wars of Late Antiquity combined with the transformation of the later Roman Empire and Late Antique City.

²⁰⁸ DI SEGNI 2017.

²⁰⁹ See NAWOTKA *et al.* 2020: 235–237 for a short summary of our take on this issue.

²¹⁰ JACOBS 2013: 678.

²¹¹ MITCHELL 2015: 364–365; DESTEPHEN 2020: 25–26.

The composition of Late Antique urban elite and its changing taste and priorities contributed to the shape of the epigraphic curves too, since the majority of inscriptions preceding the fourth c. CE were commissioned either by their members or by boards that they populated. One must remember that epitaphs, the most typical non-elite inscriptions, were much less numerous in the East than in the West. There is a universal agreement on the decline of the broad ruling class, the *curiales* or *bouleutai*, in Late Antiquity²¹². *Bouleutai* did not disappear from cities of the Eastern Mediterranean after the mid-third c. However, there was no longer a reason for them to be mentioned in inscriptions: their magistracies became liturgical, and in the third c., more and more often, it was leadership offices that were on display²¹³. This suggests that the regular civic career had apparently lost its attraction, and therefore, there was little reason to refer to it in inscriptions – unlike state offices²¹⁴. The new ruling class of major landowners, state officials, and bishops, i.e., people whose careers were not dependent on local public opinion and who were not as civic-minded as the Hellenistic and early imperial notables, apparently did not think commissioning inscriptions was worth the effort. A contributing factor was the steady transfer of power away from town councils to the central government, governors, and officials appointed by Rome²¹⁵. Avshalom LANIADO points out that the late Roman city could operate without *boulai*, governed instead by the imperial administration and local notables²¹⁶.

The euergetic activity of the local elite did not disappear in Late Antiquity but underwent a profound transformation from founding games, processions, hekatombs, gymnasia, stadia, bathhouses, colonnades, schools, and public entertainment towards acts of Christian piety. The scale of old-fashioned benefactions diminished more or less in line with the shrinking number of local leaders able to afford the cost²¹⁷. The last significant civic *euergetes* of the traditional order in Ephesos, the capital of Asia, was active under Severus Alexander or Maximinus Thrax²¹⁸. With the demise of the Hellenistic and early Imperial euergetism disappeared the very rationale for putting up *tituli honorarii*, once a very prominent part of the epigraphic curve in the East. Christian pious foundations, like Christian tombs, were much less conducive to commemoration in stone²¹⁹. A partial explanation for the depressed epigraphic curve in Late Antiquity is

²¹² ALSTON 2002: 249–259; BOWMAN 1971: 123; SARRIS 2006: 178–179; HAARER 2015.

²¹³ NUYENS 1964.

²¹⁴ SMITH 1999; BORG, WISCHEL 2001: 69–70; SCHEIBELREITER-GAIL 2012: 136–137; PONT 2017: 46–53.

²¹⁵ NAWOTKA *et al.* 2020: 236–237.

²¹⁶ LANIADO 2014.

²¹⁷ PLEKET 1999: 84–85.

²¹⁸ *I.Eph.* 679A, 1080, 3063; *SEG* LXI 909; SCHERRER 1995: 15.

²¹⁹ DESTEPHEN 2020: 23–28.

also that the traditional way deserving individuals were honoured changed, with epigrams progressively becoming the preferred genre of praise from the third c. CE on²²⁰. Most were directed towards high state officials and the richest local notables. Epigrams in stone, catering to the taste of constantly more and more narrow circle of educated notables, were much less common and thus more elitist than *tituli honorarii*, prolific in the age of high Empire²²¹. The exclusive nature of new forms of praising state and civic leaders most likely contributed to the diminished popularity of the traditional form of honours, i.e., statues and honorific inscriptions²²². This transformation of elite aesthetics further subdued the epigraphic curve in Late Antiquity.

Another reason for the lower epigraphic output in Late Antiquity is the decline and eventual end of Greek athletics events after the mid-third c.²²³. Games are attested as late as Valerian and Gallienus, thereafter, they are rarely mentioned²²⁴. In the late-second c., there are clear signs that even in otherwise most prosperous cities, Ephesos among them, athletics was losing its former lustre, while stadia and gymnasia were no longer used for their original purpose²²⁵. The outcome of these developments was the disappearance of *tituli agonistici*, a once enormously popular sub-category of *tituli honorarii*, after the mid-third c. In the fourth c., chariot races, a spectator sport, became more popular in the East than traditional Greek athletics²²⁶. Chariot racing was limited to the biggest and most affluent cities which obviously limited their epigraphic attestation. Examples of epigraphy related to chariot racing include a cache of early-seventh c. inscriptions commissioned by circus factions in Alexandria²²⁷ and inscriptions from the hippodrome in Tyre²²⁸. Inscriptions of this kind, often bearing words like νικᾷ ἡ τύχη Πρασίνων/Βενέτων are also known from cities of Asia Minor. However, the numbers are very low, with just two deriving from Miletos²²⁹, two from Ephesos²³⁰, and 16 from Aphrodisias²³¹. The two *nika* inscriptions from Miletos

²²⁰ ROUECHÉ 1997.

²²¹ DESTEPHEN 2020: 26–27.

²²² PONT 2017.

²²³ REMIJSEN 2015.

²²⁴ REMIJSEN 2015: 73–74, 173. An exemption to this rule is a mosaic from Sparta (*SEG* L 412), ca. 300, naming seven *agones*, either still existing or just commemorated.

²²⁵ REMIJSEN 2015: 75, 76, 79–81, 86–87.

²²⁶ REMIJSEN 2015: 169–171.

²²⁷ *SEG* XXXI 1485–1510 (33 inscriptions).

²²⁸ *I.Tyr* II 127–146. Rey-Coquais 2002; KAHWAGI-JANHO 2012: 42–53.

²²⁹ *I.Didyma* 609, 610.

²³⁰ *I.Eph.* 1198.2, 1198.3.

²³¹ *ALA* 18lix, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186.1, 186.iii; *PPAphr.* 1.1iii, 8e, 10, 46B1, 46E9i, 46E11, 46G12i, 46J13, 46X4.

are no match to ca. 50 *tituli agonistici* from the Didymeia games of the Early Empire, not to mention scores of other Hellenistic and Imperial inscriptions related to these games. The move away from participatory athletics to spectator sports depressed the Late Antique epigraphic curve enormously.

Another issue is the change in the religious climate in Late Antiquity. Troels KRISTENSEN, in his analysis of the fate of pagan sculpture in the Christian empire, finds many examples of the existence of an extremely hostile attitude towards three-dimensional representations of gods and priests²³². One example is an inscription from Ephesos (dated to the second half of the fifth c.) in which a certain Demeas boasts of having damaged an idol, presumably a statue, of Artemis ([δαίμ]ονος Ἀρ/τέμιδος καθελῶν/ ἀπατήλιον εἶδος)²³³. For KRISTENSEN's caveats and the examples of preserving ancient sculptures in Christian Late Antiquity, it is evident that the prevailing mood of the day discouraged erecting as many statues as in the earlier centuries, not only those that were openly or remotely pagan. Even if statues commemorating emperors and high officials were produced or were re-used in Ephesos well into the sixth c., the epigraphic habit changed, as no dated inscribed Ephesian bases are known after 410–436²³⁴. This shift in the epigraphic habit also contributed to lowering the epigraphic curve in Ephesos and certainly also in other cities in Late Antiquity.

With the Empire fast becoming Christian in the fourth c., state support for temples, games, and oracles ceased. The only short-lived exception was Emperor Julian, praised by Miletos, who called itself “the nourisher (τροφός) of Apollo of Didyma”. Miletos was a rare exception of resistance to the Christian onslaught against traditional culture and religion commemorated in stone²³⁵. The sheer lack of reference to the ideological struggle of the fourth c. in the epigraphic evidence seems to testify to tacit reconciliation within the local elite to the religious transformation of the Empire. In all probability, this transformation fatally undermined the *raison d'être* of *poleis* dependent on great temples. This may explain the fading away of epigraphic production in Delphi in the fourth c., the cessation of pagan inscribing in Olympia at the beginning of the fourth c., and the end of the epigraphic habit in Pergamon.

In the centralised and bureaucratic Christian empire, supporting traditional cult places was no longer conducive to the careers of local notables. Perhaps the most striking is the changed position of *prophetai*, the administrators of the temple and oracle in Didyma. Some 206 are attested epigraphically between the third c. BCE and the third c. CE (ca. 35 per century), while we hear of only

²³² NAWOTKA 2023: 140–142. In general: KRISTENSEN 2013.

²³³ *I.Eph.* 1351. The person who damaged the statue was classically educated as his epigram contains a Homeric echo – AGOSTI 2007: 49.

²³⁴ AUINGER, SOKOLICEK 2016: 170–173.

²³⁵ *I.Didyma* 83 (with REHM's commentary) and *Milet* 1122. Cf. NAWOTKA 2023: 126.

two *prophetai* of the fourth c.: the only securely dated is Emperor Julian²³⁶, the other one is a philosopher and *prophetes* tortured and executed under Licinius or Constantine²³⁷. Assuming the costly office of *prophetes* obviously was no longer attractive to elite Milesians. Similarly, in Ephesos, after the third c. CE, we no longer hear of Kuretes, the officer of the cult of Artemis once coveted by the leading families of Ephesos.

ONE OR MANY EPIGRAPHIC CULTURES IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Based on a quantitative study of the entire epigraphic production of ten discrete areas in the Eastern Mediterranean from ca. the tenth/eighth c. BCE until the mid-seventh c. CE, this paper argues that no single global trend can be identified as affecting the development or shape of the epigraphic curve. It disagrees with earlier attempts to prove the opposite, often through the study of epitaphs of the Early Empire. Here, the broad area of study, the long chronology, the fact that all categories of stone and metal inscriptions are taken into consideration, and, last but not least, the methodology of basing the epigraphic curves on firmly dated inscriptions and not on theoretical models, are important factors which make such sweeping conclusions impossible. Rejecting the one-trend approach does not lead to a black hole of disparate and unexplainable developments. The opposite is the case: the shapes of the epigraphic curves are due to different factors occurring in different, yet broadly defined, geographical areas and in various epochs. These factors worked separately in the archaic, classical, Hellenistic, early Imperial, and late Imperial times. The shape of the epigraphic curve also differs in various geographical areas, depending on factors such as the pre-Greek epigraphic habit, the moment of urbanisation and Hellenisation, the presence of Roman garrisons, and the scope and shape of other Roman presence. The shape of the epigraphic curves was also heavily influenced by three other factors: war (including barbarian incursions), the relative status and constitution of a *polis*, and finally, the influence of Rome upon the traditional epigraphic habit. The overall picture of the epigraphic habit in the Eastern Mediterranean is certainly variegated but not chaotic. This conclusion, reached on the basis of ten case studies, is much in line with John BODEL's notion of "Greek epigraphic cultures", with emphasis on the plural²³⁸.

Inscribing in stone in the Eastern Mediterranean in antiquity lasted from the tenth c. BCE until the mid-seventh c. CE, or sixteen centuries and longer if we

²³⁶ Julian. *Ep.* 88.

²³⁷ E.g. Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* IV 2. The *prophetes* from Miletos was executed before the date of composition of the *Praeparatio Evangelica* (no later than 320): JOHNSON 2006: 160–162; STONEMAN 2011: 204–205.

²³⁸ BODEL 2001: 6–15.

consider Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions. The longevity of this phenomenon and its extensive geographical spread prompts a question of whether it could be classified within the framework of BRAUDEL's approach of dividing history into three levels of time: the "longue durée", "slow rhythm" history of communities, and "histoire événementielle". The study of the epigraphic culture, with its long series of inscriptions tabulated to form an epigraphic curve, clearly goes beyond what BRAUDEL called *histoire événementielle*, however much of the shape of the epigraphic curve is affected by political events and prominent people. However, was the ancient habit of inscribing akin to the Braudelian *longue durée*?

The essence of BRAUDEL's model is acknowledging the slow and imperceptible but overwhelming effects of geography, landform, and climate on the actions of human beings in the past. These factors indeed mattered in issues of inscribing, but their influence was short of overwhelming. Inscribing on stone was more prominent, and indeed easier, in the Mediterranean lands, endowed with seemingly inexhaustible sources of stone, frequently marble and limestone, easy to carve on account of its softness when freshly cut, than in Babylonia, where almost all durable writing was done on clay, the abundant local mineral²³⁹. However, the same abundance of stone did not influence human behaviour regarding inscribing, in the same way in all ages. The otherwise literate Greeks of the Late Helladic period preferred to commit their linear B writings to clay rather than to stone²⁴⁰. The people of Late Antiquity and Byzantium continued to use stone for building purposes and to produce tombstones and art objects while inscribing progressively came to nil²⁴¹.

Equally important is the size and permanence of attested inscribing. One, two, or even ten inscriptions per century in a major city or territory do not indicate the real epigraphic culture. Albeit inscribing in stone in the Eastern Mediterranean in antiquity lasted for some sixteen centuries, graph 1 shows that a great majority of surviving datable inscriptions were cut between the fifth c. BCE and the third c. CE – only for this period can one reasonably speak of the epigraphic culture. The long-lasting decline of writing in stone after the third c. CE, everywhere in the Eastern Mediterranean, although with different speeds in various places, and its virtual disappearance in the Middle Ages, Byzantine and Muslim alike, shows that the epigraphic culture cannot be understood as a permanent, almost unchanging phenomenon of the *longue durée*.

The age of inscribing, between the fifth c. BCE and the third c. CE, coincides with the age of the *polis*, a self-governing, urban-centred community. Inscribing

²³⁹ BRESSON 2005: 156.

²⁴⁰ See ZADKA 2015: 75 (table 5, based on BARTONĚK 2003: 30) – from 5095 Linear B texts 5561 are on clay tablets, 342 on other clay objects (vases and *cretulae*), only two on other materials (one on flint and one on ivory).

²⁴¹ MANGO 2020.

started earlier and continued unabated in the places where similar, non-Greek cities existed already in the first half of the first millennium BCE, most notably in Phoenicia, as well as in those Greek cities whose association with major temples raised their status, and thus the visibility of their inscription, to an above regional level, like Olympia or Didyma. In general, *polis* proved conducive to writing for public display, both of laws and other acts of the *polis* and private documents commissioned by citizens rivalling for prestige and recognition. The seemingly permanent nature of an inscription in stone made it a tool of choice in this rivalry in euergetism, competitive sport, and taking up unpaid civic leadership. Once it disappeared, social structures changed so much as to create a veritable chasm between the Late Antique state and Church elite and commoners. One powerful reason for inscribing disappeared too, and the epigraphic curve took a downward course. Our research has shown substantial changes in the frequency of inscriptions and the type of content they included. If BRAUDEL's model of history is to be applied, we can talk only of the history of the "slow rhythm", and the social history of groups and communities within the Eastern Mediterranean.

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ALEXANDER AND THE OATHBREAKERS:
*IG II/III*² 1, 318 AND THE PUNISHMENT OF GREEK
MERCENARY SERVICE*

by

JULIAN DEGEN

ABSTRACT: This paper provides new insights into Alexander's attitude towards the Greek mercenaries he met on his campaign against the Achaemenid Empire. It is argued that Alexander punished the Greeks fighting for the Great King as oathbreakers based on the League of Corinth's constitution to which its members swore an oath, being under divine protection. The argumentation focuses on the last line of the oath *IG II/III*² 1, 318, in which the clause οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω prohibits desertion from the League of Corinth, which is devoid of context. The argumentation is based on restoring the clause's original context, which is achieved by its contextualisation against the backdrop of Greek legal thinking and the Macedonian execution of hegemony. The result is that, while Alexander may have used the constitutional framework set by his father as a moral argument to punish Greek mercenaries, he also took the liberty to modify it to create a non-negotiable military atmosphere of allegiance that suited his campaign needs.

Over seventy years ago, W.W. TARN penned the famous words about the motives of Alexander III for campaigning in Asia: "the primary reason why Alexander invaded Persia was, no doubt, that he never thought of *not* doing it; it was his inheritance"¹. Modern commentators do not doubt that his father, Philip II, played the role of architect for Alexander's campaign. However, the extent of his role remains a much-debated question, as the young conqueror insisted on his father's political legacy as being the basis of his political decision-making².

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¹ TARN 1948: 8 (original italics).

² The most recent treatments of this topic are MÜLLER 2014: 201; WORTHINGTON 2008: 152–171; NAWOTKA 2012; BLOEDOW 2003; BROSIUS 2003; FLOWER 2000: 102. The exhaustive treatment of the different historiographical sources in AUSTIN (1993) is still important, where it is argued that the extant sources disagree on the objectives of Alexander.

This concerns, in particular, the League of Corinth. The alliance of a vast yet unknown number of *poleis* on the Greek mainland was designed as a Common Peace (κοινὴ εἰρήνη) after Philip had gained military supremacy in the decisive battle of Chaeronea in 338 BCE³. Although the League of Corinth's establishment is a key event in the classical period, the institution itself, nonetheless, remains a complex subject. Our knowledge about the κοινὴ εἰρήνη can be compared to an unassembled puzzle where most pieces are present, but not assignable. For this reason, a small corpus of inscriptions from the time of Philip and Alexander gains in importance, as these can provide occasional but deep insights into the performances of their hegemonies over Hellas⁴. This is especially true for the case of the very fragmentary inscription *IG II/III*² 1, 318:

[.....²⁶.....]II[.....⁶...]
 [ὅρκος· «ὀμνύω Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον, Ποσειδῶ, Ἀθηνᾶ]–
 [ν, Ἄρη, θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσα]ς· ἐμμενῶ [.....]
 [.....⁸..... καὶ οὐ λύσω τὰς σ|υνθήκας τὰ[ς ..]
 5 [.....¹⁸..... οὐδ]ὲ ὅπλα ἐπο[ίσω ἐ]–
 [πὶ πημονῇ ἐπ' οὐθένα τῶν] ἐμμενόντων ἐν τ–
 [οῖς ὅρκοις, οὔτε κατὰ γῆν] οὔτε κατὰ θάλασ–
 [σαν· οὐδὲ πόλιν οὐδὲ φρο]ύριον καταλήψομ–
 [αι οὐδὲ λιμένα ἐπὶ πολέ]μωι οὐθενὸς τῶν τ–
 10 [ῆς εἰρήνης κοινωνούντ]ων τέχνῃ οὐδεμι–
 [ᾶ οὐδὲ μηχανῇ· οὐδὲ τ]ῇν βασιλείαν [τ]ῇν Φ–
 [ιλίππου καὶ τῶν ἐκγόν]ων καταλύσω, ὁδὲ τὰ–
 [ς πολιτείας τὰς οὐσας] παρ' ἐκάστοις ὅτε τ–
 [οὺς ὅρκους τοὺς περὶ τ]ῆς εἰρήνης ὥμνον
 15 [οὐδ' αὐτὸς οὐθὲν ὑπενα]ντίον ταῖσδε ταῖς
 [συνθήκαις ποιήσω οὐδ' ἄλ]λῳ ἐπιτρέψω εἰς
 [τὸ δυνατόν· ¹¹.....] παράσπονδον ΓΕ
 [.....¹³....., βοηθήσω] καθότι ἂν παραγ–
 [γέλλ.....¹⁶.....] καὶ πολεμήσω τῶ–
 20 [ι ----- παρ]αβαίνοντι, καθότι
 [.....²⁰.....]' τῶι καὶ ὁ ἡγεμῶ–
 [ν παραγγέλλῃ· καὶ οὐκ ἐνκ]αταλείψω το[.....]
 [.....²³.....]ΣΚ-----

Oath. I swear by Zeus, Earth, Sun, Poseidon, Athena, Ares, all the gods and goddesses. I shall abide [by the Peace?] and I shall not break the treaty which ... [with Philip?], nor shall I bear weapons with hostile intent against any of those who abide by the oaths, whether by land or sea; and I shall not capture either city or fort or harbour, with intent to war, of any of those who share in the Peace, neither by trick nor stratagem; and I shall not overthrow the kingdom of Philip and his descendants, or the constitutions existing in

³ On the Common Peace: JEHNE 1994; RYDER 1965; DOBESCH 1975; HAMMOND, WALBANK 1988: 3–31. See SCHMITT (1969: 13) for scholarly opinions on the Corinthian League's constitution. On Chaeronea, see BUCKLER 2008; MA 2008: 79–87.

⁴ On the ancient evidence, see JEHNE 1994: 166–197; LARSEN 1926.

each place when they swore the oaths about the Peace; and I myself will do nothing contrary to this [treaty], nor shall I empower anyone else; ... in breach of the treaty, ... I shall help in whatever way ... requires; and I shall make war against anyone who contravenes ... in whatever way ... and the leader requires; and I shall not abandon the ⁵.

This inscription is a fragment found on the acropolis of Athens and styled as a *stoichedon* written in the Attic-Ionic dialect⁶. The vast lacunae in the text were filled differently by various editors. They referred to oration 17 of (Pseudo-) Demosthenes called *On the Treaties with Alexander* and the better preserved but much later treaty on the establishment of the Common Peace under the rule of Antigonos I and Demetrius I in 302/1 (*IG* IV² 1, 68 = *StV* III 446)⁷. It is commonly believed that *IG* II/III² 1, 318 represents the final version of the treaty between Philip II and the *poleis* with whom the Common Peace in Corinth was arranged in 338/337 and which ought to be assessed as the constitutional framework of the Macedonian hegemony⁸. From the evidence, we can craft two arguments that speak for the inscription as being the foundation oath of Philip's League of Corinth. First, the designation τῆς εἰρήνης in line 14 is well preserved and refers to the Corinthian League that was termed a κοινὴ εἰρήνη according to the non-epigraphical sources. Then, the content of the oath accords with what we know about the Macedonian hegemony from the historiographical sources as well as from (Ps.)-Dem. 17⁹. In a sense, and from an epigraphical point of view, the foundation-oath is the constitution and thus the legal foundation of Philip and Alexander's hegemony over the κοινὴ εἰρήνη. This interpretation is supported by the material condition of the object. In the epigraphical context of Athens, the smooth back of the inscription suggests that it was a multilateral convention that had a 'law-like' character¹⁰. Therefore, on the one hand, it seems that all members confirmed the same oath. On the other hand, the almost epigraphical silence of Athens under Macedonian hegemony

⁵ *IG* II/III² 1, 318. Translation by S.D. LAMBERT (<https://www.atticinscriptions.com/inscription/IGII31/318>).

⁶ RHODES, OSBORNE 2010: 372.

⁷ RHODES, OSBORNE 2010: 372–379; JEHNE 1994: 166–197; HEISSERER 1980: 3–26; 230–232; HAMPL 1938: 34–56. But see HARTER-UIBOPUU (2003) who highlights significant differences between the treaties.

⁸ For *IG* II/III² 1, 318 as constitution of κοινὴ εἰρήνη, see SCHARFF 2016: 163; BUCKLER 2008: 77–97; RAAFLAUB 2016: 129; PODDIGHE 2009: 207; JEHNE 1994: 278–284; ADAMS 1999. *Contra* WORTHINGTON (2009), where it is argued that the inscription consists the peace treaty which Philip concluded with Athens in direct aftermath of the battle of Chaeronea.

⁹ See SCHMITT 1969: 10: *IG* II³ 1 443 = *IG* II/III² 329; Diod. XVII 4, 1; Arr. *Anab.* I 1, 1; Iust. XI 2, 5; Plut. *Alex.* 14, 1; Ps.-Dem. 17 *passim*; *Schol. Dem.* 18, 89; Plut. *Phoc.* 21, 1. Cf. Diod. XVII 74, 3; Arr. *Anab.* III 19, 5.

¹⁰ LAMBERT 2010a.

shows that the Greek *poleis*' foreign policy heavily declined under Macedonian hegemony¹¹. This might be one of the reasons why some of the members regarded the Common Peace as an oppressive tool of the Macedonian Empire¹². Moreover, it is not entirely clear whether the oath was renewed or simply inherited once Alexander had succeeded his father as ἡγεμὼν¹³. The fact that Pseudo-Demosthenes 17 refers to a convention (τῶν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας) with parallels to *IG* II/III² 1, 318 for accusing Alexander of violations of the Common Peace, is a strong indication to see in this inscription the legal basis of his hegemony¹⁴. Aside with that, as we learn from lines 11–12, the signatory swore the oath to the gods, which legitimated Philip and his descendants' role as leaders of the Common Peace¹⁵. The inscribed treaty thus joins the ranks of the most important sources illustrating the legal basis for the exercise of Macedonian power over the Greek world.

The modern interpretation of Alexander's understanding of his role as ἡγεμὼν is compounded by the fact that the sources are more or less focused on his violations of the treaty¹⁶. Hence, many scholars argue that the Common Peace was not relevant to him when campaigning in Asia¹⁷. In this regard, the last six lines of the oath are important to understand Macedonian hegemony, since they describe the sanctions that are to be applied if a signatory member has violated the agreement. Although scholars have devoted much attention to the inscription as a historical source, almost no modern commentator has questioned the clause in line 22. In the most recent edition, S.D. LAMBERT reconstructed the fragmented line as [ν παραγγέλλη· καὶ οὐκ ἐνκ]αταλείψω το[...]. Past editors also either filled

¹¹ For the ceasing of Athenian foreign policy during Macedonian hegemony see LAMBERT 2007 and 2010b. But this does not mean that Athens' foreign policy came to an abrupt halt. See, for instance, *GHI* 100 and Athens' and others' reactions to Alexander's exile decree. A holistic treatment of epigraphical culture in the 4th century BCE is NAWOTKA 2020.

¹² An overview on resistance to Macedonian hegemony is HECKEL 1997; WIEMER 2011: 183–190; URBAN 1981.

¹³ On *IG* II³ 1 443 as evidence for a renewal of *IG* II/III² 1, 318, see LAMBERT 2018: 97 (later context); LEHMANN 2015: 89 (later context, but oath was renewed in 336); WORTHINGTON 2004 and 2007 (later context); JEHNE 1994 (later context, but the oath was renewed in 336). Other datings are considered by TRONSON 1985 (a treaty of Alexander II of Macedon with Athens); ANTELA-BERNÁRDEZ 2007: 77–78 (Alexander's agreement with Athens after the sack of Thebes in 335). For a synopsis of the scholarly debate until the year 1972, see SEIBERT 1994: 74–77.

¹⁴ Ps.-Dem. 17, 10. Cf. also URBAN 1981: 11–12.

¹⁵ For a different view, see RYDER 1965: 106.

¹⁶ For a throughout discussion of Alexander's understanding as ἡγεμὼν of the Legaue of Corinth, see DEGEN 2022: 52–249.

¹⁷ See the overview of the scholarly discussion in DMITRIEV 2004. Cf. also WALLACE 2016 (Alexander was balancing between different roles); FARAGUNA 2003: 115–116 (breaking with constitution); ENGELS 1989 (breaking with constitution); BADIAN 1966.

the decisive verb in the lacuna with οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω or οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπω¹⁸, which indicates that by swearing “I shall not abandon/desert”, the signatory asserts loyalty to the League of Corinth and support for its military missions led by the ἡγεμῶν. However, the exact type of abandonment and what such an act would entail is not clear in this lacunary line, as there is no earlier inscribed treaty with a similar clause to show precedence¹⁹. Furthermore, two facts must be considered to properly contextualise this oath. Firstly, we know that shortly after Philip founded the Common Peace, the ἡγεμῶν and the members decided in an assembly to wage war with the Achaemenid Empire²⁰. Secondly, modern historians are acquainted with the fact that Greeks fought in the Persian imperial army against Alexander. It is striking that, in some instances, he accused mercenaries of disloyalty to the common Hellenic cause. Seen against this background, the question arises whether or not Alexander used the Common Peace as an offensive tool for punishing the Greeks in the Achaemenid army as oathbreakers.

This paper puts *IG II/III*² 1, 318 line 22 into the context of preparation for and execution of the Macedonian conquest of the Achaemenid Empire. To achieve this, an in-depth discussion of the semantics of οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω in the treaty is applied by considering its epigraphical and socio-historical contexts. It is being argued here that Alexander took the liberty to modify the oath to punish Greek mercenaries in the Persian army as oathbreakers, which helped him to establish military supremacy in the war against the Great King. However, this policy did not endure past the official end of the joint campaign of Alexander and his Greek allies, i.e. the ‘Common War’, as this clause no longer served the new objectives of his campaign and he henceforth integrated the mercenaries into his army when he began to develop new imperial aims. I commence this analysis with the clause’s narrower context.

THE EPIGRAPHICAL CONTEXT:

THE CASE OF DESERTION ACCORDING TO *IG II/III*² 1, 318

Although the reconstruction of *IG II/III*² 1, 318 line 22 as οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω, or οὐκ ἐγκαταλείπω, is very plausible, its meaning in this context remains ambiguous. Both forms occur in epigraphical evidence in the context of treaties and oaths with the meaning of ‘to abandon’, ‘to leave behind an alliance’, or in a wider sense ‘to desert’²¹. By contrast, the obligation to support an ally is designated in oaths

¹⁸ Most of the editors chose to fill the lacuna with ἐγκαταλείπω; see the commentary on *IG II/III*² 1, 318; SCHMITT 1969: 5 and *GHI* 76a.

¹⁹ For the evidence of this clause in interstate treaties, see *StV* III = SCHMITT 1969: 424 s.v. οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω. There is no entry in *StV* II = BENGSTON 1962.

²⁰ Diod. Sic. XVI 89, 2; Plut. *Phoc.* 16, 4.

²¹ SCHMITT 1969: 424.

by παρακαλέω and the commitment to follow the authority's (ἡγέομαι) calling troops to arms on land and sea is ordinarily referred to as ἔπομαι and ἀκολουθέω²². Therefore, the meaning of the clause οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω is devoid of a precise, targeted meaning until considered within a specific context.

To restore this context, we must draw attention to two inscribed treaties from the 3rd century BCE as being the oldest epigraphical testimonies for this type of clause apart from the inscription under discussion. In the first attestation, Eumenes I came to an arrangement with his dissatisfied mercenaries to ensure their loyalty²³. They had to swear an oath of loyalty that included the promise not to desert him ([οὐ]δ' ἐγκαταλείψω Εὐμένη) and to fight for his aims until death²⁴. In this case, the clause is a prohibition for the soldiers to defect from Eumenes to whom they are bound by oath²⁵. Thus, the verb ἐγκαταλείπειν does not only point to desertion in general but specifically to the loyalty of the men in arms. However, the term covers a wide range of meanings as becomes clear when one considers non-epigraphical sources as being important. In the *Hellenika*, for instance, Xenophon describes the despicable act of arranging a truce together with the abandonment of an acropolis that was a secure position held by a Spartan governor as "he had abandoned the acropolis" (τὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν ἀκρόπολιν)²⁶. However, loyalty had little to do with that what this governor did, namely to leave his post, which still constituted an act of desertion in Athenian and Spartan law²⁷. The more precise connotation can be ascertained by a close look at Lycurgus' speech *Against Leocrates*. At the same time that

²² LSJ s.v. ἐγκαταλείπω: "leave behind, [...] 2. leave in the lurch, [...] abandon, [...] 3. leave out, omit, [...] 4. leave traces behind, [...]". As evidence for desertion see: οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω [τὴν συμ]μαχίαν τρόπῳ οὐθενί (SEG XXXVIII 603, ll. 20'–21'); καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω τὴν συμμαχίαν ἢν πεπ[ό]θημαι πρὸς Λυσιμαχεῖς τρόπῳ οὐθενί οὐδὲ παρευ[ρ]έσει οὐδεμιᾷ, ἐμμενόντων [κ]α[ι] αὐ[τ]ῶν ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἐμὲ συμμαχίᾳ (IMT Skam/NebTaeler 173, ll. 15'–20'); καὶ οὐκ ἐγ[κ]αταλείψω τὴν συμμαχίαν ἢν [π]επ[ό]θημαι [π]ρὸς βασιλέα Ἀντίοχον τρόπ[ω]ι οὐθενί (IMT Skam/NebTaeler 173, ll. 30'–33'). See also the contemporary statement in Aesch. 3, 175, where λείπω is clearly meaning the act of deserting (...καὶ τὸν λελοιπότα τὴν τάξιν...). DIGGLE 2021: 416: "5. (pejor., of a commander) abandon —an acropolis X.; (of soldiers) desert —a commander Plb.". See also RHODES 2007: 24: "If the alliance was intended to be permanent, there was an obligation not to defect...". For an overview of terminologies used in Classical Greek treaties, see PISTORIUS 1985: 119–134.

²³ For the historical context, see CHANIOTIS 2005: 66; LOMAN 2005: 350–351.

²⁴ SEG XXVII 806 = *Inv* I 13, ll. 28'–30' = *StV* III 481: [οὐ]δ' ἐγκαταλείψω Εὐμένη, ἀλλὰ μαχοῦμαι [ὑπὲρ αὐ]τοῦ καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν ἐκείνου ἕως ζωῆς καὶ θανά[του].

²⁵ SCHMITT 1969: 148: "In ihrem Eid versprechen die Söldner, [...] nicht zu desertieren, sondern ihr Leben für ihn [*scil.* Eumenes I] einzusetzen und ihm nach Möglichkeit zu Diensten zu sein".

²⁶ Xen. *Hell.* V 4, 13: ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὸν μὲν ἀρμοστήν τὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ οὐκ ἀναμείναντα τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέκτειναν, φρουρὰν δὲ φαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους. Cf. *ibid.* V 4, 11 where Xenophon states that the Spartan garrison made a truce with the Thebans and planned to withdraw.

²⁷ For instance, see the terminology in Polyaeus, *Strat.* III 9, 51 for Iphicrates' measures against mercenaries quitting their service in his army (ἵνα μὴ λίποιεν τὸ στρατόπεδον).

Philip established the Common Peace, Lycurgus used the verb ἐγκαταλείπειν to increase the role of Athens in the battle of Salamis. According to him, the Athenians were deserted by all the Greeks (ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι) when fighting against Xerxes' fleet²⁸. Hence, in a military context, the verb circumscribes an act of abandoning allies and is much more associated with loyalty than retreat from the battlefield. Furthermore, the main topic of the speech was Leocrates' absence from Athens during the war with Philip, for which Lycurgus accused him of having neglected his civic duty. In his speech he also used ἐγκαταλείπειν to accuse Leocrates of having abandoned and betrayed his city, which he equated with desertion, constituting treason under Athenian law²⁹.

The second relevant epigraphical testimony is an early 3rd-century alliance treaty between the Aetolians, Phocians, and Boeotians in Delphi (*IG IX*, 1² 1:170 = *StV III* 463). Here the signatory swears neither to desert in times of war nor to do so in peacetime ([καὶ οὐκ] ἐγκαταλείψω οὔτε πολέμου ὄντος οὔτε εἰρήνης)³⁰. In this case, the term is not specifically limited to the act of defecting but more generally to desertion from the alliance in the sense of weakening it. Therefore, it is plausible to assume that οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω as a clause refers to the breaking of an oath by leaving the alliance since this treaty does not necessarily presuppose the state of war³¹. In light of the evidence presented here, this very clause in a treaty asserts that no member ought to renege from the joint agreement.

Returning to Philip's Common Peace, G.F. SEIBT, N.G.L. HAMMOND, and W. HECKEL stated their opinion regarding how this clause in the treaty should be interpreted. They supposed that it represented an order by Philip to the Greeks to support his war against Persia, without considering desertion as its context³². Moreover, they left the question unanswered regarding which particular case this clause applied to. It is conceivable that it affected the Common Peace's members or their contingents that joined Alexander's campaign in particular. Only a handful of Greek contingents was involved in the Macedonian campaign, whose primary function was to act as garrisons and hostages to guarantee peace in Hellas rather than acting as decisive forces in battle³³. For the ἡγεμόν, it was of utmost importance that the Greeks remained calm and did not plan anything

²⁸ Lycurg. *Leoc.* 70.

²⁹ Lycurg. *Leoc.* 52; 68; 70; 81; 90; 101; 116; 134; 143; 144; 145; 147; 148.

³⁰ *IG IX*, 1² 1: 170, l. 11.

³¹ On the character of the agreement, see *IG IX*, 1² 1: 170, l. 3: [τὴν τε συμμαχίαν καὶ τὸν ὅρκον ἐμὲν μὲν Αἰτωλῶν ἐν Θέρμῳ].

³² HECKEL 2008: 46; SEIBT 1977: 102–103; 118–120. HAMMOND 1989: 197: “The bond which tied the Greeks of the Common Peace to Macedonia was a strong one. If a Greek state should break its oath by leaving the Common Peace or by failing to contribute to the war against Persia, it would be liable to very severe penalties, which were probably stated in the covenant, but are not known to us”. However, this is expressed by the verb καταλύω, as it is argued by ARAVANTIMOS, PAPA ZARKADAS 2012: 240.

³³ Diod. Sic. XVI 89, 3. Cf. MÜLLER 2014: 198–211; KHOLOD 2010; WORTHINGTON 2004.

that could endanger the course of his already venturesome campaign. Although the oath and other sources suggest that a general obligation to support the ‘Common War’ with troops existed, the prohibition not to abandon the cause applied to other potential actions of the members that Philip regarded as ‘desertion’³⁴. Seen from his point of view while preparing his impending campaign, the possibility – on a legal basis – to punish anyone for providing any form of military support to the enemy would have been a valuable instrument for controlling the Greeks. This instrument was definitely necessary as the bonds linking the networks of the anti-Macedonian opposition in Hellas to the satraps in Asia Minor were, after all, strong³⁵. It is thus not surprising that several prohibitions against Persian influence existed, as a look at the relevant designations for acting against Macedonian supremacy in epigraphical testimonies from Alexander’s time reveals.

Both epigraphical and historiographical sources provide evidence for *poleis* that defected to the Persians during the hegemony of Philip and Alexander. A comparison with inscriptions from Alexander’s reign shows that the verb ἐγκαταλείπειν did not mean that a *polis* was handed over to the Persian enemy. This can be seen from the evidence for the war in the Aegean Sea in the early phase of the Macedonian campaign from 334 to 332 BCE. Alexander’s so-called “first letter to the Chians” (*GHI* 84a) refers to the pro-Persian initiators who submitted the city to the Persians as “those who betrayed the city to the barbarians” (τῶν δὲ προδόντων τοῖς βαρβάροις τὴν πόλιν)³⁶. Arrian’s account confirms this by stating that general Memnon “got Chios delivered over by treachery” (Χίον μὲν λαμβάνει προδοσίᾳ ἐνδοθεῖσαν)³⁷. In a similar vein, the inscription from Chios refers to a certain δόγμα issued by the συνέδριον of the Common Peace (κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων). The decree stipulates that traitors should be banned from all cities of the κοινὴ εἰρήνη. Furthermore, they should be outlawed and sent to the συνέδριον for trial³⁸. However, it seems that the δόγμα mentioned in the inscription from Chios specifically prohibited any act that could lead to the defection of the leading political parties of *poleis* who were the League of Corinth’s members³⁹. On the contrary, the actions of the enemy aimed

³⁴ On the member’s obligation to support the war of Philip and Alexander with troops, see Diod. Sic. XVI 89, 3; Plut. *Phoc.* 16, 5; Hyp. *Diondas* 175 (HORVÁTH 2014: 50).

³⁵ MÜLLER 2020. On Alexander’s support of Greek elites with the purpose to win them over, see NAWOTKA 2005.

³⁶ *GHI* 84a, ll. 10’–11’ with translation. Cf. HEISSERER 1980: 106; LEHMANN 2015: 94. The fact that there was also an exception of this affair is given by the case of the inhabitants of Zeleia, who had to join the Persians under pressure, cf. Arr. *Anab.* I 17, 2.

³⁷ Arr. *Anab.* II 1, 1. Cf. BOSWORTH 1980: 178.

³⁸ *GHI* 84a, ll. 10’–15’.

³⁹ Pace WALLACE (2010: 150–152), who argues that this δόγμα was the legal basis for Alexander to punish Thebes, pardon Zeleia and Chios as well as punishing the Greek mercenaries. See also WALLACE 2016: 251; ELLIS-EVANS 2012; JEHNE 1994: 192–194; HEISSERER 1980: 108–111.

at detaching *poleis* from the Common Peace by providing subsidies are summarily referred to as “for the breaking-up of this peace” (ἐπὶ διαλύσει τῆς εἰρήνης)⁴⁰. This clause on disrupting the peace is part of *IG* IV 556, a treaty from Argos on the relations between the Corinthian League and the satraps of Asia Minor, most likely dating to the years after Chaeronea⁴¹. Since Philip regarded intrusion by the Persian satraps as a constant threat to his hegemony, together with the assembly he issued a δόγμα as a prohibition for members of the κοινὴ εἰρήνη to accept their subsidies. Aeschines’ speech *Against Ctesiphon* provides further evidence in this regard, as according to him, Alexander wanted the συνέδριον to punish Demosthenes for taking a bribe from the Great King in what he calls an act of betrayal⁴².

If we consider all of these examples, two conclusions can be drawn. First, the clause under discussion does not allude to the case of a *polis* leaving the Common Peace. Although the clause οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω implies any type of desertion, the 3rd century BCE epigraphical evidence mainly proves that it addresses loyalty to a joint objective and thus addresses individuals in particular. Although it is conceivable that it is an umbrella term that covers all types of shirking of military obligations and undermining military operations, it mainly appears to have been used to circumscribe and penalise the desertion of individuals or groups. Then, the inscriptions from the time of Alexander clearly indicate that the institution that prohibited the desertion to the Persians was the Common Peace. Hence, the central concept of loyalty appears to be of major relevance since the League of Corinth, just as the Second Attic League as the preceding hegemonic power, was created as an eternal alliance from which abandonment was not considered possible⁴³. Therefore, it can be said that the clause οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω bounded *polis* and individual to the oath. In this way, Philip’s aim to use the κοινὴ εἰρήνη as an instrument for his future campaign to Asia Minor becomes clearly visible within the oath itself, which leads to the question regarding which acts the Macedonian leaders could have punished as ‘desertion’⁴⁴.

⁴⁰ Text and translation: *GHI* 42, l. 13’.

⁴¹ Scholars linked the inscription with the so-called ‘Great Satraps Revolt’, but see the arguments of ROP (2017) favouring a new dating in the years 338/337.

⁴² Aeschin. 3, 161: καὶ τὸ πάντων δεινότατον, ὑμεῖς μὲν τοῦτον οὐ προὔδοτε, οὐδ’ εἰάσατε κριθῆναι ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεδρίῳ, οὗτος δ’ ὑμᾶς νυνὶ προέδωκεν, εἴπερ ἀληθὴ ἐστὶν ἃ λέγεται. It is striking that Aeschines views Demosthenes as an enemy of the Common Peace (3, 254: δόξετε δέ, ἐὰν μὲν τοῦτον στεφανώσητε, ὁμογνώμονες εἶναι τοῖς παραβαίνουσι τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην).

⁴³ JEHNE 1991 and 1992: 99–100.

⁴⁴ ROP 2017: 318–320; RAAFLAUB 2016: 129; BOSWORTH 1988: 187–191; PODDIGHE 2009: 207; JEHNE 1994: 278–284; PERLMAN 1985: 168.

THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT:
GREEKS IN THE IMPERIAL ACHAEMENID ARMY

When Isocrates published the *Panegyricus*, he did not only address the question of leadership in the Greek world but also denounced the socio-economic situation in Hellas⁴⁵. According to him, the solution for ensuring a life without the burden of poverty for all Greeks was based on a program including two steps. Firstly, the *poleis* ought to make peace to bring an end to the disruptive wars between each other, which had made prosperity for all Greeks impossible. Secondly, only a subsequent Panhellenic War jointly conducted by Athens and Sparta to conquer Asia Minor could end the Greeks' hardship by bringing Asia's wealth to Hellas⁴⁶. Yet, Isocrates also expresses concerns about the feasibility of such an enterprise. According to his scenario, the vast number of Greeks in the service for the Great King would bedevil the operation⁴⁷. Modern historians, however, highlighted the tendency of Isocrates to overestimate the role of Greek mercenaries in the success of Persian military operations⁴⁸. In the course of this discussion, the well-established view of Greek mercenaries as paid soldiers without any motivation save their salary has come under fire. The traditional view that Greeks were forced to serve the Great King because of the socio-economic crisis in Hellas became more elaborate when considering the political motivation of this group as well⁴⁹. J. ROP recently presented a new perspective by also interpreting Greek mercenaries as being political agents of their *poleis* who acted as allies in the eyes of the Great King and his satraps⁵⁰. According to his argument, Greek armed forces in the imperial Persian army were a mixed result of the various responses of the Aegean worlds to the Achaemenid Empire. This might be the context of Isocrates' argument that the decisive weakening of Persian military power must be achieved by a successful blow to the recruitment of Greeks by the Great King's agents⁵¹.

Although there is a rich corpus of sources concerning Greeks fighting in the imperial Achaemenid army, the ancient statements are ambiguous and to estimate their exact number is thus impossible⁵². Be that as it may, the fact that the ancient

⁴⁵ PAPILLON 2007: 63–66.

⁴⁶ Isoc. *Paneg.* 131–133; 144. Cf. WEISSENBARGER 2003: 103–106; SEIBERT 1998: 19–23; ELLIS 1994: 761.

⁴⁷ Isoc. *Paneg.* 168; 174; 187.

⁴⁸ BICHLER 2020; ROP 2019: 19–28.

⁴⁹ ROP 2019: 20–21. On over-population and famine in the time of 331 to 324, see the famous argument by ROSTOVITZ 1953: 92; 94–95.

⁵⁰ ROP 2019: 26. For the case of the Greeks in the entourage of Cyrus the Younger, see MAN-NING 2018.

⁵¹ Isoc. *Paneg.* 125.

⁵² See the collections of sources in BICHLER 2020: *passim*; HOFSTETTER 1978: 210–214.

authors ascribed large numbers of Greeks as belonging to the army of Darius III is an argument that this group already played a major role in the first accounts of the Macedonian campaign. Attestations of their enthusiasm to fight for the Great King until the end also form part of all the extant sources on Alexander. The motivation to continue fighting against Alexander even after he achieved decisive victories reflected their resistance towards Macedonian hegemony over Hellas. Their eagerness in this regard can be seen by the fact that some of the mercenaries who were part of Darius' army at Issus supported the war of the Spartan king Agis III against Antipater⁵³. The reason for this might have been that the Greek opposition to Alexander finally learned that Darius was their only partner. Therefore, Antipater who was Alexander's deputy in Macedonia and Hellas had to focus on the great strategic importance of controlling the access to mercenary recruitment in Hellas⁵⁴, since it was constantly expected that Darius' satraps and generals were able to engage Greek mercenaries for their services; and he perhaps offered them a better price than Alexander could⁵⁵. Notably, it should not be forgotten that mercenaries already became an important factor for the Macedonians in the first phase of the campaign. When Alexander was trying to win over Asia Minor, Memnon and his mercenary army became his most valiant enemy and even threatened the Macedonian military supremacy in Hellas when attempting to invade the island Euboea⁵⁶.

If we take all of this into consideration, it is more than conceivable that Philip already considered Greek mercenaries as an important factor in the planning of his campaign against the Achaemenid Empire. He finally experienced the satraps of Asia Minor's military power when they were using a mercenary force for a sudden strike against Perinthus, which brought Macedonian aggression towards the Dardanelles to a halt⁵⁷. Furthermore, the Persian satraps' army, consisting of many Greek mercenaries, did limit the success of the Macedonian expedition under the command of Parmenio and Attalus in Asia Minor⁵⁸. If we consider the penultimate line of the foundation oath in this context, the strategic problems

⁵³ Diod. Sic. XVII 48, 1–2; Curt. IV 1, 39. Cf. HYLAND 2018: 82; HECKEL 2008: 70; WORTHINGTON 2004: 69–70.

⁵⁴ It is commonly believed that Antipater acted as deputy-hegemon, although our sources do not provide a description of his office. Arguments for viewing Antipatros rather as στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ than deputy-hegemon are provided by RICHARDSON 2019; DOBESCH 1975: *passim*.

⁵⁵ Arr. *Anab.* I 24, 2; Diod. Sic. XVII 29, 2; 48, 1; 62, 2. For the satraps recruiting mercenaries in Hellas, see FARAGUNA 2003: 108. One should not forget about Alexander's financial problems in the first year of his conquest, cf. Onesicritus (*BNJ* 134 F 2); Aristobulos (*BNJ* 139 F 4); Duris of Samos (*BNJ* 76 F 40) and Plut. *Mor.* 327D.

⁵⁶ Euboea: Diod. XVII 29, 3. Greek mercenaries among Memnon's troops: Plut. *Mor.* 174; Arist. *Oec.* 2, 1351b; *Hell. Oxyr.* 21, 2 = col. 16 (BEHRWALD 2005).

⁵⁷ Diod. Sic. XVI 74–77.

⁵⁸ KHOLOD 2018.

prompted by the mercenaries immediately become apparent. However, Philip's hegemony did not last long, and the sources do not indicate that he penalised mercenaries. Thus, the question arises whether Alexander used the clause on loyalty in the foundation oath to punish Greeks fighting for Darius.

ALEXANDER AND THE GREEK MERCENARIES IN ASIA

The first encounter Alexander had with Greek mercenaries occurred in the battle at the River Granicus. In his account regarding the Athenian mercenaries' fate to come, Arrian mentions a specific reason for Alexander to punish them. According to him, 2,000 Athenian citizens were captured as prisoners and were deported to Macedonia for forced labour because it was expected by the Common Peace's members:

because though Greeks they had violated the shared agreement of the Greeks by fighting with barbarians against Greece⁵⁹.

It is not entirely clear to which of the Greeks' agreements Arrian's statement is related. However, the common explanation that Alexander punished the mercenaries due to the Panhellenic character of his campaign is not satisfying at all. Panhellenism was an idea of Athenian politicians based on their claim of being the hegemonic power in the Greek world rather than a belief shared by all Greeks⁶⁰. Furthermore, just as the theme of revenge, Alexander's reference to Panhellenism was limited to his representation towards the members of the Corinthian League in Hellas and the Greeks among his army⁶¹. A different interpretation can be gleaned by viewing Arrian's statement in the context of the Common Peace's institutional framework. According to what we know of the treaty, the members of the κοινή ειρήνη expected their leader to enact and uphold the constitution and to enforce resolutions passed by the συνέδριον as its legislative institution⁶². Hence, by punishing the mercenaries, Alexander fulfilled the expectations of the members of the Common Peace.

⁵⁹ Arr. *Anab.* I 16, 6: ὅτι παρὰ τὰ κοινῇ δόξαντα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν Ἕλληνας ὄντες ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐμάχοντο. Translation by P.A. BRUNT, slightly modified. See also the translation of this passage by E.I. ROBSON: "because they had violated Greek public opinion by fighting with Orientals against Greeks".

⁶⁰ For arguments against Panhellenism as objective of Alexander's campaign, see LOW 2018 (Panhellenism as Athens' claim for hegemony); BRIANT 2010: 33–37; FRENDO 2012; NAWOTKA 2003a (on the political dimension of 'freedom' in Alexander's campaign); SEIBERT 1998 (arguments against Panhellenic motivation of Alexander's campaign). For Panhellenism as pivotal motivation for Alexander, see FLOWER 2000: *passim*.

⁶¹ WALLACE 2020.

⁶² URBAN 1981: 14; RYDER 1965: 103–104 on Ps.-Dem. 17, 8.

Nevertheless, nothing in the text of the *Anabasis* suggests that a resolution (δόγμα) by the συνέδριον was the basis of Alexander's decision⁶³. As already examined above, desertion was prohibited in the foundation oath, which seems to have been the legal basis for Alexander's decision in this case. However, this does not mean that Alexander punished the mercenaries based on the League of Corinth's acts, but that the oath itself as a legal instrument allowed him to do so. According to Greek legal thinking, oathbreaking was an issue between the violator and the gods, which can be seen as the background for Alexander's decisions during the second and third encounters with Greeks fighting for the Great King in 330 BCE. As we learn from the *Anabasis*, the last Greek mercenaries in Achaemenid service in Hyrcania sent envoys to the approaching Macedonian army to negotiate their surrender after Darius had been assassinated:

To the envoys of the Greeks, however, who begged him to grant them terms for the whole mercenary force, he replied that he would make no compact with them whatever; men who fought with the barbarians against Greece against the decrees of the Greeks were guilty of grave wrongs⁶⁴.

Arrian's choice of words is revealing in this case. The mercenaries' act of wrongdoing is presented as a violation of the resolutions of the Common Peace's assembly (παρὰ τὰ δόγματα τῶν Ἑλλήνων) and as a grave violation or even sacrilege (ἀδικεῖν γὰρ μέγαλα). Although Arrian's reference to τὰ δόγματα is misleading, his statement nonetheless provides a more precise connotation of the legal basis for Alexander's actions. In the classical Greek understanding of the law, the violation of an oath is called an injustice (ἀδικία) which was furthermore seen as a sacrilege and legitimization of war, since Zeus Horkios protected these legal relationships and different deities witnessed its establishment⁶⁵. Thucydides, for instance, uses ἀδικεῖν in the famous speech of the Plataeans in the Archidemean War to describe the Lacedaemonians' breach of the oath of Plataea from the Persian Wars⁶⁶. Hence, the statement by Arrian

⁶³ See Arr. *Anab.* I 16, 6 where Arrian points to "shared expectations of the Greeks" (τὰ κοινῇ δόξαντα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν) and not to common resolutions. See LSJ s.v. δοξάζω.

⁶⁴ Arr. *Anab.* III 23, 8: τοῖς πρέσβεσι δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεομένοις σπείσασθαι σφισιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ξενικοῦ ἀπεκρίνατο ὁμολογίαν μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐδεμίαν: ἀδικεῖν γὰρ μέγαλα τοὺς στρατευομένους ἐναντία τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις παρὰ τὰ δόγματα τῶν Ἑλλήνων... Translation by P.A. BRUNT.

⁶⁵ SCHARFF 2016: 46–64; SOMMERSTEIN 2014. Philip II already legitimated his war against Olynthus also by pointing to his opponents' breaking of the oath; see SQUILLACE 2010: 69–80.

⁶⁶ Thuc. II 71, 4: μάρτυρας δὲ θεοὺς τοὺς τε ὀρκίους τότε γενομένους ποιούμενοι καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους πατρῶους καὶ ἡμετέρους ἐγγχωρίους, λέγομεν ὑμῖν γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, ἔαν δὲ οἰκεῖν αὐτονόμους καθάπερ Πανσανίας ἐδικαίωσεν. Cf. HORNBLOWER 2003: 359; PODDIGHE 2003: 207. On Thucydides' good epigraphical knowledge, see SMARCYK 2006: 495–522.

is evidence that his source referred to an oath, as supported by Curtius' choice of words "societatis fide violate"⁶⁷. This reinforces the argument that this passage is not the only example of Arrian's imprecise use of the terminology that he found in his sources. For instance, the terms he uses to describe the taxation of the cities in Asia Minor are also at variance with what we know from the epigraphical evidence⁶⁸.

Alexander's stance when he met the mercenaries supports the assumption made before. In the chronology of events in Arrian's *Anabasis*, the Greek mercenaries, and an embassy of Lacedaemonians, Athenians, and Sinopeans met Alexander only a short time after they tried to negotiate with him. He ordered that everyone be arrested, save the mercenaries who joined the Achaemenid army before the Common Peace was installed, and the Sinopeans, who were not part of the Corinthian League (οὔτε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετεῖχον)⁶⁹. From the *Anabasis*, we can extract two main points from the resolution. First, it distinguished between Greeks whose *poleis* were part of the κοινὴ εἰρήνη and Greek subjects of the Great King. Second, the date on which a Greek who was a citizen of a *polis* that had entered the Common Peace joined the Achaemenid army was an important factor in determining and legitimising his punishment following the resolution. The decisive *terminus ante quem*, which justifies the service of a Greek as a mercenary for the Great King was the formation of the peace and alliance (πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης τε καὶ τῆς συμμαχίας) between the Greeks and the Macedonians, which can only mean the κοινὴ εἰρήνη⁷⁰.

While all this may be true, the mercenaries offended the gods who were supposed to punish oathbreakers, and this made the oath become a powerful instrument in the Macedonian leader's hands for taking action against his enemies. The reaction of the Athenians in the further course of events is indicative of this. Arresting the Greek mercenaries after the battle at the Granicus brought Alexander into conflict with the Athenians, who sent an embassy to him, requesting the release of their citizens among the prisoners⁷¹. Arrian explains that Alexander denied this request because he wanted to continue intimidating the Greeks who were fighting for Darius (τοῦ φόβου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν)⁷². As we learn

⁶⁷ Curt. III 13, 15. Cf. also Diod. Sic. XVII 76, 2, without mentioning an oath: παρέδοσαν ἑαυτοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ συγγνώμης ἀξιωθέντες κατετάχθησαν εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς μισθοφοραῖς.

⁶⁸ Arr. *Anab.* I 17, 7; 26, 3. Cf. WIRTH 1972; KHOLOD 2017. See also the fundamental treatment of errors in Arrian in BOSWORTH 1976.

⁶⁹ Arr. *Anab.* III 24, 4.

⁷⁰ For an overview on the discussion of whether the 'Corinthian League' was designed as a κοινὴ εἰρήνη or a συμμαχία, see RYDER 1994: 151–154; 157–159; STYLIANOU 1994: 8–12.

⁷¹ Arr. *Anab.* I 29, 5–6; Curt. III 1, 9–10.

⁷² Arr. *Anab.* I 29, 6.

from Curtius, Alexander initially wished to end the war against the Persians before releasing the prisoners⁷³. The young conqueror knew that some Athenian political parties did not accept his hegemony and thus were in diplomatic contact with Darius. An Athenian delegation found in the Persian camp after the battle of Issus was reason enough for him to call Athens' loyalty into question. In 331 BCE, after having defeated the Achaemenid fleet, but before campaigning to Mesopotamia, Alexander finally released the prisoners⁷⁴. This delay in releasing the mercenary prisoners indicates that Alexander regarded their strict punishment as being important for the success of his hegemony and campaign, even if it was at the price of worsening the relationship with Athens as a sea power. The act of punishing the Athenian mercenaries may even have been the motivation for the ῥγεμῶν when dedicating Persian war booty to the Athenian acropolis right after the battle at the River Granicus, to somewhat "calm the waves"⁷⁵.

Moreover, Alexander's argumentation in the *Anabasis* shows that he could not arbitrarily take citizens of *poleis* that were members of the Corinthian League as prisoners in the terms of the law of war. Thus, his actions demanded a legal basis to be acceptable and transparent for the peer citizens of the mercenaries' *poleis*. By taking all of this into consideration, the oath in Philip's treaty seems to have been the basis for Alexander's decision, since it allowed him to punish mercenaries as offenders of the gods. In this case, he viewed the violation of the oath's clause on desertion as sacrilege which provided him with a legal basis to punish the supporters of his enemy. In other words, it was not their oathbreaking but rather their actions that allowed him to make this moral point. By doing so, his decision-making was rather pragmatic, as can be seen from his decision not to punish the mercenaries whom he met for the last time, although the reasons for his decision, in this case, merit serious investigation.

Arrian states that the last Greek mercenaries joined the Macedonian army for the same pay and under the command of their former leader⁷⁶. This decision

⁷³ Curt. III 1, 9.

⁷⁴ Release of the prisoners: Diod. Sic. XVII 48, 6; Curt. IV 5, 11. As an instance of resistance against Alexander, see TOD 1985: no. 193 as evidence for attempts of the anti-Macedonian factions in Athens and Plataea to side with Agis. Cf. also BADIAN 1989: 59–64 *contra* POTTER 1984.

⁷⁵ Arr. *Anab.* I 16, 7; Plut. *Alex.* 16–17. For the Athenian view, see SQUILLACE 1992–1994. Most scholars view Alexander's decision in this case as an act of 'panhellenism', cf. WALLACE 2010: 152; NAWOTKA 2016: 125; CARTLEDGE 2004: 96; BOSWORTH 1980: 127.

⁷⁶ Arr. *Anab.* III 24, 4–5: τούτους μὲν δὴ ξυλλαβὼν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχε, τοὺς Σινωπέων δὲ ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι Σινωπεῖς οὔτε τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετεῖχον, ὑπὸ Πέρσας τε τεταγμένοι οὐκ ἀπεικότα ποιεῖν ἐδόκουν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν πρεσβεύοντες. ἀφῆκεν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, ὅσοι πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης τε καὶ τῆς συμμαχίας τῆς πρὸς Μακεδόνας γενομένης παρὰ Πέρσας ἐμισθοφόρου, καὶ Καλχηδονίων Ἡρακλείδην τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀφῆκεν. Translation by P.A. Brunt. See also Curt. III 13, 15: "Lacedaemonii et Athenienses societatis fide violata

seemed to have been surprising since, in his prior statement to the mercenaries, Alexander threatened them with punishment for siding with the Persians⁷⁷. Arrian does not provide his reader with any exact information as to why Alexander changed his mind. However, a key to answering this question can be found in the description of the setting of this event in the *Anabasis* chronology of Alexander's campaign. The incorporation of the mercenaries into the body of the Macedonian army is placed between Darius' death (Arr. *Anab.* III 21) and the moment when word reached Alexander about Bessus becoming the new Great King (Arr. *Anab.* III 25, 3). In this period, the objectives of the Macedonian campaign changed, since further conquest became necessary to secure what had already been conquered⁷⁸. This can be gathered from Alexander's speech in which he explained his further plans to his mutinous troops who wanted to return home⁷⁹. At that time, the conquest of the remaining territory of the Achaemenid Empire became the new objective of war for a campaign that now found it imperative to defeat Bessus. These changes in strategy and objective made it necessary to integrate the mercenaries into his army, since the last time military reinforcements reached his front lines was nearly one year prior⁸⁰. As a sequel to these events, Alexander ended the war of the members of the Common Peace by paying the Greek contingents a reward before sending them back home⁸¹. From then onwards, he appeared to have shown little interest in staging himself as ῥήγεμῶν in front of his army in which the contingents of the Corinthian League were no longer present. To accomplish the new tasks at hand, the concept of war that Alexander inherited from Philip was no longer suitable for the dialogue he initiated with the Iranian elites, and thus the narrative strategically shifted⁸². Moreover, at the time when the Achaemenid Empire was defeated, there was no imperial power in the Mediterranean save that of the Macedonian Empire and thus the threat of cities abandoning the Corinthian League and its citizens deserting to the Great King became a thing of the past. Hence, the Common Peace lost its function as an offensive tool to block the Greeks' support of Alexander's enemies.

Persas secuti..." and Diod. Sic. XVII 76, 2: παρέδοσαν ἑαυτοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ συγγνώμης ἀξιωθέντες κατετάχθησαν εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς μισθοφοραῖς.

⁷⁷ Arr. *Anab.* III 24, 5.

⁷⁸ Curt. V 13, 4. Cf. BOSWORTH 1988: 97.

⁷⁹ Curt. VI 2, 15–16; Diod. Sic. XVII 74, 3; Iust. XII 3, 2–3; Plut. *Alex.* 47, 1–3. On Arrian's silence on this incident, see BOSWORTH 1976: 133–136.

⁸⁰ OLBRYCHT 2011: 69 (with evidence).

⁸¹ Arr. *Anab.* III 19, 5–6; Diod. Sic. XVII 74, 3; Curt. VI 2, 17; Plut. *Alex.* 42.5; Iust. XII 1, 1–3. On the end of the 'Common War' in 331, see SQUILLACE 2015: 109: "This was the first step of his new project".

⁸² Thorough discussion of this topic are DEGEN 2019; OLBRYCHT 2015; NAWOTKA 2003b.

CONCLUSION

When Philip II designed the κοινὴ εἰρήνη, he sought to prohibit any Greek troops from abandoning his future campaign in Asia. For this reason, a clause forbidding any kind of disloyalty to the Common Peace was added to the foundation oath, although a separate resolution was passed by the συνέδριον to prohibit the members from accepting Persian subsidiaries. Due to the oath's legal character as an agreement between the gods and the signatories, it became a powerful tool in the Macedonian leaders' hands to stop Greeks from serving as mercenaries in the Achaemenid army. When Alexander started his campaign, he presented himself as ἡγεμὼν in front of his troops and the Greek *poleis* by punishing Greeks fighting for Darius based on his interpretation of them acting in a disloyal manner. If seen in the light of the epigraphical evidence, the extant accounts on Alexander prove that he punished Greek mercenaries for breaking the oath on the Common Peace. However, the situation changed when the Achaemenid Empire ceased to be an alternative imperial power to its Macedonian counterpart. As soon as there ceased to be another power in the Aegean apart from the Macedonian Empire, the Common Peace lost its function as a tool to prohibit the Greeks' support of Alexander's enemies. Ultimately, it can be said that although Alexander inherited his father's war and position, he took the liberty to modify existing oaths and policies to create a non-negotiable military atmosphere of allegiance that suited his campaign needs.

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THE LEGIO XXI RAPAX AT MOGONTIACUM

by

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ABSTRACT: The deployment of the legio XXI Rapax to Mogontiacum (83–89 CE) was an episodic one, but it took place during a fateful period. The events connected with the war against the Chatti and the revolt of Saturninus permanently changed the image of Mogontiacum and Upper Germania, as well as deciding the fate of the legion.

The history of legio XXI Rapax spans some 100 years¹, and only a few of them are directly linked to Mogontiacum. It is assumed that the legion arrived there in 83 CE and remained until 89 CE². Its relocation from Lower Germania, where it had previously been stationed (in Bonna / Bonn), to Mainz was dictated by the war against the Chatti that emperor Domitian embarked on. Initially, however, the XXI Rapax was quartered outside the main camp, which was occupied at the time by the XIV Gemina Martia Victrix and the I Adiutrix. Only after the latter marched out to the Danube front (Pannonia, the war against the Dacians) in 86³ did the XXI Rapax take up quarters in the camp at Mogontiacum, on a hill called Kästrich. The briefness of their time there is probably one of the reasons for the very scarce documentation of its stay. This includes, among others, four inscriptions found in the Mainz area – three funerary ones and a votive relic:

1. *CIL* XIII 6950 = RIESE 1914, 1074 Zahlbach
M. Val(erius) M(arci) f(ilius) Lem(onia tribu) | Matto⁴ Bono|niae mil(es)
leg(ionis) | XXI Rap(acis) (centuria) L(ucii) Fal(toni) Firmi an(norum) |
XL stip(endiorum) XIX h(ic) s(itus) e(st) | t(itulum) f(ieri) i(ussit) h(eres)
f(aciendum) c(uravit)

¹ On the history of the XXI Rapax see RITTERLING 1924–1925: 1781–1791; BÉRARD 2000; SCHMIDTS 2018: 10–12. RITTERLING (col. 1781) held that the legion was created by the emperor Augustus before 8 BCE, but it is also likely that this happened in 15 BCE, in view of the extensive military operations to be launched on the Rhine and the Danube. BÉRARD (p. 49) concurs with L. KEPPIE, who argues that the legion was established either in 41–40 BCE, or shortly following the Battle of Actium; see KEPPIE 1998: 183.

² RITTERLING 1924–1925: 1787; BÉRARD 2000: 54–60.

³ RITTERLING 1924–1925: 1384–1388; LÖRINCZ 2000: 152–154.

⁴ *Matto* is a name of Celtic provenance; see KAKOSCHKE 2008, pp. 99–100.

2. *CIL* XIII 6951 = RIESE 1914, 1075 Zahlbach
 ---nia mil(es) | leg(ionis) XXI Rap(acis) | ann(orum) XXXV | stip(endiorum)
 XIV h(ic) s(itus) | e(st) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)
3. *CIL* XIII 6951b = RIESE 1914, 1089 Mainz, cathedral, cloister
 ---us P. f. | ---ius --- | ---nus Lyc --- | [---le]g(ionis) XXI R[ap(acis) ---] | --- s]
 tip(endiorum) X[---]
4. *CIL* XIII 11800 = RIESE 1914, 1076 Mainz, near Gautor
 m[il(es)] | leg(ionis) XXI Rapa(cis) | Domesticis | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens)
 l(actus) m(erito)

None of the inscriptions was found *in situ*. However, it is worth noting that the first two were discovered near Zahlbach, west of the legionary fortress, where a large necropolis⁵ used by the soldiers was located. Inscription No. 3 was found in the cloister of the cathedral of Mainz, outside any archaeological context. The fourth, votive inscription was discovered near present-day Gautor, i.e. on the eastern side of the fortress.

If the dating of the first three texts is beyond doubt and can be safely situated in the timeframe when the legio XXI Rapax was quartered in the camp at Kästrich, the last inscription requires some comment. Its first publisher, K. KÖRBER, supported by the opinion of A. von DOMASZEWSKI, argued that it dated to the period when the legion was stationed in Vindonissa / Windisch (between 46 and 70 CE)⁶. The

⁵ DECKER, SELZER 1976: 524; WITTEYER 1997: 65–68.

⁶ This is particularly due to the fact that two tombstone inscriptions of soldiers of the legio XXI Rapax from Mainz are dated to the first half of the first century, the period when it was based in Vindonissa:

CIL XIII 6949 = RIESE 1914, 1073 = SELZER 1988, 52:
 L(ucius) Marius L(ucii) f(ilius) Pu|pin{i}a (tribu) Baeterris | miles leg(ionis)
 XXI sti|pendiorum | XVI anno(rum) XXXX | hic sit(us) est frate|r faciendum
 | curavit.
CIL XIII 6951a = RIESE 1914, 1086 = SELZER 1988, 51:
 Q(uintus) Mar|cius Balbus m/issicius leg(ionis) XXI et | Celer f(ilius) eius |
 hic siti sunt.

To E. RITTERLING, the presence of the first soldier in Mainz was apparently related to “Ca-
 ligula’s great operations against the Germans” (cf. SELZER 1988: 52: “Inscriptliche Formulierung-
 en und Art des Steines lassen eine Datierung vor der Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. zu. Da die
 21. Legion aber von 82/83–90 n. Chr. in Mainz stationiert war, muss der Soldat während eines
 anderen dienstlichen Aufenthaltes in Mainz gestorben sein”), whereas the second serviceman was
 “vielleicht ein ehemaliger Offiziale des Mainzer Heereskommandanten” (RITTERLING 1924–1925:
 1784); on the other hand, according to SELZER (*loc. cit.*), “dürfte der Soldat bei einer Verlegung der
 Legion in Mainz gestorben sein”. The inscription discovered in Mainz in the area of the University
 remains problematic; HERZ (1978–1979: 287, no. 21) published it in the following form:

[... Front ?]oni | [... V]ot(uria tribu) Pla(centia) | [milit(es) leg(ionis) XV]I,
 ann(orum) | [... et ... stip(endiorum) ... et ...].

The researcher set out with the premise that the first line includes a plural nominative, and
 therefore that the text refers to two soldiers who may have been brothers; he also assumed that the
 third line refers to legio XVI, because “lediglich die legio XVI keinen Beinamen besaß. Damit ist

founder of the monument, a legionary whose name has not survived, may have been transferred to serve on the staff of the governor of Upper Germania. According to KÖRBER, the theory is warranted both in view of the formula of the inscription and the fact that the cult of the (Matres) Domesticae to whom it was dedicated was particularly widespread in Lower Germania, where the legion was based (at Vetera / Xanten, between 9/10 and 43/45 CE), prior to it being relocated to Vindonissa. This is where the founder of the monument would become their follower⁷. On the other hand, E. RITTERLING maintained that the inscription should be dated to the legion's stay in Mogontiacum, but he did not substantiate his claim⁸. This question was resolved by L.J. WEBER⁹, in line with the view advanced by RITTERLING. The essential argument was that Bonna / Bonn had been one of the main centres of the cult of the Matres Domesticae. It was there that the earliest testimonies relating to the cult – dated to 70–89 CE – originate from; the Mainz monument must therefore be placed in their context, especially given the fact that the XXI Rapax was stationed in Bonna (70–83). Thus, it would have been made between 83 and 89; however, assuming that the legio XXI Rapax (or a part of it) was based in Weisenau, about 4 km south of Mogontiacum, the date may be narrowed down to 86–89¹⁰.

The Friedberg relic adds to this modest catalogue of inscriptions; it is an inscription on a small bronze shield¹¹ in four lines of *litteris punctis scriptis*:

5. CIL XIII 7404 = RIESE 1914, 1063 Friedberg¹²
legionis XXI | Rapacis | (centuria) Sosi(i) | Severi Suli(i) Noti¹³

die Inschrift in die Zeit vor 43 n. Chr. datiert". HERZ's interpretation was approved by the editors of *L'Année épigraphique* (1979, 435), who nevertheless noted that one cannot exclude legio XXI, "qui a mené des opérations dans la région sous Caligula (cf. C.I.L., XIII, 6949)"; this view is shared by U. SCHILLINGER-HÄFELE, although she argues that the text is concerned with one person and reconstructs it as follows:

---oni/[us . f(ilius)] | Vot(uria tribu) Pla(centia) | [--- leg(ionis) | X.]I ann(or)um
| [--- stip(endiorum) ---

Still, she admits the possibility that it had been a soldier of either the XVI or XXI legion: "Die XVI. Legion hatte zwischen 13 und 43 n. Chr. ihr Standquartier in Mainz [...]. Da der Verstorbene kein Cognomen trug, ist die Inschrift bei einer Ergänzung zu XXI mit dem Grabstein des L. Marius aus derselben Legion (CIL XIII 6949) zu vergleichen, den Ritterling mit Caligulas Operationen gegen Germanen des Mittelrheins in Verbindung bringt"; see SCHILLINGER-HÄFELE 1977: 502, n. 89; cf. BÉRARD 2000: 55 (with a substantial degree of scepticism).

⁷ KÖRBER 1910: 54; KÖRBER 1911: 127, n. 20.

⁸ RITTERLING 1924–1925: 1787.

⁹ WEBER 1966: 123.

¹⁰ WEBER 1966: 123–124.

¹¹ RITTERLING 1924–1925: 1787: "das bronzene Waffenschildchen"; RIESE (*ad n.*): "Rundes Bronzeplättchen"; BÉRARD 2000: 54: "une petite étiquette de bronze"; WAHL 1982: 102: "die Besitzmarke eines Soldaten der 21. Legion".

¹² See also BERGK 1882: 69.

¹³ As interpreted by E. RITTERLING.

Apart from the inscriptions, stamps on building ceramics constitute another primary source concerning the stay of the legio XXI Rapax in Mainz. Twenty-six such artefacts have been found in Mogontiacum, with thirteen specimens found in the very area of the camp or its immediate vicinity¹⁴. They occur in two variants: LE(gionis) XXI R(apacis) and LEG(ionis) XXI R(apacis)¹⁵. The manufacture of Rapax legion bricks began with its arrival in Mogontiacum. At that time, the main production facility used by the units stationed in Mogontiacum was Tabernae / Rheinzabern¹⁶, which to date has yielded two relics bearing the stamp of the legio XXI. The first – LXXI | RAPAX – was published in 1912 by W. LUDOWICI¹⁷ and for a long time offered the only evidence of the legion's activity in Rheinzabern. The second – LEGXXIR – became known only in 2000, having been published by G. WESCH-KLEIN¹⁸.

The legion only took advantage of the brickyard in Rheinzabern for a brief time¹⁹. Shortly after its arrival in Mogontiacum, brick production was transferred to the right bank of the Rhine, to Frankurt-Höchst (Nied)²⁰, most probably due to

¹⁴ Kästrich (3), Universitätskliniken (4), Universitätskliniken/Kästrich (1); Eisgrubweg (4), Zita-dellenweg (1); see DOLATA 2014: 272–273 (Katalog VI von Ziegelstempeln der legio XXI Rapax).

¹⁵ DOLATA 2014: 269–275; cf. *CIL* XIII 12316, 1–4.

¹⁶ ZEISS 1932; BERNHARD 1990: 533–539 (with further references); the brickyard operated from ca. 45 to ca. 85; it was manned by soldiers of all legions stationed at Mogontiacum: I Adiutrix, IV Macedonia, XIV Gemina, XXI Rapax and XXII Primigenia; see BERNHARD 1990: 533; WESCH-KLEIN 2000; SCHMIDTS 2018: 53.

¹⁷ LUDOWICI 1912: 114; LUDOWICI 1927: 186; *CIL* XIII 12312; RITTERLING 1911: 39; RITTERLING 1924–1925: 1728; cf. DOLATA 2014: 269–270; SCHMIDTS 2018: 11, 224 (D51).

¹⁸ WESCH-KLEIN 2000: 460, regrettably without graphic documentation: “Bisher war nur ein einziger, dem Typ nach singulärer, zweizeiliger Stempel dieser Legion in Rheinzabern nachgewiesen: *l(egio) XXI / rapax*. Nun kommt ein weiterer Stemeltyp hinzu: *[LE]G XXI R*; die Schrift (Buchstabenhöhe ca. 2,1 cm) ist erhaben, *XXI* ist überstrichen, das *G* ähnelt mehr einem *C* als einem *G*, zwischen *G* und *X* befindet sich ein eckiger Trenner; das *R* weist einen relativ kleinen Rundbogen und einen langen, relativ weit nach rechts ausladenden Abstrich auf; das einfache, rechteckige Stempelfeld ist vertieft”; BÉRARD 2000: 55, n. 64; the fact that another stamp of the legion XXI Rapax from Rheinzabern actually exists is acknowledged in the scholarly community only with great difficulty, cf. DOLATA 2014 (p. 269: “Ein einziger Ziegelstempel der Einheit wurde in Rheinzabern gefunden (Abb. 70–71) und ist durch die Materialvorlage im Corpus sowie die grundlegenden Veröffentlichungen durch W. Ludowici dokumentiert”) and BURGER-VÖLLMECKE 2020 (p. 32: “In Rheinzabern ist bisher nur ein einziger (!) gestempelter Ziegel der *legio XXI Rapax* bezeugt...”); *contra*: SCHMIDTS 2018: 11.

¹⁹ It is assumed that the Rheinzabern brickyard ceased to function in 85 at the latest; RITTERLING 1911: 39: “Alle in Rheinzabern erzeugten und gestempelten Truppenziegel der älteren Kaiserzeit fallen also in die Zeit von Claudius (etwa vom Jahre 47 an) bis zum Chattenkrieg Domitians im Jahr 83”; RITTERLING 1924–1925: 1787: “Die Ziegeleien der Mainzer L(egionen) in Rheinzabern sind während oder nach dem J. 83 verlassen worden; an ihre Stelle trat die Zentralziegelei in Nied bei Höchst a. M.”; DOLATA 2014: 169: “während des Chattenkrieges von Domitianus 83/85”; SCHMIDTS 2018: 53: “um 85 n. Chr.”.

²⁰ WAHL 1982: 99–100, 119–120; BAATZ, SIMON 1989: 303–304; BURGER-VÖLLMECKE 2020: 32.

the construction of forts and fortifications between the Main, Rhine and Taunus rivers. The activity of the Mainz unit in the region is attested by numerous finds of bricks with the stamps of the legio XXI Rapax²¹. Excavations in Nied (Frankfurt-Nied) revealed remnants of an extensive facility producing bricks and utility ceramics, whose infrastructure was erected by legion XXI, among others, as documented by bricks with the stamps LEXXIR, LECXXIR, LEXXR²².

In pertinent literature, the closure of the brickyard in Rheinzaubern and the launch of the new one in Frankfurt-Nied²³ is the datum point marking the moment when the legio XXI Rapax relocated from Bonna to Mogontiacum. This was a necessary move in view of the war with the Chatti; the legion was reputed to be extremely skilled in and keen on combat, having played a decisive role in suppressing the Batavian uprising²⁴. The vacated camp at Bonna / Bonn was occupied by the newly formed legio I Minervia²⁵. The stamps of the legio XXI Rapax (two specimens) in Tabernae are thought to prove that immediately after the relocation its *vexillatio* arrived there. After a brief sojourn, the unit was transferred to Frankfurt-Nied. Following this line of reasoning, the legio XXI Rapax reached Mainz in 83 and, initially quartered in a camp at Mainz-Weisenau²⁶, it took the place of the I Adiutrix (in 86) at Kästrich once the latter had deployed. The Frankfurt-Nied brickworks then became the main supplier of bricks, needed e.g. for the construction work undertaken in the fortress²⁷.

Nonetheless, this lucid picture, reinforced by the authority of E. RITTERLING²⁸, is only a theoretical assumption, since there are no sources that would unequivocally corroborate it. On the other hand, there is no shortage of doubtful points.

Research at the Roman military camp at Groß-Gerau-Wallerstädten²⁹ (ca. 16 km south-east of Mainz), a site that was abandoned at the beginning of Vespasian's reign³⁰, indicates that its inhabitants obtained their utility ceramics mainly from the facility in Nied. This would imply that it was not established only after Domitian had ascended to power – either during or after the war with

²¹ CIL XIII 12317–12322; SCHMIDTS 2018: 53–54, 211 (Kat. D8), 214 (D13), 216–217 (D22).

²² WOLFF 1893: 259–262; SCHMIDTS 2018: 11; see HAMPEL 2012; HAMPEL 2014.

²³ BAATZ 1989: 302–304.

²⁴ Tac. *Hist.* IV 78, 1 (the battle of Trier); RITTERLING 1924–1925: 1786; BÉRARD 2000: 54.

²⁵ The legion is referred to in RITTERLING 1924–1925: 1420–1437.

²⁶ RITTERLING 1924–1925: 1787; BURGER-VÖLLMECKE 2020: 32; cf. BÉRARD 2000: 55.

²⁷ All bricks made by the legio XXI Rapax which have been discovered to date in Mainz originate from the Frankfurt-Nied facility, as attested by geochemical analysis; see DOLATA 2014: 269–280; BURGER-VÖLLMECKE 2020: 32.

²⁸ RITTERLING 1924–1925: 1787.

²⁹ HAHN, HELFERT 2012: 109–112; BURGER-VÖLLMECKE 2020: 32.

³⁰ Troops would afterwards be stationed at the camp of Groß-Gerau “Auf Esch”, built in the early years of the reign of Vespasian; HAHN, HELFERT 2012: 112; SIMON 1989: 322.

the Chatti³¹ – but that it was already functioning in the times of Vespasian³², and probably even earlier. One is therefore compelled to reconsider the moment when the brickworks became operational³³, as well as the dating of the arrival of the legio XXI Rapax in Mainz and its involvement in Nied. If we hold to the opinion that it was Domitian who decided that the legion be transferred from Lower Germania, this may have happened in 82 CE³⁴, having been correlated with the establishment of the legio I Minervia; an earlier date cannot be ruled out either (end of Vespasian's rule?, Titus?), but at present this cannot be conclusively ascertained³⁵. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that investigations at Nied have yielded artefacts with the stamps of all the legions which made up the garrison of Mogontiacum between 70 and 89/90³⁶, as well as those of the cohorts I Asturum³⁷. The latter unit is likely to have been stationed at the nearby *castellum* of Frankfurt-Höchst³⁸.

The arrival of the legio XXI Rapax in Mogontiacum involves the question of its billeting. At that time the quarters at Kästrich were occupied by the legions I Adiutrix and XIV Gemina Martia Victrix. Accommodation became available only when the Adiutrix had marched out to Pannonia in 86 CE. The obvious

³¹ An overview of opinions is provided in BAATZ, SIMON 1989: 303; cf. PFERDEHIRT 1983: 309

³² HAHN, HELFERT 2012: 112; BURGER-VÖLLMECKE 2020: 32; an earlier date of the launching of brick and ceramics manufacturing in Frankfurt-Nied was argued by J. WAHL, who suggested the period of Vespasian's reign; he also stressed that a Roman military outpost ("militärischer Stützpunkt") may have already existed in the Höchst/Nied area under Claudius-Nero: WAHL 1982: 99, 118–120, esp. 120: "der Betrieb in Nied [kann] nicht erst während des Chattenkrieges eingesetzt haben, sondern spätestens gegen Ende der Regierungszeit des Vespasian oder Titus".

³³ HAHN, HELFERT 2012: 112: "Die Versorgung des Lagers von Wallerstädten mit Gebrauchskeramik scheint in erster Linie aus der Produktionsstätte Frankfurt a. M.-Nied erfolgt zu sein. Dies steht jedoch [...] im Widerspruch zur Datierung des Produktionsbeginns. Da aufgrund des Fundmaterials von einem Belegungsende des Lagers von Wallerstädten und einem Belegungsbeginn am neuen Standort Groß-Gerau 'Auf Esch' in (früh-) vespasianischer Zeit ausgegangen werden kann, erscheint eine Vordatierung des Produktionsbeginns in Nied als unumgänglich".

³⁴ See BÉRARD 2000: 55.

³⁵ See BURGER-VÖLLMECKE 2020: 32: "Damit steht [...] der Zeitpunkt für die Stationierung der *legio XXI Rapax* wieder zur Diskussion, die zur Vorbereitung der Chattenkriege etwas früher nach Mainz verlegt worden sein konnte als das bisher postulierte Datum von 83 n. Chr."; cf. WAHL 1982: 99: „[es] scheint im Raum Höchst/Nied schon unter Claudius oder Nero ein militärischer Stützpunkt bestanden zu haben".

³⁶ Specifically, the legions I Adiutrix, XIV Gemina Martia Victrix and XXI Rapax; see WOLFF 1893: 257–268; a certain departure may be seen in a specimen bearing the stamp of the legio VIII Augusta, which after 70 CE was based in Argentorate / Strasbourg, at a considerable distance from Frankfurt-Nied; it is not unlikely that it ended up in Mogontiacum purely by chance, see BAATZ, SIMON 1989: 303: "Von der 8. Legion fand Wolff nur einen einzigen gestempelten Ziegel, der aus einer anderen Ziegelei gekommen sein könnte".

³⁷ CIL XIII 12419; C. CICHORIUS, s.v. *cohors I Asturum (equitata)*, RE IV 1 (1900), col. 245; SPAUL 2000: 72–74.

³⁸ STEIN 1932: 164; PFERDEHIRT 1983: 309; BAATZ, SIMON 1989: 303; SCHMIDTS 2018: 15.

question arises as to where the legio XXI Rapax was stationed up to that time. E. RITTERLING claimed that it was stationed in Weisenau, located on the Rhine, 3.5 km south of Kästrich³⁹. However, the area of the military camp there – approximately 3.5 hectares – is nowhere near the space required by a legion-sized unit⁴⁰, at least at its full strength. It is possible that a proportion of the legionaries were quartered in Weisenau, while the remainder were billeted in other locations. F. BÉRARD suggested that the legion may have been quartered somewhere on the *limes* that the Romans were building at the time, and pointed to Hanau-Kesselstadt on the Main⁴¹, where an unfinished 14-hectare camp has been discovered⁴². This was not enough for an entire legion, but it would have fully sufficed to have part of it (*vexillatio*) reside there⁴³. It is presumed that it was built under Domitian⁴⁴; it is theoretically possible – as F. BÉRARD suggested – that soldiers of the legio XXI Rapax contributed to the construction, but this must remain no more than conjecture. The work may have been interrupted before its final completion⁴⁵ either by the war with the Chatti (83–85) or by the change of strategy brought about by the revolt of Saturninus⁴⁶. However, a concept advanced by J. WAHL⁴⁷ is worth noting at this point. Namely, that the camp at Hanau-Kesselstadt had been intended from the outset for a half a legion. Its construction began “during or rather after the war with the Chatti”, when the I Adiutrix and XIV Gemina Martia Victrix were stationed at Mogontiacum on the Kästrich hill. After the first of these legions deployed in 86 to Pannonia, its place in the camp was taken by the legio XXI Rapax. This may have been the reason why the construction work at Kesselstadt was discontinued. With this argument in mind, it could be assumed

³⁹ RITTERLING 1924–1925: 1787.

⁴⁰ STÜMPEL 1961: 302: “Eine Lagergröße von ca. 150:230 m halten wir für möglich”; HASSEL 1969: 107; WITTEYER 2006: 329; regarding the surface area of legionary camps see BAATZ 1962: 80.

⁴¹ BÉRARD 2000: 55: “il faut éventuellement envisager plutôt une installation plus avancée sur le *limes*, peut-être dans la grande enceinte d’Hanau-Kesselstadt, sur le Main, qui paraît n’avoir jamais été achevée”.

⁴² This would make it the largest fort (*castellum*) of the Upper Germanic *limes*; CZYSZ 1989: 336.

⁴³ CZYSZ 1989: 334–337; the suggestion that Hanau-Kesselstadt may have been an (unfinished) camp, capable of accommodating only part of the legion was advanced by BAATZ 1993: 171: “Für eine vollständige Legion reichte der Raum [14 ha] jedoch nicht. Als Besatzung war entweder eine Legionsabteilung vorgesehen oder eine aus mehreren Alen und Auxiliarkohorten zusammengesetzte Truppe”; cf. BAATZ 1962: 80; BAATZ 1973: 536.

⁴⁴ BAATZ 1973: 542–543; WAHL 1982: 100; BAATZ 1993: 171.

⁴⁵ Considering the location of the fort – directly on the navigable Main, right at the mouth of the Kinzing, which flows into the Main – CZYSZ (1989: 336) believes it possible that the site was by default conceived as a storage and trans-shipping facility for supplies intended for the Roman troops: “Nach seiner ausgewählten Lage am Mainufer möchte man weniger an eine Garnison größerer Truppenkontingente als eher an einen Depot- und Umschlagplatz für Versorgungsgüter denken”.

⁴⁶ BAATZ 1973: 543; CZYSZ 1989: 336.

⁴⁷ WAHL 1982: 100–101.

that it had been designed to accommodate roughly half of the complement of the XXI Rapax. The remainder of the legion would have been quartered elsewhere, for instance at Weisenau. The plans were nevertheless abandoned in the wake of the defeat on the Danube. This is of course a hypothesis, but one that fits nicely into the context of events and tallies with the evidence acquired to date.

The revolt of L. Antonius Saturninus⁴⁸ in 88/89 decided the fate of the legio XXI Rapax. The predominant notion in the literature is that after the revolt had been suppressed the legion was sent as punishment to Pannonia, where it was wiped out in a clash with the Iazyges in 92⁴⁹. Adherents of this thesis, backed by the authority of Emil RITTERLING, rely primarily on the accounts by Suetonius⁵⁰ and Eutropius⁵¹, who spoke of the annihilation of an unnamed legion and its legate in 92 CE. Given the absence of information relating to the XXI Rapax after 89 CE, RITTERLING associated these reports with that particular legion⁵². However, the problem is that no trace of its stay in Pannonia has been found so far, which makes RITTERLING's view all the more precarious. Hence, it would appear more advisable to follow François BÉRARD, who recommended that instead of using the argument *ex silentio*, one should opt for the concept advanced by Theodor BERGK towards the end of the nineteenth century⁵³. BERGK held that the legio XXI Rapax was disciplinarily disbanded by Domitian immediately after the suppression of the revolt because it had most zealously supported the usurpation of Saturninus. Arguments in favour are supplied by several inscriptions from Vindonissa, where the XXI Rapax was stationed in 46–69: its name had been expunged by hammer blows, clear evidence of *damnatio memoriae*⁵⁴. It is hardly conceivable that this could have happened to a “living” legion⁵⁵.

⁴⁸ Concerning the revolt of Saturninus see BERGK 1882; RITTERLING 1893; WALSER 1968; STROBEL 1986.

⁴⁹ RITTERLING 1893: 232–234; RITTERLING 1924–1925: 1788–1789; STROBEL 1986: 217; STROBEL 1988: 216.

⁵⁰ Suet. *Dom.* 6, 1: “expeditiones [...] suscepit [...] in Sarmatas legione cum legato simul caesa” (Martinet).

⁵¹ Eutrop. *Brev.* VII 23, 4: “in Sarmatia legio eius (i.e. Domitiani) cum duce interfecta est” (Hellegouarc’h).

⁵² RITTERLING 1893: 232–234; RITTERLING 1924–1925: 1788–1789.

⁵³ BERGK 1882: 67–71; see BÉRARD 1994: 225; BÉRARD 2000: 55–60.

⁵⁴ There are four such inscriptions: (1) *CIL* XIII 11514; (2) *AE* 1934, 18 = BRGK XXVII 1937, 60b; (3) *CIL* XIII 5201 + 5237 = *AE* 1971, 275; (4) *CIL* XIII 5200 + 11515 = *AE* 1971, 274; the first two were found at the camp, within the *principia*, whereas the remaining two were discovered outside the camp perimeter, although they certainly originated from the gates of the fortress; see BÉRARD 2000: 50–51; HARTMANN 1986: 53–70.

⁵⁵ See the arguments advanced by RITTERLING (1924–1925: 1788–1789), who attempts to interpret that particular case as a local event of a private nature: apparently, that was an act of revenge by the Helvetii, residents of Aventicum, for the massacre they had suffered in 69 at the hands of the soldiers of the XXI Rapax. This would mean that they had unhindered entry into the camp...

In the long history of Mogontiacum, the sojourn of the legio XXI Rapax was but an episode, but it took place at a fateful time. The events connected with the war against the Chatti and the revolt of Saturninus permanently changed the image of Mogontiacum and Upper Germania, as well as deciding the fate of this legion. After the revolt had been suppressed, the emperor Domitian decided to have the legion disbanded.

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LEGIONARY LEGATES IN BRITAIN
(WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE DIVISION OF THE PROVINCE)
THE *CURSUS HONORUM* OF SENATORS AT THE TURN OF THE THIRD
CENTURY AD IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN RESEARCH

by

DANUTA OKOŃ

ABSTRACT: At the turn of the 3rd century AD, there were three legions in Britain, commanded by senators. Their service in this position lasted for 2–3 years. Ten senators of the Severan period whose *cursus* featured the command of a legion in Britain have been identified. Five of them were *homines novi*, while five belonged to *gentes senatoriae*. They originated from Italy, Africa and the East (there were no representatives from the West). There is no clear single model for the career of a legionary legate in Britain, but we can say that it was an important function in the *cursus honorum*, giving people who held it good prospects for promotions (9 out of the 10 legates later became consuls). There were two provinces of Britain under the Severans: inferior (praetorian) with Legio VI victrix and superior (consular) with Legio II Augusta and XX Valeria victrix; the legate of Britannia inferior was not the legate of Legio VI victrix at the same time.

Professor Anthony Richard BIRLEY (1937–2020) devoted many years of his scholarly life to issues regarding the military and administrative history of Roman Britain¹. Many of his works contain sections and even entire chapters devoted to prosopographical matters, including those relating to the commanders of legions in Britain². During the period of the last Antonines and the Severan dynasty, this was the case with the following legions: II Augusta, VI victrix and XX Valeria victrix. His findings regarding the division of Britain into superior and inferior were also fundamental³. In this paper, I would like to present the results of my research, while emphasising the contribution of the Late Professor A.R. BIRLEY in the development of Roman prosopography.

¹ A list of his major works can be found e.g. at: <https://www.dur.ac.uk/research/directory/staff/?id=7643>; <https://followinghadrian.com/2020/12/22/in-memoriam-anthony-birley-1937-2020/>; <https://independent.academia.edu/anthonybirley>.

² See, for instance: A.R. BIRLEY 1964; 1971; 1980; 1981; 1982; 2002; 2005 and his numerous publications on Hadrian's Wall and Vindolanda.

³ A.R. BIRLEY 2005: 333–336.

The basis for the analyses will be the classification of senatorial careers proposed by the present author in 2017⁴. It was based on the following factors: a given senator's initial social status (*ordo*), the moment of his adlection to the senatorial order (in the case of people from lower orders) and the number of praetorian offices held; they show the mechanisms behind the administrative promotion of the elite of the Roman Empire. A three-stage division of *cursus honorum* has been adopted: until the praetorship, after the praetorship, and after the consulship. Thus, knowing one stage of a senator's career, we can (given the knowledge about his social background) reconstruct the others and shed light on his prospects for promotion. Such a modern approach gives us a chance for further, successive development of prosopographical research.

The command of a legion was an office of the praetorian rank, therefore the above classification is most appropriate for the purposes of this study. Senators who commanded a legion had equestrian offices, senatorial offices, or both in their *cursus*. Some of them ended their careers with the consulship, and some with post-consular offices.

SENATORIAL CAREERS – CLASSIFICATION

The following classification of careers may be presented:

A. Senatorial:

- shortened (without offices of the praetorian rank),
- short (one office of the praetorian rank),
- standard (two to four offices of the praetorian rank),
- long (five and more offices of the praetorian rank).

B. Mixed (equestrian and senatorial offices).

C. Atypical (senatorial advancement at the consular level):

- *ornamenta consularia*,
- *adlectio inter consulares*.

Type A (senatorial) careers were characteristic of senators by birth and those who were adlected to the senatorial order prior to commencing an official senatorial career. Careers of type B (mixed) applied to equestrians promoted to the senate in the course of their *cursus*, while those of type C (atypical) characterised praetorian prefects and people of orders lower than the equestrian who were promoted to the senatorial order for special merits (specifically to the group of consulars).

In particular among senatorial careers without offices of the praetorian rank (shortened) or with one such office (short), we find many distinguishing features of prestige (*candidati Augusti*, *consules ordinarii*, members of prestigious religious colleges). These types of careers were typical of patricians and

⁴ Polish version: Okoń 2017: 48; English version: Okoń 2018: 51.

representatives of influential *gentes senatoriae*. It should be noted that people who had shortened careers did not have to hold any offices of the praetorian rank before the consulship, while the *cursus* of those with short careers included one such office, of those with standard careers two to four offices, and of those with long careers five and more offices (the latter were primarily *homines novi*).

Holders of other types of careers (mixed and atypical), who were without exception *homines novi*, had to merit their promotion by having done long service, which made them experienced officials. For these categories, the very promotion to the senatorial order was a significant success. For the purposes of this paper, it is worth adding that receiving *dona militaria* at the stage of the military tribunate did not have a decisive effect on a further senatorial career⁵.

THE LEGATESHIP OF A LEGION – GENERAL CONDITIONS

The senatorial legateship of a legion was a function of the praetorian rank and it was generally assumed before the age of 40⁶. In the preserved honorific inscriptions, it is rarely found immediately after the praetorship. A certain regularity can be noticed – as a rule, it was preceded by strictly administrative offices (e.g. curatorships of roads, town curatorships or juridicates), preparing senators for more responsible tasks. The legateship of a legion itself, in turn, was often an introduction to the position of legate of a (praetorian) province with military troops. The *cursus honorum* of a Roman senator was orderly in nature; the command of legions and the governorships of praetorian provinces offered good prospects for attaining the consulship – the most prestigious office of the republican origin.

It is worth paying attention to the preparation and military experience of legion commanders⁷. Those born in the senatorial order could previously serve in the army as *tribuni laticlavii*, while those born in the equestrian order could hold

⁵ See OKOŃ 2020: 127–152. For more on the careers of the tribunes of this period, see the series of articles by OKOŃ 2019; 2020; 2021.

⁶ The praetorship could be held at the age of 30 at the earliest (in the case of patricians and descendants of consuls) or later (in the case of senators of more modest origins).

⁷ The question of whether the Roman army was commanded by dilettantes remains unresolved. Some researchers give a positive answer to this question (JONES 1970: 115; GAGÉ 1971: 87; SYME 1988: 31; DOBSON 1993: 113–128; CAMPBELL 1975: 17–24 and 2002: 152; ZIÓŁKOWSKI 2009: 827–828, with reservations voiced by HANDY 2009: 194–195), depreciating the importance of the military tribunate in the preparation of legionary commanders and underlining the lack of military training, the appointment of people without military experience to senior command posts and the lack of a strictly military path of promotion in the Empire.

Their opponents, providing a negative answer to the question above (E. BIRLEY 1988; A.R. BIRLEY 2003: 1–18; LE BOHEC 2002: 37–38 and 2018: 53–65; FRÉZOULS 1995: 157–166), assume that every Roman from the social elite was best prepared to take up commanding functions by the mere fact of upbringing and home training, being taught by private teachers (e.g. former legionnaires as teachers of fencing) and adequate books (military treaties and diaries of commanders).

the following posts: *praefectus cohortis*, *tribunus angusticlavius*⁸, *praefectus alae quingenariae*, *praefectus alae milliariae* (as part of *tres/quattuor militiae*)⁹. Military service as a junior officer was optional for future legion commanders¹⁰. However, they had theoretical military knowledge taken from home, because learning tactics and strategy was part of the standard education of the Roman elites.

When appointing legionary legates, the following factors were taken into account: the reputation of the candidate, his origin (*gens*¹¹ and *origo*) and experience (*cursus honorum*). The following rules were followed: a legate was not sent to his home province¹², nor was he entrusted with the command of a legion in which he had served as a tribune¹³ and in which he would be remembered as an inexperienced junior officer¹⁴. The patronage of influential people played an

In my opinion, the problem should be viewed from a different perspective. When a threat emerged at the borders, the emperor sent *vexillationes* or *exercitus* to help the legions and their commanders. The *duces* and *praepositi* who commanded them were chosen from among the most talented members of the elite (of the praetorian or consular rank). It is also worth noting that the governors of the provinces on the Limes (often of the consular rank) were experienced officials, most of whom had held legionary commands in their earlier careers. As a matter of fact, the army was commanded by the best of the best with the widest possible competence and experience. This was enough to defend the borders of the Roman Empire in the 2nd and 3rd century.

⁸ Although this term is commonly used in the literature on the subject as a convenient designation of the status of an equestrian tribune, it should be emphasised that it appears only once in the sources from the period and that is in a literary text (Suet. *Otho* 10, about his father: “interfuit huic bello pater meus Suetonius Laetus, tertiae decimae legionis tribunus angusticlavius”). In inscriptions, the title of *tribunus militum angusticlavius* was simplified to *tribunus militum*, which causes significant problems of interpretation, since senatorial *tribuni militum laticlavii* often used the shortened version, namely also *tribunus militum*.

⁹ See e.g. DEVIJVER 1992: 67.

¹⁰ Out of 123 known tribunes of the Severan period, only 46 (39 *laticlavii* and 7 *angusticlavii*) later held higher military commands. See OKOŃ 2021.

¹¹ For the most important *gentes senatoriae* of this period and the careers of their representatives, see SETTIPANI 2000; MENNEN 2011.

¹² This rule applied to senators by birth. Promoted equestrians were sometimes appointed as legates in their homeland. In the Severan period these were: Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus (Numidia), M. Valerius Maximianus (Pannonia superior) and probably C. Iulius Avitus (Syria). For biographical entries with references to other works, see OKOŃ 2017, nos. 342, 1578, 563.

¹³ Among the senators of the Severan period, the following were tribunes in Britain: C. Memmius Fidus Iulius Albius, [Rubrenus], P. Septimius Geta, Tib. Claudius Candidus, Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus. None came from Britain and neither did any of them return to Britain as a legionary legate. For biographical entries with references to other works see OKOŃ 2017, nos. 718, 876, 914, 291, 342.

¹⁴ However, we know the names of commanders who took over an adjacent legion in the same province. In the Severan period these were: M. Fabius Magnus Valerianus (Moesia inferior), L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus (Pannonia inferior), L. Marius Perpetuus, *cos. suff. ante a.* 203 (Syria Coele), Q. Petronius Melior (Germania inferior). For biographical entries with references to other works see OKOŃ 2017, nos. 428, 557, 700, 796.

important role, but the final decision on the appointment, obviously, belonged to the emperor.

LEGIONARY LEGATES IN BRITAIN – RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND EVIDENCE

The research questions that I want to answer in this paper are as follows:

1. How many senators living in the Severan period with the legateship of a legion in Britain in their *cursus* do we know?
2. What was the initial *ordo* and *origo* of these legates?
3. What offices preceded their taking command of a legion?
4. What were the prospects of commanders of legions regarding further careers?

Answers to these questions will help to determine the number of legates, their status and the *cursus* from the legateship of a legion in Britain onwards. They will also shed light on the importance of this office in the senatorial *cursus honorum*.

We now know of 1,682 senators (certain and probable) of the Severan period, of whom approx. 10% have an attested full *cursus*. In the source material, we find 10 senators who were legates of legions in Britain at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century (three with a full *cursus*, three with a *cursus* known from the praetorship and four with a fragmentary one – see tables 5, 6 and 7). These were: T. Marcius [C]le[mens?]¹⁵, [I]unius [...] [...]cus Gar[gilius] [Qui]ntil[i]an[us]¹⁶, L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis¹⁷, Q. Aurelius Polus Terentianus¹⁸, Ti. Claudius Paulinus¹⁹, L. Iulius Iulianus²⁰,

¹⁵ *PIR*² M 225; BARBIERI 1952, no. 791; A.R. BIRLEY 1981: 263 and 2005: 264; FITZ 1993–1995: 638, 644, 647, 652, 677–678; LEUNISSEN 1989: 329, 349; OKOŃ 2017, no. 1458.

¹⁶ A.R. BIRLEY 2005: 261–262; GREGORI 1995: 269–279; OKOŃ 2017, no. 1434. A.R. BIRLEY doubted that this legate could be identified with Priscus, noting that the lacuna [...]cus could be supplemented with [Atti]cus, [Flac]cus, [Fus]cus, [Tus]cus, or [Urbi]cus. I fully agree with this opinion. He was the legate of Legio VI victrix, if the inscription *CIL* VI 41127 is supplemented with “leg(ato) leg(ionis) [VI victr(icis) pi]ae fidel(is)”. An important indication for such a supplement is that he later assumed the function of *praepositus vexillationum Britannicarum*.

¹⁷ *PIR*² C 692; A.R. BIRLEY 1981, 258–259 and 2005: 259–260; CORBIER 1974: 280–283, no. 56; NAVARO 2004: 379–402; OKOŃ 2017, no. 1298.

¹⁸ *PIR*² P 422; BARBIERI 1952, no. 415; A.R. BIRLEY 1981: 261–263 and 2005: 262–263; CHRISTOL, DREW-BEAR 1995 and 1998; OKOŃ 2017, no. 162.

¹⁹ *PIR*² C 955; BARBIERI 1952, no. 164 and 999; A.R. BIRLEY 1981: 266 and 2005: 338, 342–344; KOVÁCS, PROHÁSZKA 2014: 131–137; LEUNISSEN 1984: 54–55, 271, 288, 304, 338, 396; PFLAUM 1948 (*passim*); OKOŃ 2017, no. 323.

²⁰ *PIR*² I 367; BARBIERI 1952, no. 297 and 1296; A.R. BIRLEY 1981, 265–266 and 2005: 266–267; OKOŃ 2017, no. 580.

L. Iunius Victorinus Fl. Caelianus²¹, Q. Antonius Isauricus²², L. Claudius Hieronymianus²³ and Priscus²⁴.

The following legates are unquestionably attested: during the reign of the last Antonines, Q. Aurelius Polus Terentianus, Q. Antonius Isauricus, [I]unius [...]cus Gar[gilius] [Qui]ntil[i]an[us] and Priscus; during the Severan period, Ti. Claudius Paulinus, L. Iulius Iulianus and L. Claudius Hieronymianus. It can be assumed that the latter group also included T. Marcius [C]le[mens?], L. Iunius Victorinus Fl. Caelianus and L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis.

Models of senatorial careers under the last Antonines and under the Severans do not show any significant differences; the dating of a given legateship does not affect my analysis. What is important is that all these legates belonged to the Severan senate.

Information about them can be found in various sources: inscriptions (from Britain or other provinces), historiographical and other literary works (Cassius Dio, Tertullian) and legal texts (Ulpianus, *Digesta*). Inscriptions of the following legates have survived in Britain (from the period of their service in this province): Ti. Claudius Paulinus²⁵, L. Iulius Iulianus²⁶, L. Iunius Victorinus Fl. Caelianus²⁷, L. Claudius Hieronymianus²⁸ and Q. Antonius Isauricus²⁹. In other

²¹ *PIR*² I 848; BARBIERI 1952, no. 778; A.R. BIRLEY 1981, 253–254 and 2005: 263–264; OKOŃ 2017, no. 1440. In 1981 he was recognised by the British scholar as a legate from the time of the Antonines, and in 2005 he was already known as a legate from the time of the Antonines or the Severans. In my opinion, the later dating is determined by the typeface of the letters of the inscription indicating the end of the 2nd century, the mention of *vallum* (which points to the times after Hadrian and Antoninus Pius) and the probability that he is identical to Iunius Victorinus, *legatus pro praetore Germaniae inferioris* from the second half of the 2nd century. These premises allow me to assign Victorinus to the times of the Severans, or at least to assume that he remained in the senate during their reign.

²² *PIR*² A 841; BARBIERI 1952, no. 646; A.R. BIRLEY 1981: 247 and 2005: 250–251; OKOŃ 2017, no. 1245. A.R. BIRLEY dated him to the times of Hadrian in 1981 and in 2005 he maintained his dating by consistently recognising the legate as Q. Antonius I[sa]u[ricus], *cos. suff. a. 143*. In my opinion, we are dealing with a descendant of this consul, and the typeface of his inscriptions, which is characteristic of the end of the 2nd century, convinces me of this.

²³ *PIR*² C 888; BARBIERI 1952, no. 157; A.R. BIRLEY 1981: 263–265 and 2005: 265; LEUNISSEN 1989: 159, 234, 340, 367; OKOŃ 2017, no. 308.

²⁴ *PIR*² P 958; BARBIERI 1952, no. 830; A.R. BIRLEY 1981: 260–261 and 2005: 260–261; LEUNISSEN 1989: 142, 203, 230, 273–274, 338, 346; OKOŃ 2017, no. 1508. A.R. BIRLEY (1981: 260), considered it possible to identify him with T. Caunius Priscus (*homo novus*), *legatus Augusti pro praetore (exercitus Africani)* and *cos. suff.* of the year 185 [P]riscus. His standpoint was accepted by LEUNISSEN (1989: 42). I reject the identification with Caunius due to the source information clearly indicating the origin of Priscus from an old *gens*.

²⁵ *EE* IX 1012 = *AE* 1903, 232 = *RIB* 311.

²⁶ *CIL* VII 480 = *RIB* 1138.

²⁷ *CIL* VII 940 = *RIB* 2034.

²⁸ *CIL* VII 240 = *ILS* 4384 = *RIB* 658.

²⁹ *CIL* VII 233 = *RIB* 644.

provinces, inscriptions attesting their service in Britain refer to: Q. Aurelius Polus Terentianus³⁰, T. Marcius [C]le[mens?]³¹, L. Iulius Iulianus³², [I]unius [...] [...]cus Gar[gilius] [Qui]ntil[i]an[us]³³ and L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis³⁴. Historiographical and other literary sources mention L. Claudius Hieronymianus³⁵ and Priscus³⁶, while in legal texts we find L. Iulius Iulianus³⁷ and L. Claudius Hieronymianus³⁸.

In a comparable period and from a similar province (limes, the western part of the Empire, three legions), namely Pannonia superior, we also know of 10 legionary legates during the Severan period³⁹. The degree of identification is therefore the same. The rank of the office is important for the representativeness of the material; the higher the rank, the more numerous the sources (especially epigraphic ones). Thus, it is not surprising that the level of identification is lower in the group of legates, and higher, for example, in the group of ordinary consuls or proconsuls from Asia or Africa.

THE *ORDO* AND *ORIGO* OF KNOWN LEGATES – THE TABLES⁴⁰

The list of known legionary legates in Britain, taking into account their territorial and social origin and the dating of their future consulship, is as follows⁴¹:

³⁰ *AE* 1965, 240.

³¹ *CIL* XIV 3595 = *Inscr. It.* IV 1, 110 and add. p. 210.

³² *CIL* XI 14182 = *SupplIt* XIX 2002, pp. 53–54.

³³ *AE* 1995, 231 = *CIL* VI 41127.

³⁴ *CIL* X 3722.

³⁵ Tert. *Ad Scapulam* 3.

³⁶ Cass. Dio LXXII 9, 2a.

³⁷ *Dig.* XLVIII 21, 2; fr. Vat. 119 (*Ulpiani lib. 2 de officio proconsulis*).

³⁸ *Dig.* XXXIII 7, 12.

³⁹ Legio X gemina: P. Iulius Geminius Marcianus, *cos. suff. ca a.* 165–167 (senator under Septimius Severus), P. Claudius Pallas Honorat(us vel -ianus) Repentinus, M. Gavius Crispus Num[isi]us Iunior, *cos. suff. ante a.* 200, C. Luxilius Sabinus Egnatius Proculus, Anonymus, *proconsul Cypri, cos. suff. sub Severis?* Legio I adiutrix: L. Aurelius Gallus, *cos. ord. a.* 198, Cl(audius) Piso, L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus, *cos. suff. a.* 226 aut 227, P. Flavianus Paulinus, M. Valerius Maximianus, *cos. suff. ca a.* 185. Legio XIV gemina: no data. Six out of the ten legates (60%) subsequently became consuls. For biographical entries with references to other works, see OKOŃ 2017, nos. 1415, 320, 522, 657, 1630, 158, 324, 557, 1386, 1578.

⁴⁰ The abbreviations HN and GS used in the tables mean, respectively: HN – *homo novus*, GS – a representative of *gens senatoria*. When written with question marks, these abbreviations indicate that affiliation to a given category is likely but not certain. My doubts are presented in the text.

⁴¹ An older listing of the legates of Britain can be found in the Legio entry by E. RITTERLING in *RE* (XII 1924, coll. 1464, 1610–1611, 1778). More recent listings reflecting the current state of research are best taken from A.R. BIRLEY 2005: 231–268 and 337–371.

Table 1: II Augusta (Caerleon, Isca Silurum)

Nomen	Ordo	Origo
Q. Aurelius Polus Terentianus, cos. suff. ante a. 192	HN?	Africa
Ti. Claudius Paulinus, cos. suff. post a. 220	GS	East
T. Marcius [C]le[mens?]	GS?	Italy
L. Iulius Iulianus, cos. suff. sub Antonino (<i>Caracalla</i>)	HN?	Italy

Table 2: VI victrix (Eboracum)

Nomen	Ordo	Origo
L. Iunius Victorinus Fl. Caelianus / Iunius Victorinus, cos. suff. in parte posteriore saec. II	HN?	?
L. Claudius Hieronymianus, cos. suff. saec. II/III.	HN?	?
[I]unius [...] [...]cus Gar[gilius] [Qui]ntil[i]an[us], cos. suff. sub Commodo?	HN?	Africa
Q. Antonius Isauricus, cos?	GS?	?

Table 3: XX Valeria victrix (Deva)

Nomen	Ordo	Origo
L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis, cos. suff. saec. II/III	GS?	Italy

Table 4: No legionary designation specified

Nomen	Ordo	Origo
Priscus, cos. sub Commodo?	GS?	?

Out of the above-mentioned legates, nine were assigned to a specific legion: four each to the legions of II Augusta and VI victrix and one to the legion of XX Valeria victrix. In the case of Priscus, we do not know which legion he commanded.

The lists of their *ordo* and *origo* tentatively make it possible to note that the legates do not share a common denominator – they neither came from one social group (five representatives of *gentes senatoriae* and five *homines novi*) nor from one region (but from three: Italy, Africa and the East, excluding the West). Representatives of *gentes senatoriae* from Italy appear twice in the entire group, and *homines novi* from Africa also appear twice. There is also no appointment

scheme in one legion. However, there is a noticeably high number of future consuls.

Ordo: gentes senatoriae

The basis for the assignment of legionary legates to this group is as follows: descent from a senatorial family (known ancestors), offices characteristic of the old *gentes* (*tribunus laticlavus*, *ab actis senatus*, *aedilis curulis*) and *commendatio Augusti* to the office. In doubtful cases, a step-by-step analysis and the determination of the number of praetorian offices may help.

Descent from senatorial families may be assumed in the case of five legates:

1. Ti. Claudius Paulinus, the grandson of a homonymous consul from Kibyra⁴². His known *cursus* contains four praetorian functions (*legatus legionis II Augustae*, *proconsul provinciae Narbonensis*, *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Lugdunensis*, *legatus Augusti pro praetore Britanniae*)⁴³. This is the standard career for representatives of *gentes senatoriae*. None of the inscriptions explicitly state in which province of Britain he was a legate. The one mention of Legio VI (*ad legionem sext[am] adsedit*)⁴⁴ suggests that he administered Britannia inferior. The lack of the term *consularis* allows us to assume that this province was praetorian.
2. T. Marcius [C]le[mens?], in my opinion a member of *gens senatoria*, as indicated by characteristic elements of his *cursus*, typical of descendants of senatorial families: *sacerdos fetialis*, *ab actis senatus*, *aedilis curulis*, *praetor candidatus*⁴⁵. The Marcii had many representatives in the senate of the Severan period⁴⁶, but it is difficult to determine which branch of the family Clemens belonged to.
3. Q. Antonius Isauricus, a senator by descent, probably the son of a homonymous consul from the time of Hadrian⁴⁷.
4. L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis, in my opinion a member of *gens senatoria*, as indicated by the offices he held, namely *III vir viarum curandarum*, *tribunus laticlavus legionis VIII Augustae*, *quaestor urbanus*, *ab actis senatus*, *aedilis curulis*. He was also *patronus coloniae*

⁴² On Paulinus' grandfather, see Groag, *PIR*² C 954; BARBIERI 1952, no. 163; HALFMANN 1979: 193–194, no. 122 and 1982: 635; LEUNISSEN 1989: 196; OKOŃ 2017, no. 322; RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 1989, no. 245 and stemma no. XV.

⁴³ *CIL* XIII 3162; *RIB* 311 and 1280.

⁴⁴ *CIL* XIII 3162.

⁴⁵ *CIL* XIV 3595 = *Inscr. It.* IV 1, 110 and add. p. 210.

⁴⁶ For instance Marcius, a son of M. Marcius Bietis Glaucus, and numerous representatives of the family of Marcii Faustianiani Maximilliani.

⁴⁷ For problems with the identification and temporal location of Q. Antonius Isauricus, see note 22 above.

*Volturni, patronus rei publice Superaequanorum*⁴⁸, which proves his high position in local Italian communities. A cousin of L. Cestius L. f. Pomptin. Gallus Varenianus Lutatius Natalis Aemilianus, a patron of the island of Gaulus. It is possible that he was a distant descendant of *cos. suff.* of the year 42, L. Cestius Gallus⁴⁹.

5. Priscus, in my opinion, came from a senatorial family, as evidenced by being proclaimed an emperor against Commodus, the son of Marcus Aurelius⁵⁰. It must be assumed that the Priscus family was equally prestigious, as imperial proclamations of *homines novi* (P. Helvius Pertinax) or of people of lower orders (M. Opellius Macrinus, C. Iulius Maximinus) are characteristic of a period of dynastic crisis that followed the extinction of the ruling dynasty.

His *nomen* could have had the following wording: Iulius Rufinus Laberius Fabianus Pomponius Triarius Erucius Clarus Sosius Priscus, Neratius Priscus, Pompeius Falco Sosius (Priscus), Virius Egnatius Sulpicius Priscus, Valerius Priscus or Iulius Scapula Priscus. We cannot reject any of the proposals for identification, although in my opinion the events following the death of Commodus indicate that Pompeius Falco Sosius Priscus, coming from the family of Emperor Verus (through his mother), had imperial ambitions⁵¹.

An additional premise for the legates listed above to have belonged to *gentes senatoriae* is their *cursus honorum* (all of them following a type A, standard career) – none of them had more than four praetorian rank offices after the praetorship, a pattern which was characteristic of *homines novi* (see below). The number of praetorian offices in this group indicates that there were no patricians in it.

Ordo: homines novi

In the case of *homines novi* the situation is more complicated. Such people used to conceal their humble descent, not mentioning equestrian offices in inscriptions. Therefore, assignment to this group is based on the following premises: lack of known senatorial ancestors, absence of obligatory senatorial offices in their *cursus*, which suggests that they were adlected to the senate, and a large number of praetorian rank offices (five and more).

Bearing in mind the above-listed premises, I consider the next five legates to be *homines novi*:

⁴⁸ CIL X 3722.

⁴⁹ PIR² C 691.

⁵⁰ See note 24 above.

⁵¹ See OKOŃ 2008 and 2014.

1. Q. Aurelius Polus Terentianus. According to A.R. BIRLEY, the office of *fetialis* held by Terentianus indicates his descent from the old senatorial aristocracy⁵². I do not agree with this statement, as in the 2nd and 3rd centuries this office was also held by *homines novi*, e.g. [Caius Lepi]dus⁵³, Ti. Claudius Gordianus⁵⁴, L. Marius Maximus Perpetuus Aurelianus⁵⁵, P. Septimius Geta⁵⁶. Terentianus' senatorial career is well known to us, but only after the praetorship. The praetorship is not mentioned in his *cursus*, which suggests his earlier *adlectio inter praetorios*⁵⁷. At the praetorian stage, he held two offices (two legionary legateships). The number of offices suggests a very good background, typical of representatives of *gentes senatoriae*. However, there are no representatives of his family in the senate of the Antonine/Severan period, which rules out such an option. Taking these data into account, I consider Terentianus to be a *homo novus*⁵⁸, a senator promoted to the senatorial order after a long equestrian career, i.e. when he was older than the standard age, which explains the smaller number of offices at the praetorian level, before the consulship.
2. L. Iulius Iulianus. We only have information about his career from the praetorship, which, as in the case of the preceding senator, suggests adlection from a lower order (e.g. at the level of aedile/tribunate). In addition, Iulianus held as many as five praetorian offices (a long career), which was characteristic of *homo novus*. As can be seen, he was promoted at a relatively young age (younger than Terentianus), hence his *cursus* featured many praetorian offices.
Both his *gentilicum* and *cognomen* were popular throughout the Empire in various social classes, and therefore they are not helpful in the identification of the family.
3. L. Iunius Victorinus Fl. Caelianus. We only have fragmentary information about his career. I assume his identity to be that of the consular

⁵² A.R. BIRLEY 1969: 252, 263, 267–268.

⁵³ BARBIERI 1952, no. 1990; DIETZ 1980: 122–123; LEUNISSEN 1989: 158–159, 374; MENNEN 2011: 93–95; OKOŃ 2017, no. 260; RÜPKE 2008: 399–436.

⁵⁴ *PIR*³ C 880; BARBIERI 1952, no. 695; CORBIER 1974: 296–301, no. 59; LEUNISSEN 1989: 62, 70, 87, 144, n. 274, 302, 321, 342, 367, 391; RAEPSAET-CHARLIER 1989: 372; OKOŃ 2017, no. 304; RÜPKE 2008: 390–436.

⁵⁵ *PIR*³ M 30; BARBIERI 1952, no. 356 and 1100; LEUNISSEN 1989: 13, 31, 48, 50–51, 93, 97, 105, 113–115, 136–137, 158–159, 162, 217–218, 224–225, 243, 245, 263, 284, 310, 327, 336, 347–348, 362, 374, 382; MENNEN 2011: 109–112; OKOŃ 2017, no. 699; RÜPKE 2008: 399–447, 1141.

⁵⁶ *PIR*³ S 453; BARBIERI 1952, no. 469; LEUNISSEN 1989: 55, 57, 59, 65–66, 96, 113, 134, 143–144, 198, 211, 237, 250, 254, 270, 289, 305, 335, 361, 363, 387, 399; OKOŃ 2017, no. 914; RÜPKE 2008: 374–415.

⁵⁷ This topic was discussed previously by ALFÖLDY 1967, no. 53.

⁵⁸ Similarly CHRISTOL, DREW-BEAR 1995.

legate of Lower Germania Iunius Victorinus (*CIL* XIII 6638). In my opinion, this identification is determined by the same *nomen* and *cognomen*, the coincidence of the timing and his offices related to the military. Assuming this identification to be correct, we would know three posts held by Victorinus: the legateship of a legion in Britain, a suffect consulship, and a legateship in Germania. Since the governorship of a consular province with legions was assigned to experienced officials, we can suspect that Victorinus had a long career and demonstrated the appropriate level of skills.

Experience was acquired through many years of service; patricians and other representatives of the old *gentes senatoriae* had fewer offices in their *cursus* (which resulted in less experience), hence the suggestion that Victorinus belonged to the group of *homines novi*. As in the case of Iulius Iulianus, his *gentilicum* and *cognomen* were popular throughout the Empire, but in the Antonine/Severan senate neither the Iunii Victorini nor the Flavii Caeliani were attested.

If the above identification were to be rejected, we would only know Victorinus' one post, namely the legateship of a legion in Britain.

4. L. Claudius Hieronymianus. We only have fragmentary knowledge of his career; two of his offices included the legateship of a legion in Britain and, subsequently, the consular governorship of Cappadocia, which allows us to add a suffect consulship to his *cursus*. We know that he was hostile to Christians due to his wife's conversion, but this information is not a clue as to his social background⁵⁹. What may be more important is the fact that Hieronymianus founded a temple to Sarapis in York. This shows his considerable wealth. The absence of senators with the distinctive *cognomen* Hieronymianus in previous generations allows us to assume that he was a *homo novus*. The second premise is the proconsular governorship he held. As in the case of Victorinus, we can suspect that he had a long career behind him, characteristic of *homines novi*.
5. [I]unius [...] [...]cus Gar[gilius] [Qui]ntil[i]an[us]. He started as *III vir capitalis* (at 18–20 years of age), and this office was usually held by newly promoted senators; moreover, on his way to the consulship, he held six praetorian posts, including four military ones (including *praepositus vexillationum* [*legionum trium Brita*]nnicarum!). Such a career was not characteristic of representatives of old *gentes senatoriae* and on this basis we can assume that we are dealing here with a new senator. He was probably the first representative of the Gargilii in the senate.

⁵⁹ Tert. *Ad Scapulam* 3 (Claudius Lucius Hieronymianus). In the *Digesta* (Ulpian. *Dig.* XXXIII 7, 12) he is featured as *clarissimus vir*, to whom Umbrius Primus left his house.

The above analyses have allowed us to determine the social origins of all the known legates of the legions. The identification was multi-factored, which provides a basis for drawing well-founded conclusions. It should again be emphasised that there is no discernible relationship between social origin (*homines novi*, *gentes senatoriae*) and holding the post of a legionary legate.

Origo

When analysing the territorial origin of the legates, we find that they included: three representatives from Italy⁶⁰, two representatives from Africa⁶¹ and one from the East⁶², while the *origo* of the others is unknown.

It is worth noting that none of the legates came from the western provinces, which may be the result of the support offered by the western provinces to Clodius Albinus and the repression that these regions suffered after the victory of Septimius Severus. There are no senators from Britain in this group, although they could theoretically take office in a neighbouring province of Britain (from Britannia inferior in Britannia superior and vice versa).

After looking at the problems of the social and territorial origin of legionary legates in Britain, we can conclude that there is no characteristic type prevailing in this group. The phenomenon of mixing personnel both in terms of geography and social origin can be clearly observed.

CURSUS HONORUM

We know the careers of legionary legates in Britain to varying degrees:

- fully in three instances: T. Marcius [C]le[mens?], [I]unius [...] [...]cus Gar[gilius] [Qui]ntil[i]an[us], L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis,
- partially in three instances: Q. Aurelius Polus Terentianus, Ti. Claudius Paulinus, L. Iulius Iulianus,
- fragmentarily in four instances: L. Iunius Victorinus Fl. Caelianus, Q. Antonius Isauricus, L. Claudius Hieronymianus, [P]riscus.

The available data are presented in the career tables below⁶³:

⁶⁰ T. Marcius [C]le[mens?], L. Iulius Iulianus, L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis.

⁶¹ Q. Aurelius Polus Terentianus, [I]unius [...] [...]cus Gar[gilius] [Qui]ntil[i]an[us].

⁶² Ti. Claudius Paulinus.

⁶³ The names of people belonging to *gentes senatoriae* are marked with bold type. The tables contain religious offices which, although important, were not of an administrative nature and did not belong to the standard *cursus honorum*. For this reason, they were not included in my analyses.

Table 5: Full careers

No	Nomen	Cursus up until the praetorship	Cursus after the praetorship	Cursus after the consulship
1)	T. Marcius [C]le[mens?]	• sacerdos fetialis • tribunus militum legionis XIV • quaestor pro praetore provinciae Achaiae • ab actis senatus • aedilis curulis • praetor candidatus	• curator viae Latinae • <u>legatus legionis II Augustae</u>	
2)	[I]unius [...] [...].cus Gar[gilius] [Qui]ntil[i]an[us]	• triumvir capitalis • quaestor • [tribunus plebis?] • praetor	• iuridicus per Aemiliam [et Liguri?]am • curator rei publicae Cirtensium • <u>legatus legionis [VI pi]ae fidelis</u> • legatus legionis V Macedoniae • praepositus vexillationum [legionum trium Brita?]nnicarum • legatus Augusti pro praetore legionis II I[talicae] • sodalis Titialis Flavialis • cos. suff. sub Commodo?	
3)	L. Cestius Gallus Cerrinius Iustus Lutatius Natalis	• IIII vir viarum curandarum • tribunus militum laticlavus legionis VIII Augustae • quaestor urbanus • ab actis senatus • aedilis curulis • praetor	• <u>legatus Augustorum legionis XX Valeriae victricis</u> • proconsul provinciae Narbonensis • praefectus aerarii Saturni • cos. suff. saec. II/III	• patronus coloniae Volturni • patronus rei publicae Superaequanorum

Table 6: Partially known careers

No	Nomen	Cursus up until the praetorship	Cursus after the praetorship	Cursus after the consulship
1)	Q. Aurelius Polus Terentianus		• fetialis • legatus legionis XXII primigeniae p. f. • <u>legatus legionis II Augustae</u> • cos. suff. ante a. 192	• consularis III Daciarum • proconsul Asiae

2)	Ti. Claudius Paulinus		• <u>legatus legionis II Augustae</u> • proconsul provinciae Narbonensis • legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Lugdunensis • legatus Augusti pro praetore Britanniae (inferioris?) • cos. suff. post a. 220	
3)	L. Iulius Iulianus	• praetor	• curator civitatis Interamnatium Nartium • praefectus Miniciae • proconsul provinciae Achaiae • <u>legatus legionis II Augustae</u> • legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae Aquitaniae • cos. suff. sub Antonino (Caracalla)	

Table 7: Fragmentarily known careers

No	Nomen	Cursus up until the praetorship	Cursus after the praetorship	Cursus after the consulship
1)	L. Iunius Victorinus Fl(avius) Caelianus		• <u>legatus Augusti legionis VI victricis piae fidelis</u> • cos. suff. sub Commodus?	• legatus pro praetore Germaniae inferioris
2)	Q. Antonius Isauricus		• <u>legatus Augusti legionis VI victricis</u> • cos. sub Commodus?	
3)	Claudius Hieronymianus		• <u>legatus legionis VI victricis</u> • cos. suff. saec. II/III	• praeses Cappadociae
4)	Priscus		• <u>legatus legionis in Britannia</u> • cos. suff. sub Commodus?	

Legionary legates in Britain descending from *gentes senatoriae* held non-obligatory offices such as *tribunus militum*, *vigintivir*, *ab actis senatus* and religious functions (*sacerdos fetialis*) until they reached the stage of the praetorship. This approach probably translated into their appointment to obligatory offices (*quaestor*, *tribunus plebis/aedilis*, *praetor*), including those of a particularly honorary nature – *aedilis curulis*, *praetor candidatus*. After the praetorship, they held two to four offices, after which they assumed the suffect consulship (except for T. Marcius Clemens, who probably died earlier). Apart from legionary commands, the following were among the offices of the praetorian rank: curatorship of roads, prefecture of the treasury and governorships of provinces (which followed the legateship of a legion). Legates from this group can be classified as

senatorial type A (according to my classification outlined at the beginning of this paper) with a standard career (two to four praetorian rank offices). This type (due to the experience gained) offered a chance for a further proconsular career; although much depended, obviously, on the will of the person concerned. In the case of the aforementioned legates, we know that after the consulship they were patrons of cities and legates of provinces with legionary troops. Thus, they constituted both a local and a general imperial elite.

In the case of legionary legates who were *homines novi*, the important factor was the moment of their adlection to the senatorial order. Up until their praetorship, people promoted before the age of 18 had held strictly senatorial offices, both compulsory (*quaestor*, *tribunus plebis/aedilis plebis*, *praetor*) and non-obligatory, less prestigious ones (*triumvir capitalis*). Their careers after the praetorship were characterised by a large number of offices of this rank (five to six), so in the career classification they can be classified as senatorial type A with a long career.

Those promoted to the senatorial order at a later age had shorter or longer equestrian careers. This is type B (according to my classification), with equestrian and senatorial offices. In this group, we observe a certain pattern – that people with a longer equestrian career held fewer praetorian rank offices, as opposed to those with a shorter career. In the tables above, this pattern is illustrated by the careers of two senators who were *homines novi*: Q. Aurelius Polus Terentianus held only two offices of the praetorian rank (so we can assume that he had a long equestrian career), while L. Iulius Iulianus held as many as five offices of this rank (so his equestrian career was probably shorter). Thus, the length of the praetorian career of *homines novi* was affected by the moment of their adlection and the length of their earlier equestrian *cursus*.

After the praetorship, legates from the group of *homines novi* held various offices: legionary commands, juridicates, town curatorships, *praepositio vexillationum*, governorships of provinces, prefectures of the treasury and religious offices (*sodalis Titialis Flavialis, fetialis*). It sometimes happened that the legionary legateship was preceded by a legateship of a senatorial province without legions (L. Iulius Iulianus)⁶⁴.

Careers of *homines novi*, regardless of the type (A or B), owing to the experience gained from holding many functions, offered a chance for consulship and proconsular offices. Among the latter we find provincial governorships with or without legions (the prestigious proconsulship of Asia in the case of Q. Aurelius Polus Terentianus). However, there are no patrons of cities among this group.

⁶⁴ As a rule, the legateship of a legion preceded provincial legateships, but in the case of a senatorial province without legionary troops its governorship could be held before the legateship of a legion.

It is worth noting the position of the legionary legateship in Britain in the senatorial *cursus honorum* (both among the representatives of *gentes senatoriae* and *homines novi*). This office occurs twice immediately after the praetorship. In other cases, it is preceded by the curatorship of roads, town curatorship, the legateship of another legion and the provincial proconsulship. Provincial governorships immediately follow the legateship of a legion in Britain in three instances, consulship follows once and the legateship of another legion also once. Thus, the legionary command occurs in these people's *cursus honorum* at various positions (from the first one after the praetorship to the fourth one), which corresponds to the diversity of their careers.

Regardless of the model and duration of their careers, the legates of legions in Britain finally reached the (suffect) consulship. It was awarded to 9 out of 10 legates (90%).

T. Marcius Clemens, the only one who did not become a consul, is known from a commemorative inscription issued by his wife, so probably the lack of consular promotion was related to the premature death of this senator. It should be mentioned that in the Severan period, due to the growth of the senate, only about 25% of senators could count on a consulship⁶⁵. The number of consuls among the known legionary legates in Britain was 90%, while for Pannonia superior this figure was 60% (see note 39 above). However, it must be taken into account that legionary legates most often received honorary inscriptions when there was a reason – that is, when they were awarded the consulship or were appointed to it. Some legates might have not obtained it, and in some cases inscriptions detailing the *cursus* might have not survived, hence these legates remain anonymous to us.

SUMMARY – ANSWERS TO RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Among the 10 legionary legates in Britain four held this office during the reign of the last Antonines, while six did so under the Severans. In this group, the representatives of *gentes senatoriae* and *homines novi* are equally represented (5: 5), while in terms of their home territory we lack legates from the western provinces when compared to other regions of the Empire.

The careers of legionary legates belonged to the senatorial type A (standard and long) and B (mixed). I also found that the legateship of a legion was held immediately after the praetorship only twice, while in other cases it was preceded by other offices. Offices held after the legateship were also quite varied.

Among the 10 legates known to us, there are no patricians, ordinary consuls or imperial *comites* and *amici*. Nobody was awarded *dona militaria* (as far as we know). Most legates of legions in Britain had no powerful relatives, so they

⁶⁵ See Okoń 2018: 95–96.

had to rely more on their own skills than on favouritism. By showing their merit, they achieved (suffect) consulship and post-consular offices, and the legateship in Britain seems to have been an important and likely office from this perspective.

REJECTED CASES

In the sources and literature on the subject, there are two people who should be considered as potential legionary legates: T. Floridius Natalis⁶⁶ and Heraclitus⁶⁷. Sources do not mention them as legion commanders explicitly, but they attribute to them certain military tasks, which causes disputes among scholars as to their actual function in Britain.

T. Floridius Natalis

He is known from a dedicatory inscription in the temple in Ribchester (*Bremetennacum*)⁶⁸. He was considered a legionary legate by, among others, BARBIERI (1952, no. 2027) and GROAG (*PIR*² F 455; both based on *CIL* VII 222) and as *praepositus legionis* by J. COWEY in *EDH*. A.R. BIRLEY⁶⁹ opposed their opinion, recognising Natalis as a centurion (according to the *RIB* reading), and a superior of a *numeri* at the same time, and not as a legionary legate. The inscription is severely damaged, which allows for various interpretations, as the mark considered to be the centurionate symbol may well be the result of a broken plate. In this inscription (from the time of Alexander Severus) Natalis appears together with the provincial legate Valerius Crescens Fulvianus; the inscription emphasises his high financial status: “templum a solo ex responsu [dei re]stituit et dedicavit d[e suo]”. The inscription lacks a reference to a legionary legate, and Natalis certainly did not hold this post (he is not referred to as a *le-*

⁶⁶ *PIR*² F 455; BARBIERI 1952, no. 2027; BIRLEY 2005: 351 (a note on Valerius Crescens Fulvianus); OKOŃ 2017, no. 493.

⁶⁷ *PIR*² H 88; BARBIERI 1952, no. 269; BIRLEY 1981: 295–296, 419; OKOŃ 2017, no. 541.

⁶⁸ Two readings of this inscription are most commonly accepted today:

1. *EDH* reading HD069856: [--- p]ro/[sa]l(ute) im[p(eratoris) Caes(aris)] [[[Al]ex[andri]]] [Aug(usti) N(ostri) et]/[Iul(iae) Mamaeae ma]t[r]is D(omini) N(ostri) et castr(orum) su[b cura] / Val(eri) Crescentis Fulviani leg(ati) eius pr[o prae(tore)]/T(itus) Florid(ius) Natalis leg(ionis) praep(ositus) n(umeri) et regi[onis]/templum a solo ex responsu [dei re]stituit et dedicavit d[e suo].

2. *RIB* 587 reading: [... p]ro [sa]l(ute) im[p(eratoris) Caes(aris)] [[[Al]ex[andri]]] [Aug(usti) N(ostri) et]/[Iul(iae) Mamaeae ma]t[r]is D(omini) N(ostri) et castr(orum) su[b cura] Val(eri) Crescentis Fulviani leg(ati) eius pr[o prae(tore)] T(itus) Florid(ius) Natalis (centurio) leg(ionis) praep(ositus) n(umeri) et regi[onis]/templum a solo ex responsu [dei re]stituit et dedicavit d[e suo].

Both versions differ in terms of the rank of Natalis: in *EDH* he is *praepositus* (an *eques*), and in *RIB* he is a *centurio* (a person of an order lower than the equestrian one). So he is assigned a higher rank by *EDH*. In the older version of *CIL* VII 222, Floridius was considered a legionary legate (a senator), which in my opinion is not correct.

⁶⁹ BIRLEY 2005: 351. In his earlier *The Fasti of Roman Britain* (1981), Floridius is not found. See also FAURE 2013: 766–767: (centurio) leg(ionis) praep(ositus) n(umeri) et regi[onis].

gatus legionis); it should be assumed that if he had held this function he would not have failed to boast about it.

In my opinion, the words “leg. praep. n. et regi[...]” should be read as *leg(atus) praep(ositus) n(umeri) et regi[onis]*. It is an unusual titulature which, I think, describes someone with a status lower than that of a legionary legate. It should be emphasised that *numeri* troops were often commanded by *praepositi* (of the equestrian order)⁷⁰. Perhaps the addition of *legatus* was to emphasise the special status of Natalis, sent to *numerus* from a legion and commanding combined units of a different ethnic character (remarkably, there is no indication of the ethnic composition of the *numerus* commanded by him). Natalis’ career, apart from this single function, is not known to us, so one has to be careful when making judgments. It should only be added that Ribchester was the headquarters of auxiliary troops, namely the Sarmatians and Iazyges, and it is highly probable that the rebuilt temple was intended for “non-Roman” subjects. In this situation, Natalis could have been an *eques* (a former centurion?), whose financial resources allowed for the reconstruction of the temple. It is worth adding that we do not find any members of the *gens Floridia* in the senate of imperial Rome; the *nomen* occurred especially in Gaul, but in lower social orders than the senatorial one.

Heraclitus

The other controversial figure, Heraclitus, is known from the *Historia Augusta* as a man sent by Septimius Severus in 193 to take Britain (*HA Sept. Sev.* 6, 10)⁷¹ or Bithynia (*HA Nigr.* 5, 2)⁷² from the hands of his opponents. The first of these options is, in my opinion, correct, while the second is, from the historical point of view, unlikely⁷³. For the purposes of this article, I will therefore only consider the issue of sending Heraclitus to Britain, and in particular the nature of his mission.

It is worth recalling that A.R. BIRLEY saw him as an equestrian of procuratorial rank who carried letters from Severus to Albinus, the governor of Britain (and back)⁷⁴. I do not exclude this possibility. Taking into account the fact that three years later an inscription (*IGR* III 1107) attests Heraclitus, a senatorial

⁷⁰ Epigraphic texts also include: *tribunus numeri*, *praefectus numeri*, *curator numeri*.

⁷¹ “...sed eos ipsos pertimescens de quibus recte iudicabat, Heraclitum ad obtinendas Britannias [...] misit”.

⁷² “Sane Severus Heraclitum ad obtinendam Bithyniam misit”.

⁷³ The entire East was controlled by counter-emperor Niger, so it is unlikely that emperor Septimius Severus would send someone with a mission to take over one of the eastern provinces. In the year 193, Severus sent his troops to the East, led by Fabius Cilo and Claudius Candidus. Severus’ army seized Bithynia only after they were victorious at the battle of Kyzikos (end of 193).

⁷⁴ A.R. BIRLEY 1981: 295–296.

legate of Legio VI ferrata, we must consider the following options (if this was the same person):

1. The possibility of Heraclitus holding senatorial status at the time of his mission to Britain (which would raise the importance of this mission). If he was indeed a senator, his role was certainly not limited to transporting letters.
2. The possibility of his holding equestrian status and being granted, as a consequence of his successful mission to Britain (resulting in the appointment of Albinus as Caesar), the *adlectio inter praetorios* (which entailed his promotion from the equestrian to the senatorial order) and the assignment of the legionary command in the East.

In both cases, Heraclitus can ultimately be considered a senator, but not a legionary legate in Britain, for which there is no evidence.

SOME REMARKS ON THE DIVISION OF BRITAIN⁷⁵

According to Herodian (III 8, 2), Britain was divided by Septimius Severus into two provinces right after the defeat of Clodius Albinus in the battle of Lugdunum. That would have been in the year 197. However, regarding the times of the *expeditio Britannica* under Severus, the same Herodian wrote about Britain as one province (III 14, 9), to which Geta was sent to sort out court cases and deal with state affairs. Another historian, Cassius Dio (LV 23, 2–3 and 6) states that under the Severans Britannia was divided into two provinces: inferior and superior, and lists the legions stationed there. According to his information, one legion was stationed in Britannia inferior (VI victrix), while two were stationed in Britannia superior (II Augusta and XX Valeria victrix)⁷⁶. Both historians noted the division of Britain into two parts, but did not specify the rank of these provinces (consular?, praetorian?) and their borders⁷⁷.

Dividing large provinces into smaller ones was not a new thing. This concerned the provinces on the Limes, threatened by attacks from outside, from places such as Germania, Moesia, Pannonia and Dacia. Such divisions organisationally supported the process of management and defence; they were also

⁷⁵ The issue of the division of Britain is important due to the status of the legate of Legio VI victrix, who could also have been a praetorian legate of Britannia inferior. Given this assumption, his position would be higher than the other two legionary legates. My position on this matter is presented below. Many authors have written about the division of Britain. See, for instance RITTERLING 1925: 1609; GRAHAM 1966: 92–107; MANN, JARRETT 1967: 61–64; KOTULA 1987: 142; A.R. BIRLEY 2005: 333–337; JANISZEWSKA 2010: 101–102; KRÓLCZYK 2014: 231–232.

⁷⁶ His list of legions with their seats was probably created after 214. For the dating, see, for example A.R. BIRLEY 2005: 333.

⁷⁷ Other historiographical sources barely mention the affairs of Britain, focusing attention on Severus' British expedition and his death. See Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 20, 18 and 27; Eutrop. VI 19; *HA Sept. Sev.* 18, 2–3 and 19, 1; *Dig.* XXVIII 6, 2, 4. Thus, the main historiographical pieces of evidence are works by Cassius Dio and Herodian, contemporary to the events described here.

a safeguard against excessive ambitions of governors. These provinces were governed mostly by consular officers with extensive administrative experience. It is possible that the situation in Britain was similar – its division took place after the suppression of the usurpation of the governor of Britain, Clodius Albinus. And although epigraphical sources confirm the existence of *Britannia inferior* and *superior*⁷⁸, they do not answer several key questions: when did the division of the province take place, where was the border between *Britannia inferior* and *superior* and what was the administrative rank of both provinces. Irrespective of the type of evidence (historiographical or epigraphical), information gaps occur in the same fields.

For my part, I would like to make a few remarks:

(1) Rulers often made changes to the borders and statuses of provinces. Before Septimius Severus took over, Britain was a single province with consular status. Septimius Severus divided Britain in 197 into two administrative units (Hdn. III 8, 2), possibly still governed for practical reasons by one person (cf. the case of III Daciae). It could have been a necessity caused by a reduction in the number of troops in Britain ordered by Clodius Albinus and the constant attacks by barbarians who broke through Hadrian's Wall and entered the Roman province (*Britannia inferior*). The legates of Britain known to us from this period: Virius Lupus⁷⁹ (legate in 197–200?), C. Valerius Pudens⁸⁰ (legate in 205), L. Alfenus Senecio⁸¹ (legate in 205–207) were governors of consular rank. In epigraphical sources, they were titled: *legatus Augusti pro praetore* (CIL VII 273 = RIB 730), *clarissimus consularis* (RIB 1163), *legatus eorum* [scil. *Augustorum*] *pro praetore* (CIL VII 279 = RIB 746), *amplissimus consularis* (AE 1962, 260; CIL VII 269 = RIB 722)⁸². Apart from them, we do not have any attested praetorian legates. This is perfectly understandable, since they were not yet in Britain at that time. In 209, after Severus began military operations in Britain, the ad-

⁷⁸ Stamps on poorly dated seals: “P(rocurator) B(ritanniae) I(nferioris)” – e.g. AE 1980, 604; RIB 2411, 36; CIL VII 1269, 29 = RIB 2411, 34 or “P(rocurator) B(ritanniae) S(uperioris)” – e.g. AE 1994, 1117; RIB 2411, 37. In addition: an inscription of a sevir Augustalis from 237 “Brit(annia) inf(erior)” – AE 1922, 116; an inscription in honour of a soldier who fought in “Britannia superior” and “inferior” – CIL III 6995 = AE 1991, 1472; an inscription of a soldier from Greta Bridge “[Britanniae] s[uperioris]” – CIL VII 498 = RIB 1051; an inscription of a British veteran “[Brit]tan(n)i(a)e s[u]pe(rioris)” – ILAG II 3, 8806, an inscription of the prefect of the cohort I Asturum “prov(incia) Brit{t}(anniae) infer(ioris)” – CIL VIII 2766 (p. 1739) = CIL VIII 18131 = ILS 2762. Unfortunately, there are no inscriptions relating to governors in which their province – *Britannia superior* or *inferior* – is specified. I explain the reasons for this state of affairs later.

⁷⁹ PIR² V 711; BARBIERI, no. 528; OKOŃ 2017, no. 1022.

⁸⁰ PIR² V 183; BARBIERI, no. 514; OKOŃ 2017, no. 989.

⁸¹ PIR² A 521; BARBIERI, no. 25; OKOŃ 2017, no. 45.

⁸² It is worth noting that the following titles do not appear: *legatus pro praetore provinciarum Britanniarum*, *legatus Britanniae superioris et inferioris*. It is possible that the appropriate epigraphic practice in this area did not develop in time.

ministration of this province had to adapt to the ongoing war (Hdn. III 14, 9). Geta's mission in this area was a harbinger of the planned changes⁸³. Probably Septimius Severus, preparing the conquest of the north of the island, had a plan for the development of the conquered territories. The group that was supposed to help him to implement this plan consisted of experienced officials who were his *comites*⁸⁴.

The peace made with the barbarians by Severus (Cass. Dio LXXVII 13, 4), and after his death again by Caracalla (Cass. Dio LXXVIII 1, 1; Hdn. III 15, 5–6), gave the Roman Empire small territorial acquisitions and became an impulse to introduce further changes (e.g. an enlargement of Britannia inferior)⁸⁵. After the death of Severus and the departure of his sons (Caracalla and Geta), plans to conquer the entire island were put on hold. The speculations of modern historians who assume further organisational changes in Britain (in 213), contrary to the accounts of Herodian and Cassius Dio, are, in my opinion, incorrect.

The last governor known to us whose titulature contains a reference to the consulship was L. Alfenus Senecio. The next governors had the title of *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, indicating governorship of the praetorian rank⁸⁶. However, as we remember, consular governors were referred to in the same way, which generates problems in distinguishing between legates of the praetorian and consular rank and makes it impossible to determine which province they administered – Britannia superior or inferior. Thus, in the absence of sources, the exact moment of the change in imperial policy and the appointment of governors for each of the provinces of Britain is currently undetermined.

We only have fragmentary additions to the lists of governors, bearing in mind that their number (one for two provinces or one for each of them) depended on the will of the emperor, who could freely manipulate the appointments. I cannot rule out that when Caracalla and Geta departed from Britain, they left behind two governors – a consular for the superior province and a praetorian for the inferior one. It is certain that during Cassius Dio's lifetime the division into two British provinces continued (LV 23, 2–3 and 6); the author does not mention any administrative changes in these provinces at all.

The route of the border between the two provinces remains hypothetical. There is no precise data. If we assume that Legio XX was based in Britannia

⁸³ By the way, Severus protected the life of the younger son, should the elder one die in a military expedition. Regardless of Caracalla's fate, dynastic continuity would then be preserved.

⁸⁴ The group of *comites* included, for example: a prefect of the City L. Fabius Cilo, Praetorian Prefects: Aemilius Papinianus and Q. Maecius Laetus, C. Iulius Avitus Alexianus, the husband of Iulia Maesa, and a consular C. Iunius Faustinus Placidus Postumianus.

⁸⁵ The British expedition was considered victorious, Severus and his sons were nicknamed *Britannicus Maximus*, and inscriptions carved throughout the Empire and legends on coins praised their victory.

⁸⁶ THOMASSON 1984: 73–75; A.R. BIRLEY 2005: 337–355.

superior, then the boundary must have been north of its camp at Deva and south of the camp of Legio VI victrix at Eboracum in Britannia inferior.

(2) It is generally assumed that Britannia superior was governed by legates with the title of *consularis*, and Britannia inferior by *legati Augusti pro praetore*. The premise for this assumption is the number of legions stationed in a given province (two in the consular province, one in the praetorian one).

In the matter of determining the status of the province of Britannia inferior, one must refer to the legate of Britannia in 220, Claudius Paulinus. A letter from his client Sennius Sollemnis mentions the legateship of Britannia and Legio VI⁸⁷. We also know from this letter that Paulinus was not a consular at that time (or even a designated consul) and could only govern the praetorian province. So this was the province where Legio VI victrix was stationed. It follows that Britannia superior had a separate governor of consular rank, as two legions were stationed there.

On this occasion, the question arises as to whether the governor of Britannia inferior was also the legate of Legio VI victrix (cf. the case of Numidia). The analogy with Numidia seems to provide a clue; one legion was also stationed in that province and the governor of Numidia was at the same time the commander of this legion. However, in Numidia we have numerous inscriptions containing double titulature of legates⁸⁸, which are not attested in Britannia (here, we have simple titulature: *legatus Britanniae*, *legatus provinciae Britanniae*). In Numidia, numerous governors were awarded the consulship immediately after holding this combined office (the province honoured them as *consules designati*⁸⁹), but so far there is no such data for Britannia inferior (praetorian). Besides, Numidia was a province whose borderline run close to the headquarters of Legio III Augusta, so there was no need for dual administration; in Britannia inferior, on the other hand, the borders extended far beyond the camp of Legio VI victrix, and such a need existed. Thus, inscriptional and historiographical evidence does not support the analogy between Britannia and Numidia⁹⁰.

In conclusion, we can say that under the Severans there were two provinces in Britain: Britannia inferior (praetorian) with Legio VI victrix and Britannia

⁸⁷ CIL XIII 3162.

⁸⁸ E.g. "leg. Aug. pro pr. leg. III Aug. Antoninus. et provincial. Numid. cos. des." – CIL VIII 2754 = 18129; "leg. Aug. pr. pr. [...] leg. III Aug. Sever. et prov. Numid. [...] praeses rarissimus" – AE 1917/1918, 51; "legatus leg. III Severianae Alexandrianae praeses" – ILS 1177; "leg. Aug. pr. pr. c.v. praeses exempli rarissimus" – CIL VIII 8327.

⁸⁹ E.g. ILS 9488; CIL VIII 2619; CIL VIII 19131; CIL VIII 2392 = ILS 1178.

⁹⁰ It is worth paying attention to the work by MANN, JARRETT (1967), in which the researchers shift the border between the provinces and assume that only Legio II Augusta was stationed in Britannia superior, so this province was of the praetorian rank. At that time, the governorship of this province and the legateship of the legion could be held by the same person, but as in the case of Legio VI victrix, a comparison with Numidia leads us to reject this hypothesis.

superior (consular) with Legio II Augusta and XX Valeria victrix, and that the legate of Britannia inferior was not the legate of Legio VI victrix at the same time.

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GREEK κόμμι: ITS ULTIMATE ORIGIN AND IMPLICATIONS FOR AFRO-ASIATIC PREHISTORY

by

GÁBOR TAKÁCS

*Dedicated to Mr. Zsolt Márkus
and the workers
of the Vítál Ltd. with gratitude¹*

ABSTRACT: In this paper², two decades after my first attempt³ at examining this etymological puzzle, I attempt to trace down the ultimate etymology of the Greek-Latin term, the source of our

¹ With the warmest recollections about my extremely intensive bike tours around and through our immense and miraculous Lake Balaton (Lacus Pelso of the Roman times) between summer 2008 and spring 2019, when – esp. in the early phase of my adventures – I experienced several interactions, so to say, between the tyre of my bike (called in the slang of my mother tongue simply ‘gum’) and the tiny acacia thorns so abundant esp. on the so-called high coasts of B. Aliga and B. Világos in the Kájár Bay. I owe lots of thanks to the bike repairing workshop of Mr. Zsolt Kovács for their immeasurable technical assistance in that period. This paper, starting from the puzzling Afro-Asiatic etymon of Greek κόμμι, will touch upon, by pure chance, the history of all these three terms in our Afro-Asiatic macrofamily, i.e., beside the gum, eventually also the acacia and the thorn. It is here that I must remember Mr. Zsolt MÁRKUS, my good old playmate from my childhood in the 1980s (Székesfehérvár, Hungary), to whom my paper is equally dedicated with my heartfelt recollections of our unforgettable joint bike exploration tours where this kind of threat of acacia thorns had not yet been menacing.

² I am greatly indebted to Prof. Krzysztof Tomasz WITCZAK (Department of Classical Philology, University of Łódź) for encouraging and supporting me to successfully apply for the ARR grant of his home university, in the frames of which this study has been completed, as well as for drawing my attention to a possible outlet for it in this issue of the journal “Eos”. I am also grateful to Prof. Jakub PIGOŃ for amiably receiving the ideas of an Oriental etymologist. My true thanks go to Mr. Zsolt MÁRKUS and Mr. Richard TOTH (B. Ederics-Külsőhegy, Hungary) for both of their unselfish technical support and assistance, without which this paper could not have been completed in early 2021. It is here that I must thankfully remember my long consultations with Dr. Bernhard KOEHLER (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, Institut für Afrikanistik) in Jan.–Feb. 2020, upon whose encouragement I soon began attending the rich libraries of the Frobenius-Institut für kulturanthropologische Forschung and of the Archaeological Institute, where my intensive research has made me basically acquainted with the recent archaeological achievements on Holocene Sahara and the Natufian. I am also grateful to Mrs. Patsy SANTOS (B. Ederics-Külsőhegy, Hungary), Prof. em. D. APPLEYARD (Abergavenny, Wales), Prof. em. G. HUDSON (Ann Arbor, USA), Dr. W.G.E. WATSON (Morpeth, UK) for their friendly favour of reading the draft version of the paper and improving its English style.

³ G. TAKÁCS, *Proto-Afro-Asiatic Origin of “Gum”?*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies LXIII 2000, pp. 96–99.

European word for ‘gum’, whose well-known Egyptian etymon is qmj.t ‘gum’ (attested from the New Kingdom on). But how it comes from a supposed heritage of the underlying proto-language has so far been unknown aside from the single isolated West Chadic cognate I had suggested some 20 years ago. Since then, having carried on my extensive comparative research on the supposed common Afro-Asiatic lexical root stock, I keep assuming this Egyptian word to only have cognates in West Chadic, at the moment in three diverse groups of it. In this new study, I not merely attempt at demonstrating the regularity of the consonant correspondences in question by adducing several relevant examples from the etymological material, but also try to define the place of this exclusive Egypto-Chadic isogloss in the history of the common Afro-Asiatic root stock and in the Holocene prehistory of the first known neolithic language family on earth.

1. GREEK AND LATIN ‘GUM’

Our European words ‘gum’⁴ derive from a Classical source, cf. Latin *commi* ~ *cummi*, younger Latin *gummi* ~ *cummis* ‘gum’ (*LEW*: since Cato, *De agricultura* 69), vulgar Latin *gumma* (Dioscorides)⁵, which, in turn, were either directly derived from ancient Greek (attested since Herodotus and Theophrastus) κόμμι ‘gomme’ [BOISACQ 1916: 489] = ‘1. il prodotto resinoso dell’ ἄκανθα (usato per la prima volta da Erodoto (2, 86) a proposito della imbalsamazione egiziana dei morti), 2. (più tardi) le resine di alberi diversi e gli aromi che se ne traggono’ [NENCIONI 1939: 12] = ‘gomme produite par/produit tiré de l’*Acacia Nilotica*’ [FOURNET 1989: 62, #9; CHANTRAINE 1999: 561], or, alternatively⁶, both languages borrowed the Egyptian term directly on their own way, which, however, in the view of R. BEEKES (2010: 744), “would have resulted in the same form in both languages”.

2. THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ETYMON

It is also a widely known⁷ fact that the Greek word is a loan from Egyptian, cf. the *pro forma* best fitting Coptic equivalents like (O) ***KME**⁸, (S) **KOMME**, **KMME**, **KHMME**, (B) **KOMI**⁹, **KOMH**¹⁰ ‘gum’ (*CD* 110b; *CED* 58–59) = ‘Harz,

⁴ Italian *gomma*, French *gomme*, English *gum*, German *Gummi*, Russian *гύмму* etc.

⁵ Beside *gomma*, J.-L. FOURNET (1989: 62, #9) lists forms like *cummun*, *gum(m)en*, *gummus* (used “plus tard”).

⁶ As surmised by a few authors, e.g., by A. WALDE and J.B. HOFMANN (in *LEW* 1938, *loc. cit. infra*), R. FOHALLE (1925: 171), P. KRETSCHMER (Glotta XVI 1928, p. 166).

⁷ Cf. SCHRÄDER 1901: 314; BOISACQ 1916: 489; SCHRÄDER, NEHRING 1917: 417; *Wb* (*loc. cit.*); *LEW* 306; NENCIONI 1939: 12; *KHW* 64; FOURNET 1989: 62, #9; CHANTRAINE 1999: 561; BEEKES 2010: 744, etc.

⁸ Dem. magical pap. 110, no. 26 (quoted after SPIEGELBERG *loc. cit.*).

⁹ SPIEGELBERG (1921: 41, n. 1): in Guimet XVII 235 “bezeichnet **KOMI** das Harz (Gummi), das aus einer angehauenen Dornakazie (ϣONT) fließt”.

¹⁰ Only attested *apud* A. KIRCHER (1644), quoted after SPIEGELBERG (*loc. cit. supra*).

Gummi' (*KHW* 63–64), which, being attested only after the 2nd cent. AD on, of course, cannot have been the direct source, which could have better been the preceding phase of Egyptian *Sprachgeschichte*: Dem. qmj ~ qm3 'Harz, Gummi' (*DG* 537), which, in turn, eventually comes from classical Eg. qmj.t '1. Harz (bestimmter Bäume: der Myrrhe, Therebinthe, Akazie und des Ebenholzbaumes aus Nubien oder Punt), Gummi, auch ein Öl (b3q) von Gummi' (XVIII–, *Wb* V 39; HELCK, *LÄ* II 921 and n. 21) = 'gum, resin' (*Urk.* IV 329:3 and *pap. Ebers* 41:18, 10:10; FD 279) = 'ein Baumharz, das bes. für die Bindung von Farben benutzt worden ist' (HELCK in *MWNR* VI 60/1004) = 'une gomme' (TRAUNECKER, *LÄ* II 116) = '1. (ursprünglich) Gummi der Akazie, 2. erweiterter Begriff: Salböl von Grundsubstanz Gummi' (KOURA 1999: 159) = 'Akaziengummi, das Exsudat der Seyal-Akazie, auch Gummiarabicum genannt' (GERMER 2002: 66–67).

We know of at least three diverse ways of Sahidic Coptic geminated sonants like **-MM-** developing from consonantal clusters (each with abundant analogical instances), namely: (1) $*-\check{V}3C^{-11}$, (2) $*-\check{V}CC^{-12}$, (3) $*-\check{V}Cj^{-13} > *-\check{V}CC-$. The Sahidic Coptic forms seem to reflect the last scenario according to the following Pharaonic (prior to the 1st mill. BC) vocalised proto-varieties: $*q\check{a}mj.t \rightarrow *q\check{a}mm.\check{~} > \textbf{KOMME}$ vs. $*q\check{a}mj.t \rightarrow *q\check{e}mm.\check{~} > \textbf{KMME}$ vs. $*q\check{a}mj.t \rightarrow *q\check{a}m.j.\check{~} > \textbf{KHME}$ (?) $> \textbf{KHMME}$, whose doubled **-MM-** may be explained either by a cluster $*-3m-$ of an unattested $*q\check{a}3m.j.\check{~}t$ or by an analogy with the preceding forms or a strange assimilation $< *-mj-$ in spite of the long preceding vowel.

3. THE NATURE OF EGYPTIAN 'GUM'

Egyptians distinguished several sorts of the gum-resin: qmj.t n.t 'ntj.w 'Myrrhenharz'¹⁴, qmj.t n.t sntr 'Weihrauchharz'¹⁵, qmj.t n.t sntj 'duftendes Harz', qmj.t n.t šnd.t 'Harz der Akazie'¹⁶, qmj.t n.t hbnj 'Harz des Ebenholzbaumes', qmj.t ḥd.t 'als offizinell Verwendetes', qmj.t n pwn.t 'Harz von Herkunft aus Punt' (*Wb* V 39). As J.R. HARRIS (1961a: 158) stated, Eg.

¹¹ Cf. (S) **KBBE** 'Falte, Runzel' $< *q\check{a}3b.\check{~}(w)$ 'Windung' (*NBA* 79, 332, 541, n. 375).

¹² Cf. (S) **KBBE** 'Kühle' $< \check{~}qbb$ (*NBA* 83) (L) **KMME** 'schwarz' $< *q\check{e}bb.a(w)$ 'Kühle, kühle Luft, kühler Wind' $< \check{~}kmm$ (*NBA* 179).

¹³ Cf. the special Coptic infinive IIIae inf. subclass with reduplicated second radical of the pattern (S) $C_1C_2C_2E$ deriving from $*C_1\check{C}_2j/w.it$, attested, e.g., by (S) **CBBE** 'beschneiden' $< \check{~}sbj$, (S) **KNNE** 'fett werden' $< \check{~}qnj$, (S) **SBBE** 'schwach werden' $< \check{~}gbj$, (S) **2PPE** 'still werden, aufhören' $< \check{~}hrw$, (S) **TPPE** 'ausgehen' $< \check{~}prj$ (*NBA* 52–53, where J. OSING alleged to know "im Koptischen etwa 25 Belege"), also (S) **TPPE** 'sich fürchten' $< \check{~}trj$ (*NBA* 517, n. 276).

¹⁴ KOURA 1999: 159: better 'Myrrhensalböl'.

¹⁵ KOURA 1999: 159: better 'Weihrauchsalböl'.

¹⁶ E.g., *pap. Ebers* 54:16. Hence Cpt. (S) **TKHMEṢṢONTE** 'das Akazienharz' (SPIEGELBERG 1921: 41 with n. 2, after CRUM, *pap. Rylands* no. 106, p. 57, n. 6).

qmj.t “applied to both true gums and gum-resins”¹⁷, and had a use connected with pigments also (p. 159). The use of Eg. qmj.t has been thoroughly studied by R. GERMER (1979: 41–44, §5.7) and especially by B. KOURA (1999: 157–159, §II.1.3.3), who concluded the debate¹⁸ about Eg. qmj.t ‘gum, resin’ vs. qmj (glossed in *Wb* V 40:1 separately “als Salböl, vgl. das vorsteh. Wort, von dem es in der Schreibung nicht immer klar zu scheiden ist”) by describing the latter in its sense ‘Salböl’ as an “erweiterter Begriff” of qmj.t ‘Gummi der Akazie’. As R. GERMER (2002: 66–67) summed up, “die Exsudate der Akazien” yielded “Gummisubstanzen und zwar Kalium-, Magnesium- und Calciumsalze der Arabiensäure”, for which the most prominent source of gum was and even today is *Acacia seyal* Del. still sporadically growing in southern Egypt, but all the more reserves of *Sejal* are in the Sudan.

4. THE PREVIOUS ETYMOLOGY OF EGYPTIAN QMJ.T

As far as I know, the etymology of the Egyptian word has been hitherto unknown – not counting here my first article on it (from 2000, below). The only proposal was due to L. REINISCH (1895: 201–202) affiliating Eg. qmj.t with Bed. *semk* (f) ‘der Gummi’ [REINISCH] and Ar. *ṣam(a)γ-*, pl. *ṣumūγ-* ‘1. (en gén.) gomme, 2. gomme arabique (donnée par l’arbre *salam-*)’, *ṣammaya* II ‘gommer ou mettre de la gomme’, IV ‘1. donner, produire de la gomme (se dit d’un arbre)’ [BK I 1372], whence he derived even *ḡam^o*- as a “jüngere Form”, which are all to be safely excluded on phonological grounds¹⁹.

5. A VAIN (?) BERBER LOOK-ALIKE (?)

However, apparently, this term is absent in all the rest of the branches of our vast macrofamily. The rest of the Northern Afro-Asiatic branches (Semitic, Berber), the closest relatives of Egyptian, seem to only offer a highly doubtful candidate in South Berber (Twareg): Ayr *a-ḡərma*, pl. *i-ḡərm-an* ‘gomme arabique (résine d’épineux qcq. sauf *adāras*, blanche ou rougeâtre, visqueuse, comestible à l’état sec)’ vs. Ayr *a-ḡərmām* ‘gomme arabique sèche (de *tāmat*) (diluée dans l’eau elle sert à soigner la conjonctivite)’ [PAM 2003: 404 and 301,

¹⁷ With references on it in his n. 16 (*loc. cit. supra*).

¹⁸ R. CAMINOS (cited *apud* KOURA 1999: 159): “qmj nicht identisch mit qmj.t [...], sondern ein davon stammendes Salböl”, whereas qmj was regarded by R. GERMER (cited *apud* KOURA *loc. cit.*) as a late orthographic variety of qmj.t due to the loss of final -t in writing from the XIX Dyn. on.

¹⁹ By the way, if there was a phonologically regular match of the Arabic root in Egyptian, it could only be *dm^o* ‘Papyrus in verarbeitetem Zustand’ (NE-, *Wb* V 574, 3–9) = ‘(ordairement) une feuille de papyrus, un livre’ (DERCHAIN 1965: 163, #54), which, in spite of J. OSING’s forced derivation from Eg. *dm^o* ‘dürr, ausgedörrt, ausgetrocknet sein’ (*NBA* 124), might have primarily better meant *‘das Geklebte’.

respectively], which stands isolated in Berber²⁰. Remembering here the mysterious Cpt. (S) **ΚΗΜΜΕ**, one might be, of course, tempted to figure out an earlier unattested Eg. *qĩ3m.ǰ.ǰt (?) behind *qĩm.ǰ.ǰt, whose *-3- might be a match of Twareg -r-. But an orthographical variety *q3m.j (e.g., a nisbe of *q3m) does not occur, so this scenario is certainly out of the question. Alternatively, one might assume a palatalisation from an Old Eg. *qmr.t²¹ as well as a metathesis of Ayr *a-ḳəmrā out of euphony and, eventually, a NAA *√ḳmr underlying, but all this can at the moment be safely ruled out primarily because of Ayr ḳ-, which is in fact but an allophonic variety of plain k- and has thus, as far as we know now, nothing to do with Eg. q- regularly reflected by Berber *γ- (not *k-)²². Still,

²⁰ Corroborated for me also by Prof. Maarten KOSSMANN (Leiden, p.c., 18 Jan. 2021), a leading figure of comparative Berber: “I don’t think I have ever seen other forms (it is the kind of term where you would expect borrowings in the north)”. At this point, one can hardly comment on another look-alike, viz. ECh.: Kofa kótóm (m), pl. kótómè ‘gum tree, white (gommier blanc)’ [JNG. 1977 MS: 6, Zusatz 2], since, here, no evidence is at hand as yet on a rhotacism like *-r- > Kofa -t-.

²¹ Cf. the neatly described change of OK -r# > late OK-MK -j# (*EG*¹ 29, §20 end; *EDEL* 1955: 56, §128; *PEUST* 1999: 140, §3.13.5). Since standard NK orthography of Eg. qmj.t contains the hieroglyph W19 depicting a ‘milk-jug as carried in a net’ (*EG*¹ 1927, 514) with the phonetic value of OK mr > MK mj, the same shift may well be supposed in the case of NK qmj.t < OK *qmr.t also, but – there being no occurrence at hand from the 3rd mill. BC – it has to remain purely hypothetical.

²² As confirmed by M. KOSSMANN (p.c., 18 Jan. 2021) also: “Indeed, the pharyngealized /k/ is an allophone (marginally phonemic), typical of Ayer, and has no relationship to /q/ or /gh/”. Curiously, however, the following cognate pairs suggest just the opposite in an AA context: ● SBrb.: EWlmd.-Ayr ā-ḳāḳḳa ‘fruit d’āboray, 2. p.ext.: noyau(x) d’ā-ḳāḳḳa’, ā-ḳōḳa, pl. i-ḳōḳa-n ‘fruit de tagāyt (palmier doûm), 2. p.ext.: noyau(x) d’āḳōḳa’ [PAM 2003: 366], cf. “Twareg” (prob. Ahaggar) ta-kūkai-t ‘Dum-Palme, Hyphaene Thebaica’ [VYCICHL 1951] = a-kūka, pl. i-kūkā-n ‘fruit du palmier d’Égypte, le palmier d’Égypte, son fruit a à peu près la grosseur d’un poing’ [FOUCAULD 1951–1952: 774, quoted by VYCICHL 1990] ||| LEg. q(w)q(w) ‘Art Früchte, unter Anderm von den Nüssen der Dumpalme’ (NE, *Wb* V 21, 14–15) = ‘Dumpalmnuß’ (HELCK in *LA* I 1268 and VII 494, cf. *LEM* 322–323) = ‘Nüsse, bes. der Dumpalme, Dumpalmfrucht’ (*GHwb* 853), vocalised *kākaj or *qāqaj (VYCICHL) > Dem. kk ‘Frucht (Dattel) der Dumpalme’ (*DG* 569) = kwk (VYCICHL) > Cpt. (S) **ΚΟΥΚ** ~ **ΚΟΥΒ** (*KHW* 59). Ahaggar-Eg.: VYCICHL 1951: 72; 1990: 86, §20. ● SBrb.: Ahaggar ā-knef ‘rösten, backen’ [ZYHLARZ] = ā-knəf ‘cuire sous la cendre, dans le sable entre 2 couches de braises’ [FOUCAULD > KNUDSEN] = ā-knəf, ya-knāf ‘unter Sand kochen’ [RÖSSLER 1964: 207] ||| EBrb.: Siwa √knf ‘kleine Fleischstücke am Spieß braten’ [MÜLLER] < Common Brb. *e-knəf ‘rösten’ > *a-knif ‘Brot’ [ZYHLARZ] = *e-knef ‘couvrir de sable pour faire cuire, faire rôtir’ [RÖSSLER] ||| Eg. qfn ~ (NK) qnf ‘backen’ (MK–, *Wb* V 32, 11–15) > qfn ‘Gebäck, Brot’ (MK, *Wb* V 32, 16) ||| Sem.: Ar. kafana ‘(das Brot) mit heißer Asche bedecken’ [RÖSSLER, KNUDSEN]. Cf. MÜLLER 1912: 428–429; ZYHLARZ 1932–1933: 83; 1934: 112; Eg.-Brb.; RÖSSLER 1952: 133, #24; KNUDSEN 1962: 36; Eg.-Ar.-Twareg. But the Eg. root may alternatively be compared to NBrb.: Inzasen ta-fun-t, pl. ti-fuqan ‘foyer’, Senhazha ta-feqqun-d ‘four à pain’ (NBrb.: RENISIO 1932: 301–302). ● SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr ā-ḳnu, Ayr ā-ḳnu ‘1. faire, fabriquer, 2. arranger, 3. réparer, 4. (EWlmd.) raviver, ranimer, ressusciter, 5. réconcilier, 6. être (bien) fait, parfait, 7. (EWlmd.) être bien mûr, 8. être bien formé (animal), bien gros, bien en chair, bien graissé, 9. former ses fleurs, fleurir (arbre), 10. se remettre, se rétablir, se reposer (après une fatigue/maladie), 12. être pleine/en gestation (femelle), 13. faire parfaitement bien’ [ALOJALY 1980: 94; PAM 2003: 384] ||| Eg. qn ‘fertig machen, beenden’ (MK–, *Wb* V 49) ||| (?) Sem. *√ḳny ‘1. to create, 2. give birth to’

our suspect on an AA $\sqrt{\text{kmr}}$ is corroborated by CCh.: *Lame kóm̀r̀ò* ‘(arbre) *Commiphora africana* Engl. (Burséracées) (l’écorce, qu’on fait fait macérer pendant une nuit, est utilisée pour teindre en rouge les marmites et les jarres à eau)’ [SACHNINE 1982: 480], which will be discussed below (§6).

6. THE NEW ETYMOLOGICAL SUGGESTION FOR EGYPTIAN QMJ.T

Having most recently scanned anew the root stocks in all the six branches of the entire Afro-Asiatic (Semitic-Hamitic) language family²³, available in my increased lexicographical library on the whole phylum, two decades after having found the isolated, albeit highly hopeful Bokkos parallel, I have once again come across promising parallels curiously and solely in the West Chadic subbranch²⁴, but this time in several groups of it, namely Angas-Sura $\sqrt{\text{gu}}\eta$ ‘1. rubber tree’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 133]: Angas gũng ‘a tree giving a species of rubber (it has a reddish juice)’²⁵ [FOULKES 1915: 191] = $\text{gũ}\eta$ (K) ‘tree sp. (Hausa $\text{gam}\text{ži}$)’ [JNG. 1962 MS], Mupun $\text{gũ}\eta$ ‘bush rubber tree (*African Funtumia*)’ [FRJ. 1991: 20] | Ron group: Bokkos $\text{ko}\eta$, pl. $\text{ko}\eta\text{ay}$ ‘Gummi(baum)’ ($\approx$ Hausa $\text{dã}\eta\text{kòò}$)²⁶ [JNG. 1970: 143] | Bole-Tangale group: Bole kààngò ‘gum Arabic, glue’ ($\approx$ Hausa kàro)²⁷ [GIMBA, ALI, BAH 2004: 48], Tangale $\sqrt{\text{k}}^{\text{w}}\text{an-}$ (?) > kwanam ²⁸ ‘rubber, gum’, kwanam kada ‘gum of gutta percha-tree’ [JNG. 1991: 108], which altogether make us assume at the moment a provisional West Chadic etymon $\sqrt{\text{KU}}\eta \sim \sqrt{\text{K}}^{\text{w}}\text{a}\eta$

[GT]. Cf. HOLMA 1919: 46: Eg.-Sem. • SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr e-kānāy , pl. i-kānāy-ān ‘esp. d’herbe épineuse (jeune pousse: efāyāt , Neurade procumbens)’ [PAM 2003: 392] ||| Sem.: Geez $\text{k}^{\text{w}}\text{ināt}$ ‘lance, épieu, épée’ [COHEN 1947: 130, #254] = qan(n)awa ‘to transfix wit nails, fasten with nails, nail, pierce with a spear, drive a stake into the ground’, qa/ənnot ‘nail, goad, mark of nails, sting, scourge, spine’ [LESLAU 1987: 436–437] ||| Ch. $\sqrt{\text{k}}^{\text{w}}\text{Vw/yVn-}$ ‘claw, nail’ [CLD IV 120, #386]. • SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr a-kākķāra ‘famine extrême, diesette’ [PAM 2003: 367] ||| Eg. hqr ‘hunger’ (PT, *Wb* III 174–175) ||| Sem.: Ar. ḥaqira ‘to be poor’ [GT: orig. < *‘to be hungry’] ||| SCu. $\sqrt{\text{k}}^{\text{w}}\text{ar-}$ / $\sqrt{\text{k}}^{\text{w}}\text{or-}$ ‘hunger’ [EHRET]: WRift $\sqrt{\text{q}}^{\text{w}}\text{ari}$ ‘hunger’, $\sqrt{\text{q}}^{\text{w}}\text{arīt}$ ‘to be hungry’ [KM 2004: 239] > Iraqw and Alagwa qvari , Burunge qori | Qwadza kuliko | Ma’a kela | Dahalo kére [EHRET: < $\sqrt{\text{k}}^{\text{w}}\text{óre}$] (SCu.: EHRET 1980: 268) ||| WCh.: Angas-Sura $\sqrt{\text{k}}^{\text{w}}\text{ār}$ (from $\sqrt{\text{k}}^{\text{w}}\text{əyər}$ or $\sqrt{\text{k}}^{\text{w}}\text{ōr}$?) $\sim \sqrt{\text{k}}^{\text{w}}\text{ōr}$ (?) ‘1. hungry, 2. poor’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 173, 179]: Mupun kəər ‘hunger’ [FRJ. 1991: 31], Mushere koor (error for short $\sqrt{\text{k}}^{\text{w}}\text{-o-}$?) ‘poor person’ [DIYAKAL 1997 MS: 113]. Eg.-Ar.: HOMMEL 1883: 440, n. 30; ALBRIGHT 1918: 237; ESS (EMBER 1930) §12.a.31, §20.a.16; GÄSW (CALICE 1936) #72; COHEN 1947: #98.

²³ Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, Cushitic, Omotic, and Chadic.

²⁴ Not found so far elsewhere even in Chadic. Even where *commiphora* are recorded, it gives other etyma, e.g., CCh.: Afade sžil bi , sžil midadéh ‘gummiliefernde Bäume’ [SEETZEN *apud* SÖLKEN 1967: 147].

²⁵ $\approx$ Hausa $\text{gám}\text{ži}$ ‘gutta-percha tree, *Ficus platyphylla*’ [ABRAHAM 1962: 293].

²⁶ In his Hausa dictionary, R.C. ABRAHAM (1962: 189) records $\text{dã}\eta\text{kò}$ ‘1. rubber, 2. stickiness, 3. tyre’.

²⁷ Cf. Hausa kááróo ‘gum’ [ABRAHAM 1962: 491].

²⁸ Its -n- may be due to an assimilation < $\sqrt{\text{k}}^{\text{w}}\text{a}\eta\text{-am}$ [GT] influenced by an ending -am.

‘1. gum, 2. rubber tree’ [GT] with an initial velar unspecifiable purely on internal grounds (dealt with below).

Outside Chadic, the only remarkable parallel (or just look-alike?) I have come across, is SBrb.: Ahaggar té-γanyer-t, pl. ti-γanyer-în ‘bdellium (le bdellium est une gomme-résine qui s’écoule de l’arbre appelé ādaras; on le fait brûler en guise d’encens et on s’en sert com. de colophane pour le violon)’ [FOUCAULD 1951–1952: 1743], Ghat ta-γenyet-t, pl. či-γenyet-in ‘gomme’ [NEHLIL 1909: 165], which may, in principle, be derived from an AA $*\sqrt{\text{ḳnḳr}}$, whose C_4 -r might be either detached as a root ext. and the $**\sqrt{\text{ḳnḳ}} < **\sqrt{\text{ḳmḳ}}$ (?) might in principle be regarded as a partial reduplication, or perhaps we are dealing with a fossilised compound of two synonymous terms: Eg.-WCh. $*\sqrt{\text{ḳm}}$ ‘gum’ + $*\sqrt{\text{ḳr}} > \text{WCh.}$: Hausa *ḳááróó* ‘gum’ [ABRAHAM 1962: 491]²⁹.

If this Twareg etymology is true, it would surely discard a direct comparison of Eg. *qmj.t* (as a reflex of a hypothetical AA $*\sqrt{\text{ḳmr}}$) with the peculiar isogloss of Twareg: Ayr *a-ḳərma*, pl. *i-ḳərm-an* ‘gomme arabe (résine d’épineux qcq. sauf *adāras*, blanche ou rougeâtre, visqueuse, comestible à l’état sec)’ [PAM 2003: 404] ||| CCh.: *Lame kómro* ‘(arbre) *Commiphora africana* Engl. (Burséracées) (l’écorce, qu’on fait macérer pendant une nuit, est utilisée pour teindre en rouge les marmites et les jarres à eau)’ [SACHNINE 1982: 480], which – if indeed cognate – could only reflect a root variety with plain $*k$ -, a further nice indication of *commiphora* having been popular among the Saharan savanna dweller Afro-Asiatic ancestors.

7. THE EVIDENCE OF COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY

Hitherto, a comprehensive and detailed Afro-Asiatic comparative-historical phonology has not been composed in the Neo-Grammarian manner³⁰. Working with isolated examples bears thus considerable risks, especially in the Southern Afro-Asiatic branches (Cushito-Omoti, Chadic), since there, just certain minor segments have been elaborated. By mapping certain phonological rules ourselves, however, the risks can be reduced. Below, I shall examine therefore the diverse phonological aspects of the Egypto-West Chadic etymology above. Luckily, in addition, we have O.V. STOLBOVA’s (1987) pioneering study on the West Chadic comparative phonology, which is useful with some care. Having

²⁹ M. KOSSMANN (p.c., 11 Feb. 2021): “I agree [...] that taghenghert [...] has nothing to do with *akerma*. I have no definitive opinion about the compound option – could be, but this kind of compounding is rare (normally Berber doesn’t do compounds, but there are exceptions). I think Cn.CC is not uncommon as a reduplication strategy in verbs, but I am not sure about nouns (I suspect nobody is). But my first idea would be a reduplication rather than a compound”.

³⁰ Cf. TAKÁCS (2011) for the comparative analyses of the AA lexical materials with certain key phonemes.

carefully studied the relevant points in an Afro-Asiatic perspective, I think it can be safely claimed that:

7.1. The match of Angas-Sura *g- vs. Sem. *k- = Eg. q- < AA *k- indeed sporadically occurs in my results³¹, although the latter may have regularly yielded AS *k- and *ḳ- (the only match of WCh. *ḳ- allotted as regular in STOLBOVA 1987: 54, table 1.5)³², sometimes even AS *g̃³³.

7.2. O.V. STOLBOVA (1987: 54, table 1.5) has rightly admitted Ron *k- < WCh. *ḳ-, which is reaffirmed by my research also: initial Ron/Bokkos k- could reflect Eg. q- = Sem. *ḳ- < AA *ḳ-³⁴.

³¹ At least in 3 instances, cf. ● (1) PAngas *g̃əm-dək ‘dark (?)’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 126]: Angas g̃üm-dük ‘dark, dusky (as of a dense thicket, but not absolutely pitch dark)’ [FOULKES 1915: 190] = g̃òm-dòk (Kabwir dialect) ‘dark (in dense forest)’ [JNG. 1962 MS] vs. PGoemay *goŋ ‘night’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 129] < AA *√km ‘dark’ [GT] (details below); ● (2) AS *g̃wim (?) ~ *g̃wom ‘elder, chief’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 139]: Angas gwöm ‘name for ‘king’ (in Bukuru and Hill Jarawa?)’ [FOULKES 1915: 195], Montol gwin-ga-pak (so, gwin-) ‘chief (subst.)’ (-pak ‘?’) [FITZPATRICK 1911: 215, 219] ||| Sem.: Ar. qamqām- ‘5. seigneur, chef’, qumāqim- ‘éminent et généreux (homme, seigneur)’ [BK II 816]. For further exx. cf. n. 39 below.

³² Cf. TAKÁCS 2005: 51–52, n. 6, items #5–#12 (8 cases of AS *ḳ- < AA *ḳ-). As for AS *k- sine Goemay (the only daughter language where *k- vs. *ḳ- are distinguished), there are further possible cases of AA *ḳ-. Cp., e.g., AS *ḳā₂r ‘(small) monkey (sp./in general)’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 166] ||| Om. *ḳār- ‘monkey’ [GT] etc., for further details cf. below.

³³ For AA reflected by AS *g̃₁- (2 cases) vs. *g̃₂- (2 dubious exx.), cf. TAKÁCS 2003: 114–118; 2011: 166.

³⁴ Attested by these cases:

● (1) Ron *ḳār ‘teilen’ [GT]: Bokkos, Fyer, Daffo-Butura kaar, Sha kār, Kulere kar ‘teilen’ (Ron: JNG. 1970: 393) | Sura káyár [epenthetic -γ-] ‘halb, Hälfte’ [JNG. 1963: 69] ||| Sem. *√kr ‘to tear into pieces’ [GT]: Hbr. √qr ‘zerreißen, abreißen’, qārīm (pl.) ‘Lappen’ [GB] | Ar. qara’a I ‘3. frapper (à la porte), 4. frapper, battre, donner à qqn. des coups avec qqch.’, II ‘1. frapper (p. ex. la tête de qqn. avec un bâton)’ [BK II 716–717] = √qr ‘an etwas stoßen’, Maghrebi ‘zerreißen’ [GB] (Sem.: GB 730). Sura-Sem.: DOLGOPOLSKY 1982: 34, #4. Considering the semantics of German *aus/erbrechen*, cf. also Ar. qara’a I ‘9. inonder de lait qui s’échappe des pis la lait de son petit (se dit d’une chamelle)’, II ‘6. inonder de lait la tête de son petit qui tête (se dit d’une chamelle qui a une grande abondance de lait)’ [BK II 716–717] = taqarra’a ‘rülpsen’ [RÖSSLER] ||| Eg. q3r ‘aus-speien, ausbrechen’ (MK-, *Wb* V 7, 5–16). Eg.-Ar.: RÖSSLER 1964: 213.

● (2) Bokkos kamlon ‘Jagdwurfstock’ [JNG. 1970: 143] ||| SCu.: (?) Qwadza qalim- ‘to throw away’ [EHRET 1980: 368, #7] ||| Eg. qm3 [-3 < *-l ~ *-r] ‘Wurfholz’ (NK rituals, *Wb* V 33, 7) < qm3 ‘werfen’ (OK-, *Wb* V 33). H. HOLMA’S (1919: 46) equation with Ar. qamara I ‘mit einem Würfel spielen’ [HOLMA] = ‘1. jouer à un jeu de hasard avec qqn.’ [BK II 810] was rightly regarded by F. VON CALICE (*GÄSW* 210, #868) as “sehr fraglich, zumal die Bed des äg. Wortes mit ‘werfen’ ungenau wiedergegeben sein dürfte (vgl. KIM ‘bewegen’)”. Not better is W. SCHENKEL’S (1993: 141) Akk.-Eg. comparison, cf. Sem.: Akk. gamlu ‘etwa: Krummholz, Bumerang’ [AHW 279] = ‘Sichel, Krumschwert’ [WUS] = ‘Wurfholz’ [SCHENKEL] ||| Ug. gml ‘sickle’ [GORDON 1955: 251, #415, *pace* GOETZE] = ‘Sichel’ [WUS 66, #661], which clearly derive from a distinct root sense having nothing to do with that of Eg. qm3.

● (3) Bokkos kin ‘tun’ [JNG. 1970: 143] ||| CCh.: Tera dial. kwəna ‘зачинать’ [OS] | Logone yən ‘tun, machen, arbeiten, um sein’ [LUKAS 1936: 95] ||| NOm.: Janjero kōn ‘generare’ [CERULLI 1938: III 82] ||| Eg. qn ‘fertig machen’ (MK, *Wb* V 49) ||| SBrb.: Ayr and West Tawllemet ā-yṇu ‘être commencé, être créé’ [ALOJALY 1980: 69; PAM 2003: 384] ||| Sem. *√kn- ‘создавать, рождать’

7.3. Bole and Tangale $k- < \text{Ch./AA } *k-$ has been abundantly demonstrated by O.V. STOLBOVA most recently in her *Chadic Lexical Database (CLD)*³⁵.

7.4. As for the final $*-ŋ$ of Angas-Sura and Bokkos: it is undoubtedly a secondary innovation (as usually in Chadic). On the one hand, final $-ŋ$ in the Chadic languages could result from a resolution of an earlier consonant cluster of a nasal ($*-n\#$ or $*-m\#$) followed by one of the “laryngeals” ($*-ʔ$, $*-h$, $*-ʕ$, $*-ħ$)³⁶. On the

[IS] = $*\sqrt{kny}$ ‘творить’ [MILITAREV] = ‘1. to create, 2. give birth to’ [GT]. Eg.-Sem.: HOLMA 1919: 46; Sem.-NOM.-SBrb.: IS 1971: 335–336, #211; MILITAREV 1982: 383; 1986: 70; D’JAKONOV *et al.* 1986: 46; BLAŽEK 1994: 429; Tera-Janjero: OS 1990: 16, #15 and 1992: 178.

• (4) Bokkos kôl ‘bringen, aufziehen’, kôl ‘(schwere) Last’ [JNG. 1970: 143], Daffo-Butura kûl ‘bringen’, kwil ‘Last’ [JNG. 1970: 217] ||| (?) Eg. qnj [$< *qly?$] ‘Tragseßel’ (MK, *Wb* V 51, 13) ||| Sem. $*\sqrt{kl}$ ‘to pick up’ [ZABORSKI 1971: #181] = ‘нести, поднимать’ [BELOVA 1993: 43, #218]: *i.a.*, Syr. $\sqrt{ql}$ pael ‘to pick up, carry’ [ZABORSKI] | Ar. qalla IV ‘8. porter qqch. sur ses épaules’, X ‘4. laisser sur ses épaules ou sur sa tête et porter (p. ex. une cruche)’ [BK II 794] = ‘to pick up, carry’ [ZABORSKI].

• (5) Bokkos kyâs, Daffo-Butura kyâs, Sha gîš, Kulere gyîš-aw ‘bone’ (Ron: JNG. 1970: 387) $< \text{PCh. } *kas-$ ‘bone’ [GT] (Ch.: SKINNER 1977: 13; STOLBOVA 1987: 211; JNG. 1970: 419; TOURNEUX 1990: 252; JI 1994: II 36–37) ||| NOM.: Dizoid $*kus$ ‘bone’ [BENDER 2003: 206, #16] = $*\tilde{u}s < *kus$ [GT]: esp. Nayi lx recorded as kus, elsewhere Ø/?- ||| Aroid $*ko/us$ ‘bone’ [BENDER 2003: 206, #16]: solely in Dime ku/us [FLEMING] = $k\tilde{o}ss$ [BENDER 2003] = $k\tilde{o}s$ [BENDER 1994] = $k-oss$ [SIEBERT] (SOM.: BENDER 1994: 146) ||| LECu.: Geleba (Dasenech) kas ‘Bein’ [HABERLAND] | Southern Somali $*kâs-$ ‘bone’ [GT]: attested by dialects Kilii kâsə, Baddey gâsə, Bireeri, Jara âsə (Somali: Tosco 1996: 12) ||| Brb. $*i-γas$, hence $*i-γs$ ‘bone’ [GT] ||| Eg. qs ‘Knochen’ (PT, *Wb* V 68–69) ||| Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{qss}$ I ‘3. ronger les os, enlever les chairs qui sont sur les os et la moelle qui est dedans’, qass- ‘3. os du sternum’ [BK II 735] = ‘to suck the marrow from the bone’ [EMBER] = ‘separate meat from bone’ [MILITAREV] $< \text{AA } *k\tilde{s}$ ‘bone’ [GT]. Cf. MÖLLER 1924: 42; VYCIHL 1933: 174; 1934: 74; 1990: 20, 88; COHEN 1947: #225; GREENBERG 1955: 56; 1963: 53; DOLGOPOL’SKIJ 1973: 266, 289; FLEMING 1974: 87; 1976: 317; RÖSSLER 1979: 23; SASSE 1981: 145; PETRÁČEK 1982: 61–62; MUKAROVSKY 1987: 105; OS 1988: 67, #2; MILITAREV, STOLBOVA 1990: 67; MILITAREV 1991: 253, #10.1; SKINNER 1992: 347; JNG. 1994: 230; HSED #1557; EHRET 1995: 240, #428.

• (6) Bokkos kyerāŋ ~ kyerāŋ ‘großer roter Affe’ [JNG. 1970: 143], Fyer kiir ‘roter Affe’ [JNG. 1970: 87] | AS $*kār$ ‘(small) monkey (sp./in general)’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 166] | Geruma gyārā ‘monkey’ [KRAFT] | Polchi gari ‘monkey’ [KRAFT] (WCh.: MUKAROVSKY 1987: 258) ||| ECu.: Yaaku kōrōi ‘monkey (clobus)’ [HEINE 1975: 130] ||| Om. $*kār-$ ‘monkey’ [GT]: NOM.: NWometo $*kār-$ ‘monkey’ [BENDER 2003: 59 and 213, #88] $>$ extended Wolaytta cluster $*kār-e$ ‘monkey’ [BENDER 2003: 20, #88] | Zayse kārē ‘monkey, baboon’ [HAYWARD in BENDER 2003: 90, #88] | Chara: Gureza (?) gor’a ‘monkey, baboon’ [FLEMING *apud* BENDER 2003: 90, #88] | Manjo (argot of Kafa) keriyo ‘monkey (cercopithecus)’ [FLEMING] ||| SOM./Aroid $*kār-a$ ‘a monkey variety’ [BENDER 2003: 213, #88] (Om.: CERULLI 1951: IV 17; FLEMING 1976: 320; BENDER 2003: 241, #88). See also BLAŽEK 1985 MS: 3, #5.

³⁵ Cf., e.g., cases for Bole and Tangale in CLD IV 100, #298; 101, #302b; 101, #307; 103, #313; 103, #315; 104, #317; 105, #324; 105–106, #327; 109, #342; 110, #345, #347, #348; 112, #353; 113, #358, #359; 114, #360, #361, #362; 115, #365a; 116, #367, #368, #369c; 117, #371, #373; 118, #379; 120, #386; 120–121, #387, #390a; 122, #391, #392, #393; 123, #395, #398; 125, #404; 126, #409; cf. also elsewhere in Bole-Tangale: CLD IV 100, #301a; 101, #302a; 102, #307a; 104, #319; 109, #345; 111, #349a; 112, #356; 114, #361; 120, #386b; 121, #389, #390; 123, #396; 124, #400; 125, #403a.

³⁶ This law was recognised by V.M. ILLIČ-SVITYČ (1966: 33, n. 11) and has been reaffirmed both by O.V. STOLBOVA (in HSED etc.) and my research.

other hand, however, there are numerous instances of both Angas-Sura³⁷ and Ron³⁸ where -ŋ reflects a PAA final bilabial nasal simply without any cluster.

7.5. In addition, there are at least three cases from Angas-Sura where both initial *g- vs. final *-ŋ are present at a time reflecting AA *k- vs. *-m#, respectively³⁹. Moreover, I managed to locate one instance where the Chadic root is

³⁷ Cf. Angas-Sura *tũŋ/*tũŋ (?) ‘to touch’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 386]: Angas a-tung ‘to touch’ [ORMSBY 1914: 315] = tung ‘to touch’ [FOULKES 1915: 297] = tũŋ ‘to touch’ [JNG. 1962 MS: 41] = [t^hũŋ] ‘to touch’ [BURQUEST 1971: 34] = tũŋ ‘to touch’ [ALC 1978: 65] = túng ‘to touch’ [GOCHAL 1994: 71], Mupun tũŋ ‘to touch’ [FRAJZYNGIER 1991: 62], Mushere tung ~ tuwung ‘to touch’ [DIYAKAL 1997 MS: 227] < WCh. *√tm ‘to touch’ [GT]: cf. Hausa-Sokoto dáámà ‘to attach (to another)’ [ABRAHAM 1962: 179] | Bole dāndoʔi [KRAFT], Ngamo dām̐it [KRAFT], Dera timne [KRAFT], Gera tĩŋkilimi [KRAFT] | Burma tine [KRAFT], Seya tun [KRAFT] || CCh.: Gisiga tótémá, Hurzo tātám̐diyá ‘to touch’ (Matakam group: ROSSING 1978: 349, #754) | Masa-Bongor tām-nā ‘toucher’ [JNG. 1971/1972 MS: 58–59, 129] (Ch.: KRAFT 1981: #351) || Eg. dmj [regular < *√tmr/y] ‘berühren, sich anfügen an etwas’ (PT, *Wb* V 453–455) = dmj (dmr) ‘to cleave to (m/r)’ (*AEPT* 330) = ‘1. (PT 844) (vom Kleid gebraucht, das) sich (an den Körper) anschmiegt, 2. (dramatic pap. Ramesseum 93, 110) sich anpassen an (r)’ (SETHE 1928: 205, 219) = ‘to join, touch, attach, cleave fast to, apportion to, befall, overtake, befit, mix, stick’ (NE, *DLE* IV 132) || Ethio-Sem. *√tmr [DRS]: Tigrinya tāmārā ‘(re)lier’, Tigre čamra, Amharic čämmārā ‘ajouter, augmenter, continuer, complément, mener à fin’ (ES: *DRS* 1088). The triconsonantal Eg.-ES parallel seems to represent a firm isogloss evolved from the simplex *√tm by adding *-r.

³⁸ Cf., e.g., ● Ron: Daffo-Butura řičŋ [< *rikiŋ] ‘Schild’ [JNG. 1970: 220] || Eg. jkm [< *√rk̥m] ‘Schild’ (MK, *Wb* I 139, 13–15). Eventually related to NBrb.: Qabyle *√rk̥m: rruk̥kem ‘i.a. être encombré’ [DALLEY 1982: 722]. ● Ron *žʷaŋ [< *žʷam] ‘Faulpelz’ [GT]: Bokkos žwaŋ, Daffo-Butura ʷžwaŋ (Ron: JNG. 1970: 143, 216) | Angas-Sura *zum ~ *zuŋ ‘lazy’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 427]: Angas go-zum ‘idle’ (go ‘person’) [ORMSBY 1914: 209] = zum ‘laziness, lazy’ [FOULKES 1915: 312] = zùm ‘Faulheit, faul’ vs. (Kabwir dialect) zəŋ ‘idle’ (≈ Hausa zama baa aiki) [JNG. 1962 MS: 45] = ngo zùm ‘lazy person’ [ALC 1978: 46], Montol ge-zum ‘patience’ (ge- not clear) [FITZPATRICK 1911: 219]. Cf. WCh.: Hausa žimà ‘to spend quite a time at/on’ [ABRAHAM 1962: 428], Gwandara žižima ‘to sit (down), live, remain, stay’ [MATSUSHITA 1972: 55] || Ech.: Jegu žammi [< *zam] ‘sich ausruhen’ [JNG. 1961: 113]. The triconsonantal Eg.-Sem. isogloss of Sem.: modern lit. Ar. √zmn IV ‘1. долго оставаться, пребывать (где-то), 2. долго длиться, быть хроническим’ [BARANOV 1976: 334] || Eg. zmn ‘1. weilen lassen, 2. refl.: sich verweilen, sich aufhalten’ (PT, *Wb* III 453, 2–3; *GHWb* 706) may also be related. Eg.-Ch.: *CLD* III 131–132, #482.

³⁹ Cf. ● (1) PGoemay *goŋ ‘night’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 129]: Goemay gung (so, -u-) ‘night’ [FITZPATRICK 1911: 219] = gong’ [gón] ‘night’ [SIRLINGER 1937: 67] = ŋgəŋ ‘Nacht’ [JNG. 1962 MS: 4] = gōŋ ‘night’ [KRAFT] = ngoŋ ‘night’ [HELLWIG 2000 MS: 25] || NOm.: Marco-Ometo *kamm-a ‘night’ [BENDER 2003: 119 and 170, #95] > NWOmeto *kamm- ‘night, evening’ [BENDER 2003: 60, #95] > extended Wolayta cluster *kamm-a ‘night, evening’ [BENDER 2003: 21, #95] | SEOmeto *kamm-a ‘night, evening’ [BENDER 2003: 91, #95] || Sem.: Ar. qumʔ-at-, ma-qma/ũʔ-at- ‘3. endroit toujours à l’ombre, où le soleil ne pénètre pas’ [BK II 809]. ● (2) AS *guŋ ‘2. date palm’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 133]: Gerka gung (so, -u-) ‘date (fruit)’ [FITZPATRICK 1911: 215], Montol gung ‘date (fruit)’ [FITZPATRICK 1911: 215], Goemay gung (so, -u-) ‘palm tree’ [FITZPATRICK 1911: 219] = gung ‘a species of tree (growing mostly in front of the houses)’, gung ‘a group of trees growing around a water’ [SIRLINGER 1937: 69] | Hausa kùŋkùmaa [GT: < *kum̐um-] ‘3. date-palm with skimpy clusters of fruit’ [ABRAHAM 1962: 555] || Sem.: (?) Ar. qimqim- ‘datte non mûre desséchée’ [BK II 816]. Its homophony with AS *guŋ ‘1. rubber tree’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 133] may well be due to pure chance. Two distinct roots? ● (3) AS *gʷaŋ ~ *kʷaŋ (?) ‘big’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 138]: Angas kùŋ ‘an abusing term for bigness’ [JNG. 1962 MS: 20], Goemay gong-rong ‘large sized’ [SIRLINGER 1937: 68] || Sem.: Ar. qamaʔa I ‘1. être gras etc.’ > qumʔ-at- ‘1. abondance de fourrage, de pâturages, 2. état

attested both in Angas-Sura and Ron displaying perfectly the same consonantal correspondences as in the ‘gum’ word:

WCh.: AS *gəŋ < *gəŋ ‘drum’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 126]: Sura gəŋ ‘Trommel, Trommelspiel’ [JNG. 1963: 66], Mupun ngəŋ (so, long -əə-) ‘drum’, táa ngəŋ ‘to beat a drum’ [FRJ. 1991: 43, 59], Goemay goeng [gəŋ] ‘a sung’ [*sic*], gurum goe-goeng ‘a singer (male)’ (act. ‘man of drum’) [SIRLINGER 1937: 65] | Ron *kiŋkaŋ > assimil. *kaŋkaŋ ‘drum’ [GT: < *kiŋkaŋ < *kimkām]: Bokkos kiŋaŋ ‘Sanduhrtrommel (unter dem Arm)’ [JNG. 1970: 143], Daffo kiŋgəŋ ‘Trommel’ [JNG. 1970: 216], Sha kəŋəŋ ‘doppelseitig bespannte Trommel’ [JNG. 1970: 286] ||| Eg. qmqm ‘Art Pauke’ (GR, *Wb* V 40, 5) = ‘die große Fußtrommel, zuweilen auch die Gefäßtrommel’ (E. HICKMANN in *LÄ* VI 768–769, cf. VII 495) > (S) ΚΟΥΚΜ̄, (B) ΚΕΜΚΕΜ ‘1. Pauke, 2. Pauken’ reflecting *qémq̄m > *qéwq̄m > *qq̄m (NBĀ 379, n. 55 and 386, n. 73) = *qímqim ‘1. drum, 2. strike an instrument’ (VERGOTE 1973: Ib, 148, §85) = *qímqām (GT). An exclusive Ron-Eg. isogloss *kimkām with a perfect match even in its vocalism, i.e., a very rare degree of relationship. The simplex of this reduplication is attested by AS.

7.6. The segmentation of the final -am in our Tangale *comparandum* (kan-am) for ‘gum’ above as an occasional suffix seems to represent an existing phenomenon, which is paralleled by but a limited number of cases, where the final Tangale -m was certainly additional and not part of the root⁴⁰.

d’un animal ou d’un homme gras et court’, qamqām- ‘3. grande nombre, multitude’ [BK II 809, 816]. Cf. also Goemay *kʷa₃ŋ ~ *kʷa₃ŋ ‘very (lit. greatly?)’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 189]: Goemay kwāŋ ~ goe-kwāŋ ~ goe-kwāŋ [kʷwəŋ] ~ goe-giang ‘very (adv.)’ [SIRLINGER 1937: 114, 63–64] vs. AS *kʷaŋ ~ *gʷaŋ ‘very much’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 135]: Angas net kyaŋ-kyan ‘really red’ (net ‘red’) [ALC 1978: 43], Goemay goe-giang ‘very much’ [SIRLINGER 1937: 63] ||| NOm.: Gimirra *√k/kmm ‘many’ [GT]: Gimirra-Benesho kemam [MONTANDON], She kemam [CR] = ʔkemən- [MULDROW] ‘many’ (BENDER 2003: 169, #86) | Yemsa aḱkama ‘1. many, 2. Big’ [BENDER] = akamá ‘many’ [LAMBERTI] (NOM.: BENDER 2003: 169, #86) ||| Sem.: Ar. qimm- ‘foule, multitude’ [BK II 808].

⁴⁰ Cf. ● Tangale dōdōm ~ dōdōl ‘kidneys’ [JNG. 1991: 81]. ● Tangale hadam ‘hide, leather’ vs. kada ‘skin, hide’ [JNG. 1991: 88 and 94, resp.]. ● Tangale hadam ‘cloud’ vs. kada ‘cloud’ [JNG. 1991: 88 and 94, resp.]. ● Tangale kōšōm ‘traditional instrument for making fire’ ~ kōzē ‘to light a fire, strike a light’ [JNG. 1991: 102]. ● Tangale kūdum ‘rainy season’ ~ kudo ‘harmattan’ [JNG. 1991: 103]. ● Tng. padam ‘sheath’ [JNG. 1991: 128] | Angas pat (hill) ‘sheath of a knife’ [FOULKES 1915, 261], Kofyar fet ‘penis sheath’ [NETTING 1967: 12] < WCh. *PaT- ‘sheath’ [GT] ||| (?) Eg. mtf.t ‘Art Dolch’ (MK, *Wb* II 170, 7) = ‘1. le fourreau de poignard, étui pour le poignard, 2. poignard’ (JÉQUIER 1921: 200, 350 index) = *Scheide (von Dolch, von *Säge) (GHWb 374; ÄWb II 1157). Metathesis in Eg. *m-ft.t < nomen instrumenti of *√ft, cf. Pero pättō ‘to put in’ [FRJ. 1985: 45]? The correspondence of Angas p- vs. Kofyar f- is irregular. Since Tangale f- < both WCh. *p- and *f-, this matter can only be decided by the Eg. -f-, which is distinguished from -p-. ● Tangale felēm ‘Lüge’ [KRAFT] = peḷēm ‘lie, falsehood’ [JNG. 1991: 130] = pelem [JNG. 1995: 218], Gera bilā ‘Lüge’ [KRAFT] || CCh.: Nzangi puli [KRAFT] | Gava filā [KRAFT] (Ch.: KRAFT 1981: #263; MUKAROVSKY 1987: 238) < Ch. *√Pl ‘Lüge’ [GT] ||| ECu. *fal- ‘to curse’ [SASSE] = ‘to deceive’ [GT]: HECu.: Hadiya far- ‘to bewitch, deceive’ [SASSE] | LECu.: Oromo fal-fal-a ‘cattivo soggetto’ [DA THIENE] vs. fal-m- ‘to argue, quarrel, criticize’ [SASSE], Somali fal- ‘to bewitch’ [SASSE], Rendille fal- ‘to curse’ [SASSE] = fala ‘to curse (a person or thing)’, falō ‘curse (upon a person or thing)’

All in all, we have demonstrated above the regular nature of the consonantal correspondences in our West Chadic etymology for Eg. qmj.t, which henceforth is secure also on phonological grounds.

8. THE ULTIMATE AFRO-ASIATIC ORIGIN OF EGYPTO-CHADIC * $\sqrt{\text{km}}$ - ‘GUM’

The question (as usually in our domain) is how a nominal stem, like our exclusive Egypto-Chadic isogloss, could have been embedded in the inventory of verbal roots or whether it was a primary noun. Surveying the immense root inventory of our macrofamily, I assume the ultimate cognacy of the following groups of homophonous verbal roots, attested also outside Egyptian and Chadic, suggesting a chain of semantical shifts in the underlying parental root itself, namely PAA * $\sqrt{\text{km}}$ ‘1. to stick (to), 2. be fixed (to), solid, 3. stay (firmly, in one place)’ [GT], cf.:

8.1. PAA * $\sqrt{\text{km}}$ ‘1. to stick (to)’ [GT], cf. Eg. qmj ‘kleben’ (XII.: pap. Kahun, *ÄWb* II 2521) = qmj3 [*sic*] ‘kleben (an der Hand, bis man gebackenes Blut oder Schleim herausholt, von einem Nest eines Gerinnsels)’ (*HAM* 452, 847) ||| WCh.: Hausa (partial) redupl. in $\text{ḳ}āṅḳā$ [< * $\text{ḳ}āmḳa$] ‘1. (pers.) sticking to one ‘like leech’, $\text{ḳ}āṅḳāmée$ [< * $\text{ḳ}āmḳam$ -] ‘1. yáá ~ mínì: he stuck to me ‘like a leech’, yáá zámè mínì $\text{ḳ}āṅḳāmóó$: he stuck to me ‘like a leech’ [ABRAHAM 1962: 473].

8.2. PAA * $\sqrt{\text{km}}$ ‘2. to be fixed (to), solid’ [GT], cf. Sem.: Ar. $\sqrt{\text{qm}}$?: qama’a I ‘3. se fixer dans un lieu, où l’on se plaît’ [BK II 809]⁴¹ ||| Eg. *qmj ‘gummed (?)’, occurring in: qmj-sp.tj ‘gummed (?) of lip’, i.e., ‘reticent’ (*Urk.* IV 63:14, FD 279)⁴² ||| SBrb./Twareg: EWlmd.-Ayr a-ḡəm ‘1. être enrhumé longtemps en vase clos (mélange liquide), 2. être constipé (pers.), 3. être stagnant (mare), 4. s’arrêter (saignement), se fermer plaie’ [PAM 2003: 287] ||| WCh.: Hausa $\text{ḳ}ámè$ ‘1. yáá ~: (a) it (fruit, leather) dried and became stiff’⁴³, 2. yáátsátá táá ~: my finger be-

[PG 1999: 113], Dasenech fal- (p. 38) vs. fal-m- (p. 18) ‘to lie’ [SASSE] = fál-m-u ‘to deny’ [TOSCO 2001: 497], equated by H.-J. SASSE (1979: 18, 37–38) with a number of semantically dubious LECu. cognates also like Saho (prefixal verb) -f’íl- ‘to meditate, think up, hatch’ (ECu.: SASSE 1979: 18, 37–38) ||| Eg. p3.w ‘etwas das sich nicht zu sagen ziemt’ (MK, *Wb* I 498, 3) = ‘falsehood (?)’, gossip (?)’ (FD 87: stela of Usermontu under Sesostri I; SETHE 1959: 79, l. 18).

⁴¹ But how this use relates to that of stem IV ‘4. plaire à qqn. (se dit d’une chose)’, V ‘3. convenir à qqn. (se dit d’un lieu, d’un séjour)’ [BK II 809] is not clear.

⁴² Glossed in the *Wb* V 37, 9 sub qm3 ‘eine gute Eigenschaft: vollkommen an [...], in Verbindungen wie’ qm3-rh and qmj-sp.tj (from the NK). But whereas the suggested meaning may do for the first compound, it can hardly work for the second one.

⁴³ Paradoxically, this Hausa gloss suggests an eventual kinship with Sem.: Ar. qamma I ‘3. (des)sécher, rendre aride, 5. être sec, se dessécher’, II ‘rendre sec, dessécher’, hence: qamīm- ‘légume qui commence à sécher’ [BK II 809], cf. also perhaps Ar. qimqim- ‘datte non mûre desséchée’ [BK II 816] ||| Ch. * $\sqrt{\text{Vm}}$ - ‘to dry, fade’ [STOLBOVA] > WCh.: Hausa $\text{ḳ}ām$ x yáá $\text{ḳ}ámè$ ‘it (leather) dried rigidly’ [ABRAHAM 1962: 462] = $\text{ḳ}ámè$ ‘to dry and shrivel (fruit, leather)’ [CLD], cf.

came stiff from cold, 3. (a) yáá ~: he (soldier etc.) stood ‘rigidly’ (at attention), (b) tsòòróó yáá káámà ší hár yá ~: he was petrified with fear’ [ABRAHAM 1962: 467].

8.3. NAA *√km ‘3. to stay (firmly, in one place)’ [GT], cf. Sem.: Ar. √qwm I: qāma ‘i.a.: 3. s’arrêter, rester immobile, 6. occuper une place, s’y mettre’, II ‘1. dresser, placer, mettre debout, 2. raffermir, établir solidement, 7. établir, fixer la position d’un lieu, déterminer le temps, l’époque de...’, IV ‘i.a. 3. dresser, inaugurer, installer, 6. établir (sa famille, les siens, en leur donnant de quoi vivre), 11. mettre le siège devant une place, 14. rester, séjourner dans un lieu’ [BK II 838–839] || NBrb.: Mzg. √ym: qqim < *γγim ‘1. s’asseoir, être assis, 2. rester, demeurer, séjourner, être en compagnie de..., 3. se mettre à’ [TAÏFI 1991: 189] | Qabyle √ym: qqim ‘1. rester, 2. se mettre à, 3. se trouver, 4. attendre, ne rien faire’, caus. s-γim ‘1. faire asseoir, guetter, attendre, 2. poster un assassin, trahir’ [DALLET 1982: 614–615] || SBrb./Twareg: Ahaggar γaym (FOUCAULD: řaim) ‘1. rester, 2. (se dit de p. ou d’an. en station ou en marche, debout, couchée, assis, dans une position quelconque, qui restent dans un lieu, auprès d’une p. etc., dans un état, dans l’accomplissement d’un travail ou d’un acte, etc., se dit de ch. qui restent dans un lieu, une situation un état, etc.), 3. p.ext.: être assis, s’asseoir, 4. p. ext.: rester dans le même état (rester dans l’état où on est)’ [FOUCAULD 1951–1952: 1711], EWlmd. γam (incorrectement aussi qam) ≈ Ayr gāwār ‘1. s’asseoir, 2. rester, 3. assister à, 4. continuer’ [PAM 2003: 287] || WCh.: (???) AS *g^waŋ > *goŋ ‘to hinder’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 137] = ‘to halt, make stop (?)’ [GT]⁴⁴.

From all the etymological evidence presented above, purely linguistically, we may conclude that:

(8.3.1) the apparent basic sense of the PAA verbal root, i.e., ‘to stick’, has only been retained by Egyptian and West Chadic, i.e., precisely those two branches where the term for ‘gum’ has also evolved;

(8.3.2) the metaphoric second PAA sense ‘2. to be fixed (to), solid’, i.e., *‘to be gummed’ (as once attested during the Eg. Dyn. XVIII in *Urk.* IV 63:14, FD

Hausa káŋkámóó ~ k-/k- ‘desiccated fruit on tamarind, date-tree, dum-palm or kanya’ [ABRAHAM 1962: 473] || CCh.: Munjuk-Pouss kwiymi (kwiyma) ‘1. se faner, 2. être triste’ [TOURNEUX 1991: 100]. For the Arabo-Chadic isogloss see *CLD* IV 117, #354. Remote root variety with *h- attested by Sem.: Akk. √hmr ‘austrocknen’ [AHW 315] || Eg. ḥm ‘zu trocken werden (von einer Einreibung)’ (Med., *Wb* III 277, 12) = ‘staubtrocken sein: 1. von einer Kopfkrankheit als Besserungszustand nach Puderbehandlung (pap. Ebers 448), 2. vom Magen als kranker Zustand (pap. Ebers 198a)’ (*WMT* 656) = ‘to be dry’ (already Lit. MK: Sinuhe B22 beside pap. Ebers 39:14, 65:5; FD 190) = ‘(staub)trocken sein’ (*ÄWb* II 1883c: Sinuhe BL22, RL47). For extra-AA parallels to Eg. ḥm see BENDER 1975: 160.

⁴⁴ Attested by Angas gwāŋg ‘to prevent, forbid (of law), ward off, hinder’ [FOULKES 1915: 193] = gwāŋ ‘hindern, versperren’ [JNG. 1962 MS] = gwaŋ ‘to hinder’ [ALC 1978: 21], Mushere goong an (so, long -oo-, error) ‘to intercept, fend off, ward off, stop’ [DIYAKAL 1997 MS: 85], Goemay gong ‘to cover, protect’ [SIRLINGER 1937: 67] = goŋ ‘to block from view, close a door, cover oneself’ [HELLWIG 2000 MS: 12].

279), is common Afro-Asiatic, i.e., it is attested both in the northern and the southern blocks of our macrofamily⁴⁵;

(8.3.3) the third and most abstract sense is only restricted to the northern branches (sine Eg.), i.e., where the idea of sticking of glue in the direct sense was no longer attached to this root;

(8.3.4) the use of ‘resin, gum, glue’, gained from some *commiphora*, was apparently only associated with this root by Egyptian and Chadic, whereas curiously no other term for this notion, shared by at least two distinct AA branches, has been located so far, which can only mean, for the time being, that we are dealing with the oldest term for ‘gum’ in PAA known so far, dating back prior to the 6th mill. BC, the only plausible date *ante quem* of a secondary *Sprachbund* of pre-Egyptians and proto-Chadic speakers (ca. 8th and 7th mill. BC);

(8.3.5) the name of the rubber tree derived from our PAA root $\sqrt{\text{km}}$ only occurs in the examined three West Chadic groups, whereas the name of any kind of *commiphora* derived from this root is unattested in the whole AA phylum as well as Egyptian, where it signified merely the resinous product of various species, which makes us suppose, for the time being, the use of gum obtained from resinous trees to have been absent from the common PAA parental language community (8th mill. BC the latest or before) and first to have become practiced during the areal Egypto-Chadic cohabitation a few millennia later.

9. THE COMMON AFRO-ASIATIC WORD FOR ACACIA

In the Near East, “das verbreiteteste Produkt der Akazie ist das arabische Gummi [...] das arabische Gummi kommt meist von *Acacia Senegal* Willd. (= *A. arabica* Guillemont et Perotet) und *A. arabica* Willd. (Hager). Nach Hager wird das Gummi anderer Arten mitgesammelt, in Ostafrika speziell *A. Abyssinica* Hochstetter, *A. glaucophylla* Stend., *A. stenocarpa* Hochstetter, *A. fistula* Schweinf., *A. nilotica* Del., *A. Ehrenbergiana* Hayne” (Löw 1967: II 388). Among the *commiphorous* species, not surprisingly, we may only safely reconstruct just the acacia for Common Afro-Asiatic, i.e., as the oldest possible resinous thorny tree name so far known in historical linguistics:

CAA $\sqrt{\text{Sng}} > \sqrt{\text{Sng}}(\text{C}_4 = \text{sonants } \text{r}/*\text{n}/*\text{l})$ ⁴⁶, vocalised $\sqrt{\text{Sa(n)g}}(\text{VC}_4)$ - ‘acacia’ [GT] > Sem.: no evident cognates⁴⁷ ||| Eg. šnd [reg. < $\sqrt{\text{Sng}}$] ‘Akazie’

⁴⁵ For this dichotomy of these two blocks based on the fundamental isomorphs, cf. TAKÁCS 2015.

⁴⁶ Curiously, if the relationship of the Twareg cognate with Ar. šaġar- ‘tree’ (below) is valid, both supposed NAA reflexes display a C_4 ext. r , i.e., NAA $\sqrt{\text{Sngr}}$, whereas both Cushitic forms have a C_4 sonant as n , i.e., pre-Cu. $\sqrt{\text{Sngn}}$. Both extended quadriliteral AA etyma tended to a loss of the C_2 n . Alone Eg. šnd.t reflects the original triradical simplex.

⁴⁷ One is tempted to compare Ar. šannaḥa II ‘1. tailler les épines du palmier’, mušannaḥ- ‘émondé d’épines (palmier)’ [BK I 1275] in spite of its -ḥ (var. to -g ?) and the association to

(OK–, *Wb* IV 520, 9–13), šnd.t ‘Dornakazie’ (MK–, *Wb* IV 521) = ‘Nile acacia, ar. sunt [sic: š-]’ (FD 270) = ‘*acazia* [sic: -c-, -z-] *nilotica*, mit Dornen versehener Baum der Mimosengewächsen (auch aus Nubien importiert, sein Harz wie seine Blätter medizinell verwendet)’ (HELCK, *LÄ* I 114a) > Dem. šnt.t ‘Dornakazie’, reflected by the Greek fem. PN Τσάντε (*DG* 516) = šntë (MÜLLER) > (S) **ϞΟΝΤΕ**, (S’ALM) **ϞΑΝΤΕ**, (F) **ϞΑΝΤ**, (B) **ϞΟΝΤ** ‘1. (f) Dornakazie (*Acacia nilotica*), Dorn(busch), 2. (m) Akazienhain, Dornendickicht’ (*KHW* 319), borrowed into Semitic⁴⁸ (where,

palms (acacias not being native?). The members of the “old school” of Eg.-Sem. comparison (cf. *EDE* I 2–4), W.F. ALBRIGHT (1918: 250, #106), A. EMBER (1926: 302, n. 10; *ESS* §11.c.7, §24.a.14), F. VON CALICE (*GÄSW* 208, #859), M. COHEN (1947: 138–139, #282), maintained the relationship of Eg. šnd.t with Ar. šaġar-at- ‘1. tige, tronc, 2. plante à tige, 3. arbrisseau, arbuste, 4. Arbre’ [BK I 1193], which in this far-fetched form (as meant, e.g., by EMBER and ALBRIGHT, i.e., as an ex. of Eg. n vs. Sem. *r as in *ESS* §11.c) is clearly out of the question, but in the light of Ar. šaġīr- ‘3. flèche employée dans le jeu de flèches, faite d’un autre bois que les autres, 6. Sabre’ and muštaġar- ‘lieu où l’on échange des coups de lance, où l’on se perce réciproquement de lances’ [BK I 1193–1194] (perhaps indicating an otherwise lost old connotation with thorns?) and Twareg *√zngr (above) with a C₄ sonant as -r-, one might speculate about the loss of the *-n- in the pre-Ar. cognate *šangar- issuing from an extended quadriliteral AA etymon *√šngr projected for Twareg also.

⁴⁸ The Egyptian term is reflected in Semitic by loanwords like Akk. samṭ- ‘Akazie’ [MÜLLER *pace* MEISSNER, *OLZ* VI 1903, pp. 266–267: “meluchchanisches Wort”] = šamṭu (samṭu) ‘(a foreign name for the acacia in plant list, probably Eg. word)’ [*CAD* XVII š, 339] = šamṭu (šá/sa-am-ṭu ≈ ašāgu ina Meluḫḫi) ‘2. Bez. einer Dornpflanze’ [*AHW* 1159a: j/spB] || Hbr. šittā ‘der Akazienbaum, ägyptische Schotendorn, Spina Aegyptiaca der Alten (*Mimosa nilotica* Linn.), ein großer, dorniger Baum, der schwärzliche Schoten trägt’ [GB 821a] = ‘*Acacia nilotica*’ [KISLEV 1990: 310 *pace* CELSIUS] | Ar. saṭ- (foreign word, also written šaṭ-) ‘the *mimosa Nilotica*, also called *acacia Nilotica*, a qaraz- (or this is properly the name of its fruit) which grows in the ša‘īd- (or Upper Egypt) or (rather) in Egypt (it grows in Lower, as well as Upper, Egypt) (it is the best kind of firewood of the people of that country, who assert that it has most of fire, and least of ashes, they also tan with its pods)’ [LANE 1865: 1445b] = sanaṭ- ‘acacia’ [BK I 1151] = sunṭ- [EMBER, ALBRIGHT] = sanaṭ- ‘sorte d’acacia’ [COHEN] = saṭ- ~ sumṭ- (in Palästina heute) ‘*Acacia albida* und *A. laeta* R.Br.’ [LÖW 1967: II 377] = sunṭ- ‘1. eine Akazienart, 2. (nur in Ägypten) *Acacia Farnesiana*, ‘ambar’ [LÖW 1967: II 381], cf. GB 821a; ERMAN 1892: 120; MÜLLER 1903: 446–447; ALBRIGHT 1918: 250, #106; SPIEGELBERG 1921: 200; EMBER 1926: 302, n. 10; *ESS* §11.c.7; COHEN 1947: 138–139, #282; LAMBDIN 1953: 154; LÖW 1967: II 377; *KHW* 319. As I. LÖW (*loc. cit.*) argued in a convincing manner, “das Wort ist im Egyptischen alt und gewiß kein Lehnwort aus dem Semitischen. Es bleibt nur übrig anzunehmen, dass es im Hebräischen und Arabischen ägyptisches Lehnwort ist. Ist das der Fall, so ist die Entlehnung eine sehr alte, weil das hebräische und arabische Wort einen verschiedenen, aber nach den semitischen Lautregeln zu erwartenden Zischlaut aufweist”. The Late Eg. (pre-Dem.) stem with the vowel *-ā- is precisely reflected by Akkadian and Arabic, cf. *šondēt (ERMAN, anachronism of OK -d- vs. LP *-o- and *-ē-) = *šānd.t (*NBA* 294, 385–386, n. 71) = *šānd/ṭ.ā(t) (GT) > Cpt. (S) **ϞΟΝΤΕ** etc. W.M. MÜLLER (1903: 446–447) traced the Ar. form back to Sem. *šaṭ-at-. F. VON CALICE (*GÄSW* 208, #859) too was right that Arabic “muss sein s- durch analoge Lautveränderung nach dem wsem. š erhalten haben”. W. VON SODEN (*AHW loc. cit.*) erroneously rendered Akk. šamṭu as ‘losgerissen’, a pass. part. of √šmṭ. I. LÖW (*loc. cit.*): „Die assyrische Form schließt sich im Zischlaut und Geschlecht mehr an die arabische Form an”, which E.W. LANE (*loc. cit.*), in turn, conceived as “an arabicized word, from the Indian” ḥbḍ. One can only wonder at this point about the origin of ECu.: Yaaku senétoi, pl. senéto (m) ‘cassia singninea’ [HEINE 1975: 136] in this context.

apparently, this tree was not native)⁴⁹, perhaps along with a peculiar cultical significance common in both branches (associating acacia with some female spirit)⁵⁰ ||| NBrb.: no clear reflexes⁵¹ || SBrb. *√zng̃r [PRASSE]: (?) Ahaggar té-heñger-t, pl. ti-heñger-în (ñg̃ = n^yg^y) ‘fleur de l’arbre appelé en tām. tāmāt (est une boule jaune, un peu plus grosse qu’un pois, d’un parfum pénétrant et très agréable, sa couleur varie de jaune paille ou bouton-d’or, la tāmāt ‘gommier femelle, acacia seyal Del.’ a seul des té-heñger-t, l’absey ‘gommier mâle, acacia tortilis Hayne’, B.T. n’en a pas)’ [FOUCAULD 1951–1952: 618] = te-həngər-t (ġ = g^y) [h reg. < *z] ‘fleur de gommier’ [PRASSE], EWlmd. e-šəngər ‘fleur de gommier’ [BASSET] = e-zəngər [PRASSE], Ayr te-žəngər-t ‘fleur de gommier’ [BASSET] = te-žəngər-t, pl. ti-žəngər-en [ž reg. < *Ŝ] ‘1. fleur de tāmāt (esp. d’acacia), 2. fleur de tasyart’ [PAM 2003: 946] ||| PCu. *[s]a(n)gan-⁵² ‘acacia sp.’ [GT]: Bed.⁵³ sāngane (m) ‘*Acacia spirocarpa* (Schw.)’ [REINISCH 1895: 203] = sagʔāne ~ sangʔāne (m) (sagʔaneb), also fem. of small size) ‘acacia (?) asak, a common thorny bush’, cf.

⁴⁹ Discussing its occurrences at length in the Semitic-speaking areas of the Near East, I. Löw (1967: II 377–387) maintains the tree was only known in Palestina and Syria. As W.F. ALBRIGHT (1918: 250, #106) mentioned, since for the people in the Near East, “the Acacia nilotica was **the** tree of Egypt”, the “Sumerians called it muš-makána ‘the tree of Egypt’...”, whence they allegedly derived Akk. musukkānu [ALBRIGHT, KB, ZIMMERN] = musukkannu ~ mes(uk)kannu ~ maskannu ‘Makan-Baum, Dalbergia Sissoo’ [AHW 678a: sum. Lw.], Hbr. məsukkān ‘name of a type of tree’ [KB 606]. P. HAUPT (OLZ X 1913, p. 489), however, identified Magan with “die arabische (!) Wüste zwischen dem Roten Meere und dem Nil”, whence I. Löw (1967: II 381) concluded that “das maganische Holz, mskn bei Jes. sei das Holz der Nilakazie, Šittīm-Holz der Bibel”.

⁵⁰ I. Löw (1967: II 378) records that “...an den Baum knüpft sich in Afka, dem Sitz des Aschera = Astarte = Venus-Kultes, heute noch der alte Baumkultus, der Stofflappen und Lampen zu Ehren der ‘großen Frau’ an den Baum hängt”, to which he gathered a couple of parallel legends and stories from that region (pp. 378–379). Note that the goddess Sakhmet was “Herrin Zweier Akazien” “im Bestattungsritual [...] ein Akazienhaus, wohl das Heiligtum der Saosis in Heliopolis, mit den tanzenden Akazienmädchen (šnd.tj.t) und den Schlächtern”, “im Titel der Königinnen der 4. Dynastie ‘Leiterin der Schlächter des Akazienhauses’” (HELCK, *LÄ* I col. 114a, for further literature see nn. 14–16). For the epithet of Hathor as the “Lady of (the domain called) Acacia” (ḥ.t-ḥr.w nb.t šnd.t), i.e., of a locality in Upper Egypt, cf. the stela published by H. WILD (1954: 198 with further references) and perhaps also that by G. TAKÁCS (1994: 16, n. 43 in French and 148, n. 43 in Hungarian).

⁵¹ M. COHEN’s (1947: 138–139, #282) Berber *comparanda* (Snus, Iznasen ta-syar-t, via met. a-zqur ‘arbre’, Twareg a-sayir ‘bois’) cannot belong here being nomina instrumenti derived by the s- prefix < *i-yar ‘to be dry’ (as suggested by G. MARCY quoted by COHEN also). Curiously, however, the root underlying NBrb.: Tamazight √zgr: a-zeggʷar [< *a-zewwarʷ?], pl. i-zeggʷar-n ~ i-zur-an ‘jububier (sauvage)’ [TAÏFI 1991: 797], Izdeg a-zeggʷar, pl. i-zuggʷar-r ~ i-zur-an ‘jububier’ [MERCIER 1937: 148] | Rif √zgʷr: ta-zuggʷar-t, pl. ti-zuggʷar-în ‘jububier sauvage’ [BIARNAY 1917: 31] | Qabyle √zgr: ta-zeggʷar-t ‘jububier sauvage, Bot.: zizyphus lotus’ [DALLET 1982, 936] || SBrb.: EWlmd. i-zhggar-ən ‘jububes’ [NICOLAS 1957: 57] may fit the Semitic root.

⁵² Both Beja and Burji seem here to suggest a plain PCu. *s-, although one would expect in both languages an š- reflecting either of the PCu. laterals, *š or *ṣ.

⁵³ M. COHEN’s (1947: 138–139, #282) Beja *comparanda* saga ‘sorte d’arbre’ as well as šedar ‘arbre’ (being an “emprunt à l’arabe, avec emphasisation de la seconde radicale, peut-être à cause de r final emphatique”, as he himself noted) are hardly tenable.

sagʔa (m) ‘thicket of sagʔaneb bushes’ [ROPER 1928: 231] || HECu.: (?) Burji sabán-a [*sic*: -b-!] (f) ‘Acacia sp. (Amh. gərar)’ [SASSE 1982: 162] = ‘a species of acacia’ [MUKAROVSKY] = saban-a ‘acacia tree’ [HUDSON 1989: 18]⁵⁴ || NOM.: no evident cognates⁵⁵ || Ch.: no evident cognates⁵⁶.

Acacia trees are nowadays basically widespread in Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia and Senegal (LÖW 1967: II 378, *pace* AARONSOHN) as they have always been native of the savannah zones⁵⁷. Thence, it poses once more hardly any surprise that a striking remote areal (?) parallel of the SAA etymon $\sqrt{\hat{S}}(n)gn$ reflected in Cushitic was found by H.G. MUKAROVSKY (1987: 79) in Northern Mande: Xassonke seḥene and Bambara ségéné ‘*Balanites aethiopica*’ as well as Julia

⁵⁴ Although H.-J. SASSE (*loc. cit.*) mentioned no etymology whatsoever of the Burji form, H.G. MUKAROVSKY (1987: 79) surmised its connection with the Beja term without specifying the problem of Burji -b- and demonstrating the shift of Burji -b- < some ECU. *-gʷ-, which may have underlain this apparent match. One wonders if the isogloss of LECu.: Oromo agams-a ‘type of thorny tree’ and HECu.: Gedeo agans-a ‘acacia tree’ (Cu.: listed by G. HUDSON 1989: 18) || WCh.: Diri agdanasu (*sic*: -gd-), Warji & Kariya gəns-, Miya agan ‘*Balanites aegyptiaca*’ (Nbauchi: SKINNER 1977: 45), represent a metathesis < *sagaN-.

⁵⁵ Although Hozo šungil ‘tree’ [BENDER 2003: 281, #138] seems to display the same *pars pro toto* generalised semantic shift as Ar. šaḡar-at- does (both < CAA $\sqrt{\hat{S}}ngr$??).

⁵⁶ H. BARTH (1862: II 183, n. 6): “I have never heard a proper Hausa-name for the Acacia Arabica, which in the more fertile districts does not seem to go further South, than about 13° N.L.”

⁵⁷ A.F.C. HOLL (1996: 585): “...all the main walled central settlements are situated in the Sudano-Sahelian savanna with Acacia seyal and Balanites aegyptiaca, and the area with temporary Sudano-Sahelian ponds with Acacia nilotica and Mitragina inermis...”. S. NUSSBAUM, S. KRÖPELIN, F. DARIUS (2007: 40, col. 2–41, col. 1): “For most of its 400 km long course from the Chadian border to the Rahib mountains, Middle Wadi Howar takes the aspect of a chain of vegetated patches. [...] Sahelian species such as Acacia nilotica give way to drought-resistant trees and shrubs which also occur in more arid parts of the Sahara. The open acacia woodland and scrub with Acacia mellifera and A. seyal which line the shallow depressions of the upper reaches of Middle Wadi Howar [...] merge into a semi-desert type vegetation following the flow paths of the shallow groundwater with phreatophytes such as [...] Acacia ehrenbergiana. Remarkably vigorous Acacia groves south of Jebel Rahib form a typical ‘Saharan Acacia-Panicum savanna’. [...] The lower Wadi Howar between Jebel Rahib and the Nile can be considered as a full desert ecosystem except for the incidences of isolated plant growth. Most of the 400 km long and up to 10 km wide dry valley is covered by sterile dune sands [...] Acacia tortilis ssp. Raddiana, Acacia ehrenbergiana [...] are restricted to a few hydrogeologically favoured locations such as sandy tributary wadis or rock fissures”. S. KRÖPELIN (2007: 18) on the Upper Wadi Howar: “The 40 km long and 5 km wide woodland represents a unique ecotape amid a much drier climatic zone [...] The dominant tree Acacia nilotica is adapted to waterlogged conditions. The edge of the forest mainly consists of Cadaba glandulosa, Ziziphus spina-christi and Francoeria undulata”; “The valley of the Middle Wadi Howar traverses the southern fringe of the Sahara over a length of 400 km. [...] The up to 10 m high mounds consist of [...] Acacia ehrenbergiana” (p. 19). HILDEBRAND *et al.* (2018: 218, section “Modern Vegetation of the Sahara and Sahel”): “These semi-desert shrublands have Acacia wooded grassland”. S. KRÖPELIN (2007: 28–29): “The modern Lower Wadi Howar traverses the full desert north of the extreme limit of the dry Sahel. The very sparse accidental vegetation is not much different from the zonal vegetation. Acacia tortilis ssp. raddiana, Acacia ehrenbergiana and Capparis decidua are restricted to a few hydrologically favourable locations with near-surface groundwater layers”.

ségéné ‘desert date’, which may testify to a sometime presence of a deeper layer of the Afro-Asiatic community older than that of the Egypto-Chadic *Sprachbund*.

10. THE COMMON AFRO-ASIATIC WORD FOR (ACACIA?) THORN

Along with the (species of?) acacia, its thorns must also have been remarkable and familiar for the ancient Afro-Asiatic parental language community, which – along with a number of cases where terms for acacia are associated with thorn (scattered throughout our macrofamily)⁵⁸ – is also clear from a whole family of root varieties, so far the oldest one ever reconstructed (mostly for the first time) in the history of this semantic domain at all:

10.1. CAA * $\sqrt{\text{hd}}$ ‘thorn’ [GT] > Sem. *hudd-at- (?) ‘thorn’ [GT]: Akk. ud-dutu ‘(thorn)’ [CAD u 20] || Tigre hudät ‘forêt d’épineux’ [DRS 384: isolated in Sem.] || Eg. hd.t ‘Dorn (?) der Akazie’ (XIX. Med., *Wb* II 505, 15) = ‘Teil der Akazie’ (pap. Berlin 3038, 190, *WMT* 575) = ‘ein Splitter (?) (aus der reinen Dornakazie)’ (*ÜMT* 171, §IV.M) = ‘ein Teil der Akazie: *Dorn, *Splitter, *Keil’ (*GHwB* 499) = ‘Spitze (aus der bekannten heiligen Dornakazie)’ (HAM 393) || (???) HECu. *ut-a [GT: irreg. *-t- < *-d-]⁵⁹ ‘thorn’ [HUDSON] = *Hut- [OS] || Ch. *hadaw- ‘thorn’ [GT] = *hVd- [CLD V 107, #117] > (?) CCh.: Gisiga hadaw ‘Dorn’ [LUKAS 1970: 123] = hádaw ‘thorn’ [ROSSING 1978: 345, #736]⁶⁰, Mofu-Gudur hadaw ‘cf. [sic] *Acacia dudgeonii* Craib ex Holl. (Mimosacees)’ [BARRETEAU 1988: 128] | Musgu ádaú ‘Nagel’ (Rohlf’s) [LUKAS 1941: 42]. See also OS 1992: 168 (HECu.-Eg.); *HSED* #1154 (Eg.-Gisiga); *CLD* V 107, #117 (CCh.-Eg.-Akk.).

10.2. An old **SAA** root variety * $\sqrt{\text{ht}}$ ‘thorn’ [GT] is attested in LECu.: Rendille haḏāḏ, pl. haḏāḏó ‘thorn tree, acacia tree (Acacia Senegal)’ [PG 1999: 305, 402]

⁵⁸ Cf., e.g., ● (1) in Sem.: MHebrew qīḏdā(h) ləbānā(h) ‘a.o.: Dornklee (Calycotome villosa Lmk.)’ [DALMAN 1922: 370] vs. Mehri $\sqrt{\text{kdh}}$: kədhūt, pl. kədhātən ‘tree whose resin is gum Arabic’ [JOHNSTONE 1987: 222]; ● (2) LECu.: Rendille haḏāḏ, pl. haḏāḏó ‘thorn tree, acacia tree (Acacia Senegal)’ [PG 1999: 305, 402] || NOm.: Kafa-Mocha aṭā-to ‘thorn’ [LES LAU 1959: 18]; ● (3) West Chadic: Angas γər (γár?) ‘Dorn’, γər pyé ‘Akazienbuschart, Acacia sieberiana (Hausa fārār káyà)’ (lit. ‘white thorn’, cf. pyé ‘white’) [JNG. 1962 MS] < Angas-Sura *γir (?) → *γər ‘thorn’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 150]; ● (4) CCh.: Mofu-Gudur hadaw ‘Acacia dudgeonii Craib ex Holl. (Mimosacees)’ [BARRETEAU 1988: 128] vs. Gisiga hadaw ‘Dorn’ [LUKAS 1970: 123] = hádaw ‘thorn’ [ROSSING] | Musgu ádaú ‘Nagel’ [ROHLF’S] [LUKAS 1941: 42].

⁵⁹ Attested by Gedeo uččo, ute (also: ‘splinter’, p. 140), Hadiya utta, Kambatta uta/-ičču (sg.), Sidamo uta ~ utá (m), sg. ut-iččo (HECu.: HUDSON 1989: 153). The etymology of the HECu. stem is disputed. W. LES LAU (1959: 18), e.g., combined it with NOm.: Mocha aṭā-to ‘thorn’. But H.-J. SASSE (1979: 49) stood for their ultimate derivation from ECU. *kudh ‘thorn’ (below) assuming a regular zero reflex of ECU. *k- (which is not that evident, just sporadic) and a shift of ECU. *d → HECu. *t by assimilation to h < *h, which later disappeared, i.e. HECu. *ut(t)- < *udh- < *(k)ud-.

⁶⁰ Separated by M.O. ROSSING (1978: 345, #736) within Mafa-Mada from the reflexes of *hadak. O.V. STOLBOVA, in turn, derives it from her Ch. *hVd- ‘thorn’ [CLD V 107, #117] along with the reflexes of Mafa-Mada *hadak.

||| NOm.: Kafa-Mocha aṭā-to ‘thorn’ [LESLAU 1959: 18]⁶¹ ||| WCh.: (?) Dwot ʔiḏi ‘thorn’ [KRAFT 1981: I 223, #138].

10.3. CAA * $\sqrt{\text{h}}\text{dk}$ (presumably ***ḥadak**) ‘thorn’ [GT] > Sem.: OHbr. ḥēdeq ‘eine Art Dornenstrauch’ [GB 215 *pace* Löw] = ‘*Solanum coagulans* Forsk. = *Solanum sanctum* L. = *S. hierochunticum* Dun., Jericho-Nachtschatten, Dornstrauch (Friedmann, Löw), Dornenhecke vs. Stechdorn (Hitzig) (Fonck: als starker, dorniger Strauch zu Hecken in jeder Weise geeignet)’ [Löw 1967: III 376–377] = ‘nightshade, a kind of thorn-bush’ [KLEIN 1987: 208, cf. KB 293] > MHbr. (Midrash, Targum etc.) ḥēdeq, pl. ḥādāqīm and JArām. ḥadqā(?) ‘ein stachelichter Nachtschatten (*Solanum sanctum*)’, JArām. ḥidqāʔā(h) ‘Abkömmling eines Dornkrauts’ [DALMAN 1922: 138] = MHbr. ḥēdeq ‘Dorn(strauch)’, JArām. ḥidqāʔ ‘1. Dorn(strauch), 2. Eindrücke, Vertiefungen’ [LEVY 1924: II 17] | Ar. ḥadaq- (Löw: a Hebrew loan)⁶² ‘*Solanum cordatum* Forsk.’ [LANE 1865: 532 and GB *pace* FORSKÅL] = ‘aubergine’ [BK I 394] = ‘nightshade, *Solanum coagulans* of the Jordan valley’ [GB] = ‘1. *Solanum cordatum* Forsk. (am Toten Meere und bei Jericho), 2. (über den Anspruch dieser Pflanze) der Sodomapfel (zu sein, s. *Asclepiadaceae*, *Calotropis*)⁶³, 3. (Vullers übersetzt bāḏingān)’ [Löw 1967: III 377] = ‘1. sorte d’aubergine(s), kind of egg-plant(s), 2. fausse pomme de Sodome, improperly called apple of Sodom’ [BLACHÈRE *et al.* 2269a] ||| CCh. ***ḥadik** ‘thorn, épine’ [GRAVINA] = ***ḥadak** [GT]: proto-Mafa-Mada ***adak** ‘thorn’ [ROSSING] = proto-Mafa ***hitak** vs. proto-Hurza ***adak** vs. proto-Mofu ***ḥadak** ‘thorn’ [GRAVINA] = ***ḥadak** [GT]⁶⁴ | proto-Mandara ***adaki** ‘thorn’ [GRAVINA]⁶⁵ | Musgu ***ḥadak**ʔ ‘thorn’ [GRAVINA] = ***ḥedek** [GT]⁶⁶ (CCh.: GRAVINA 2014 MS:

⁶¹ Equated by W. LESLAU (*loc. cit.*) with HECu.*uta. M.L. BENDER (2003: 344, #102): isolated in Kefoid and all Omotic. Ch. EHRET (1995: 375, #759) derived it from his far-fetched AA ***ḥe/oç-** ‘to scratch’.

⁶² “Der arabische Name [...] ist als das am Leben gebliebene althebräische Wort anzusehen” (Löw 1967: III 377).

⁶³ I. Löw (*loc. cit.*) even mentioned that “Stephan Véggh, der 1827 ein ungarischer Übersetzung des Buches der Sprüche herausgegeben hat, verwechselt unsere *Solanum*-Art mit *S. Melongena* und läßt darum die Eierpflanze in der Bibel gefen sēdōm und ʕinēbē rōš heißen”.

⁶⁴ Cf. Mafa **ádàk** [ROSSING] = **vatak** (*sic*: v-) ‘épine(ux)’ [BARRETEAU, LE BLÉIS 1990: 372] = **hatak** (regress. devoicing of -d- is irreg.) [STOLBOVA] and Muyang **ádàk** [ROSSING], Chuvok **matak** (*sic*: m-) ‘thorn’ [GRAVINA], Muktele **átàk** [ROSSING], Hurzo **ádàgà** [ROSSING], Mbuko **adak** ‘thorn’ [GRAVINA], Vame **àdàgà** ‘thorn, prickle’ [KINNAIRD], Uldeme **átàk** [KINNAIRD], Muyang **adàk** [SMITH], Moloko **hadak** [FRIESEN], Zulgo **adàk** [HALLER], Gemzek **adak** [SABATAI], Merey **dak** ~ **adak** (f) [GRAVINA], Dugwor **adak** [JUBUMNA], Mofu **ndàk** [ROSSING], Mofu North **dàk** ‘épine’ [BARRETEAU], Mofu-Gudur **hàtak** ‘épine, épineux (nom gén.)’ [BARRETEAU 1988: 131, so also HOLLINGSWORTH *apud* GRAVINA].

⁶⁵ Cf., e.g., Matal **átàk** [BRANGER], Podoko **taka**, -ə [SWACKHAMMER], Mandara **dáké** ‘épine’ [FLUCKIGER], Malgwa **dake** ‘thorn’ [LÖHR].

⁶⁶ Cf. Musgu **ḥadég**, pl. **ḥadəkái** ‘Dorn’ [KRAUSE *apud* LUKAS 1941: 59] = **hedék** (so, h-) ‘Stachel (des Skorpions)’ [ROHLFS *apud* LUKAS] = **hédék** ‘épine’ [MOUCHET 1950: 20], Muskum **hédèt** (so, -t) vs. Mogrum **hédèk** ‘épine’ [TOURNEUX 1977: 21], Musgu-Puss **hedek** (m) ‘épine’

62). This exclusive Semito-Central Chadic isogloss may eventually be akin to CAA * $\sqrt{\text{hdk}}$ ‘to act with a sharp instrument’ [GT]⁶⁷. Whether the underlying bi-radical root⁶⁸ is remotely connected to AA * $\sqrt{\text{hd}}$ ‘thorn’ [GT] is open to further research.

10.4. CAA * $\sqrt{\text{kdh}}$ [GT] > Sem. * $\sqrt{\text{kdh}}$ ‘to pierce’ [GT]⁶⁹ ||| SBrb.: EWlmd. & Ayr ta- γ da, pl. EWlmd. ta- γ di-wen ~ ši- γ əd-wen, Ayr ta- γ da-wen ‘1. javelot à tige de bois (pointe et talon en fer), 2. le talon & sert à creuser les trous (p.ex. de sel) et les puissards, 3. p.ext.: extrémité pointue (de bâton etc.)’ [PAM 2003: 270] ||| ECu. * $\sqrt{\text{kadh}}$ -/* $\sqrt{\text{kudh}}$ - ‘thorn’ [SASSE 1979: 62] > LECu. * $\sqrt{\text{qodh}}$ -V ~ * $\sqrt{\text{qvdh}}$ - ‘thorn’ [BLACK]⁷⁰ |

[TOURNEUX 1991: 94], Vulum hedek ‘épine’ [TOURNEUX], cf. Musgu oleš héddee (*sic*: no -k) ‘Stacheligel’ [ROHLFS *apud* LUKAS 1941: 58 and 114].

⁶⁷ Cf. (?) Sem.: perhaps MHbr. $\sqrt{\text{hdq}}$ qal ‘eindringen’, piel ‘hineinzwängen’, hipael ‘sich eindringen’ and JArām. $\sqrt{\text{hdq}}$ pael ‘hineinzwängen’ [DALMAN 1922: 138] = MHbr. piel and JArām. pael ‘einen Gegenstand wohindringen, hineindrücken’ [LEVY 1924: II 16–17] = ‘to press together, compress’ [KLEIN 1987: 209] being semantically rather vague at the moment | hardly Ar. $\sqrt{\text{hdq}}$ (being = $\sqrt{\text{hdq}}$) II ‘säuern, sauer, scharf machen’ [WEHR 1958: 147] as a variety of a distinct root being out of the question ||| Eg. $\sqrt{\text{hdq}}$ ‘(die Nase) abschneiden’ (MK, *Wb* III 206, 19) > $\sqrt{\text{h[d]g}}$ ‘(vom Löwen, der andere Tiere überfällt, verscheucht’ (XIX., *Wb* III 206, 4) ~ $\sqrt{\text{hdg}}$ (prob. < old * $\sqrt{\text{hdq}}$) ‘töten, umbringen (mit einer Waffe)’ (LP, *Wb* III 206, 2–3) ||| CCh.: Musgu * $\sqrt{\text{hidək}}$ ‘hoe’ [GT]: Musgu $\sqrt{\text{hidək}}$, pl. $\sqrt{\text{hadakā}}$ ‘Hacke’, cf. $\sqrt{\text{hadigī}}$ $\sqrt{\text{žibiluwā}}$ ‘Sichel’ [KRAUSE] = $\sqrt{\text{hiddé}}$ (so, no -g) ‘Hacke’ [OVERWEG *apud* LUKAS 1941: 58, 60] = $\sqrt{\text{hōdək}}$ ‘houe’ [MOUCHET 1950: 54], Musgu-Puss $\sqrt{\text{hədək}}$ (m) ‘houe’ [TOURNEUX 1991: 94].

⁶⁸ A biconsonantal background of Sem. * $\sqrt{\text{hadək}}$ seems likely, cf. Sem. * $\sqrt{\text{hadd}}$ - ‘sharp’ [DOLGOPOL’SKI] = ‘pointed’ [GT] > esp. Akk. eddu ‘spitzig’, edēdu ‘spitzig sein/werden’ [AHW 185] || PBHbr. $\sqrt{\text{hiddūd}}$ ‘1. sharpening, pointing, 2. edge, point’ [KLEIN 1987: 208] | Ar. $\sqrt{\text{hadd}}$ - ‘(extremity of the) edge, point (of sword, knife, spear-head, arrow)’ [LANE 1865: 525] = ‘18. le tranchant, l’aigu du fer, ce qui fait qu’il pénètre’ [BK I 388] ||| Eg. $\sqrt{\text{ddt}}$ ‘Göttin in Gestalt eines Skorpions’ (BD, *Wb* III 206, 6) < $\sqrt{\text{hddt}}$ ~ $\sqrt{\text{hddt}}$ ‘scorpion’ (CT, GOYON 1978: 453 etc.; DCT 369) ||| SBrb.: e.g., Ahaggar eded ‘1. mordre, 2. p.ext.: piquer (le sujet étant un an. ayant un aiguillon, comme le scorpion, etc.)’ [FOUCAULD 1951–1952: 163]. A.B. DOLGOPOLSKY’s (1983: 128; 1988: 631) East Cushitic *comparanda* (* $\sqrt{\text{hadd}}$ - ‘bitter’ vs. * $\sqrt{\text{hād}}$ - ‘to shave’, resp.) to the Semitic root are both semantically dubious.

⁶⁹ Cf. MHebrew $\sqrt{\text{qadaḥ}}$ and JArām. (also in Syr.) $\sqrt{\text{qadaḥ}}$ ‘1. durchbohren, durchlöchern, 3. aufsprossen, aufschossen, eig. durch Erdreich durchbrechen’ [LEVY 1924: IV 245–246] = $\sqrt{\text{q’daḥ}}$ ‘percer, faire un trou’ [LES LAU], Mandaean * $\sqrt{\text{qdḥ}}$ > $\sqrt{\text{qdḥ}}$ (only in derivatives) ~ $\sqrt{\text{qda}}$ ‘to bore, break through, sprout, spring forth’ ~ $\sqrt{\text{qhd}}$ ‘1. to pierce, bore, break through, 2. grow up or out, sprout, germinate’ [DROWER, MACUCH 1963: 404–405] | Ar. $\sqrt{\text{qadaḥa}}$ I ‘3. faire un trou dans le bois de la flèche avec le bout du fer, et l’y enfoncer pour l’y fixer’, $\sqrt{\text{qidḥ}}$ - ‘1. bois de flèche (avant qu’on l’ait garni de fer et de plume), 2. flèche employée au jeu de flèches en usage chez les Arabes paēns’ [BK II 683–684] || MSA: Soqotri $\sqrt{\text{qadaḥ}}$ ‘percer’ [LES LAU 1938: 367; JOHNSTONE 1981: 141] = $\sqrt{\text{qādaḥ}}$ ‘1. to pierce, 2. move away’ [JOHNSTONE 1987: 223] || Geez $\sqrt{\text{qadaḥa}}$ II ‘to pierce, make a hole’ vs. (via metathesis) $\sqrt{\text{daqḥa}}$ ‘1. to perforate, bore, drill, 2. twist, 3. hit’ [LES LAU 1987: 139, 420].

⁷⁰ Cf. Oromo $\sqrt{\text{kór-atti}}$ [BLACK], Gidole $\sqrt{\text{kudḍ-ēt}}$ [BLACK], Konso $\sqrt{\text{qēt-ta}}$, pl. $\sqrt{\text{qēt-ā}}$ [BLACK], Somali $\sqrt{\text{qodāḥ}}$, pl. $\sqrt{\text{qodḥ-ān}}$ [BLACK], Elmolo $\sqrt{\text{ed}}$ [Ø- reg. < * $\sqrt{\text{k-}}$] ‘Dorn’ [HEINE 1973: 279] = $\sqrt{\text{ed}}$ (*sic*: -ḍ) [BLACK], cf. (?) Dasenech $\sqrt{\text{ḥī}}$ (m), sg. $\sqrt{\text{ḥī-i}}$ (f) ‘thorn’ [TOSCO 2001: 506] (LECu.: BLACK 1974: 180). For Elmolo Ø- < * $\sqrt{\text{k-}}$ cf., e.g., Elmolo $\sqrt{\text{iní-áp-an-ute}}$ ‘kalt’ [HEINE 1973: 280] < ECu. * $\sqrt{\text{kab}}$ - ‘cold’ [SASSE 1979: 49] or Elmolo $\sqrt{\text{īne}}$ ‘beißen’ [HEINE 1973: 279] < ECu. * $\sqrt{\text{kanīn}}$ - ‘to bite’ [SASSE

(???) HECu. *ut-a [GT: irreg. *-t- < *-d-]⁷¹ ‘thorn’ [HUDSON] = *Hut- [OS]⁷² (ECu.: SASSE 1979: 49–50; also BENDER 2020: 88, #A54). It would appear at first glance attractive to figure out a metathesis here from CAA *√ḥdk ‘thorn’ [GT] (above), but the following biconsonantal root may convince us otherwise:

10.5. Sporadic reflexes of the biconsonantal CAA *√ḥdk ‘thorn’ [GT] are detectable in Sem.: as traces of ‘thorn’ vs. ‘gum’ (via association to thorny acacias?) in the botanical terminology⁷³ ||| CCh.:⁷⁴ Daba gidigid ‘épine’, gidik bubom ‘dard de l’abeille’, gādā ‘fer de flèche’ [MOUCHET 1966: 121–122, 190] = gāḏāḏ ‘(point of the) arrow’ [LIENHARD] | Chuvok gādā ‘douille, bâton guerre, tip, point, arrow or spear head’ [NDOKOBI]. This biliteral reconstruction is further supported by the astonishing isogloss of SAA *√ḥdk ‘arrow poison’ [GT] > SCu. *ḳad- ‘arrow poison’ [EHRET 1980: 249–250, #6] > i.a. WRift *qada ‘poison’ [KM 2004, 228] | Dahalo ḳárarutta ‘tree, the sap of which is used for arrow poison’ [EHRET] ||| WCh.: PGoemay *ḳat ‘poisoned needle for shooting’ [TAKÁCS 2004: 203]: Goemay ḳat ‘a poisoned needle (supposed to be thrown at people)’ [SIRLINGER 1937: 96] = kat ‘(noun, i.e., by shooting pointed needles through the air until they reach the victim)’ [HELLWIG 2000 MS: 16]. This isogloss may speak for a use at least as early of a poisoned thorn-like instrument (like needle or arrow) as the utmost remote period prior to the separation of the Cushitic and

1979: 25, 62] or Elmolo óro? ‘Baum’ [HEINE 1973: 279] < ECu. *ḳor- ‘wood, tree’ [SASSE 1979: 48–49, 63] or Elmolo yú·fē ‘Husten’ [HEINE 1973: 280] < ECu. *ḳuf(a)ḥ- ‘cough’ [SASSE 1979: 19, 36, 48, 54, 63].

⁷¹ H.-J. SASSE (1979: 49): regular zero reflex of ECu. *ḳ- (not evident, just sporadic) and a shift of d → t by assimilation to h < *ḥ, which later disappeared, i.e. HECu. *ut- < *uth- < *udh- < ECu. *ḳudh-.

⁷² Attested by Gedeo uččo, ute (also: ‘splinter’), Hadiya utta, Kambatta uta/-ičču (sg.), Sida-mo uta ~ utá (m), sg. ut-iččo (HECu.: HUDSON 1989: 153, 140).

⁷³ Cf. OT Hebrew qiddā(h) (≈ qəṣṣī‘ā ‘*Cinnamomum ceylanicum* var. *Cassia* Nees, Mutterzimt, Kassia-Rinde’); ‘1. (man hat damit längst) die Kassia-Art *kittō* bei Diosk. (verglichen), (die Bibelübersetzer halten es für) Zimt (irrtümlich wurde für Kustus gehalten, von Anderen für ‘*an-bar*, Ambra); 2. (falsch ist [...] die Vermutung [...], *ḳiddā* gehöre zu ar. *ḳaḏī* ‘ein wohlriechender Baum’)” [Löw 1967: II 114] = (prob. loanword) ‘cinnamon blossom, clove of cinnamon, *Flores Cassiae*’ [KB 1065] > MHebrew qī/iddā(h) ‘1. Kassia (und dgl. sind die Krautarten, weshalb sie im Weingarten heterogen sind), 2. q. ləbānā(h): die weisse Kidda, eine Baumart, nach Ar.: *Costus* (auf die man die Raute nicht pfropfen darf)’ [LEVY 1924: IV 245] = ‘1. Mutterzimt (*Laurus Cassia*), 2. q. ləbānā(h): Dornklee (*Calycotome villosa* Lmk.)’ [DALMAN 1922: 370] || Mehri √ḳdh (not -h): ḳədhūt, pl. ḳədhātən ‘tree whose resin is gum Arabic (it is boiled and used as chewing gum; the gum is used by women as a depilatory; the leaves provide good animal fodder)’ [JOHNSTONE 1987: 222].

⁷⁴ Both glosses were derived by O.V. STOLBOVA from her Ch. *gVd- ‘(point of a) sharp weapon’ [CLD IV 148, #497] along with Goemay *ḳat [GT] (below), which, however, corroborates Ch. *ḳ- (not *g-).

Chadic branches⁷⁵. In addition, there may be also proof of an underlying AA $*\sqrt{\text{k}}\text{d}$ ‘to bore through’ [GT]⁷⁶.

11. ACACIAS IN THE HOLOCENE MEDITERRANEAN AND SAHARA⁷⁷

11.1. Following the daring hypothesis by A.Û. MILITAREV on the Natufian homeland of Afro-Asiatic, we must begin our search for acacias in the Levant, where, for our authority on ancient flora, I. Löw (1967: II 377–387 with a lengthy discussion of its occurrences in the area), “...sein Vorkommen in Palästina ist eine große Überraschung. Er war bisher aus Syrien nördlich vom alten Sidon, südlich von Gaza und 30 km nördlich von Beyruth – bei Gubeil, dem Byblos der Griechen – nachgewiesen, außerdem bei Afka, dem alten Apheka, im Libanon” (p. 378). “Der Baum kommt außerdem bei Gaza und Jaffa vor und das schönste Exemplar steht bei el-Mughār östlich von Jabne” (p. 379). He recorded a number of toponyms in Palestina preserving OT šittā (cf. toponyms where Ar. saṭ- ~ samṭ- was retained *apud* SAYCE, ZDPV XX 1897, p. 18), testifying to “das frühe Vorkommen der Akazie in Palästina” as well as “die Wichtigkeit der Akazien für die Wiederaufforsterung Palästinas”. His conclusion that “die Art hat sich also dort seit den Zeiten vor der Einwanderung der Hebräer bis auf unsere Tage erhalten”, however, was based on ambiguous evidence⁷⁸. The acacia, in I. Löw’s (*op. cit.*, p. 381) view, “kann zwar auch bei Jerusalem angepflanzt werden, aber die wildwachsenden *A. tortilis* und *A. Seyal*, die ich beide am Toten Meere nur habe ṭalḥ nennen hören, kommen nur am Toten Meere und weiter südlich vor und wachsen nicht im Jordantal, wie bei Riehm-Baethgen [...] behauptet wird. Es ist unwahrscheinlich, dass sie jemals höher hinaufstiegen”. The uncertainty about acacias in ancient Israel has remained until

⁷⁵ Projected back to the early 10th mill. BC by A.Û. MILITAREV’s (2010: 262–263, table 4) calculations based on S.A. STAROSTIN’s lexicostatistical and glottochronological methods.

⁷⁶ Cf. Ch. *kVt(Vw)- ‘to prick, stab’ [CLD IV 48, #101] > CCh.: Muyang ák(ə)təwāy ‘to pierce, prick’ [CLD], Mafa kataw- ‘1. faire un gros accroc, déchirer (pour une épine), 2. plonger (un doigt, un objet fourchu) dans une poche, 3. affronter qqn., avoir un ‘accrochage’ avec qqn.’ [BARRETEAU, LE BLÉIS 1990: 196] || ECh.: EDangla kété ‘écarter les chaires pour enlever une épine’, WDangla kètè [DJIBRINE, MONTGOLFIER 1973: 163] | Kajakse kèt-àm, kèt-ungo ‘poignarder’ [ALIO 2004: 244, #182]. Here too, as with the preceding Ch. root, the data collected by O.V. STOLBOVA are insufficient for precisely calibrating the initial PCh. velar.

⁷⁷ It is here that I must express my true thanks to Dr. B. KÖHLER (Institut für Afrikanistik, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main) for his precious communications since Jan. 2020 as well as his final *stimuli* for attending the marvellous libraries of the Frobenius-Institut and of the Institute of Archaeology (Frankfurt am Main), where I entered a new world by studying the immense literature on the Holocene Sahara.

⁷⁸ Löw (1967: II 379) ventured to compare “ein überraschendes Zusammentreffen” of a magnificent “prächtige weißdornige Akazie” near Jabne with a picture of the Karnak temple (the reign of Sethi I) naming three localities (including Inuāmu, *sic pace* NAVILLE, identified with OT Jamnia/Jemnai of Jos. 15:46) and depicting Lebeneše (rmnn) people cutting out ṣš-trees denoting the ‘so-called cedar’ (FD 49 *pace* AEO I 8, n. 1), which, however, was misrendered by Löw as ‘Akazien’.

recently. M. KISLEV (1990: 313) admits that “remnants of *Acacia nilotica* were found at 3–4 places in Israel, the tree does not grow in the country today” and “*A. nilotica* [...] is mentioned in the region by several authors and travellers in the last and the present centuries”, namely in Southern Sinai, the Dead Sea area, and Jordan. He “suggested that *A. nilotica* was native to Israel from the Miocene onward, but there is no conclusive evidence as to when it became extinct” (p. 307). Using indirect evidence, he assumes that “*Acacia nilotica* was probably abundant in Israel, Jordan and Sinai in ancient times. [...] The tree could have grown there either following massive introduction of Sudanian flora during the miocene, some 20 million years ago [...] or about 15,000 years ago, after the last glacial and together with the last introduction of elements of the Savana into the rift valley [...]. However, we do not have solid evidence of that. [...] In Egypt, *A. nilotica* was apparently the main, or among the most abundant forest trees in historical past” (p. 308). He maintains that “the only country in the Near East, outside Egypt, where remnants of *A. nilotica* were found, to my knowledge, is Israel, all of them from the Wift Valley, Mo’a on the Roman Petra-Gaza road. [...] The earliest finds, from Jericho, are reported as doubtful identifications (Western 1983: 770–771)” (p. 311). “Leaving aside the uncertain identification of acacia from the Jericho excavations” (p. 312), KISLEV was only able to deal with the finds from the Roman period wondering if these “produce satisfactory evidence that the tree grew near the sites, namely, in the Rift Valley, or were they imported from elsewhere” (p. 313).

11.2. Quite negative are the analyses of plant remains from the Palaeolithic and Neolithic sites along the northern seashore strip of Africa as far as acacias are concerned. In their study on the northwestern African area, including Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, Y. CARRIÓN MARCO *et al.* (2018: 161) stated how curiously any acacia are absent from the wood charcoal remains of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic sites abounding in Mediterranean species. Similarly, S. JAOUADI and V. LEBRETON (2018: 551) report a more diversified vegetation of southern Tunisia since the Holocene climate optimum, when, in the Mediterranean semiforest, “a Saharan-Sahelian steppe developed featuring *Acacia tortilis* subsp. *Raddiana* (Savi) Brenan”. In the mid-Holocene vegetation landscapes between 6000 and 3700 BC, “Mediterranean trees and shrubs (*Juniperus*, *Pinus*, *Pistacia*, and *Rhus tripartita*), as well as grass steppes (*Poaceae*), are well represented” (p. 556). Thus, it is no surprise that the landscape shaping the Jeffara Plain during the Holocene, *Acacia raddiana* only occurred ca. 4000 BC, but not ca. 6000 BC (p. 552, fig. 3). The currently available paleobotanical data (pollen, charcoal and seed remains) at Holocene archaeological sites “do not reveal the presence of *Acacia* [...], with the exception of the Capéletti Cave in Algeria where a single pollen grain is recorded”. Further south in the central Sahara, all the examined evidence⁷⁹ “points to the absence of *Acacia* in southern Tunisia during the

⁷⁹ „At Sebkhia Boujmel, *Acacia* is only recorded as *Acacia cyanophylla*-type during the 20th century [...], a period when several species of *Acacia* were introduced to Tunisia [...]. Furthermore,

Holocene” and the available pollen data show “a late extension of the *Acacia* genus concomitant with Middle Holocene climate aridification and the spread of savanna vegetation communities including several *Acacia* species” (p. 559).

11.3. It was a perfectly different Saharan environment than the present-day lifeless desert: “The Early Holocene saw increased moisture across most parts of northern Africa after c. 10,000 BC, with peak humid conditions 7800–7000 BC. A short but significant dry interval after c. 7000 BC was followed by wetter conditions around 6000 BC, and then a gradual aridification from 5000 BC. The latter dry phase has continued until present times. [...] Peak Moisture Delivery by c. 7800 BC: the InterTropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ) shifted as far north as 24° N in some parts of Africa, bringing tropical rainfall to much of the Sahara [...]. The exact timing and duration of this ‘hydrological optimum’ varied geographically [...]. Sahelian plants such as *Acacia* migrated north into central Saharan mountain ranges sometime between 6300–5800 BC...” (HILDEBRAND *et al.* 2018: 215, 220). The period of Early Holocene was set by R. KUPER and S. KRÖPELIN (2006) between 8500–7000 BC with increased rapid monsoon rains turning the Sahara into a savanna zone, whereas during the final mid-Holocene (5300–3000 BC) a decided desiccation process began. Below, in order to gain an overall impression, I scan through the diverse zones of the Holocene Sahara in the light of the most recent paleobotanical results selected from the abundant literature at random.

11.4. Just the contrary is the situation during one of the more recent (after the 6th mill. BC) Bovidian Cultures in the Saharo-Sudanese Neolithic, *scil.* Ti-n Hanakaten, a most important prehistoric site of the Tassili n’Ajjjer in the Algerian Sahara: “past climate in the area was more humid, enabling the establishment of lush vegetation accompanied by *Acacia seyal* Delile...” as stated by S. AMRANI (2018: 126), pointing out that “only the sandy beds of the wadis offer a substrate suitable for desert savanna comprised of acacias (*Acacia raddiana* and *A. seyal*)” (p. 127). Acacias were only attested by charcoal, not pollen prior to ca. 6000 BC (6%) (p. 134). “Most of the tree taxa were found [...] between c. 6021 ± 306 and c. 4222 ± 142 BC” in “a crucial time of environmental and cultural dynamics during the Middle Holocene”, when “*Acacia* trees [...] were found as pollen in many samples and charcoal in all samples” (p. 135). In this material, one largely finds conifers (pine, juniper, cypress) and hardwoods (oak, olive, and acacia). “Among them, [...], several species of Fabaceae (*Acacia* and *F. albida*), [...] may have been important resources and also representatives of the mountain vegetation of the Sahara...” (p. 136). In this Holocene “mosaic of habitats including wooded and shrubby plant associations, together with savanna-like vegetation [...] tamarisks, olives and acacias were the most important representatives of the

the presence of *A. tortilis* subsp. *Raddiana* today in assemblages lacking floristic homogeneity has already been highlighted [...] along with doubts regarding *Acacia* being a component of the natural vegetation of Tunisia...” (p. 559).

woody vegetation” (pp. 138–139). Both the Ti-n Hanakaten region and the high mountains of Tassili n’Ajjer (up to 2000 m) may have had “a widely spaced, stunted and degraded tree flora [...] of acacias [...], indicating continuous human occupation and resource exploitation” (p. 139).

11.5. In the NW corner of the eastern Sahara region, the Ounianga lakes of northern Chad, as S. KRÖPELIN *et al.* (2008: 766, col. 1) reconstructed, “throughout the last 6000 years, the regional vegetation was dominated by grasses (Poaceae), in association with scattered Acacia trees” since “the first evidence of ecosystem drying [...] is already observed at 5600 cal yr B.P., with increasing Acacia and the expansion of plants typifying semidesert environments [...]. The demise of tropical trees, accelerating after 4800 cal yr B.P., was initially compensated by expansion of Sahel-type trees and shrubs (e.g., *Commiphora* and *Balanites*), of which the northern limit today does not extend beyond the Ennedi [...]. This Sahelian vegetation component, although substantive, was relatively short-lived, because by 4300 cal yr B.P. *Commiphora* dwindled to a sporadic occurrence” (p. 766, col. 2). In the region of the Ounianga lakes (including Yoa)⁸⁰, E. HILDEBRAND *et al.* (2018: 224) recorded “Xeric taxa, such as *Acacia*”, which – substantially later – only “increased c. 2800 BC. *Commiphora* and *Acacia* became significant locally c. 2700–2100 BC”.

11.6. Moving further towards the south-eastern zones of the Sahara, we arrive into the NW Sudanese zone of the paleolakes like those three reconstructed by E. HILDEBRAND *et al.* (2018): the paleolake of El Atrun⁸¹ was until the mid-Holocene tropical, but with the aridification all had changed and, “after 3500 BC, remnants of Sudanian and Sahelian savannas around the lake were replaced by *Acacia*-thorn savanna” (p. 223), whereas „pollen data from a Selima⁸² core c. 9200–5100 BC indicate a drier set of surrounding vegetation than contemporary deposits at Oyo and El Atrun. [...] A sparsely wooded savanna was comparable to modern Sahelian-Sudanian vegetation, and featured *Acacia*, *Commiphora* [...] Charcoal from contexts 5250–4560 BC complements pollen data, recording Sahelian taxa such as *Acacia* sp., *Acacia albida*, [...] *Balanites aegyptica*...” (p. 224). “The Gilf Kebir, slightly farther south and 1000 m asl., has charcoal assemblages dominated by *Tamarix* and (to a lesser degree) *Ziziphus* 6500–2900

⁸⁰ These lakes “...drain the Tibesti mountains. Lake Yoa deposits cover the last 6000 years. [...] a productive freshwater lake that formed c. 3600 BC. [...] pollen assemblages 4000–2300 BC, reflecting local humid conditions and continuing freshwater runoff from the Tibesti mountains” (HILDEBRAND *et al.* 2018: 224). For the West Nubian Paleolake see KRÖPELIN 2007: 21.

⁸¹ “Lying c. 70 km north of Wadi Howar, the large El Atrun depression contains a sequence of lacustrine sediments covered by sands. Pollen data show tropical arboreal taxa as continuously present c. 9300–7500 BC, increasing 7500 BC, and declining c. 5700 BC [...] Final desiccation occurred by 3700 BC, and vegetation was reduced to desert scrubs and grasses near other remaining oases...” (p. 223).

⁸² “Located >400 km NE of Oyo and El Atrun, Selima lies in the heart of the eastern Sahara’s driest areas, *100 km west of the Nile’s Second Cataract” (p. 224).

BC” as E. HILDEBRAND *et al.* (2018: 225) stated, who described that the slightly wetter conditions (occurring around 5550, 4530, and 3900–3600 BC) may have given the appearance of *Acacia*, *Maerua*, and/or *Balanites* species, and also *Acacia albida* (5000 BC).

11.7. South of this area, a most remarkable paleo-environment was hallmarked by the sometime wet and green Lower Wadi Howar⁸³, which, as stated by S. KRÖPELIN (2007: 28–29), “from 11,000 to about 3,500 years ago, [...] was surrounded by fully vegetated ecotopes [...] it temporarily lay in the northern margin of the wooded savannah zone”. Westwards, two further zones of the (Middle and Upper) Wadi Howar appear to reflect the same: “analogies with other parts of the Sahara (based on pollen comparisons) have led Neumann [...] to propose that Sudan Zone vegetation would have been present c. 5900 BC in the dunes near Wadi Howar”, as confirmed by E. HILDEBRAND *et al.* (2018: 225): “such vegetation might have included taxa such as [...] *Balanites aegyptiaca*, [...] and *Acacia albida*. By 4150 BC more arid conditions fostered a more restricted set of Sahelian taxa, recovered in charcoal assemblages around Wadi Howar itself: besides the dominant *Acacia* sp., charcoal samples have only *Acacia nilotica*...”.

11.8. In Central Sudan, discussing Middle Holocene Desiccation and Nile Response (after 5000 BC), E. HILDEBRAND *et al.* (2018: 225) reported that “charcoal analysis suggests a thorn savanna vegetation 4900–3800 BC near the archaeological site of Kadero [...] Various *Acacia* species (including *A. nilotica*), *Commiphora* sp., *Capparidaceae* (*Boscia senegalensis*), *Grewia* sp., *Balanites aegyptiaca*, and *Cadaba* sp. are all present”. Along the Blue Nile in central Sudan, in turn, pollen from all three sites of El Malahab, Sheikh Mustafa (early Holocene) and Sheik el Amin (middle Holocene), respectively, “have disturbed contexts that hinder assessment of precise diachronic changes”, but also this “suggests open savanna, with *Acacia* only present at El Malahab” (p. 228). During peak moisture delivery Early Holocene (ca. 8000–5000 BC) sites in Sudan along the Nile, “macrobotanical remains and plant impressions in pottery at Early Khartoum sites suggest that fisher-gatherer-hunters ate plants that did not need special processing and/or preparation (e.g. fruits and berries such as *Celtis integrifolia*, *Ziziphus spinachristi* and *Grewia tenax*)” (p. 230) with Level 2 (7600–7200 BC) “no mention of *acacia*”, while only at Level 1 (5000–4800 BC) “pollen percentages of [...] *Acacia* (3% on average) indicates desert wooded savanna with *Capparis* and *Tamarix*” (p. 234). “Sai area pollen spectra, but especially those from Amara West, suggest that tropical species spread quickly to this area during the Early Holocene [...] 8700–8500 BC [...] Around 5000 BC, the wooded grasslands and grassy woodland environments suggested by the Sai pollen spectra are evidence for increased aridity” (p. 237).

⁸³ “The modern Lower Wadi Howar traverses the full desert north of the extreme limit of the dry Sahel” (KRÖPELIN 2007: 28–29).

11.10. All in all, it is clear even from this quick overview, where thorny acacias were especially widespread: in Holocene Central and Eastern Sahara due to a northward extension of the Sahelian savanna zone (becoming even long-surviving dominant species especially with the increasing later mid-Holocene aridification after 5000 BC), but neither the Mediterranean strip of North Africa nor the Levant are at the moment too suggestive.

12. HOLOCENE SAHARA AND IMPLICATIONS ON THE PUZZLE OF AFRO-ASIATIC PREHISTORY

Being far from my intentions to bore the distinguished readers of “Eos”, accustomed to the problems of classical philology, with the remote questions of the earliest Holocene puzzles obscuring the prehistory of the oldest Neolithic language macrofamily on earth⁸⁴, I can only restrict this discussion to certain details of this exciting vast linguo-archaeological puzzle, which is even in 2021 still in its infancy if at all. It will perhaps not be void of scholarly profit on the pages of “Eos” to observe that:

12.1.1. During the Early Holocene “occupation phase” (8500–7000 BC) of R. KUPER and S. KRÖPELIN (2006), increased rapid monsoon rains turned the Sahara into a savannah zone suitable for resettlement by a hunter-gatherer population with a limited husbandry moving quickly over long distances from the inhospitably fluctuating Nile and present Sudan. Regarding the end of early Holocene, S. KRÖPELIN (2007: 30–31) says, “during this humid period, Sudan’s vast territories west of the Nile played an important role in the history [...] Eight thousand years ago, the first settlers in the Wadi Howar region found convenient ecological conditions: permanent water and savannah-type vegetation with large mammals and fish”.

Let us grasp at random just one typical slice of Wadi Howar to illustrate the history of this gigantic corridor of Saharan peoples as reconstructed in accordance with recent archaeological results, among others by paleoclimatologist S. KRÖPELIN (2007: 29): “The relatively scarce archaeological evidence from the early Holocene may indicate that the Middle Wadi Howar was too wet even for human settlement and that people preferred more northerly regions”. But in the Middle Wadi Howar too, at the end of the early Holocene, cultural changes are recorded by S. KRÖPELIN (2007: 19): “Radiocarbon dating and the varying decoration of the ceramics point to intense human occupation about 8,000–3,000 years ago”. As a consequence, a people seems to have emerged: “north of Middle Wadi Howar and 450 km west of the Nile, Zolat el-Hammad (Arabic

⁸⁴ For linguo-archaeological concordances between the earliest Neolithic Natufian and the Afro-Asiatic cultural lexicon, cf. MILITAREV, ŠNIREL’MAN 1984 and 1988; MILITAREV 1983; 1984; 2000; 2002; 2003; 2010: 145–147.

for ‘praiseworthy rock’) is a conspicuous group of bizarre sandstone hills and pillars up to 20 m high [...] It contains the most important concentration of rock engravings in the Wadi Howar region. [...] The very carefully worked engravings of [...] round-headed humans probably belong to the most ancient rock art of Sudan...” (pp. 19–20). This unique find of the Eastern Sahara points towards the more ancient Central Saharan civilisation center: “The portrayal of rounded heads is unparalleled in the Sudanese Sahara but well known from the Tassili, Acacus, Tibesti and Ennedi mountains. In the context of Nilo-Saharan connections, it possibly points to early cultural or of ethnic relations between the central Wadi Howar and the Lake Chad area, and beyond” (pp. 20–21), which reflects an assumption seemingly quite widespread among Saharan archaeologists recently on the rounded head people with Negroid traits affiliated with the Nilo-Saharan parental community by several researchers.

12.1.2. But then, in the mid-Holocene (dated by R. KUPER and S. KRÖPELIN 2006 to 7000–5300 BC) Sahara, domesticated cattle (local) vs. sheep and goats (Levantine) were introduced (BRADLEY *et al.* 1996): “about 6,000 thousand years ago, an important economical change took place: cattle herders were occupying the expanses of the Sudanese Sahara. A Sahelian type of vegetation prevailed. [...] These people were the first pastoral nomads in the region and had links to the Nile Valley and later to Chad and beyond. Around 4,000 years ago, [...] sheep and goat, better adapted to a drier climate, were added to the herds in which cattle played a decreasing role. [...] Mobility became of greater importance, and donkeys part of the domestic stock” (KRÖPELIN 2007: 31). Also the “analyses of the cattle remains indicate worsening ecological conditions during the later period” (p. 19). This shift is particularly neatly documented in the Eastern Sahara = south-western part of the Egyptian Western Desert by the rock-art of Gilf Kebir, “tentatively dated to the sixth-fourth millennia B.C., and most likely to the period between 4300–3300 B.C. which was the time of the most intensive habitation in the area of Gilf Kebir. [...] There are elements in the decoration of these caves which indicate that the sites were explored by ancient populations at an even earlier date [...] especially the motifs of giraffes [...] must date to a wet period in the region as giraffes need rich water reservoirs [...] This wet period ended around 6200 B.C., after which this mammal had to withdraw to the south. Since the last attested populations of cattle-herders in the Gilf Kebir area lived in Wadi el-Akhdar and Wadi Bakht, which they left around 3200 B.C., this is the latest period for the origin of the cave paintings” (BÁRTA 2010: 25).

The West Nubian Paleolake, Northern Sudan’s largest freshwater lake with a maximum surface of 5300 km², located more than 500 km west of the Nile, evidenced in the report by S. KRÖPELIN (2007: 21) “human conditions typical during the early and middle Holocene about 11,000–3,500 years ago [...]. Different stages of lake evolution from its formation 10,300 years ago through stable freshwater conditions to its ultimate desiccation 4,400 years ago correlate

with the main phases of human occupation. During high-lake level phases, the lake may even have hampered the prehistoric exchange with the Ennedi and Mourdi region in the northwest whereas the Middle Wadi Howar has certainly promoted the passage of people further south”.

In the Mediterranean strip too, besides, as we learn from S. JAOUADI and V. LEBRETON (2018: 554), “from the 6th millennium onwards, changes in techno-economic behaviour are recorded at many sites with the introduction of ceramics, and followed by the appearance of domesticated animals around the mid-6th millennium BC. [...] In the 5th millennium BC, nomadic pastoral societies appear to be well established in the Libyan Jeffara and at Jebel Gharbi [...], in Cyrenaica [...], Tunisia [...], and the Atlas Mountains of northern Algeria [...]. In the Libyan Jeffara, archaeological records suggest continuity of nomadism from the Neolithic to the historic period”.

12.1.3. Lastly, the desiccation in the final mid-Holocene regionalisation phase (5300–3000 BC) had, in the theory by R. KUPER and S. KRÖPELIN (2006: esp. 806, fig. 3) and others (e.g., BÁRTA 2010: 33), definitely started to expel Eastern Saharan people towards the Nile via, e.g., Gilf Kebir and Gebel Uweiyinat.

12.2. The closer relationship between Egyptian and Chadic within Afro-Asiatic was clear to I.M. DIAKONOFF (1996: 293–294) who assumed “a long period when the speakers of Proto-Egyptian and Proto-Chadic lived in close proximity. Since a historical analysis of the Proto-Afrasian vocabulary point unequivocally to its existence in the Mesolithic period, it must be assumed that the Proto-Egyptians lived higher up the Nile than in historical times, since between about 10,000 and 6,000 B.C.E., the lower part of the Nile valley was covered with lakes and swamps. The point of contact between the Proto-Egyptians and Proto-Chadians must hence be sought south of Khartoum, where the Nile flows [...] through a savannah zone stretching latitudinally across all of Africa. This is a type of zone most favorable for population movements, and we may suppose that the speakers of Proto-Chadic could actually have moved through the savannah zone toward Lake Chad, while the speakers of Proto-Egyptian moved northwards down the Nile”. The possible area of the supposed Egypto-Chadic cohabitation was surmised by H. JUNGRAITHMAYR (2020: 36–37) to have rather been located in the Eastern Sahara “zwischen dem Zentralsudan und dem mittleren Niltal, das ist die ostsaharanische Wüste, mit ‘einer Ausdehnung von der Fläche Westeuropas’. [...] das insgesamt fast 1100 km lange, etwa West-Ost verlaufende Talsystem (scil. des Howar-Flusses) [...], das ‘von etwa 8500–1500 v.u.Z. den größten saharischen Nebenfluss des Nil’ beherbergte. [...] Wohin aber sind die Menschen aus diesem Siedlungsraum an den Ufern des Howar-Flusses (des ‘gelben Nils’ nach L. Frobenius), als dieser sich allmählich aufgrund der Klimaveränderung in ein wasserloses Wüstental verwandelte, ausgewandert? [...] entweder nach dem [...] Nils [...] oder nach dem [...] Westen, wo die vegetations- und tierreichen Baumsavannen neue Lebensräume boten; etwas weiter westlich

[...] sogar die [...] Ufer des Tschadsees – damals noch ein riesiges Binnenmeer, heute zu einem vergleichsweise winzigen Schilfsee zusammengeschmolzen...”. He then left the poetic question unanswered: “Wer waren die Menschen, die in der ‘grünen Sahara’ zuletzt, nach der fortschreitenden Austrocknung des ägyptischen Westlandes, an den Ufern des ‘gelben Nils’, des heutigen, versandeten Wadi Howar im Norden der Republik Sudan gesiedelt haben?” (p. 38).

12.3. On the other hand, as – among many others – F. EL-BAZ (2003) assumes, Egyptian culture was formed by the people of the Eastern Sahara (= Egypt’s Western Desert) withdrawing from those desiccating areas to settle in the Nile Valley. Or as M. BÁRTA (2010: 19) put it, “it has long been supposed that the roots of ancient Egyptian civilisation were connected with the climatic depredations of the Western Desert which led to the last wave of intensive sedentarisation in the Nile Valley. In turn, these ‘newcomers’ [...] contributed to the formation of ancient Egyptian civilisation. [...] It is likely that some segments of Western Desert populations of the sixth and early fifth millennia B.C. that migrated to the Nile Valley due to climatic stress may be considered the intellectual precursors of the ancient Egyptians”. He concluded with “the close relationship between the inhabitants of the Western Desert and the Nile Valley” (p. 91), for which C. BERGMANN (2010: 17) believes to have located even the Saharan origins of the later hieroglyphs: “since February 2001, Biar Jaqub (Wilkinson’s second Zerzura), a palaeoasis situated in close vicinity of DWM⁸⁵, could be identified as an area where around 5500 B.C., giraffe hunters and cattle pastoralists of the Bashendi B cultural unit succeeded in creating a set of written signs which prefigure the hieroglyphs on the much later Pharaonic monuments. In Biar Jaqub, which had been the home of [...] oasis dwellers from the earliest times up to the Middle Kingdom, and at DWM the point of transition at which so far disjointed symbols [...] ‘...suddenly fall out of their figural compositions into a new framework [...]’. Even though this sixth millennium B.C. revolution remains confined to a small body of evidence [...] the process of cultural diffusion [...] in the 1930s led Count Almásy to believe that the Libyan Desert was a cradle of the early Nile Valley civilization...”.

CONCLUSION

Our minimal goal having been merely to locate the word for ‘gum, resin’ and the underlying root (§8) in the gigantic Afro-Asiatic lexical stock, we may pretty safely record a phonologically provable (§7) and reliable match restricted to Egyptian and three groups in West Chad: Angas-Sura, Ron and Bole-Tangale (§6). In the light of the above discussed recent results of Holocene Saharan archaeology (§7), paleobotany and comparative linguistics, we may solidly place

⁸⁵ Djedefre’s Water Mountain, a Fourth Dynasty mining-expedition camp about 50 kilometres southwest of Dakhla Oasis.

the use of this exclusive Egypto-Chadic isogloss also (among many others) to the mid-Holocene (7000–5300 BC) Eastern Saharan savannah macro-area (§11.5–7) invaded around ca. 6000 BC by Sahelian acacia and other *commiphora* (§11.3) which these people may have obtained the sticky glue stuff from, which in time suspiciously coincides with the spread of new people(s) (in place of the hunter-gatherer Negroid people of the “round-head” rock-art? §12.1.1) introducing domesticated sheep and goats (locally?) and cattle (from the Levant?) throughout the green Saharan savannahs in the 6th mill. BC (§12.1.2). Were the ancestors of the later Neolithic colonists of Upper Egypt and the Mega-Chad among them (§12.2)? This cultural term was shared in both branches as obviously cognate since it derives from an even older layer of the common Afro-Asiatic biconsonantal root stock (§8). With this paper I believe to have broadly demonstrated and so firmly established my original idea of two decades ago setting the question into its paleo-botanical and archaeological context also.

Our maximal goal here could only be to find also the attached dendronym. Evidently, this could hardly have been WCh. *K^wang- even if certain daughter languages reflect this as ‘gum tree’ (§6), which, however, is not at all the case on the Egyptian side, where its cognate only denoted the resinous stuff gained from various trees, among others (primarily) the thorny acacia (§3). The only commiphorous tree name that seems to be reconstructible as Common Afro-Asiatic is – hardly surprisingly – just that of the acacia, namely CAA *Ša(n)g(VC₄)-, which is attested at this moment in Egyptian, Twareg, Cushitic meaning this sort of tree, but presumably also in Semitic and Omotic with a *pars pro toto* semantic shift to ‘tree’ (in general) (§9)⁸⁶. The reconstruction of this dendronym was for me naturally only conceivable and possible as part of an abundant terminology for thorns in Common Afro-Asiatic, which has yielded a whole set of a root family (§10) also speaking for a savannah-like environment abounding in thorny vegetation. All this picture drawn above reflects the present level of our imperfect knowledge. I wonder whether and how it also fits the *realia* of our supposed ultimate Natufian homeland around the Jordan valley, but this question should be answered in another linguo-paleobotanical study supported by a tighter consultation with the specialists of the latter aspect, this being a task I am now not prepared to undertake as yet.

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⁸⁶ The fact that the Semitic and Omotic reflexes bear C₄ root extensions (sonants *r/*l), also suggest a secondary innovation.

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGE NAMES

AA: Afro-Asiatic (Semito-Hamitic); **Akk.:** Akkadian; **Ar.:** Arabic; **Aram.:** Aramaic; **B:** Babylonian; **(B):** Bohairic; **BD:** Book of the Dead; **Brb.:** Berber; **C:** Common; **CAA:** Common Afro-Asiatic; **Ch.:** Chadic; **Cpt.:** Coptic; **CT:** Coffin Texts; **Cu.:** Cushitic; **E:** East; **Eg.:** Egyptian; **GR:** Greek (Ptolemaic) and Roman period; **H:** Highland; **Hbr.:** Hebrew; **L:** Late or Lowland; **LECu.:** Lowland East Cushitic; **MK:** Middle Kingdom; **N:** New or North; **NK:** New Kingdom; **Nom.:** North Omotic; **Om.:** Omotic; **P:** Proto-; **S:** South; **(S):** Sahidic; **Sem.:** Semitic; **Som.:** South Omotic; **Syr.:** Syriac; **W:** West; **WCh.:** West Chadic; **XVIII.:** 18th dynasty; **XIX.:** 19th dynasty.

ABBREVIATIONS FOR AUTHOR NAMES

BK: BIBERSTEIN KAZIMIRSKI; **CR:** CONTI ROSSINI; **FrJ.:** FRAJZYNGIER; **GB:** GESENIUS, BUHL; **GT:** (Gábor) TAKÁCS; **IS:** ILLIČ-SVITYČ; **Jl:** JUNGRAITHMAYR, IBRISZIMOW; **JNG.:** JUNGRAITHMAYR; **KB:** KOEHLER, BAUMGARTNER; **KM:** KIESSLING, MOUS; **OS:** OREL, STOLBOVA; **PAM:** PRASSE, ALOJALY, MOHAMED; **PG:** PILLINGER, GALBORAN.

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EINFÜHRUNGSMITTEL DER DIREKTEN REDE IN DER (NACH)AUGUSTEISCHEN DICHTUNG

von

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ABSTRACT: The direct speech in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Lucan's *Civil War* is represented by means of verbs, nominal-verbal phrases with the implicit "speech" sense expressed by the noun or through the context as well as by elliptical constructions. The dominant means with which direct speech is introduced in the *Metamorphoses* and *Civil War* are verbs in personal and impersonal forms, which expose their division into hyperonyms (*dico, inquam, aio, fari*) and hyponyms (*respondeo, clamo, voco, loquor* etc.). Hyperonyms, with *dico* and *aio* being dominant and *inquam* peripheral, serve to introduce the direct speech. The analysis reveals that the frequency of occurrence of different introductory means varies depending on the text. The texts under study display differences in the position of direct speech markers which are conditioned by their nature: verbs (especially hyperonyms *dico, aio, inquam*) are mainly used in intrapositions, while other means demonstrate a noticeable tendency to be placed before the direct speech. The article also provides a comparative study of the means used to introduce the direct speech in the works of the two poets chosen for the analysis.

1. EINLEITUNG

Im vorliegenden Aufsatz werden die Einführungsmittel der direkten Rede in der lateinischen Dichtung des augusteischen und nachaugusteischen Zeitalters behandelt. Dabei werden Ovids *Metamorphosen* und Lukans *Bürgerkrieg* untersucht, die die gleiche literarische Gattung vertreten, die eine breite Verwendung der direkten Rede aufweisen und im Zeitraum 1. Jh. v. Chr.–1. Jh. n. Chr. entstanden sind. Das Ziel der Untersuchung besteht sowohl in der Analyse aller Mittel der Einführung der direkten Rede mit besonderer Beachtung der verbalen als auch in der Feststellung ihrer Gebrauchshäufigkeit und im Vergleich ihres Gebrauchs in beiden Werken.

2. VORBEMERKUNGEN

Auf den Unterschied zwischen der Widerspiegelung der Realität und ihrer Darstellung hat schon Plato (*Rep.* III 392–395) aufmerksam gemacht, der *mimēsis*, d. h. eine unmittelbare Widerspiegelung bzw. eine Imitation der

Ereignisse und *diēgēsis*, d.h. ihre verallgemeinerte Widerspiegelung gegenüberstellte¹ und damit die Grundlagen der Differenzierung der direkten und indirekten Rede gelegt hat. Die beiden dienen seit langem als Forschungsobjekte verschiedener Zweige der Sprachwissenschaft: der Diskursanalyse, der Stilistik, der Pragmatik, der funktionellen Grammatik, der kognitiven und historischen Linguistik, der Sprachtypologie, der Syntax und Semantik².

Die fremde Rede und ihre Abarten (direkte, indirekte, freie indirekte Rede)³ sowie ihre Einführungsmittel werden hauptsächlich anhand der modernen Sprachen untersucht⁴. Im Lateinischen befasste man sich vorwiegend mit der indirekten und freien indirekten Rede, denen die Transposition der Person, des Tempus und des Modus eigen ist. Der direkten Rede dagegen, die in der Regel im Zusammenhang mit der indirekten untersucht wurde⁵, wurde keine größere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, da sie über keine besonderen Merkmale verfügt und als solche meistens negativ betrachtet wurde. Man soll aber betonen, dass in der letzten Zeit die direkte Rede anders eingeschätzt wird⁶. Unter den letzten Arbeiten, in denen die Marker der direkten Rede im Lateinischen (vor allem im Spätlatein) behandelt werden, lohnt es sich die Untersuchungen von J. MIKULOVÁ⁷, L. SZNAJDER⁸, M. GAYNO⁹ und J.-F. THOMAS¹⁰ zu erwähnen.

Die im vorliegenden Aufsatz angenommene Auffassung der direkten Rede bezieht sich darauf, dass sie zwei deiktische Zentren hat, und zwar das eine des Sprechers und das andere des Erzählers, während die indirekte nur über ein

¹ Ἄρ' οὐ πάντα, ὅσα ὑπὸ μυθολόγων ἢ ποιητῶν λέγεται, διήγησις οὔσα τυγχάνει ἢ γεγονότων ἢ ὄντων ἢ μελλόντων; [...] ἄρ' οὖν οὐχὶ ἤτοι ἀπλῇ διηγήσει ἢ διὰ μιμήσεως γιγνομένη ἢ δι' ἀμφοτέρων περαίνουσιν; (Plato *Rep.* III 392 D). "Here μίμησις has a restricted meaning – the poet's impersonation of his character's actual words, using direct discourse. Διήγησις (or narrative proper) is the poet speaking in his own person, and this includes indirect speech" (LAIRD 1992: 9).

² Die kurze Übersicht mit weiteren Hinweisen auf die entsprechende Literatur: BUCHSTALLER 2014: 36; CAPONE 2013: 259–284; BONAMI, GODARD 2008: 358–377.

³ Bei einigen Forschern handelt es sich auch über andere Abarten der fremden Rede, z.B. „hybride Rede“ (*hybrid speech*; DE VRIES 2008: 58), „distanzierte indirekte Rede“ (*distancing indirect speech*; VANDELANOTTE 2004: 489–520), „gemischte Zitierung“ (*mixed quotation*; MAIER 2014).

⁴ BUCHSTALLER 2014: 36; GÜLDEMANN 2008; HATAV 2000: 7–30; MEIER 1992.

⁵ BAÑOS BAÑOS 2009: 733–758; SZNAJDER 2002: 361–377.

⁶ ROSÉN 2013: 255: „(direct speech is marked) not only negatively by absence of the mentioned shift [i.e. shift of person, mood, pronouns or adverbials – Verfasser], but also positively by a large array of extra-propositional items (interjections, vocatives [...]) and interlocutors' expressions (vocatives, modalizers, attenuating and reinforcing [...])“.

⁷ MIKULOVÁ 2015: 123–143; 2016: 169–182; 2018: 201–209.

⁸ SZNAJDER 2015.

⁹ GAYNO 2015.

¹⁰ THOMAS 2015.

deiktisches Zentrum und zwar das des Erzählers verfügt. E. KEIZER behauptet, „in DS [direct speech] there are two deictic centers, each speech event having its own speaker, mood, and time and place of utterance, while in IS [indirect speech] there is only one deictic center: the reported speech is presented from the point of view of the speaker of the matrix clause“¹¹.

L. VANDELANOTTE charakterisiert diese deiktischen Zentren als ‚Speaker‘ und ‚Sayer/Cognizant‘¹². Die gleiche Meinung wird auch von anderen Forschern ausgedrückt, die zwischen einem Sprecher und einem Adressaten (*Speaker* und *Addressee*)¹³ oder zwischen einem „primären“ und einem „sekundären“ Sprecher (*Locuteur primaire / Locuteur secondaire*)¹⁴ unterscheiden. Das für die direkte Rede typische Vorhandensein von zwei deiktischen Zentren lässt sie von den anderen Arten der fremden Rede unterscheiden. Außerdem zieht direkte Rede nicht nur die Stellung des Sprechers in Betracht, sondern als Vermittlungsmittel einer bestimmten Mitteilung erfüllt sie auch eine reportative Funktion. Deswegen werden hier die Ausdrücke wie „the novel *War and Peace*“ oder „the disease of Parkinson“, die M. DE VRIES als „eingeschlossene direkte Rede“ (*embedded direct speech*)¹⁵ betrachtet, als direkte Rede *sensu stricto* nicht mit berücksichtigt. Im Weiteren wird auch freie indirekte Rede nicht in Betracht kommen, da sie eine Mittelstellung zwischen der direkten und indirekten einnimmt¹⁶ und wie die letzte sich durch die Besonderheiten im Gebrauch von Tempus, Modus, Person usw. kennzeichnet¹⁷.

Es gibt verschiedene Meinungen über die Einbeziehung der direkten Rede in die Diskursstruktur¹⁸. O. BONAMI und D. GODARD sind der Auffassung, „direct quotations occur in at least four different constructions: as the complement of a quotative verb; as the head clause with a quotative adjunct; as a syntactically integrated part of a sentence, such as the NP; or as a stand-alone utterance“¹⁹. T. GÜLDEMANN, obwohl er den Gebrauch der direkten Rede als eines Objekts nicht bestreitet, behauptet, sie solle im Zusammenhang mit größeren Einheiten wie „sentential units or units still more complex, namely an entire text or

¹¹ KEIZER 2009: 847. Vgl. BONAMI, GODARD 2008: 359: „A quotation is an expression in mention, for which the responsible agent is different from the speaker. [...] In direct quotation [...], the speaker reports the speech acts of an agent adopting the perspective of that agent“.

¹² VANDELANOTTE 2004: 490–491.

¹³ GÜLDEMANN 2008: 8.

¹⁴ SZNAJDER 2002: 381.

¹⁵ DE VRIES 2008: 50–54.

¹⁶ ROSÉN 2013: 231

¹⁷ Z.B. ERNOUT, THOMAS 1964: 434–435.

¹⁸ Die verschiedenen Meinungen dazu sind z.B. bei GÜLDEMANN (2008: 224 ff.) angeführt.

¹⁹ BONAMI, GODARD 2008: 358–359.

subpart of it like a paragraph“²⁰ betrachtet werden. Die gleiche Meinung drückt M. DE VRIES aus, der eine direkte Rede für Objekt (bzw. Subjekt oder Prädikat), Adverbiale der Art und Weise oder Präzisierung einer Nominalphrase hält²¹.

In den analysierten Texten tritt die direkte Rede als direktes Objekt 526 Mal (89%) auf. Viel seltener (67 Mal, 11%) kommen andere Typen vor.

Direkte Rede kann auf verschiedene Weise in einen Diskurs eingeführt werden. Meistens dienen dazu sogenannte „zitierende Marker“ (*quotative markers*)²². Solche Marker verfügen über ein bedeutendes pragmatisches Potential, da sie die Emotionen eines Hörers bzw. eines Lesers und seine Wahrnehmung der beschriebenen Ereignisse beeinflussen. Sie sind zweierlei zielgerichtet: einerseits dienen sie dazu, die direkte Rede einzuführen und zu erklären, andererseits werden sie als ein Bestandteil des Diskurses zum pragmatischen Merkmal, da sie nicht nur auf den Adressaten der direkten Rede zeigen, sondern auch ihre Beschreibung beinhalten und fakultativ den Adressaten, die Sprechweise und die begleitenden Umstände charakterisieren können. Außerdem gehört zu den Funktionen der Einführungsmittel der direkten Rede die Identifizierung der Sprecher und die Diskursstrukturierung. Es ist besonders wichtig bei Nichtvorhandensein der visuellen Mittel der Markierung von der direkten Rede (Doppelpunkt, Anführungszeichen usw.). L. SZNAJDER bemerkt: „Les lecteurs modernes sont en outre habitués à repérer visuellement le DD [discours direct] grâce à des marqueurs textuels externes spécifiques, les signes de ponctuation, tirets, guillemets, les fameux ‚deux points ouvrez les guillemets‘ dont l’usage s’est progressivement et plus ou moins codifié depuis la naissance de l’imprimerie“²³.

Unter solchen verbalen Markern nehmen Verba dicendi einen bedeutenden Platz ein, die „une activité linguistique du sujet parlant visant normalement à communiquer un message à quelqu’un“²⁴ bezeichnen. Dabei handelt es sich nicht nur um die typischen Verba dicendi wie z.B. *sagen*, sondern auch um andere, die sich davon durch semantische Schattierungen unterscheiden (*rufen*, *schreien*, *singen*, *flüstern* usw.)²⁵ und sogar solche, die zu anderen semantischen Gruppen gehören²⁶. Zugleich lohnt es sich zu merken, dass eben Verba dicendi

²⁰ GÜLDEMANN 2008: 229–231, *passim*.

²¹ DE VRIES 2008: 50, 52. Vgl. BONAMI, GODARD 2008.

²² GÜLDEMANN (2012: 118) beschreibt solche Marker, die er als *quotative indexes* bezeichnet, folgenderweise: „A quotative index is a segmentally discrete linguistic expression which is used by the reporter for the orientation of the audience to signal in his/her discourse the occurrence of an adjacent representation of reported discourse“.

²³ SZNAJDER 2015: 1.

²⁴ LAMIROY, CHAROLLES 2008: 2.

²⁵ Das Niederländische z.B. zählt etwa 500 solcher Verben (DE VRIES 2006: 212–213), das moderne Französisch 265 (VERINE 2005: 177–202).

²⁶ BUCHSTALLER 2014; NITA 2009. – Gegen die Charakteristik der Verba dicendi als „zitierender Marker“ tritt DEUTSCHER (2011: 647) auf: „It would be unusual, however, to call such verbs [verba

bei der Einführung der direkten Rede in den untersuchten Texten dominieren, was im Weiteren genauer besprochen werden soll.

Trotz ihrer Verbreitung treten *Verba dicendi* – wie sprachtypologische Forschungen beweisen – nur als ein und kaum als das verbreitetste Einführungsmittel der direkten Rede²⁷ auf. Außer ihnen kann sie auch durch andere lexikalische Einheiten, Intonation, Prosodie, Interpunktionszeichen markiert werden.

Einige der lexikalischen Marker der direkten Rede könnten im Laufe der Zeit der Grammatikalisierung unterliegen²⁸, deren charakteristische Merkmale Desemantisierung, verbreiteter Gebrauch in einem neuen Kontext, Dekategorisierung, Erosion (phonetische Reduktion) sind²⁹. Die in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur gut beschriebene Grammatikalisierung³⁰ ist für jede Sprache individuell, sowohl in Bezug auf die eingesetzten Wortarten (besonders günstig dazu sind Partikeln und Adverbien), als auch bezüglich ihres Charakters (volle oder partielle Grammatikalisierung).

3. EINFÜHRUNGSMITTEL DER DIREKTEN REDE BEI OVID UND LUKAN (EINE ÜBERSICHT)

Aufgrund ihrer Struktur werden die erwähnten Einführungsmittel in drei Gruppen gegliedert: (1) *Verba dicendi*; (2) nominal-verbale Wortgruppen; (3) eliptische Konstruktionen.

Ihrerseits können die zur ersten Gruppe gehörenden Verben in zwei weitere Untergruppen geteilt werden und zwar: (a) Hyperonyme, d.h. *Verba dicendi*, die das Sem „Sprechen“ pur darstellen (*dico, inquam, aio, fari*); (b) Hyponyme, d.h. *Verba dicendi* mit zusätzlichen semantischen Schattierungen (*respondeo, clamo, voco, loquor* u.ä.).

Alle verbalen Marker der direkten Rede ungeachtet ihres Status werden im Folgenden *Verba dicendi* genannt, obwohl einige Forscher sie differenzieren. So unterscheidet G. DEUTSCHER „Verben des Sprechens“ (*speech verbs*, z.B. *say*)

dicendi – Verfasser] ‚quotative markers‘, since the term ‚marker‘ invokes the expectation of a grammaticalized element, whereas ‚said‘ [...] is a completely normal verb, used in its literal lexical sense, and serving in its canonical syntactic role as the predicate of a full clause [...]. I suggest that the term ‚quotative verb‘ should be abandoned, and that the term ‚quotative‘ be reserved for grammatical markers (or at least, for elements that are in the process of becoming grammatical markers)“.

²⁷ BUCHSTALLER 2014: 41; MUNRO 2002: 314 ff.; GÜLDEMANN 2002: 283.

²⁸ Die klassische Definition der Grammatikalisierung hat KURYŁOWICZ (1975 [1965]: 52) gegeben: „Grammaticalisation consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one“.

²⁹ HEINE 2003: 579; KLAMER 2000: 69–98.

³⁰ ROMAINE, LANGE 1991; VANDELANOTTE 2012; GOLATO 2000: 33–36; HASUND, OPŠAL 2012; DEUTSCHER 2011: 646–655. Über die Grammatikalisierung von Part. Praes. *dicens* FRUYT 2011: 693; 2015.

und „sich auf das Sprechen beziehende Verben“ (*speech related verbs*, z.B. *write*)³¹. Ähnliches schlägt T. GÜLDEMANN vor, der von den allgemeinen und spezifischen Verba dicendi (*generic speech verbs/specific speech verbs*) spricht. Dabei merkt er mit Recht, dass im Kontext einer direkten Rede als Verba dicendi auch andere Verben auftreten können, denen in ihrer Grundbedeutung das Sem „Sprechen“ fehlt³².

Als vorwiegender Marker der direkten Rede in den *Metamorphosen* und im *Bürgerkrieg* dienen Verben in ihrer finiten und infiniten Form. Von 610 festgestellten Belegen der direkten Rede wird sie 521 Mal ($\approx 84\%$) durch die Verben eingeführt³³. In 70 Fällen ($\approx 12\%$) dienen dazu die dem semantischen Feld „Sprechen“ zugehörigen Substantive (*verbum, vox, os, querella, cantus, dictum*) in Verbindung mit einem Verb (nominal-verbale Wortgruppen) wie *ora solvit* (Ov. I 182)³⁴, *addidit verba* (Ov. III 191), *committit voce* (Ov. V 307), *effundunt querellas* (Lucan. II 44), *cantu explicant* (Lucan. VI 693). Neunzehnmal ($\approx 4\%$) wird direkte Rede durch elliptische Ausdrücke eingeführt, die aus Substantiven, Pronomina oder Phrasenverben bestehen, bei denen ein Verbum dicendi vermutet wird. Dazu gehören die Ausdrücke *sic Aesonides* (Ov. VII 164), *Aeacides illi* (Ov. XI 379), *tum senior* (Ov. XII 182), *at illa* (Ov. XI 622), *ad haec Pylius* (Ov. XII 542), *talibus genitor* (Ov. XV 807), *et secum* (Lucan. II 522), *contra talia frater* (Lucan. IX 125). Die letzte Gruppe, die vor allem den Dialogen eigen ist³⁵, bilden die Konstruktionen des Typs: „X hat gesagt..., und Y (hat geantwortet)“.

In Bezug auf direkte Rede kann die Stellung der Einführungsmittel variieren. Der Meinung von T. GÜLDEMANN nach gebe es vier Grundstellungen: präpositive (*on-quote*), postpositive (*off-quote*), circumpositive (*on/off-quote combination*) und intrapositive (*intra-quote*)³⁶, als auch ihre Kombinationen. Alle diese Stellungen treten in beiden untersuchten Werken auf. Im Unterschied zur lateinischen Prosa, für die eine präpositive Stellung der Marker der direkten Rede typisch ist³⁷, treten sie in den analysierten Werken meistens in der Intraposition (289 Mal, 46%) auf. Seltener stehen die Marker vor (159 Mal, 26%) und nach der direkten Rede (92 Mal, 14%). Manchmal werden mit diesem Zweck zwei Marker gebraucht, von denen der erste Anfangs- oder Mittelstellung einnimmt,

³¹ DEUTSCHER 2011: 647, 652.

³² GÜLDEMANN 2008: 12.

³³ Da direkte Rede auch durch zwei Verben eingeführt wird, ist die Zahl der Verben höher als die Zahl aller Gebrauchsfälle der direkten Rede.

³⁴ Alle in diesem Aufsatz mit „Ov.“ angeführten Verweise beziehen sich auf Ovids *Metamorphosen*.

³⁵ Gewissermaßen kann man sie mit dem für umgangssprachliches Deutsch typischen Ausdruck „und ich so“ vergleichen, sieh. GOLATO 2000: 29–54.

³⁶ GÜLDEMANN 2008: 192.

³⁷ MIKULOVÁ 2016: 170; 2018: 205.

der zweite am Ende der direkten Rede steht, so dass sie eine Rahmenkonstruktion bilden. Solche Verbindungen bilden eine Minderheit und sind fast in gleichem Maß vertreten: Anfangsstellung + Endstellung – 43 Mal (7%), Mittelstellung + Endstellung – 49 Mal (7%). Das kann sowohl durch die Eigenschaften der Verben (wie z.B. bei *inquam*, das meistens in der Mitte einer direkten Rede steht), als auch durch die metrischen Gründe verursacht werden.

Nach dieser kurzen Übersicht kann man zur Beschreibung der obengenannten Gruppen übergehen.

3.1. *Hyperonyme*

Wie bereits erwähnt, bilden diese Gruppe Verba dicendi ohne zusätzliche semantische Schattierungen. Dazu gehören *dico*, *aio*, *inquam* und *fari*, die am meisten bezeugt werden.

3.1.1. *Dico*

Dico kommt am häufigsten in den *Metamorphosen* (218 Belege) vor und wird vornehmlich (205 Mal) als Verbum finitum gebraucht. Unter den finiten Verbformen haben Perfectum und Plusquamperfectum indicativi einen unverkennbaren Vorrang, die entsprechend 168 und 31 Fälle betragen. Andere finite Formen treten vereinzelt auf: dreimal Imperfectum, zweimal Praesens und einmal Futurum I. Die infiniten Formen sind durch Infinitivus perfecti (fünfmal) und Infinitivus praesentis (zweimal), Participium praesentis (dreimal) und Participium futuri (einmal) vertreten.

Bei Lukan dagegen ist das erwähnte Verb nur 21 Mal im Perfectum und Plusquamperfectum indicativi bezeugt.

In beiden Werken kann *dico* selbständig oder in Verbindung mit einem anderen Verb oder einer Wortgruppe auftreten. Selbständiger Gebrauch von diesem Verb findet man in den *Metamorphosen* 112 Mal in der Mittel- und 39 Mal in der Endstellung gegen 12 Fälle in der Anfangsstellung. Bei Lukan steht selbständiges *dico* meistens (11 Mal) in der Mitte der direkten Rede. Die postpositive Stellung im *Bürgerkrieg* kommt nur zweimal vor. Im Gegensatz zu den *Metamorphosen* findet man *dico* im *Bürgerkrieg* nie am Anfang der direkten Rede.

Beide Werke enthalten sogenannte Rahmenkonstruktionen, die aus einem vor- oder mittelgestellten Verb oder Wortgruppe und nachgestelltem *dico* bestehen, z.B.: *ait ... dixit* (Ov. II 426–428), *adfatur ... dixerat* (Ov. I 350–367), *exclamat ... dixerat* (Ov. IV 590–595), *dedit voces ... dixit* (Ov. IX 584–630), *profatur ... dixerat* (Lucan. IX 147–165), *adloquitur ... dixit* (Lucan. IX 612–616), *veniam poscit ... dixerat* (Lucan. IV 343–363) oder in der Mitte, z.B.: *...ait ... dixit* (Ov. V 224–230), *...inquit ... dixit* (Ov. XIII 445–449), *...exclamat ... dixit* (Ov. IX 176–204), *...ait ... dixerat* (Lucan. I 299–352), *...inquit ... dixerat* (Lucan. VI 606–624). Als erstes Glied in solchen Verbindungen treten vorwiegend *aio* (13 Mal), *inquam* (12 Mal) und *dico* (11 Mal) auf. Seltener findet man hier andere zum semantischen Feld „Sprechen“ gehörende Verben oder Ausdrücke: neunmal

verbindet sich nachgestelltes *dico* mit vorgestellten Hyponymen, fünfmal mit nominal-verbalen Wortgruppen, dreimal mit Komposita von *fari* und einmal (nur bei Ovid) tritt es nach der Ellipse auf.

Am Ende einer direkten Rede markiert oft *dico* einen Übergang von direkter Rede zu einer Erzählung (1a–b):

(1a) „filius huic Veneris ,figat tuus omnia, Phoebe, | te meus arcus‘ ait; ,quantoque animalia cedunt | cuncta deo, tanto minor est tua gloria nostra‘. | dixit et eliso percussis aere pennis | inpiger umbrosa Parnasi constitit arce“ (Ov. I 463–467).

(1b) „erupere ducis sacro de pectore voces. | ,ergo pari voto gessisti bella, iuventus...‘ | ...dixit, et omnes | ...medio revocavit ab aequore puppes...“ (Lucan. IX 255–284, *passim*).

3.1.2. *Aio*

Unter den Verben, die eine direkte Rede einführen, ist *aio* das zweithäufigste. Es ist 147 Mal bezeugt und ungleichmäßig zwischen beiden Werken verteilt: 124 Fälle in den *Metamorphosen* gegen 23 Fälle im *Bürgerkrieg*. Überall wird es in Form von *ait* dargestellt und verschiedene Stellung in Bezug auf direkte Rede einnimmt, aber größtenteils (102 Mal insgesamt)³⁸ tritt es in Mittelstellung auf. Darunter verbindet es sich 20 Mal (12 Mal bei Ovid, 8 Mal bei Lukan) mit einem nachgestellten Verbum dicendi, vornehmlich mit *dico* (Ovid) und *fari* (Lukan)³⁹. Am Anfang direkter Rede wird *ait* meistens von Ovid (17 Mal) gebraucht, im *Bürgerkrieg* dagegen gibt es nur zwei ähnliche Fälle. Es gibt 25 Belege bei Ovid und nur ein bei Lukan, wo *ait* nach einer direkten Rede steht.

3.1.3. *Inquam*

Der Häufigkeit nach befindet sich das Verb *inquit* am dritten Platz. In beiden Werken führt es eine direkte Rede in 93 Fällen (74 in den *Metamorphosen*, 19 im *Bürgerkrieg*) ein. Außer der Form der 3. Pers. Sing. tritt bei Ovid auch die 1. Person *inquam* auf. Hauptsächlich nimmt dieses Verb eine Mittelstellung (83 Fälle, 89%) ein, dabei ist eine solche Lage die einzige bei Lukan. In den *Metamorphosen* gibt es auch 10 Fälle, wo *inquit* am Ende einer direkten Rede steht. Im Gegensatz zu *dico* und *aio*, die alle möglichen Arten der propositiven Aktanten, d.h. direkte Rede, Infinitivkonstruktionen, Objektsätze mit *ut* anschließen können, dient dieses Verb ausschließlich zur Einführung einer direkten Rede. Fünfzehnmal verbindet sich *inquit* mit einem anderen Verbum dicendi (vornehmlich mit *dico*, bei Lukan auch mit *fari*), das eine direkte Rede schließt⁴⁰.

³⁸ Alleinstehendes *ait* tritt in den *Metamorphosen* 70 Mal, im *Bürgerkrieg* 12 Mal auf.

³⁹ In den *Metamorphosen* ist die Konstruktion des Typs *ait ... dixit/dixerat* zehnmal, im *Bürgerkrieg* dagegen nur zweimal bezeugt. Die Verbindung von *ait* mit *fari* kommt in den *Metamorphosen* nur einmal, im *Bürgerkrieg* dagegen fünfmal vor.

⁴⁰ In den *Metamorphosen* verbindet sich *inquit* mit *dicere* zehnmal, im *Bürgerkrieg* zweimal. Dreimal verbindet Lukan *inquit* mit *fari*.

Bei der Einführung einer direkten Rede verbindet sich *inquit* einzeln mit anderen Mitteln, die eine Anfangsstellung einnehmen. Solche Fälle sind nur in den *Metamorphosen* bezeugt. Es handelt sich dabei um Verba dicendi, die zu den Hyponymen gehören (z.B. *rogo*, *increpo*, *moneo*), die sich auf denselben Subjekt beziehen und dieselbe direkte Rede einführen, wie die folgenden Beispiele zeigen:

(2a) „ille [...] | [...] **rogat** ‚in‘ que ‚futurum | pone metus‘ **inquit**: ‚numquam tibi causa doloris | haec erit““ (Ov. I 734–737).

(2b) „[Venus] **monet**, ‚fortis‘ que ‚fugacibus esto‘ | **inquit**; ‚in audaces non est audacia tuta““ (Ov. X 543–544).

Eine im Vergleich zum Spätlatein geringe Anzahl⁴¹ der Fälle der Verbindung von *inquit* mit anderen Einführungsmitteln kann darauf hinweisen, dass dieses Verb im klassischen Latein bei der Beibehaltung seiner Grundbedeutung⁴² sich auf einer Anfangsstufe der Grammatikalisierung befindet⁴³, die sich durch begrenzte funktionelle Möglichkeiten charakterisiert.

3.1.4. *Fari und Komposita*

Außer den oben erwähnten Verben gehört zu den Hyperonymen auch *fari*. In den *Metamorphosen* befindet es sich am Rande dieser Gruppe und ist nur fünfmal bezeugt, dabei dominiert *fari* bei Lukan, wo es 39 Mal auftritt. Im Unterschied zu *dico*, *aio* und *inquam*, die gleichermaßen sowohl in der Poesie als auch in der Prosa gebraucht werden, ist *fari* ein Merkmal der poetischen Sprache, was durch sein Nichtvorhandensein in der Prosa der klassischen Periode bewiesen wird, wo nur einzeln Ablativ des Gerundiums *fando* vorkommt.

In den untersuchten Werken ist dieses Verb meistens durch die 3. Pers. Sing. *fatur* (3 Mal in den *Metamorphosen*, 17 Mal im *Bürgerkrieg*) und Part. Perf. *fatus* (*fata*) (1 Mal bei Ovid, 21 Mal bei Lukan) vertreten. Dabei ist es zu merken, dass Part. Perf. im *Bürgerkrieg* in der Regel eine postpositive Stellung in Bezug auf direkte Rede einnimmt und das Gesagte zusammenfasst⁴⁴. Der resümierende Charakter von nachgestelltem *fatus* wird oft durch beigefügtes *sic* unterstrichen, z.B. „Caesar [...] | [...] | ‚hic‘ ait ‚hic pacem temerataque iura relinquo; | te, Fortuna, sequor. Procul hinc iam foedera sunt; | credidimus satis his, utendum est iudice bello‘. | Sic fatus noctis tenebris rapit agmina ductor“ (Lucan. I 223–228, *passim*). Bei Lukan ist auch einmal Infinitiv *fari* belegt⁴⁵. Das Plusquamperfekt

⁴¹ Z.B. MIKULOVA 2015: 131.

⁴² KIECKERS (1919: 200) betont, dass *inquit* auch beim Zitieren „das echte Verb“ bleibt.

⁴³ GÜLDEMANN (2008: 198) führt *inquit* als Beispiel eines *intraposed introductor* an, der die Tendenz zur Grammatikalisierung und Stereotypisierung zeigt.

⁴⁴ Am Ende einer direkten Rede gebraucht Lukan 21 Mal Part. Perf. *fatus* (*fata*) und 9 Mal finite Form von *fari* meistens in der Verbindung mit einem anderen Verb, das direkte Rede einführt.

⁴⁵ *Orsus fari* (Lucan. II 239)

fatus erat findet man nur zweimal in den *Metamorphosen*⁴⁶. Als Marker direkter Rede nimmt das genannte Verb eine Anfangs- und Endstellung ein, wobei die letzte vorherrscht. Besonders klar wird das im *Bürgerkrieg* dargestellt, wo *fari* 5 Mal vor und 34 Mal nach direkter Rede steht. Bei Ovid betragen die entsprechenden Fälle 2 zu 3⁴⁷. Im *Bürgerkrieg* bildet *fari* samt seinen Komposita (*adfari*, *profari*) fünfmal eine Rahmenkonstruktion, die eine direkte Rede umrahmt, z.B.: *fatur ... fatur* (III 90–97), *adfatur ... fatur* (II 632–648), *profatur ... fatus* (IV 701–710).

Neben *fari* findet man in beiden Werken auch Komposita *adfari*, *profari* und *effari*, denen die Präfixe zusätzliche aspektuelle Schattierungen von Anfang (*ad-fari*), Fortsetzung (*profari*) und Beendigung einer Handlung (*effari*) verleihen⁴⁸. Eben aspektuelle Semantik der Präfixe und dadurch verursachte Modifizierung der lexikalischen Bedeutung scheinen die Stellung dieser Verben bezüglich direkter Rede zu beeinflussen. *Adfari* und *profari* stehen vor direkter Rede⁴⁹ und sehen das Vorhandensein eines Gesprächspartners voraus⁵⁰. *Effari* tritt nur zweimal im *Bürgerkrieg* auf und steht vor (III 432) und nach (VI 246) direkter Rede.

3.2. Hyponyme

Die Untergruppe der Hyponyme, d.h. Verba dicendi mit zusätzlichen semantischen Schattierungen ist durch 85 Fälle (71 in den *Metamorphosen*, 14 im *Bürgerkrieg*) vertreten. Außer den Verba dicendi *sensu stricto* umfasst diese Untergruppe auch Verben, deren entsprechende Bedeutung durch Kontext beeinflusst wird (sog. *speech related verbs*⁵¹ oder *specific speech verbs*⁵²), wie z.B. *refero* bzw. *reddo* mit Bedeutung ‚antworten‘ (3 a–b) oder *inscribo* (3 c).

(3a) „Musa **refert**: ‚dedimus summam certaminis uni...‘“ (Ov. V 335).

(3b) „iaculo quod crimen in ipso est? | Phocus ait; iaculi sic crimina **reddidit** ille: | ‚Gaudia principium nostri sunt, Phoece, doloris...‘“ (Ov. VII 794–796).

(3c) „[Cordus] **inscripsit** sacrum semusto stipite nomen: | ‚hic situs est Magnus...‘“ (Lucan. VIII 792–793).

Bei Ovid findet man 16 solche Verben, bei Lukan 7; ihre Gebrauchshäufigkeit als Marker direkter Rede variiert im Rahmen von 17 bis 1. Zu den meist

⁴⁶ Ov. XIV 586; XV 843.

⁴⁷ Auf die überwiegende Endstellung von *fari* in der *Aeneis* weist THOMAS (2015: 7) hin.

⁴⁸ Über die aspektuelle Bedeutung der Präfixe z.B. GARCÍA HERNÁNDEZ 1989; HAVERLING 2000.

⁴⁹ Bei Ovid und Lukan nimmt *adfari* immer eine Anfangsstellung ein (neunmal bei Ovid, einmal bei Lukan); von neun Fällen des Gebrauchs von *profari* (zwei bei Ovid, sieben bei Lukan) siebenmal steht es vor direkter Rede. Die postpositive Stellung ist nur bei Lukan durch zwei Belege vertreten.

⁵⁰ Vgl. THOMAS 2015: 8–9.

⁵¹ DEUTSCHER 2011: 647, 652

⁵² GÜLDEMANN 2008: 12

gebrauchten Verben gehören *clamo* (17 Fälle), *exclamo* (16 Fälle), *refero* (nur bei Ovid; 12 Fälle), *adloquor* (7 Fälle), *respondeo* und *loquor* (je 5 Fälle). Andere Verben (*impero*, *rogo*, *blandior*, *voco*, *vaticinor*, *conclamo*, *cano*, *oro*) sind höchstens durch 2 Fälle vertreten.

Manchmal können Hyponyme zusätzlich durch ein zum semantischen Feld „Sprechen“ gehörendes Substantiv konkretisiert werden, z.B. *compellat ore* (Ov. III 143) / *dictis* (Ov. VIII 780; Lucan. X 172) / *voce* (Lucan. IX 224), *vocibus monuit* (Ov. IX 669), *castigat voce* (Lucan. VIII 68), *sonant voces* (Lucan. V 190).

Wie die vorherige Untergruppe nehmen Hyponyme irgendwelche Stellung in Bezug auf direkte Rede ein, aber bei selbständig gebrauchten Verben ist Anfangsstellung (39 Fälle, 46%) bevorzugt. Den zweiten und dritten Platz gehören der Mittel- (22 Fälle, 26%) und Endstellung (12 Fälle, 14%). Außerdem gibt es 12 Belege (14%), wo anfangs- oder mittelgestellte Hyponyme sich mit anderen Einführungsmitteln (in der Regel mit *dico* und *fari*) verbinden, die eine direkte Rede schließen.

3.3. Nominal-verbale Wortgruppen

Außer den oben erwähnten Fällen der Konkretisierung der Hyponyme durch entsprechende Substantive oder Kontext wird direkte Rede in untersuchten Werken auch durch nominal-verbale Wortgruppen eingeführt, die aus einem Substantiv und einem nicht zu den Verba dicendi angehörenden Verb bestehen. Eben Substantiv, das einen Sprechakt bezeichnet, erlaubt in solchen Fällen direkte Rede einzuführen. In den analysierten Werken gibt es 70 derartige Marker (38 bei Ovid, 32 bei Lukan).

Die bei beiden Autoren meist gebrauchten Substantive sind folgende:

os: *ora solvit* (Ov. I 181; XV 73–74), *ora resolvit* (Lucan. VII 609), *moverat ora* (Ov. V 332), *edit ore* (Ov. VIII 703; XII 577);

vox: *voces reddidit* (Ov. II 691), *voces dedit* (Ov. IX 574), *voces addere* (Ov. XIII 578) / *emittere* (Ov. XV 561), *voces addidit* (Lucan. IV 211), *iterabat vocibus* (Ov. III 494), *committit voce* (Ov. V 305), *vocem movit* (Ov. X 143), *vocibus prodens* (Lucan. I 674), *rexit voce* (Lucan. IV 474), *perferre voces* (Lucan. VIII 215–216), *vox audita est* (Ov. III 97), *ultima vox fuit* (Ov. III 499), *tulit voces* (Lucan. VIII 327), *voce notavit* (Lucan. IX 220), *erupere voces* (Lucan. IX 253), *effudit voces* (Lucan. IX 564), *commendat voce* (Lucan. IX 1010);

verbum: *addidit verba* (Ov. III 183), *edit verba* (Ov. VIII 751), *reddidit verba* (Ov. IX 21), *verba incidere ceris* (Ov. IX 528).

Daneben sind auch **dictum** (*resecuta est dictis*, Ov. VI 36), **sors** (*sortem dedit*, Ov. I 375), **carmen** (*subiungit carmina nervis*, Ov. V 338; *signant carmine saxum*, Ov. II 326; *urna [...] carmen habebat*, Ov. XIV 442), **modus** (*talibus orsa modis*, Ov. IV 54), **sonus** (*redditus sonus est*, Ov. VIII 767), **questus** (*effundit questus*, Ov. IX 367), **querella** (*non ingratis incessit turba querellis*, Lucan. V

680), **votum** (*vota fudit*, Lucan. IX 987), **iudicium** (*iudicium superis aperit*, Ov. VIII 703), **preces** (*est tales complexa preces*, Ov. X 483), **lenimen** (*addidit lenimen*, Ov. XI 449–450), **minae** (*effudere minas*, Lucan. V 261), **mandatum** (*mandata relinquit*, Lucan. IX 85) bezeugt.

Typisch für solche Wortgruppen ist fast ausschließliche Anfangsstellung in Bezug auf direkte Rede. Der einzige Fall der Endstellung (*Neleius edidit ore*) ist in den *Metamorphosen* (XII 542–577) bezeugt und verbindet sich mit der vorgestellten elliptischen Konstruktion *ad haec Pylus*. Es gibt auch Fälle der Verbindung solcher Wortgruppen mit Verba dicendi, die eine direkte Rede schließen.

3.4. Elliptische Konstruktionen

Viel seltener wird direkte Rede in den *Metamorphosen* (16 Belege) und im *Bürgerkrieg* (6 Belege) durch elliptische Konstruktionen eingeführt, wo ein Verb oder ein Substantiv, das zum Wortfeld „Sprechen“ gehört, vermutet wird. In der Regel bestehen solche Konstruktionen aus Substantiven oder Pronomina und, wie gesagt, sind insbesondere für Dialoge typisch, z.B. (4 a–d).

(4a) „**cum sic Aesonides**: ‚o cui debere salutem | confiteor, coniunx, quamquam mihi cuncta dedisti | excessitque fidem meritorum summa tuorum...‘“ (Ov. VII 164–166).

(4b) „**at illa**: | ‚Somne, quies rerum, placidissime, Somne, deorum, | pax animi, quem cura fugit...‘“ (Ov. XI 622–624).

(4c) „**et secum**: ‚Romamne petes pacisque recessus | degener?‘“ (Lucan. II 522–523).

(4d) „‚dic ubi sit, germane, parens [...]?’ | [...] | Haec fatur; **quem contra talia frater**: | ‚o felix, quem sors alias dispersit in oras...‘“ (Lucan. IX 123–126).

Eine Ellipse ist auch durch die Phasenverben *coepi*, *infit*, *ordior* vertreten, die den Anfang der Rede markieren und das Vorhandensein eines Verbum dicendi voraussehen, was in folgenden Fällen (meistens bei Ovid) dargestellt ist (5 a–c).

(5a) „...Calydonius amnis | **coepit** [...] | ‚triste petis munus‘“ (Ov. IX 2–4).

(5b) „[Iuno] **infit**: | ‚quaeritis, aetheriis quare regina deorum | sedibus huc adsim?‘“ (Ov. II 511–513).

(5c) „...contraque sacer sic **orsus** Acoreus: | ‚fas mihi magnorum, Caesar, secreta parentum | edere...‘“ (Lucan. X 193–195)⁵³.

Im Unterschied zu den anderen Markern, die verschiedene Stellung in Bezug auf direkte Rede einnehmen, treten die elliptischen Konstruktionen ausschließlich an ihrem Anfang auf.

⁵³ Vgl. „sic orsa deae dea: ‚nuper et istae | auxerunt volucrum victae certamine turbam‘“ (Ov. V 300–301).

4. GEBRAUCHSHÄUFIGKEIT DER EINFÜHRUNGSMITTEL DER DIREKTEN REDE

Die Gebrauchshäufigkeit und die Stellung aller oben genannten Einführungsmittel der direkten Rede sind in der folgenden Tabelle aufgeführt.

Tabelle 1. Gebrauchshäufigkeit der Marker der direkten Rede⁵⁴

Autor	Marker						
	<i>dico</i>	<i>aio</i>	<i>inquam</i>	<i>fari</i> + Komposita	Hyponyme	Nominal-verbale Wortgruppen	Elliptische Konstruktionen
Ovid	218	124	74	13	71	38	16
Lukan	21	23	19	45	14	32	6
Insgesamt	239	147	93	58	85	70	22

Die angegebenen Zahlen zeigen, dass die direkte Rede in den untersuchten Texten hauptsächlich durch die Verben eingeführt wird, unter denen Hyperonyme vorherrschen. Am meisten wird *dico* gebraucht, während *aio* und *inquam* entsprechend den zweiten und dritten Platz belegen. *Fari* und seine Komposita treten seltener auf und sind größtenteils bei Lukan bezeugt. Relativ hoch ist auch die Zahl der Hyponyme.

Wie es oben bereits erwähnt wurde, können die genannten Marker verschiedene Stellung in Bezug auf direkte Rede einnehmen, was genauer in der Tabelle 2 dargestellt ist.

Im Unterschied zu Prosa, wo die Einführungsmittel meistens vor direkter Rede stehen⁵⁵, nehmen sie in beiden untersuchten Werken hauptsächlich die Mittelstellung ein. Der Grund dafür kann durch die Besonderheiten der poetischen Syntax erklärt werden, die sich der Metrik unterordnet und eine im Vergleich zur Prosa freiere Wortfolge zulässt. Hier aber lässt sich der Unterschied zwischen der Stellung der Verba dicendi und anderer Marker der direkten Rede bemerken, indem die letzten in der Regel eine Anfangsstellung einnehmen.

Wie es aus den angeführten Tabellen folgt, benutzen beide Dichter für die Einführung der direkten Rede das traditionelle Set von Markern mit Bevorzugung von Hyperonymen. Wenn aber in den *Metamorphosen* *dico*, *aio* und *inquam*

⁵⁴ Bei der Berechnung wurden alle Anwendungen der Marker der direkten Rede berücksichtigt. Wenn die direkte Rede durch zwei Einführungsmittel markiert wird, werden sie gesondert gezählt.

⁵⁵ In Ciceros Briefen an Atticus und an seine Freunde (*Ad familiares*) stehen *dico* und *aio* meist vor direkter Rede. Bei *aio* sind das 14 Fälle von 15, bei *dico* – 35 von 40.

bevorzugt werden, so haben *fari* mit Komposita und nominale bzw. pronominale Wortgruppen im *Bürgerkrieg* den Vorrang, dagegen sind *dico* und *inquam* seltener bezeugt. Im Unterschied zu Lukan verwendet Ovid auch öfter die Hyponyme, um die direkte Rede einzuführen.

Tabelle 2. Stellung der Marker der direkten Rede⁵⁶

Marker	Stellung der Marker			
	Vorgestellt	Mittelgestellt	Nachgestellt	Vor- oder mittelgestellt mit einem nachgestellten Marker verbunden*
<i>dico</i>	12	117	41	16
<i>aio</i>	19	82	26	20
<i>inquam</i>	–	68	10	15
<i>fari</i> + Komposita	21	–	1	7
Hyponyme	39	22	12	12
Nominal-verbale Wortgruppen	51	–	1	18
Elliptische Konstruktionen	17	–	1	4
Insgesamt	159	289	92	92

* Verben oder Wortgruppen, die eine direkte Rede schließen, werden nicht berücksichtigt.

5. FAZIT

Die durchgeführte Analyse lässt feststellen, dass der meistgebrauchte Marker der direkten Rede in Ovids *Metamorphosen* und Lukans *Bürgerkrieg* Verba dicendi sind und zwar diejenigen, die zu den Hyperonymen gehören, wie *dico*, *aio*, *inquam*, *fari*. Der Vorrang darunter gehört den finiten Formen von *dico* und *aio*. Dagegen kommt *inquam*, das als ein spezifischer Marker der direkten Rede gilt, viel seltener vor. *Fari* und Komposita sind vornehmlich bei Lukan in Form des Participium perfecti vertreten. Außerdem führen direkte Rede sowohl die zu den Hyponymen gehörenden Verba dicendi, unter welchen *clamo* und *exclamo* bevorzugt werden, als auch nominal-verbale Wortgruppen und elliptische Konstruktionen ein. Die Einführungsmittel können in beiden untersuchten Werken

⁵⁶ Die Angaben in Spalten 1 bis 3 beziehen sich auf die nicht mit anderen Mitteln verbundenen Marker.

verschiedene Stellung in Bezug auf direkte Rede einnehmen. Im Unterschied zur Prosa stehen *dico* und *aio* meist inmitten der direkten Rede, dagegen treten Hyponyme, nominal-verbale Wortgruppen und elliptische Konstruktionen größtenteils davor auf.

Die untersuchten Texte unterscheiden sich sowohl durch den Häufigkeitsgebrauch von den Markern der direkten Rede als auch durch ihre Vielfalt. Doch sind diese Unterschiede, denen der Inhalt der einzelnen Werke, persönliche Präferenzen und künstlerisches Können der Dichter zugrunde liegen, keinesfalls grundlegend.

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MITO E STORIA SACRA NELLA
PARTHENICE PRIMA SIVE MARIANA DI BATTISTA SPAGNOLI

di

ELŻBIETA GÓRKA

ABSTRACT: The article provides an analysis of the ways in which myth and Christian themes intertwine within the biblical epic *Parthenice Mariana* by the Italian Carmelite Battista Spagnoli (1447–1516). The poet, following the example of the ancient bee, skilfully selects images and motifs drawn from classical mythology and Roman legendary past that – usually after appropriate transformation – can be adapted for a biblical epic. Following the humanistic postulate of *imitatio antiquorum*, the poet inlays his poem with mythological ornamentation and makes use of analogical motifs rooted in both pagan and Christian traditions. Competing with the ancient tradition (*aemulatio antiquorum*), he emphasises the moral superiority of Christianity over the illusory realm of ancient religion.

Parthenice Prima sive Mariana è il primo dei sette poemi latini¹ che il poeta carmelitano Battista Spagnoli (1447–1516), conosciuto con il soprannome di Mantovano, dedicò alla vita delle sante vergini². L’epopea biblica in tre libri, di una lunghezza totale di quasi tremila versi, ripercorre la vita di Maria a partire dal suo concepimento, proseguendo con la descrizione della sua infanzia trascorsa nel Tempio di Gerusalemme, del matrimonio con Giuseppe, della nascita di suo Figlio a Betlemme per finire con l’Assunzione. La storia della vita di Maria è basata sul racconto del Nuovo Testamento, arricchito di dettagli presi in prestito dai vangeli apocrifi³. Lo scopo del poema, come scrive il poeta stesso,

¹ Tutte le citazioni dalla *Parthenice prima sive Mariana* sono tratte dall’edizione di Ettore BOLISANI (1957). La seconda vita della santa, *Parthenice secunda sive Catharina*, fu pubblicata per la prima volta nel 1489. Le successive *Parthenicae* furono composte fino al 1505: *Parthenice tertia sive Diva Margarita*, *Parthenice quarta sive Diva Agatha*, *Parthenice quinta sive Diva Lucia*, *Parthenice sexta sive Diva Apollonia*, *Parthenice septima sive Diva Caecilia*. Nell’elencare i titoli seguiamo l’edizione di Laurent CUPER (Laurentius CUPRAEUS) del 1576 (CUPRAEUS 1576). Sulle edizioni delle *Parthenicae*, cfr. GW 1925–: 3243, 3276–3303, 328605N, 330310N, Sp. 338, Sp. 339, Sp. 340, Sp. 347, Sp. 348, Sp. 349; COCCIA 1960: 124, 125–127.

² Sulla vita del Mantovano si veda, per esempio MUSTARD 1911: 11–26; GRAZIANO DI SANTA TERESA 1958; GIRARDELLO 1974; PESCASIO 1994.

³ Le fonti principali sono i racconti della vita di Maria, specialmente il Protovangelo di Giacomo e il Vangelo dello pseudo-Matteo. Vd. BOLISANI 1957: 9.

era quello di sottolineare la gloria e le virtù di Maria e trasmettere le verità della fede cristiana⁴.

Dall'epistola dedicatoria si può evincere che lo Spagnoli compose la *Parthenice Mariana* nell'arco di due anni (*duorum annorum lucubratio*) e dedicò il poema ai suoi amici, Giovanni Battista Refrigerio e Lodovico Fuscarario. Costoro, nell'inverno del 1478, diedero allo Spagnoli ospitalità e accoglienza, offrendogli un rifugio da una pestilenza scoppiata a Bologna, e proprio in quel periodo il Mantovano prese a comporre la *Parthenice Mariana*. L'opera, che in un primo tempo circolò in copie manoscritte, guadagnò velocemente nuovi lettori⁵ e, nel 1488, fu finalmente pubblicata⁶ su iniziativa di un umanista bolognese, Cesare Napeo⁷. Nell'edizione, insieme alla *Parthenice*, furono pubblicati anche l'*Apologeticon* – una risposta poetica alle critiche mosse alla *Parthenice* da alcuni contemporanei rimasti finora senza identità – corredato da una epistola dedicatoria (che dal 1492 e poi fu denominata *Commendatio Parthenices*)⁸ e un carme votivo alla Vergine composto, probabilmente, durante il soggiorno

⁴ «Nec erat eius aliud desiderium quam ut sanctissimae virginis laudes a pluribus legerentur, et 'Parthenice' nostra, poetico vestita decore, de ecclesiastico prodiens gymnasio, populi in se converteret intuitum» (MARRONE 2000: 72).

⁵ La *Parthenice Mariana* era già conosciuta nel 1478 da Sabadino degli Arienti che la menziona tra le altre opere del Mantovano in *Le Porrettane*, cfr. novella 61, MARRONE 2000: 41.

⁶ L'*editio princeps* fu pubblicata a Bologna da Platone de' Benedetti (Benedetto Faelli), vd. MANTUANUS 1488. Al termine della *Parthenice Mariana* nell'edizione bolognese si trova l'indicazione: «Bononiae aeditum III. Id. Feb. M.CCCC.LXXXI.», che ha portato i ricercatori a ipotizzare che esistesse un'edizione precedente, risalente al 1481. L'edizione del 1488 doveva essere una ristampa di quest'ultima edizione. Daniele MARRONE (2000: 37–40), tenendo conto della mancanza di edizioni superstiti precedenti l'edizione del 1488, suppone che l'indicazione fosse piuttosto una *subscriptio* autoritativa dello Spagnoli stesso e che da essa si dovesse evincere che il poema era stato completato in quel periodo e probabilmente pubblicato, ma non necessariamente a stampa.

⁷ La *Parthenice Mariana* divenne subito estremamente popolare (solo tra il 1488 e il 1528 furono pubblicate oltre settanta edizioni dell'opera; vd. COROLEU 2014: 25); la pubblicazione diede l'abbrivio a un gran numero di imitazioni. Tra il 1495 e il 1498 apparve il poema *Marias* di Cornelius Aurelius, che si rifà palesemente all'opera del Mantovano (IJSWIJN 1993: 157–159). La *Parthenice Mariana* fu altresì d'ispirazione al monaco austriaco Benedetto Chelidonio (c. 1460–1521) per la stesura di una vita di Maria, che fu inserita nella serie di xilografie di Albrecht Dürer, *Marienleben* (1511) (SCHERBAUM 2004). Chelidonio è anche l'autore di un centone intitolato *Passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi* in cui utilizza, tra gli altri, alcuni passaggi dell'opera di Mantovano (MODLIŃSKA-PIEKARZ 2018: 98). L'interesse per i temi mariani non si affievolì all'inizio del Cinquecento: in quel periodo furono scritte altre vite di Maria, tra cui *Parthenias liber in divae Mariae historia* di Marco Probo dei Mariani (1524) e *De partu Virginis* di Jacopo Sannazaro (1526), per il quale l'opera del Mantovano costituì un'importante fonte d'ispirazione (PIASTRA 1994: 5–17; NAZZARO 2009: 190–199, 202–203 e *passim*). Qualche anno dopo (1535) fu pubblicata anche la famosa epopea mariana di Marco Gerolamo Vida, *Christias*.

⁸ Un'edizione critica della epistola dedicatoria e dell'*Apologeticon* è stata preparata da Daniela MARRONE (2000).

a Roma alla fine del 1480⁹: *Ad beatam Virginem votum post febrim acerrimam*⁹. L'edizione costituisce così una sorta di manifesto poetico del Mantovano, fornendo al contempo un modello dell'epica biblica e proclamando una difesa della poesia cristiana di stile elevato. È anche legata, grazie al poema votivo, alla grande devozione dello Spagnoli alla Vergine, particolarmente amata dall'ordine carmelitano.

La scelta dell'argomento fu dunque dettata dall'atteggiamento personale del poeta nei confronti della Madre di Dio, dall'amore che lo porta a creare il progetto di una poesia encomiastica di ispirazione cristiana¹⁰, e più precisamente di una poesia mariana, come è già chiaramente annunciato nelle opere giovanili. Due delle sue egloghe, che circolavano già prima della edizione a stampa (1498) sotto il titolo di *Suburbanus*, ovvero la VII e l'VIII, sono dedicate a Maria e costituiscono una sorta di "dittico della conversione"¹¹. Nella settima (*Pollux, De conversione iuvenum ad religionem*) il giovane pastore incontra la Vergine, che lo spinge ad intraprendere la vita monastica; l'ottava (*Religio, De rusticorum religione*) racconta della pietà degli abitanti dei villaggi e delle montagne, la quale si manifesta, tra l'altro, nelle lodi di Maria proclamate dai pastori-interlocutori¹². Nella vastità della successiva produzione letteraria dello Spagnoli si possono trovare i numerosi carmi mariologici e altre opere dedicate alla Vergine¹³.

Il "progetto" del Mantovano deve essere inquadrato all'interno del rifiorire della scrittura agiografica del Quattrocento¹⁴. Gli scrittori, seguendo le orme dei primi poeti cristiani – Sedulio, Prudenzio, Paolino di Nola, Giovenco, Boezio – narrarono storie bibliche e vite di santi in esametri di squisita fattura. Tra questi poeti, il Mantovano apprezzò in particolare Paolino di Nola: fu grazie alla lettura

⁹ Il poeta, durante il suo soggiorno romano, afflitto da dolori che non gli davano tregua, si sente particolarmente vicino alla morte. Si rivolge dunque alla Vergine, componendo il carne nel quale promise di fare un pellegrinaggio al santuario a Loreto, qualora la Vergine gli avesse concesso la guarigione. Questo pellegrinaggio fu compiuto nel 1489 e in questa occasione lo Spagnoli fece l'offerta di una tavola raffigurante la Sacra Famiglia dipinta da Andrea Mantegna e compose un poema per esprimere la sua gratitudine alla Vergine. Vedi PATRIZI 1926; MARRONE 2000: 42–43.

¹⁰ Lo Spagnoli è anche autore di poemi agiografici sulla vita di san Biagio, di san Nicola da Tolentino, di Dionigi Areopagita e di san Gregorio (CUPRAEUS 1576: t. I, fol. 179r–245r; t. II, fol. 159r–219v), oltre che di tre carmi sulla vita di Lodovico Morboli, di san Giovanni Battista e di Alberto degli Abati (CUPRAEUS 1576: t. II, fol. 220r–233v). Il Mantovano ha composto altresì il poema *De sacris diebus*, che si configura come una sorta di *Fasti* di Ovidio cristianizzati (passaggi selezionati del *De sacris diebus* sono inclusi in un'antologia di H. TRÜMPY [1979]).

¹¹ SEVERI 2018: 144.

¹² Sulle egloghe dello Spagnoli rimandiamo in primo luogo alla ponderosa edizione dell'*Adolescentia* a cura di Andrea SEVERI (2010).

¹³ Si vede il repertorio della poesia mariologica: PIASTRA 1994: 138.

¹⁴ Si veda CHIESA 2002.

delle sue opere che il poeta rimase affascinato dalla letteratura cristiana¹⁵. Nel Quattrocento, a partire dal famoso *Antonias* di Maffeo Vegio (1437) fiorì l'epica cristiana, composta in latino e in volgare, nella quale a Cristo, a Maria e ai santi veniva assegnato un ruolo paragonabile a quello ricoperto dagli eroi nella mitologia classica. Nel 1471, a Venezia esce la *Vita di Nostra Donna* di Antonio Cornazzano, un racconto scritto in volgare sulla vita di Maria, fondato sulla *Legenda aurea*, che ottiene subito un grande successo editoriale¹⁶. Quest'opera preannuncia una rinascita della devozione mariana alla fine del Quattrocento. Nel 1475 fu celebrata la prima festa dell'Annunciazione e due anni dopo fu istituita la festa dell'Immacolata Concezione della Beata Vergine Maria. Per il Mantovano, che, seguendo, tra gli altri, Duns Scoto, era a favore della verità dell'Immacolata Concezione¹⁷, questo fermento religioso costituì una fonte di ispirazione.

Benché la *Parthenice Mariana* intrecci nei vari modi la mitologia con la narrazione teologica, gli studiosi del Mantovano hanno finora prestato poca attenzione a questo problema. L'atteggiamento del poeta nei confronti della mitologia è citato soprattutto in riferimento al passaggio del *Ciceroniano* di Erasmo da Rotterdam¹⁸, in cui l'autore confronta l'opera del Mantovano con il poema *De partu Virginis* di Jacopo Sannazaro, criticando i tratti neopagani ravvisabili in quest'ultimo. Secondo Erasmo il carmelita andò meno fuori strada nel suo trattamento della materia cristiana, perché non la spogliò del *sacrum*. Ettore BOLISANI nella sua edizione della *Parthenice Mariana* afferma che la mitologia è nel Mantovano «quasi sempre un semplice elemento decorativo, un sostituto del linguaggio figurativo»¹⁹. Nel suo articolo, Walther LUDWIG giunge a una conclusione diversa con un'analisi approfondita di un passaggio del libro primo che rappresenta l'educazione della giovane Maria da parte delle Muse, le quali le impartiscono diversi ammaestramenti che includono anche la conoscenza

¹⁵ Come scrive nell'*Apologeticon*: «Cum adhuc adolescentulus essem et a studiis ecclesiasticis, more illius aetatis, abhorrerem, forte in ea poemata incidi et carminis suavitate delectatus, animum ad res divinas paulatim appuli, et ex illo tempore sacrarum litterarum studiosior fui» (MARRONE 2000: 82).

¹⁶ CHIESA 2002: 163–164.

¹⁷ Il Mantovano, pur rispettando la posizione dei macolisti («sunt tamen audentes contra sentire, nec illos / incusamus, habent quo se tueantur...», *Parth. M.* I 231–232), si schierò con gli immacolisti (vedi per esempio *Parth. M.* I 223–230). Vedi anche DEL SAGRADO CORAZON, DE LA IMMACULADA 1947: 343–349; AB EUCHARISTIA 1948: 215–222.

¹⁸ «Hoc nomine praeferendus est Pontano [scil. Actius Syncerus], quod rem sacram tractare non piguit, quod nec dormitanter eam, nec inamoene tractavit, sed meo quidem suffragio plus laudis erat laturus, si materiam sacram tractasset aliquanto sacratius: qua quidem in re levius peccavit Baptista Mantuanus, quanquam et alias in huiusmodi argumentis uberius» (DRESDEN *et al.* 1971: 700). Su questo tema, si veda PIEPHO 1994: 46–54; SEVERI 2010: 215–218, MARSICO 2015: 348.

¹⁹ BOLISANI 1957: 16. Utilizzando un'immagine simile a quella di BOLISANI, FEO (2015: 70) afferma che «il Mantovano saccheggia tutte le vesti, tutti gli attributi e tutti i nomi del pantheon greco-romano per vestire, ornare e nominare gli abitanti del pantheon cristiano».

di ventidue miti pagani (*Parth. M.* I 594–655). LUDWIG suggerisce che i miti menzionati dovrebbero essere interpretati con riferimento alla lettura allegorica medievale di Ovidio, come «kryptische christliche Aussagen»²⁰. Tuttavia, l'analisi dell'epopea mariana sviluppata nel presente articolo, facendo riferimento alla teoria rinascimentale dell'*imitatio* e dell'*aemulatio*²¹, porta a conclusioni un po' diverse e rivela la complessità del processo di utilizzo della materia mitologica da parte del monaco carmelitano.

La questione del posto della cultura antica nell'opera dell'umanista cristiano, e quindi la questione di una possibile conciliazione tra gli *studia divinitatis* e gli *studia humanitatis* risale all'antichità. La difesa di una poesia sacra e la rivendicazione dell'eredità della cultura pagana – sia a livello stilistico che tematico – è infatti al centro delle riflessioni svolte dai Padri della Chiesa²² e poi dagli umanisti del Trecento (cfr. *theologia poetica* di Petrarca e Boccaccio). A questa tradizione si ricollega il nostro poeta in un breve passo del primo libro (*Parth. M.* I 654–655), nel quale lascia trasparire il proprio atteggiamento verso la tradizione antica e il modo in cui la rielabora all'interno della propria opera. Maria, assorta nella lettura delle opere degli autori antichi, è paragonata ad un'ape che nella scelta dei fiori rifiuta ciò che può essere nocivo:

et quaecumque pios non attestantia mores
offendit, damnabat, apes imitata legendo.
(Mant. *Parth. M.* I 654–655)

Il Mantovano si riferisce qui alla famosa opera di S. Basilio *Oratio ad adolescentes*. Nel 1405 Leonardo Bruni tradusse questo testo dal greco in latino, contribuendo notevolmente a diffonderne la fama nel Rinascimento. Nel suo discorso il Padre della Chiesa incoraggia i giovani a fare un uso cosciente ed assennato della letteratura pagana, della quale dovrebbero scegliere ciò che è compatibile con l'insegnamento cristiano, e dunque buono ed edificante, respingendo al contempo ciò che potrebbe arrecare nocumento alle anime. In Basilio, come nel Mantovano, la metafora della lettura critica è incarnata nell'immagine dell'ape che sugge il miele solo da certi fiori e non da altri²³. Ne consegue che certi

²⁰ LUDWIG 1999: 935.

²¹ Per quanto riguarda la teoria dell'*imitatio* e dell'*aemulatio* nel Rinascimento, rimandiamo il lettore all'opera di A. FULIŃSKA (2000).

²² Soprattutto da Lattanzio (*Divinae institutiones*), Basilio (*Oratio ad adolescentes de legendis gentilium libris*) e Augustino (*De doctrina Christiana*).

²³ La fonte del motivo dell'ape ci è resa nota da questo passaggio dall'*Apologeticon*, dove si legge: «...confiteor multa esse in gentilium libris abominanda, quae si quis a bonis plurimis quae in eisdem libris sunt segregare nesciat, libros non legat! Noxii sunt, venenosi sunt, mortiferos experietur! Si vero prudentiae tantum in eis legendis habuerit quantum in legendo melle pre se ferunt apes, securus legat. Et non me sed magnum Basilium doctissimum et sanctissimum inter graecos

elementi della letteratura antica non possono essere sottoposti alla reinterpretazione cristiana: devono essere omessi e condannati.

Tuttavia, la metafora dell'ape, a cui si rifà il Mantovano, era nota già prima di essere formulata da Basilio, in relazione in parte al discernimento da applicare nella lettura di opere altrui, ma soprattutto al processo creativo del singolo²⁴. Per l'Umanesimo fu di fondamentale importanza la riflessione filosofico-sapienziale di Seneca, utilizzata poi da Petrarca, in cui lo sforzo della propria creazione poetica veniva paragonato al lavoro di un'ape che sceglie il nettare (il materiale letterario) da vari fiori (dalla tradizione letteraria esistente) ed elabora il materiale raccolto in modo da ottenere da esso un nuovo prodotto: il miele, cioè l'opera originale coerente con la visione artistica del poeta. Nei passi analizzati, lo Spagnoli sembra riferirsi a entrambi i significati della metafora dell'ape: primo, come processo di lettura-scelta (l'ape dei moralisti), e secondo, come processo di creazione-scelta (l'ape dei poeti). Si noti che le opere pagane nella cui lettura si immerge Maria (I 632–652) rientrano in due categorie: opere storiche – tra cui probabilmente Livio, *Ilias Latina* e Curzio Rufo²⁵ – e opere poetiche. Il contenuto di quest'ultime viene presentato attraverso la menzione di ventidue miti, derivati principalmente dalle *Metamorfosi* e dalle *Eroidi* di Ovidio²⁶. Il Mantovano sembra segnalare qui il proprio criterio di selezione del materiale poetico: la sua epopea ha, infatti, come eroina Maria, l'*Eroide* cristiana, ed è piena di numerosi riferimenti ad autori pagani, tra i quali appunto Livio e Ovidio. La lettura di Maria, che comprende anche le opere cristiane (non soggette ovviamente ad una selezione [I 628–631]), simboleggia quindi allo stesso tempo la lettura dell'autore del poema. Mostrando Maria immersa nella mitologia pagana, il poeta giustifica la stessa possibilità di ricorrere al mito come materiale letterario. Riferendosi alla metafora dell'ape, sottolinea invece la necessità di selezionare il materiale mitologico e di rifiutare tutto ciò che è incompatibile con la visione cristiana del poema che viene creato.

Proprio questo atteggiamento è adottato dal poeta nei confronti della materia mitologica, allorché sottolinea la differenza tra l'incarnazione di Cristo e gli esempi analoghi della nascita di un dio pagano da una donna mortale:

Non erat haec Semele Bacchi, non Ilia mater
Romuleae gentis, nec magna Atlantias Hermis
Maia parens, Danaeve auri delusa nitore.

doctores et episcopos prius consulat...» (MARRONE 2000: 104). Vedi anche MARRONE 2000: 149. Cfr. anche LUDWIG 1999: 930 (con la nota 33).

²⁴ Sul tema dei due significati della metafora dell'ape rimandiamo al saggio di J. DOMAŃSKI (1997).

²⁵ LUDWIG 1999: 929.

²⁶ W. LUDWIG (1999: 929–930) elenca anche i *Fasti* di Ovidio, l'*Odi* di Orazio, Properzio, l'*Eneide* di Vergilio e le tragedie di Seneca.

Non erat Alcidae genetrix, nec Agenore nata,
 filia nec Coei, nec se mirata iuvenecam
 Inachis illicitos falso quae nomine partus
 admissumque scelus titulo vestiret Olympi.
 Haec erat alma Parens, verique insigne Tonantis
 hospitium, regis Superum immortale sacellum.

(Mant. *Parth. M.* II 924–932)

Maria non è stata conquistata da Dio con la violenza o con l'inganno. Ha ricevuto il grande onore di essere scelta come genitrice di Cristo ed è diventata la vera dimora e il tempio di Dio²⁷. Pertanto, non tutti i motivi mitologici possono essere messi al servizio dei valori cristiani: nel caso citato, la discrepanza tra l'orizzonte cristiano e quello pagano, sottolineata dalla ripetizione della negazione (*non erat, nec*), diventa inconciliabile. Nel Mantovano, tuttavia, l'ape di San Basilio suggerisce piuttosto spesso nettare dai fiori della mitologia e ne trae materiale per confronti poetici. La materia mitologica opera all'interno della raccolta in due modi: in primo luogo come fonte di motivi analoghi (in questo caso essa è volta all'imitazione degli antichi), in secondo luogo, come materiale per confronti più complessi, in cui sono spesso implicati giudizi di ordine morale (in questo caso volta all'emulazione degli antichi). Consideriamo il primo di questi due casi.

Si noti che nel passo sopra citato (II 924–932), nonostante l'esplicito intento di rifiutare la mitologia come fonte di confronti paralleli, il Dio cristiano e Maria sono indicati con gli epiteti tradizionalmente riferiti a Giove (*Tonans, rex Superum*) e Venere (*alma Parens*, per citare solo un esempio: Verg. *Aen.* II 591). Si tratta di un tipico esempio del ruolo esornativo del vocabolario e delle immagini femminili di matrice "pagana", menzionate da BOLISANI. Questo non è in contrasto con il senso generale del passo: ciò che viene rifiutato nella poesia pagana non sono le immagini di per sé, ma l'universo ideologico che si cela dietro di esse. Come scrisse lo stesso Mantovano nell'*Apologeticon*, gli epiteti antichi addolciscono i versi e restituiscono grazia al linguaggio poetico²⁸.

²⁷ Parimenti la differenza tra Dio, pieno di puro amore per Maria e Giove, guidato da basse concupiscenze, è presentata da Elio Eobano Ezzo (*Deus Pater Mariae Virginis*, 113–118) e Paolo Crosnense (*Sapphicon in virginalem conceptionem* (XXVII), 1–12). Cfr. BUDZISZ 1995: 23–25.

²⁸ Queste parole si riferiscono all'uso metonimico dei termini pagani: «Nonnunquam etiam veterum deorum nomine stellas ipsas vel aliquam Dei creaturam intelligo [...] ut asperitatem vocabulorum evitem et ut carminibus maior insit venustas quae, si secus fieret, sicca, arida et nimium severa tetricaque videretur» (MARRONE 2000: 96). In un tono diverso parla il Mantovano nel capitolo 51, quando si riferisce alla categoria della verità: «Quod si eo, quod quidam daemon 'Iuppiter' est appellatus, non placet Deum nostrum 'Iovem', id est iuvantem patrem, nominari, et si bona quae diis falsis imposita fuere nomina non est fas ad verum Deum transmigrare, hoc quoque nomen 'Deus' reticebimus: nam Iuppiter 'Deus' dictus est. Summam igitur illam virtutem quae summa providentia omnem mundum regit et condidit, non vocabimus 'Deum', quoniam tali aliquando vocabulo daemones, qui in idolis includebantur, uti fuere. Antiquus ille falsus erat Iuppiter, noster

Il motivo più strettamente intrecciato nel tessuto mitologico della *Parthenice Mariana* è l'antico motivo dell'età dell'oro, la versione romana dell'archetipo della felicità eterna. Tale motivo si esplica in due modi: per prima cosa nella visione del futuro avvento dell'era messianica presentata nei termini dell'età aurea; in secondo luogo, nella visione rivolta al passato, presentata nei termini di un paradiso perduto. La giustapposizione dei tempi messianici all'antica età dell'oro era un motivo molto diffuso nella poesia biblica latina umanistica²⁹. L'incentivo per creare questo parallelo era la somiglianza tra la profezia biblica di Isaia (Is 11) e le descrizioni dell'*aetas aurea* negli scrittori antichi³⁰.

Del fatto che l'*aetas aurea* fosse destinata a costituire un motivo centrale dell'opera, ci informano già le prime righe. Il poeta annuncia che canterà le lodi di Maria: la Ninfa palestinese, la cui nascita è motivo di terrore per Giove Ctonio: «Sancta Palaestinae repetens exordia Nymphae, / difficiles ortus et formidata profundo / incrementa Iovi [...]» (*Parth. M.* I 1–3). I versi citati rimandano il lettore alla quarta ecloga di Vergilio, nella quale il nascituro, che porterà ad un rinnovamento del mondo, è chiamato «il gran prole di Giove» (*magnum Iovis incrementum*, Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 49). Qui vale la pena sottolineare il raffinato dialogo che il Mantovano riesce ad intessere con il modello virgiliano. Nella *Parthenice Mariana* la Vergine non è una figlia di Giove, ma nasce per la rovina del «Giove sotterraneo». In questo modo lo Spagnoli, riferendosi alla visione dell'età dell'oro, sottolinea contemporaneamente la dimensione cristiana di questo riferimento. La venuta di Maria nel mondo annuncia la nascita del Salvatore, e quindi l'alba di tempi nuovi, tanto temuti dal re degli inferi³¹.

Il Mantovano intreccia la caduta dell'uomo con la fine dell'età dell'oro. Nel creare gli uomini, Dio li ha dotati della più grande tra le virtù, che li avrebbe protetti dai mali del mondo. Si tratta della giustizia:

autem Deus verus Iuppiter est» (MARRONE 2000: 96). Sembra però che la funzione esornativa sia preponderante per il poeta, infatti il Mantovano ritorna ripetutamente sulla categoria della grazia (per esempio nel capitolo 7 evoca il motivo di *spoliatio Aegyptiorum* seguendo Agostino nel vedere nell'oro e nell'argento degli Egiziani la materia, anche mitologica, contenuta nei testi antichi, grazie alla quale la poesia scritta per onorare Dio può esse abbellita). Si veda anche MARRONE 2000: 128.

²⁹ Il funzionamento di questo motivo nella poesia rinascimentale del Nord Europa è stato discusso in dettaglio da A. BUDZISZ (1995: 20–30; cfr. anche MODLIŃSKA-PIEKARZ 2018: 468–473), e nella poesia italiana da L.B.T. HOUGHTON (2019: 174–285). Vedi anche BINDER 2010: 51–72, in particolare l'analisi del canto dei pastori nel *De partu Virginis* di Sannazaro: pp. 52–57. Questo motivo fu sfruttato con particolare frequenza nell'ecloga di Natale (vedi per esempio GRANT 1965: 258–289).

³⁰ A questa profezia il Mantovano riferisce anche nel secondo libro della *Parthenice Mariana*. Leggendo il libro di Isaia, Maria incontra un passaggio, che annuncia la venuta del Messia: «Tu protoplastis acerbam / ingluviem delebis, agens nova saecula novumque / foedus et humanum supra genus omne fereris» (*Parth. M.* II 570–572), cfr. Is 7, 14.

³¹ Lo stesso scopo è servito riferendosi a Maria più avanti nel poema come «nova progenies» (*Parth. M.* I 323, cfr. Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 7).

Cum Pater humentes redigens in corpora glebas,
 vitalem humanos auram spiraret in artus,
 ut nova progenies pugnam tuta iret in omnem,
 ultra animi claras dotes et corporis arma,
 Iustitiam, caeleste decus, superaddidit, unde
 et fati rigidas leges et funera posset
 vincere et ambrosia vesci summoque potiri
 aetheris hospitio Superumque assuescere mensis.
 (Mant. *Parth. M.* I 151–158)

Questo dono divino permetteva di evitare «le dure leggi del fato» (I 156), garantiva l'immortalità e il godimento dei piaceri celesti. Lo stato della felicità fu intaccato dal peccato di Eva: «Sed, postquam vetitas fruges et noxia mala / femina surgentis post prima exordia mundi / vipereis decepta dolis admovit ad ora» (I 159–161). Poi la Giustizia lasciò la terra e ritornò al suo padre celeste («mox Astraea domos hominum pertaesa redivit / in regnum sublime Patris [...]», 162–163). La Giustizia, che al livello teologico dovrebbe essere legata al concetto di *iustitia originalis*³², nel poema viene personificata come una dea greca e romana (Astrea/Giustizia) e la storia della caduta dell'uomo viene presentata tramite la descrizione delle quattro età dell'umanità di Ovidio (Ov. *Met.* I 89–150). Benché nelle *Metamorfosi* Astrea lasci la terra solo nell'età del ferro³³, la sua figura è nondimeno strettamente collegata all'età dell'oro: nell'opera di Virgilio il ritorno di Astrea sulla terra incarna il ritorno dei tempi del regno di Saturno³⁴. Il fatto che gli esseri umani si macchino col passare del tempo di trasgressioni via via peggiori è stato sostituito dal peccato individuale compiuto da Eva, che ha contaminato l'intera razza umana. L'abbandono della terra da parte della dea della giustizia mostra allegoricamente la caduta finale dell'uomo. Inoltre, simboleggia anche la rottura del legame tra l'uomo e Dio. Come nell'età dell'oro gli dei abitavano la terra insieme all'uomo (in Ovidio Astrea è, tra le divinità, l'ultima ad abbandonare la terra [*Met.* I 150]), anche nell'Eden l'uomo godette della visione diretta di Dio. Le conseguenze dei crimini umani sono simili. In Ovidio con l'età dell'argento, che seguiva i giorni del regno di Saturno, sopraggiunge un tempo inclemente e l'uomo deve iniziare a lavorare e cercare riparo:

Tum primum siccis aer fervoribus ustus
 canduit, et ventis glacies adstricta pependit;
 tum primum subiere domos; domus antra fuerunt
 et densi frutices et vinctae cortice virgae.

³² ASCENSUS 1500: fol. 13r; MURRHO 1501: fol. 6r.

³³ Ov. *Met.* I 149–150: «victa iacet pietas, et virgo caede madentis / ultima caelestum terras Astraea reliquit». Allo stesso modo Aidos e Nemesis in Esiodo o Dike in Arato.

³⁴ Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 6: «iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna».

Semina tum primum longis Cerealia sulcis
 obruta sunt, pressique iugo gemuere iuveni.
 (Ov. *Met.* I 119–124)

Nella *Parthenice Mariana* Dio punisce gli uomini per il primo peccato in modo simile:

[...] Careant posthac custodibus istis.
 Blanda patrum segnes facit indulgentia natos.
 Iustitia nudi, discant sudare famemque
 et diuturna pati ieiunia, frigus et imbres,
 servitium et fati sortem experiantur amaram.
 Vexati sapient [...].
 (Mant. *Parth. M.* I 169–174)

Il rifermento qui è duplice: il Mantovano ha in mente prima di tutto un passaggio biblico dal libro della *Genesi*: «[...] maledicta terra in opere tuo: in laboribus comedes ex ea cunctis diebus vitae tuae. Spinis et tribulos germinabit tibi, et comedes herbam terrae. In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane, donec revertaris in terram de qua sumptus es: quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris» (Gen. 3, 17–19)³⁵.

Come già ricordato, il motivo dell'età dell'oro è anche usato nel poema per descrivere i tempi della venuta di Cristo come un ritorno allo stato di felicità primigenia. Nella scena dell'Annunciazione (*Parth. M.* II 583–660), l'Arcangelo Gabriele profetizza che attraverso Maria e suo Figlio si inaugurerà una nuova età dell'oro³⁶:

Felices annos et quae Tua protulit aetas
 aurea non Caesar renovavit saecula, verum
 Tuque Puerque Tuus: nam primi dulcia mundi
 tempora converso coeperunt currere gressu.
 Laeta quies oritur: niveis Pax aurea pennis
 descensura leves humeris circumligat alas:
 (Mant. *Parth. M.* II 643–648)

Il passaggio si riferisce, naturalmente, alla quarta ecloga di Virgilio, che contiene una profezia secondo la quale sulla terra sarà rinnovata l'età di Saturno in seguito alla nascita di un misterioso fanciullo³⁷. Il Mantovano collega quest'opera

³⁵ Il testo biblico è citato secondo l'edizione della Vulgata Clementina.

³⁶ La rinascita del tempo è predetta anche da santa Elisabetta, allorché si rivolge a Maria in questi termini: «Panduntur ab alto / aethere felices anni: nova nascitur aetas» (II 778–779) e, poco oltre: «Tu saecula portans / aurea femineis tollis convicia sexus» (II 790–791).

³⁷ Mant. *Parth. M.* II 645–646: «...nam primi dulcia mundi / tempora converso coeperunt currere gressu»; cfr. Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 5: «magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo».

con il libro VI dell'*Eneide*, in cui si attribuisce ad Augusto la restaurazione di un'età dell'oro: «Augustus Caesar, Divi genus, aurea condet / saecula [...]» (Verg. *Aen.* VI 791–792). Nel carmelitano colui che farà rinascere l'*aurea aetas* non è il *princeps* romano, ma Cristo: tale parallelismo funziona anche tenendo presente che tanto Cristo quanto Augusto sono considerati i fondatori di una nuova era di pace per il genere umano (cfr. *Parth. M.* II 647)³⁸.

Ci sono echi altrettanto chiari della quarta ecloga di Virgilio nelle parole dell'angelo che annuncia la nascita del Dio Incarnato ai pastori:

[...] Regem, clamavit, Olympi
quaerite, qui natus modico iacet abditus antro.
Ite citi, nec vos nox intempesta retardet.
Candida formosae iam pendet ad ubera matris:
Infantem fovet ipsa sinu: nova gaudia mundus
accipit et rerum melior contextitur ordo.
Descendit promissa salus: pia Numina mundo
servavere fidem: felicia saecula currunt
et cum prole nova caelo nova labitur aetas.
Pax nova terrigenis oritur, nova gloria caelo.

(Mant. *Parth. M.* III 140–149)

Il bambin Gesù, di origine celeste, porta i tempi nuovi, esattamente come il misterioso ragazzo della quarta ecloga: «iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto. / Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum / desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo, / casta fave Lucina [...]» (Verg. *Ecl.* 4, 7–10). La sua nascita porta a compimento la profezia contenuta nei libri sibillini: «sed faustos venisse dies sperataque multum / tempora, quae vates, quae praedixere Sibyllae / tempore voce loco variis, at sensibus isdem» (Mant. *Parth. M.* III 165–167). Alla fine vale la pena menzionare che la particolare predilezione del Mantovano per il motivo dell'età dell'oro derivava dalla convinzione personale del poeta, persuaso che nei tempi in cui viveva, grazie all'avvento di Cristo e alla sua vittoria sugli dei pagani, si incarnasse l'idea dell'*aetas aurea*, intesa nei termini della profezia di Isaia³⁹.

³⁸ Anche il terzo libro della *Parthenice Mariana* inizia con una descrizione estesa della pace, che annuncia i nuovi tempi. Qui il Mantovano usa il vecchio topos delle «spade trasformate in vomeri d'aratro»: «Nudus in herbisecam redigebat Martia falcem / arma faber: segnes fodiebant ensibus agros» (*Parth. M.* III 6–7). Come nota a margine possiamo aggiungere che questo motivo fu poi impiegato in un contesto affine da Elio Eobano Esso nella sua prima *Eroide: Deus Pater Mariae Virginis* (il passo in cui si annuncia l'avvento dei tempi nuovi con la nascita di Gesù, I 146–148).

³⁹ Il poeta scrive a questo proposito nell'*Apoleticon*: «...tempus hoc nostrum videtur esse id de quo propheta locutus est, quom dixit futurum tempus in quo pardus cum agno et crudelia animalia cum mansuetis impune habitarent, et quo puero innoxius esset serpens et feras truculentisque bestias minaret puerulus. Haec, iudicio meo, de puero Christo et de diis gentilibus intelligi possunt» (MARRONE 2000: 100).

Il parallelismo dei motivi cristiani e pagani è sfruttato anche nel secondo libro, nel quale il poeta descrive la meditazione di Maria. Di notte la Vergine riceve la visita della Sapienza e alla sua presenza contempla la creazione dell'universo. Nel creare questa immagine estremamente vivida, il Mantovano, invece che al libro della *Genesi*, attinge alle *Metamorfosi* di Ovidio⁴⁰:

Virgo
insomnis ducens taciturnae tempora noctis
contemplatur uti rerum longaeva propago
texta sit: unde prior mundi descendit origo;
et chaos et silvam informem, discretaque formis
corpora paulatim varias induta figuras
vi propria petiisse suis loca viribus apta.
Utque gravem liquido suspenderit aere Terram
Omnipotens opifex duplici cum prolis honore,
Oceanumque suis complexum fluctibus orbem
fuderit; aetheriis incluserit ignibus auras;
utque feris terras, mare piscibus, aera cessit
alitibus variis ornans animantibus orbem.

(Mant. *Parth. M.* II 484–496)

unus erat toto naturae vultus in orbe,
quem dixere chaos: rudis indigestaque moles
nec quicquam nisi pondus iners congestaque
[eodem.
non bene iunctarum discordia semina rerum.
[...]
Hanc deus et melior litem natura diremit.
Nam caelo terras et terris abscidit undas
et liquidum spisso secrevit ab aere caelum.
Quae postquam evolvit caecoque exemit acervo,
dissociata locis concordī pace ligavit:
igneā convexi vis et sine pondere caeli
emicuit summaque locum sibi fecit in arce;
proximus est aer illi levitate locoque;
densior his tellus elementaque grandia traxit
et pressa est gravitate sua; circumfluit umor
ultima possedit solidumque coeruit orbem.
[...]
cesserunt nitidis habitandae piscibus undae,
terra feras cepit, volucres agitabilis aer.
(Ov. *Met.* I 6–9, 21–31, 74–75)

Maria osserva come Dio Padre, *omnipotens opifex*⁴¹, insieme alle altre persone della Trinità (gli equivalenti dei ovidiani «deus et melior [...] natura»), ordina il caos, assegnando a ciascun elemento la propria sede. La terra pesante viene posta nella leggerezza dell'aria e le aure vengono concluse nelle fiamme eternee. Le acque dell'Oceano abbracciano la terra, che si popola di vari animali.

Ancora una volta il lettore incontra la connessione tra gli eventi descritti nella *Genesi* e le loro controparti mitologiche nella descrizione degli arazzi con cui fu decorata la casa di Gioacchino ed Anna per la nascita di Maria. Anche se, secondo BOLISANI, la fonte di questa immagine dovrebbe essere ricondotta alla descrizione dello scudo di Enea⁴², sembra che il Mantovano abbia creato qui una versione cristianizzata dell'*ekphrasis* della coperta ricamata del carne 64 di Catullo. La descrizione dei dipinti fornisce lo spunto per l'inclusione nel testo

⁴⁰ ASCENSUS 1501: fol. 30. In questo passaggio cosmogonico ci sono anche riferimenti al canto di Silene della sesta ecloga di Virgilio. Vd. BOLISANI 1957: 12.

⁴¹ Vale la pena ricordare che gli autori cristiani riprendono da Ovidio questo termine per indicare Dio, il Creatore dell'universo (*Met.* I 79).

⁴² Verg. *Aen.* VIII 626–728, cfr. BOLISANI 1957: 200.

di una elaborata *ekphrasis* di cento versi che rappresenta la storia dell'umanità com'è descritta nel Vecchio Testamento («[...] Pendebat in illis / longa patrum series [...]», *Parth. M.* I 332–333). Tra il diluvio e la storia di Abramo, troviamo con una certa sorpresa la descrizione della gigantomachia ben nota agli scrittori classici:

Ardua terrigenae volvebant saxa gigantes
conati molem Superis aequare superbam.
(Mant. *Parth. M.* I 358–359)

Il racconto mitologico del tentativo fallito dei giganti di conquistare il monte Olimpo può essere facilmente identificato grazie alla disposizione cronologica degli eventi menzionati come una storia della biblica Torre di Babele nel costume antico (Gen. 11, 1–9). Al posto delle montagne gettate l'una sopra l'altra, con le quali i giganti cercavano di scalare il monte Olimpo⁴³, gli uomini peccatori⁴⁴ hanno costruito una torre che giungeva sino alle nuvole. Paradossalmente, l'idea di giustapporre questi due motivi potrebbe essere stata suggerita dalla stessa Sacra Scrittura, che ricorda che nei tempi del Libro della Genesi i giganti vivevano sulla terra: «Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis: postquam enim ingressi sunt filii Dei ad filias hominum, illaeque genuerunt, isti sunt potentes a saeculo viri famosi» (Gen. 6, 4). Il Mantovano non è stato primo a sfruttare le possibilità racchiuse in questo passaggio veterotestamentario: un simile parallelismo si trova per esempio nell'*Ecloga* di Teodulo (85–92)⁴⁵.

Nell'accostare questi motivi tra loro analoghi, la cosa più importante per il Mantovano sembra la somiglianza tra i temi da lui trattati. Il poeta non trasforma i motivi e i *topoi* esistenti, ma li tratta come un comodo parallelo antico che gli permette di affrontare la questione che più gli preme, come una sorta di veste mitologica di cui può ornare il contenuto della propria opera. Questi procedimenti non perdono il loro carattere emulativo – l'accostamento stesso di un motivo antico ad un tema cristiano porta il segno della novità e della disponibilità a guardare in modo diverso a un motivo noto –, ma non si può negare che sono prima di tutto un esempio di *imitatio antiquorum*.

⁴³ Secondo il mito, l'attacco al cielo non fu compiuto dai giganti, ma dagli Aloadi Oto ed Efialte, figli di Poseidone e Ifimedia. Gli Aloadi erano talvolta associati, come in questo caso, ai giganti.

⁴⁴ Qui il Mantovano usa un epiteto molto accurato: *terrigenae*, cioè gli abitanti della terra, ma anche il nome più comune dei giganti: figli di Gaia (la Terra).

⁴⁵ Vale qui la pena di aggiungere che l'immagine dei giganti che attaccano il cielo viene impiegata dal Mantovano anche nel passaggio in cui descrive la missione evangelizzatrice degli apostoli: «Tempore namque illo vires atque arma Quiritum / humanum vicere genus, sed inermia Christi / castra deos, veteres ausus imitata gigantum» (*Parth. M.* III 719–721). L'atto dei discepoli di Cristo, che cercano di rovesciare i vecchi dei, è qui inteso positivamente. Gli apostoli superano anche i giganti, perché il loro assalto al cielo pagano ha avuto successo.

Nella *Parthenice Mariana*, tuttavia, si possono ravvisare molti esempi di rielaborazione più creativa dei modelli antichi. Volgiamoci ora a considerare come il Mantovano usa i motivi mitologici nella creazione della protagonista della sua epopea: Maria. Il racconto biblico della *Parthenice Mariana* inizia con la preghiera di sant'Anna di avere in sorte una discendenza. Dio ascolta le sue suppliche e nel grembo della donna anziana inizia a crescere, come un fiore in primavera, una vita nuova. Il poeta descrive vividamente come il divino *artifex* forma il corpo della piccola Maria:

Sed singula certo

discrevit formans Opifex Deus ordine membra;
 cor prius, ex illo quoniam descendit in artus
 vitalis calor a pleno ceu flumina fonte.
 [...]
 Mox cerebri concreta domus, quae plena pudicis
 crevit imaginibus castoque imbuta pudore.
 Os roseum sine labe dedit, frontique decorem
 sidereum, et laetos formae caelestis honores.
 Ambrosiaque comas tinxit; mox ubera pectus
 protulit; in teretes humeri fluxere lacertos
 ramosasque manus, quas hac Pater imbuat arte,
 ut solos fierent habiles pietatis ad usus.

(Mant. *Parth. M.* I 102–105, 111–118)

Il prototipo biblico del racconto della creazione di Maria è l'immagine di Dio *artifex* che ha modellato l'uomo all'inizio del mondo (Gen. 2, 7) e forma ognuno di noi nel grembo di nostra madre: «Priusquam te formarem in utero, novi te, et antequam exires de vulva, sanctificavi te» (Ger. 1, 5)⁴⁶. Allo stesso tempo assomiglia al racconto esiodeo della creazione di Pandora, ma la somiglianza, come sottolinea il Mantovano, è fallace:

Non tam multiplices divorum munere, non tot
 deliciis, non tam grato Pandora decore
 claruit Ascræi cantu celebrata poetae.

(Mant. *Parth. M.* I 125–127)

Maria supera di gran lunga la sua controparte mitologica. La creazione di Pandora, che liberò tutte le malattie e la morte dal famoso 'vaso', dovrebbe costituire una punizione del genere umano per la disobbedienza di Prometeo alla volontà degli dei. La storia del peccato di Prometeo rappresenta la storia del primo peccato⁴⁷,

⁴⁶ BOLISANI (1957: 198) suggerisce che il poeta potrebbe aver avuto in mente la descrizione della nascita della vita nel grembo materno dal XXV canto del *Purgatorio* di Dante.

⁴⁷ Josse Bade van Assche (Iodocus Badius Ascensius), il commentatore cinquecentesco del Mantovano, vede Prometeo come Adamo che ruba il 'fuoco' divino, o il frutto dell'albero della

mentre Pandora è un doppio biblico di Eva, per opera della quale l'umanità fu sottoposta al potere della morte⁴⁸. La causa della nascita di Maria non è l'ira di Dio, ma il suo amore per l'uomo e Maria stessa è una figura opposta a quella di Pandora, perché grazie a lei la morte sarà sconfitta. La Madre di Dio può quindi essere chiamata, a somiglianza della 'nuova Eva', la 'nuova Pandora'⁴⁹.

Il Mantovano usa un procedimento simile quando descrive la Morte che è fuggita nel mondo come conseguenza del peccato dell'uomo:

Haec Pater: et Mortem mox implacabile monstrum
hactenus obvinctam textis adamante catenis
carcere disclusit caecoque emisit ab antro.

(Mant. *Parth. M.* I 188–190)

L'immagine della Morte legata con le catene di diamante riporta alla mente quella del *Furor* del primo libro dell'*Eneide*, legato e rinchiuso dietro la porta sbarrata del tempio di Giano (Verg. *Aen.* I 293–296)⁵⁰. Le parole *antrum* e *carcer*, invece, ci rimandano alla grotta marina di Eolo dove risiedevano i venti incatenati: «Hic vasto rex Aeolus antro / luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras / imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat» (Verg. *Aen.* I 52–54). Gli elementi dell'aria liberati dalla loro prigionia, come la Morte, scatenano sul mondo la propria forza distruttiva (*Aen.* I 81–83, cfr. *Parth. M.* I 209–214). Come negli esempi precedenti, emerge qui un parallelo biblico: nel Libro dell'Apocalisse, l'imprigionamento di Satana è descritto in modo simile (Ap 20, 1–3)⁵¹.

conoscenza del bene e del male. Vd. ASCENSUS 1500: fol. 16v. Ancora una volta il Mantovano tornerà alla storia di Prometeo in *Parthenice quarta sive Diva Agatha*, giustapponendo la caduta dell'uomo al rinnovamento del genere umano per opera di Cristo (3–6).

⁴⁸ «...primae haec discrimina culpae. / Propterea magnum dixere Promethea vates, / dum studet aetheriis furari e nubibus ignem, / in nostras traxisse domos morbumque necemque» (*Parth. M.* I 217–220). Sulla giustapposizione del mito di Pandora con la storia di Eva si veda MODLIŃSKA-PIEKARZ 2018: 464–466.

⁴⁹ Il Mantovano aveva un particolare predilezione per la figura della 'nuova Eva' presente nella topica patristica riferita agli attributi di Maria. Vedi, per esempio, le parole di Elisabetta a Maria: «O decor, o summo facies dignissima caelo, / Te tandem terris Superi ostendere: quid ultra / tristia primaevae flemus convivia matris?» (*Parth. M.* II 770–772), «Tu saecula portans / aurea feminei tollis convicia sexus. / Iam Deus antiquae commissa piacula fraudis / ponat et irasci terris iam desinat aether» (*Parth. M.* II 790–793).

⁵⁰ «...dirae ferro et compagibus artis / clauduntur Belli portae; Furor impius intus, / saeva sedens super arma, et centum vinctus aenis / post tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento»; ASCENSUS 1500: fol. 15r.

⁵¹ «Et vidi angelum descendentem de caelo, habentem clavem abyssi, et catenam magnam in manu sua. Et apprehendit draconem, serpentem antiquum, qui est diabolus, et Satanas, et ligavit eum per annos mille: et misit eum in abyssum, et clausit, et signavit super illum ut non seducat amplius gentes, donec consummentur mille anni: et post haec oportet illum solvi modico tempore».

Liberata da prigione, la Morte è dotata da Dio di un'arma letale, appartenente ai mostri mitologici:

et quaedam Scythicis Chalybum durata caminis
tela dedit, quaedam Lernaeco infecta veneno.
Nec satis haec: aliud telum letalius addit:
nam gladii rostrum, caudam trygonis aquosi,
qua quondam magno fatum tentavit Ulixi
Telegonus Circes usus fatalibus armis,
praeifixit iaculis, Stygiaque extinxit in unda.
(Mant. *Parth. M.* I 194–200)

Dio toglie alla Morte il fegato, che veniva considerato dagli antichi la sede degli affetti, riempie il suo cuore del veleno e le mette le ali: «Mox iecur exemit monstro, praecordia bile / caerulea infecit, celeresque innexuit alas» (I 201–202)⁵². La descrizione della Morte, se accostata al racconto di come Maria fu plasmata dalle mani del Signore, sembra essere la sua inversione, come se la creazione della Morte fosse una sorta di 'anti-creazione' di Maria, della donna grazie alla quale la morte sarà vinta⁵³.

Maria è accostata nel poema non solo a Pandora ma anche alla dea romana dell'amore, Venere. Nel libro secondo Maria si affretta giù per le montagne per fare visita a sua zia Elisabetta (II 722–751). Alla vista della Vergine tutta la creazione si riempie di meraviglia e di gioia. Viene la primavera: i boschetti si coprono di foglie; sulla terra sbocciano i fiori (le viole e i gigli, che simboleggiano Maria⁵⁴); le sorgenti sgorgano con gioia e una brezza leggera percorre la terra con un soffio lieve. La terra produce i raccolti e nel cielo senza nuvole il disco del sole prende a riflettere con forza. In questa descrizione si può riconoscere l'ispirazione dell'inno di Lucrezio a Venere (Lucr. I 1–13)⁵⁵. Il poeta descrive come con l'arrivo della primavera arriva anche il tempo del regno della dea dell'amore.

⁵² In modo simile la furia Aletto riempie Amata del suo veleno nel settimo libro dell'*Eneide*: «huic dea caeruleis unum de crinibus anguem / conicit, inque sinum praecordia ad intima subdit» (Verg. *Aen.* VII 346–347).

⁵³ Al Mantovano piace particolarmente l'uso di immagini in contraddizione tra loro, con le quali intesse una rete di rimandi intertestuali. Nel libro secondo, per esempio, la scena dell'Annunciazione è preceduta dall'immagine che può essere interpretata come una sorta di 'anti-annunciazione' (II 259–326). Per ordine di Dio, i sacerdoti del tempio di Gerusalemme annunciarono il modo di scegliere un marito per Maria. Tutti gli uomini del popolo dovettero prendere un ramoscello di mandorlo e venire con esso al mattino al tempio: colui il cui ramo sarebbe fiorito, avrebbe preso Maria in moglie. Per rallentare la trama, il Mantovano introduce la storia di un uomo che, per verificare se fosse lui stesso l'uomo a cui sarebbe toccata in sorte Maria, offre sacrifici ai Mani in cima ad una torre. Uno spirito maligno appare all'uomo, ma non è in grado di rivelargli il futuro: questa conoscenza è riservata solo a Dio.

⁵⁴ La viola è un simbolo dell'umiltà di Maria, il giglio bianco della sua purezza.

⁵⁵ FEO (2015: 70–71) vede nell'immagine di Maria un riferimento più ampio alla tradizione della Venere Naturale, conosciuta dalla tradizione esiodea e lucreziana.

Poi i venti si acquietano, le nuvole si disperdono, i fiori sbocciano e il mare si rallegra. Il cielo sereno è illuminato dal sole.

Con l'avvento di Venere e di Maria arriva la primavera. Come Venere calma la natura e riempie d'amore e di gioia tutta la creazione, così alla vista di Maria si rallegra tutto il creato. Come Venere dà origine alla nuova creazione («per te quoniam genus omne animantum / concipitur», Lucr. I 4–5), così nel grembo di Maria, che si precipita ad incontrare Elisabetta incinta, sboccia la nuova Vita. Nel seguito del suo inno Lucrezio include una richiesta di pace, che Venere è in grado di offrire; ricordiamo che anche Maria, attraverso la nascita di Cristo, porterà la pace agli uomini (Lucr. I 29–40; *Parth. M.* II 643–648).

L'accostamento di Maria a Venere deriva da una versione cristianizzata dell'inno lucreziano, destinato a divenire un modello poetico molto popolare nel Cinquecento⁵⁶. La romana *Venus Genetrix*, 'madre degli Eneadi', capostipite del popolo Romano, è stata identificata con Maria Deipara, 'Genettrice di Dio' e un inno pagano è stato trasformato in un modello di invocazione-preghiera cristiana. Nonostante questo, il confronto di Maria con la dea romana dell'amore nella *Parthenice* può essere sorprendente, poiché precedentemente il Mantovano chiama Venere compagna del peccato mortale: «Hoc vitium prima veniens ab origine [...] Olentem / Cyprigenam, fraudum matrem, cui cuncta veneni / nota ministeria et Phoebeae carmina Circes / semper habet comitem: [...]» (*Parth. M.* I 207, 214–217). Venere pagana è, come in Lucrezio, un'emanazione dell'amore terreno pieno di erotismo⁵⁷. Questa forma imperfetta dell'amore è estranea a Maria che, come scrive il poeta, non si curava dell'amore terreno: «Non Illam terrenus amor [...] movebat» (III 459, 461). Infatti la stessa Madre di Dio personifica 'l'amore celeste': nel libro terzo leggiamo, per esempio, che sant'Ignazio di Antiochia attraverso la sua corrispondenza con Maria ha accesso all'«amore celeste» («incaluit patriae caelestis amore», III 788). Per lo Spagnoli una rielaborazione dell'inno epicureo non era quindi una semplice imitazione. Il poeta voleva ottenere un effetto simile al quello dell'accostamento di Maria con Pandora: nella *Parthenice Mariana* la Madre di Dio diventa, in qualche misura, la 'nuova Venere' cristiana⁵⁸. Questa trasformazione è sottolineata anche dall'uso nella descrizione di Maria dei nessi presi in prestito dai poeti cristiani, Prudenzio

⁵⁶ PROSPERI 2004: 139–158.

⁵⁷ Nel *Contra poetas impudice loquentes* il Mantovano rifiuta Venere come soggetto delle opere frivole: «Mater adulterii Venus est stuprique repertrix / atque lupanari fornicibusque favet» (33–34). La dea dell'amore è rappresentata come colei che porta la morte: «oris lascivia pectus / pulsat et in venas semina mortis agit» (23–24).

⁵⁸ Maria come 'Venere cristiana' è anche ritratta da Marco Girolamo Vida in *Christias*. Vd. ROBERG 2011: 174. Allo stesso modo, Pontano, descrivendo la Madre di Dio nei suoi inni, ricorre al lessico e alle diverse immagini ricavate dall'Inno a Venere di Lucrezio; vedi ŁUKASZEWICZ-CHANDRY 2009. Vedi anche PROSPERI 2004: 145–152.

e Venanzio Fortunato⁵⁹. La grandezza di Maria rispetto alla dea pagana è sottolineata anche nel libro terzo, dove la Madre di Dio è descritta come «più luminosa della stella Venere» («Veneris Tu clarior astro», III 296).

Per mostrare il fascino di Maria, il poeta impiega un altro esempio mitologico. Descrive come le tre Grazie con le Muse lasciarono i luoghi aviti e andarono in terra assira per diventare le compagne di Maria (I 594–606). Prima di incontrare la Vergine, fecero un lavaggio rituale nelle acque del Giordano: «Iordanis ad amnem / ut venere, vadis lavere nitentibus omnes, / quicquid labis erat» (I 602–604). Le ninfe compirono un'abluzione simile all'atto del battesimo, in seguito alla quale lavano via da sé la 'macchia del paganesimo'. Questo le rende pure e degne di servire Maria⁶⁰. L'associazione delle Carite (o le greche Grazie) con Maria assume un significato più profondo nel contesto delle parole del saluto angelico nella scena dell'Annunciazione, quando Maria è chiamata «piena di grazia» («gratia plena»). Le Grazie possono quindi essere intese come una metonimia della grazia divina che ha abitato in Maria.

L'immaginario mitologico pervade anche il discorso confortante dell'angelo a Maria nel Tempio di Gerusalemme (II 173–224). La verginità della Madonna è paragonata dal messaggero divino alla castità di Diana e Vesta: «Tibi gloria Vestae / et Triviae debetur honos» (II 181–182). La castità è un attributo di Vesta a causa delle sacerdotesse vergini che la servono; allo stesso modo Diana prediligeva la castità. Come dea della caccia, passava il suo tempo nelle profondità dei boschi, lontano dagli uomini, avendo solo vergini come compagne. Maria, come Diana, sarà circondata da un seguito di vergini, alle quali, come la dea romana, insegnerà le consuetudini venatorie: «invicta sequentur / virginei tua signa chori, quos more Dianae / nunc pede, nunc iaculo, nunc exercebis et arcu» (II 182–184). Questa metafora militare è molto ricorrente nelle opere del Mantovano: nelle altre *Parthenicae* il poeta descrive le sante vergini come valorose *viragines* che combattono per la fede cristiana. Un procedimento interessante è l'introduzione della figura della santa vergine Ursula nel seguito di Maria:

Ursula, virgineae dux et regina cohortis,
hoc explebit opus tandemque in sidera magnum
agmen aget, celebrem referens ex orbe triumphum.
Tethios occiduae populi litusque Britannum
et gelidi faciles pugnans gens accola Rheni
dulciaque arrecto cernent spectacula vultu.

(Mant. *Parth. M.* II 185–190)

⁵⁹ Mant. *Parth. M.* II 730–731 («decusque / aetheriae frontis») ~ Prud. *Cath.* 10, 103 («frontis decu»); Mant. *Parth. M.* II 735 («purpureas passim violas») ~ Prud. *Perist.* 3, 201 («carpite purpureas violas»); Mant. *Parth. M.* II 742 («blandior [...] aura») ~ Ven. Fort. *Carm.* VII 8, 24 («blandior aura»). NAZZARO 2009: 193.

⁶⁰ Cfr. anche LUDWIG 1999: 927.

Ursula era figlia di un re bretone: secondo il racconto agiografico costei andò in pellegrinaggio a Roma con un manipolo di undicimila vergini⁶¹. Durante il loro viaggio di ritorno, le donne furono attaccate da una tribù di Unni e subirono il martirio per loro mano. Il passaggio citato ricorda la visione leggendaria dell'ascensione al cielo delle vergini uccise dai barbari. L'uso della figura di Ursula non è casuale. Il nome della santa significa in latino «piccola orsa» (lat. *ursula*) e fa pensare alla ninfa Callisto, la compagna di Diana. Callisto fu punita della dea della caccia per aver perso la sua verginità con la trasformazione in una orsa. Giove, responsabile dell'accaduto, ebbe pietà della ninfa e la trasformò nella costellazione dell'Orsa Maggiore⁶². Così, il legame tra i due personaggi è la verginità, e l'ascensione di Ursula al cielo ha un equivalente mitologico nel catasterismo di Callisto. Nonostante questa analogia, le due storie differiscono tra loro in modo significativo. La santa cristiana rimane casta fino alla sua morte, mentre Callisto viene spogliata della sua verginità da Giove. Dare a Ursula il titolo di «virgineae dux et regina cohortis» (II 185) è non solo un riferimento all'origine regale della santa e al suo seguito delle vergini, ma sottolinea altresì il rapporto speciale con Maria, tradizionalmente chiamata 'Regina delle Vergini'⁶³. Maria stessa viene anche nominata nel poema come «Orsa Maggiore» e «Orsa Minore» («tu nobis Elice: nobis Cynosura», I 22)⁶⁴. Callisto, perdendo la sua verginità, incorre nell'ira di Diana e perde il proprio posto d'onore al seguito della dea. L'elevazione di Ursula tra le stelle è presentato come una solenne processione trionfale; il catasterismo di Callisto conclude il racconto del suo triste destino.

Per dimostrare la superiorità degli eroi del mondo cristiano, il Mantovano ricorre anche a materiale che potremmo chiamare semi-mitologico: a quei luoghi della storia romana che possono essere definiti leggende. Nel libro secondo, il poeta loda la rettitudine di Maria, il che fornisce il pretesto per aggiungere al testo un esteso elogio della verginità. In esso egli fa riferimento a esempi mitologici, storici e biblici di figure che si sono particolarmente distinte per la loro rettitudine morale, tra cui Marco Attilio Regolo e i martiri cristiani⁶⁵. Il catalogo

⁶¹ La storia del martirio di sant'Orsola è stata descritta da Jacopo da Varagine nella sua *Legenda aurea*.

⁶² Cfr. Ov. *Met.* II 409–531.

⁶³ Vale la pena aggiungere che il Mantovano chiama Ursula *dux* (II 185) invece di *ductrix*: fa dunque uso della forma maschile, degna di una vera *virago*. La stessa parola è usata da Venere nell'*Eneide* nella descrizione di Didone, la quale era eroicamente fuggita da Tiro alla testa dei suoi fedeli compagni («dux femina facti», Verg. *Aen.* I 364). Così il Mantovano fonde ancora più strettamente la figura della santa con Maria, che era anche ritratta come una valorosa *virago*. Vedi *supra*, p. 192.

⁶⁴ Sotto la costellazione dell'Orsa Minore si trova la Stella Polare, alla quale veniva paragonata Maria, la guida degli uomini (da cui viene il suo titolo: *Stella Maris*). Cfr. BOLISANI 1957: 197.

⁶⁵ Laurento e gli apostoli Pietro e Paolo.

breve si apre con due eroi romani della guerra etrusca: Gaio Muzio Scevola e Clelia⁶⁶:

Cur Scaevola dextram
misit in arduas prunas? Et brachia flammis
exurenda dedit? Pavor est tot milibus unus,
quem propriis virtus gladiis armavit et hasta.
Cur tranavit aquas Tiberinaeque flumina virgo,
cui populus statuas posuit Romanus equestrem,
Clelia? Quo clipeo Tuscum, quibus ensibus hostem
vicit? Ei lorica fuit catapultaque virtus:

(Mant. *Parth. M.* II 893–900)

Secondo la leggenda, Scevola fu catturato in un tentativo fallito di assassinare il re etrusco Porsenna. Per dimostrare di non temere le torture, stese la mano sul fuoco. Incredulo alla vista del coraggio del romano, Porsenna gli concesse la libertà. Clelia fu invece una degli ostaggi romani nel campo etrusco. Alla testa delle sue compagne («dux agminis virginum», Liv. II 13)⁶⁷ fuggì dal campo nemico e si diresse verso la riva opposta del Tevere. Fu restituita dai Romani a Porsenna, il quale, pieno di ammirazione per il coraggio di Clelia, promise che avrebbe concesso la libertà a lei e a sei prigionieri a sua scelta. Romani onorano questa figura valorosa con una statua che rappresenta una donna a cavallo. La biblica Giuditta mostrò una simile forza d'animo:

fortior una viris, ducibus praestantior una;
cautior una fuit mulier, cui provida virtus
praestitit ingentes animos et ferrea corda,
cum ducis ausa fuit correpto guttura cultro
stringere et in peram caput insertare tyranni.

(Mant. *Parth. M.* II 901–905)

La storia dell'eroina biblica è presentata nel Libro di Giuditta (Gdt 7–15). Durante l'assedio assiro della città israelita di Betulia, guidato da Oloferne, Giuditta, vedendo che le cose peggioravano inesorabilmente, decise di prendere la situazione in mano. Si intrufolò nel campo assiro e sedusse il re nemico. Dopo una grande festa, dopo che Oloferne si fu assopito, gli tagliò la testa con una spada e, nascondendola in un cestino, tornò con essa a Betulia. Su consiglio della donna, la testa del capo assiro fu appesa ai muri della città, il che causò il panico nel campo nemico. Le truppe in fuga furono schiacciate dall'esercito israelito.

Nella tradizione cristiana, la figura di Giuditta è una delle prefigurazioni di Maria, quindi naturalmente il suo coraggio è un *exemplum* della virtù mariana.

⁶⁶ La storia di Scevola e Clelia è narrata da Livio in *Ab Urbe condita*, vd. Liv. II 12–13.

⁶⁷ Cfr. nota 63.

Nel contrapporre gli eroi romani e la donna biblica, il poeta esalta chiaramente quest'ultima. Giuditta, come Scevola, tenta di risolvere il conflitto armato uccidendo il comandante nemico: costei però, a differenza di Scevola, portò a compimento il proprio disegno. Come Clelia, Giuditta fugge di notte dal campo nemico, ma a differenza della sua omologa romana porta con sé un trofeo di guerra, che contribuirà alla sconfitta degli Assiri (i Romani furono costretti a restituire Clelia agli Etruschi).

In ognuno degli esempi discussi sopra, torna alla ribalta, in modo diverso da come evidenziato per il parallelismo imitativo dei motivi di cui abbiamo parlato all'inizio, il principio rinascimentale dell'*aemulatio*: la competizione creativa con i modelli antichi. Tale principio viene subordinato al superiore scopo morale, che è quello di dimostrare il diverso valore morale della materia cristiana rispetto a quella pagana. È questa superiorità della materia che rende la poesia cristiana di maggior valore rispetto alle opere antiche, nonostante la loro superba fattura. Ecco perché il Magnificat cantato da Maria supera le opere dei grandi poeti greci (Saffo ed Eschilo) e dei cantori mitologici (Museo, Orfeo, Anfione)⁶⁸. Nel Mantovano si sottolinea la mancanza di equivalenza tra le due tradizioni indicando il primato delle storie bibliche su quelle mitologiche:

Primus hic undosum sulcavit navibus aequor,
 quamvis prima ratis credatur Iasonis Argo.
 Primus hic effossa vitem supponere terra
 coepit et apricis mites de collibus uvas
 tollere, Dircae licet haec sit gloria Baccho.
 (Mant. *Parth. M.* I 353–357)

Non fu la nave degli Argonauti, come hanno tramandato gli scrittori e i poeti romani⁶⁹, a salpare per prima sulle onde del mare, ma l'arca biblica⁷⁰. Il suo costruttore, Noé, fu il primo a introdurre la coltivazione della vite, contrariamente al mito greco, che attribuisce questo merito a Bacco⁷¹. Questo approccio alla tradizione antica deriva dal trattamento da parte dei poeti cristiani della mitologia come una fonte dei motivi ed esempi, come una raccolta di favole, che sono col-

⁶⁸ «Non Lesbica tale / femina; facundi non Teia Musa poetae / non satus Eumolpo, non ipse Oeagrius Orpheus, / non sonuit Dircaea chelys, qua docta superbit / Graecia, qua sese iactat Cadmaea propago» (Mant. *Parth. M.* II 836–840).

⁶⁹ A partire da Catullo (Cat. 64, 1–15).

⁷⁰ L'accostamento delle due immagini è stato facilitato dalla somiglianza del suono dei nomi delle navi: *Argo* ~ *arca*. MODLIŃSKA-PIEKARZ 2018: 467.

⁷¹ Vale la pena di aggiungere che la tradizione di attribuire la priorità nelle invenzioni alle figure bibliche ha origine nelle opere di Giuseppe Flavio, il quale sosteneva che tutti i principali inventa del genere umano fossero presenti primariamente nella Bibbia e che i pagani non avessero fatto altro che diffonderle (per esempio, Mosè avrebbe insegnato l'arte del canto a Orfeo). Cfr. CHERCHI 2018: 246.

locate in un passato di contestualizzazione ambigua, a volte letterario, e a volte semplicemente alternativo. È per questo che sant'Anna menziona le storie di Aiace e Oreste, che suo padre le raccontava (II 72–74)⁷², e che il poeta, ricordando la storia d'Odisseo, osserva che essa si è verificata «una volta» (I 218). Per il Mantovano, quindi, più importante della veridicità dei miti citati è la loro valutazione secondo un criterio morale⁷³.

La disparità morale tra le due tradizioni si manifesta dunque nel fatto che la materia cristiana è assimilata nella sua forma originale, mentre quella pagana è necessariamente soggetta ad essere rielaborata allo scopo di divenire compatibile col discorso morale che viene condotto. Finora per la materia cristiana abbiamo inteso l'archetipo biblico o apocrifo, ma un processo analogo si riscontra anche nel caso di altre fonti cristiane. Consideriamo uno di questi esempi più da vicino.

Nel libro secondo appare la descrizione del viaggio meditativo di Maria, la cui prima tappa è stata già discussa⁷⁴. La seconda parte del viaggio si riferisce d'altronde a una fonte cristiana: all'immagine del Paradiso nella *Divina Commedia* di Dante. Qui Maria conosce in sequenza le nove sfere celesti. Il poeta menziona prima i sette pianeti che orbitano nei loro cerchi (II 497–507), che nel caso di Dante corrispondevano ai seguenti cieli: della Luna, di Mercurio, di Venere, del Sole, di Marte, di Giove, di Saturno. Al di sopra di questi c'è una ottava sfera planetaria (508–509)⁷⁵, e sopra di essa il «gelido Olimpo» (*glacialis Olympus*, II 512), cioè la nona sfera del cielo di cristallo (*Primum Mobile* in Dante). Infine, Maria raggiunge il decimo cielo, o Empireo: «Iam Superis admixta, domos explorat et arcem / et solium sublime Patris, quod plurima circum / turba leves animi volitant decimoque sedenti / orbe Deo assistunt vigiles» (II 542–545). Le ispirazioni dantesche non sono casuali e il lettore è preparato a coglierle. La visione del Paradiso è preceduta, come in Dante, da una descrizione del Tartaro. All'uomo che invoca i Mani appare dagli inferi una fantasma, che sotto la forma di una catabasi descrive la disposizione dei tre cerchi infernali: Limbo, Purgatorio e Inferno, in cui si trova il palazzo di Satana (II 290–313)⁷⁶.

⁷² «Pater Aiace[m] narrare solebat / insanum mactasse pecus, dum quaereret hostem. / Et furias idem memin[i] recitabat Orestis, / quem comes ad Scythicae vexit delubra Dianae» (Mant. *Parth. M.* II 72–75).

⁷³ È per questo che gli animali venuti ad adorare il piccolo Gesù sono più felici degli animali che hanno nutrito gli antichi eroi e dei (per esempio, la capra Amaltea che nutrì Giove) o li hanno serviti in un altro modo (come i leoni aggiogati al carro di Cibele, vd. Mant. *Parth. M.* III 102–121). Al rapporto tra verità e finzione nella *Parthenice Mariana* è stato dedicato uno studio dettagliato da A. Moss (2003: 212–220).

⁷⁴ Vedi *supra*, p. 192.

⁷⁵ Qui il Mantovano ha usato il termine *meantia sidera* (II 508), con cui Ovidio si riferiva ai pianeti (*Met.* XV 71). In Dante quest'ultima è la sfera delle stelle fisse (BOLISANI 1957: 208).

⁷⁶ Il loro numero e ordine differisce dalla disposizione dei cerchi infernali nell'opera di Dante, e l'ispirazione è probabilmente più ampia (tra gli altri, *Libri IV dialogorum de vita et miraculis*

Nel passaggio analizzato, il Mantovano, descrivendo la struttura dell'universo, attinge alla struttura gerarchica rappresentata nella *Divina Commedia*. Maria inizia il proprio viaggio spirituale nella parte più bassa, cioè sulla terra, poi attraversa le successive sfere planetarie fino a raggiungere il cielo più alto, in cui si trova la dimora di Dio. La meditazione di Maria, come tutta la preghiera, è così diretta verso il Creatore e a Lui mira⁷⁷. Questa ricerca del contatto diretto con Dio assume le caratteristiche di un'estasi mistica. L'anima di Maria lascia la terra e sprofonda sempre di più nelle proprie sensazioni («mens [...] / altius it semperque magis terrena relinquit», II 539, 541), per sperimentare finalmente la totale vicinanza spirituale di Dio («seseque oblita virumque, / miscetur Divis caelique palatia lustrat. / Atque toro recubans, summo spatiat Olympo», II 552–554)⁷⁸. Anche qui possiamo ravvisare la fonte nella *Divina Commedia*, in cui l'estasi come forma di espressione dei sentimenti religiosi gioca un ruolo chiave⁷⁹. Questo esempio mostra chiaramente che la materia tratta dall'opera considerata come la *summa* del sapere teologico medievale – la struttura dell'universo –, viene messa a frutto in tutta la sua ricchezza.

L'analisi condotta in queste pagine rivela il modo in cui il Mantovano elabora la materia poetica del mondo antico con tutta la sua ricchezza di *topoi* mitologici, in modo da poterli impiegare come modelli per le proprie opere. Questa materia deve essere filtrata in base all'adeguatezza del contenuto, perché ciò che è incompatibile con l'insegnamento cristiano deve essere respinto. Di solito, però, i motivi mitologici, dopo un'elaborazione appropriata o anche senza di essa, possono essere adattati a temi cristiani. Il modo più semplice è quello di usare un'analogia tra un elemento del mondo cristiano e la sua controparte antica: allora il contenuto cristiano si vela di una veste mitologica in cui non vengono introdotti cambiamenti. Questo vale sia per gli elementi esornativi (per esempio, quando il Mantovano dà al Dio cristiano dei soprannomi di Giove⁸⁰ o presenta le

patrum Italicorum et de aeternitate animarum di Gregorio I il Grande, cfr. BOLISANI 1957: 206), tuttavia il fatto stesso di questa immaginaria discesa agli inferi e la descrizione dei successivi cieli che segue poco dopo richiama al lettore l'opera di Dante.

⁷⁷ Questa osservazione assume ancora più consistenza se si considera che il racconto della creazione del mondo con cui Maria inizia le sue meditazioni (vedi supra, p. 186) in Ovidio (e nella Genesi) corona la creazione dell'uomo. Nella meditazione, Maria inverte l'ordine descritto nella Genesi e ritorna alla fonte della creazione, cioè a Dio.

⁷⁸ Nel terzo libro apprendiamo che Maria, grazie alla sua virtù, dopo la sua Assunzione sarà più vicina a Dio: «Nam, quo quisque magis sortem patienter acerbam / pertulerit vivens, tanto sublimius ibit / orbe alio Patrique magis vicina tenebit / tecta meo...» (*Parth. M.* III 859–862).

⁷⁹ Sul misticismo nella *Divina Commedia* si veda, per esempio, SBACCHI 2006.

⁸⁰ Alcuni sono semplici paralleli (per esempio *Tonans*: il Tonante), altri testimoniano l'originalità stilistica del poeta, per esempio *Panomphaeus* (*Parth. M.* I 494) – nella *Iliade* soprannome di Giove: «autore di tutti i presagi» (*pan*: ogni, *omphe*: la voce divina, l'oracolo, ma anche la voce, il suono; cfr. anche Ov. *Met.* XI 198); qui si ricorre all'analogia coi passi della Bibbia in cui si parla di lodare il Signore con parole umane (ad es. Sal 107, 32; Sal 34, 2–4) e del dono delle lingue (ad

figure bibliche come mitologiche⁸¹), sia per motivi analoghi di portata più ampia (gli esempi dell'età dell'oro e della gigantomachia citati sopra). La *Parthenice Mariana* non può, tuttavia, essere intesa semplicemente come un elenco di immagini mitologico-cristiane⁸²; molto più spesso i motivi mitologici sono visti come subordinati alla Bibbia, e il loro uso serve a mettere in risalto la superiorità del materiale cristiano. Di conseguenza l'opera del Mantovano mostra una rielaborazione rinascimentale del motivo dell'ape, risalente all'antichità: il poeta si sforza di creare non solo qualcosa di diverso, nuovo, ma anche migliore dal materiale raccolto.

Daniela MARRONE, basandosi tra l'altro sui risultati delle ricerche di Jacob BURCKHARDT esposte nel famoso *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, conclude che nelle opere scritte nel suo periodo poetico maturo (per esempio i *Fasti*) il Mantovano fa una chiara distinzione tra la realtà cristiana e quella falsa, pagana. In questo modo si scosta dalla pratica di mescolare i due mondi presente nelle sue opere precedenti, compresa la *Parthenice Mariana*⁸³. Alla luce di questa analisi, siffatte conclusioni ci appaiono incomplete. Il poeta non opera una fusione completa del mondo cristiano e pagano, ma la mitologia, in quest'opera, non serve nemmeno come puro e semplice ornamento. Il Mantovano era ben consapevole del pericolo che poteva costituire l'impiego della tradizione pagana, ed è per questo che fu molto cauto nell'utilizzare materiale mitologico all'interno della sua opera. Per il Mantovano la rinascita della letteratura classica recava in sé la minaccia della rinascita del paganesimo e il trionfo di una moralità incompatibile con i principi cristiani⁸⁴. Infatti, il Mantovano si preoccupò che nei propri versi non riecheggiassero allusioni equivocate all'antichità pagana. Così nel *Contra poetas impudice loquentes* (1489), una sorta di manifesto dell'umanesimo quattrocentesco, egli rifiuta l'appello di Catullo: «nam castum esse decet pium poetam

es. Act. 2, 4; 10, 46; 19, 6). ASCENSIVS (1501: fol. 33r) vede anche la fonte di questo soprannome nel fatto che Dio ascolta tutte le voci: «vel quod omnium voces audiat, quod non gentilium Iovi, sed nostro deo recte attribuitur».

⁸¹ L'angelo come il dio Imeneo nella scena delle nozze di Maria e Giuseppe (*Parth. M.* II 390–391), Maria come ninfa (ad es. I 1).

⁸² Nel proporre questo concetto faccio riferimento alle osservazioni fatte da S. SCHOTTENIUS (2010: 45).

⁸³ «...lo Spagnoli [...] sembra voler stabilire, in questi suoi versi della maturità, una marcata opposizione tra le figure del cristianesimo e quelle del falso mondo pagano, quasi a non volerne più confondere i ruoli, come invece aveva fatto senza esitazione nella *Parthenice Mariana* ed in altre opere successive. In esse infatti il Mantovano aveva cercato con assiduità di recuperare sul piano morale la cultura classica, fino ad assimilarne profondamente gli ideali, risultato che, a quanto pare, sembrava tuttavia essere sfuggito ai suoi critici e a quanti portarono avanti la polemica contro la poesia cristiana umanistica» (MARRONE 2004: 99–100).

⁸⁴ Anche Erasmo era consapevole di ciò e probabilmente per questo apprezzava le opere del Mantovano così tanto: «Marullus mihi videtur nihil aliud sonare quam paganismum. Est ob hoc ipsum fortassis istis gratior Marullus quam Mantuanus» (vd. CASTRO 1996: 99).

/ ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est» (16, 5–6) in favore di una totale purezza morale, che si manifesta inoltre nel contenuto delle sue opere composte: «Vita decet sacros et pagina casta poetas, / castus enim vaturn spiritus atque sacer»⁸⁵. Il ruolo delle storie mitologiche nella *Parthenice Mariana* è sempre subordinato all'obiettivo generale del poema, dunque alle lode del Dio cristiano. Perché alla fine è Maria che sarà incoronata Regina del cielo e della terra, e il mondo intero, dopo che saranno stati banditi gli dei falsi e bugiardi, adorerà il vero Dio⁸⁶.

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⁸⁵ CASTRO 1996: 114. Cfr. CASTRO 1996: 100, e anche CZAPLA 2013: 177, 182–183; SEVERI 2014: 159; GAISSER 2017: 118.

⁸⁶ «Post, ubi tempus erit, lateri contermina nostro / fiet, et ingentes mundi tractabit habenas. / Cernis, ubi modico surgunt Capitolia saxo / templa Iovis falsi, mediam, qua dividit urbem / Tybris et Etruscos convolvit in aequora fontes? / Illa tui sedes regni, cum pulsa deorum / turba, tibi veteres aras et templa relinquet: / Te Libyes Asiaeque colent latissima regna; / Europae magis arva tamen: tibi Roma Latinae / gentis apex, Phoebumque videns Hispana cadentem / Doris, et algentem regio, quae sustinet Arcton / serviet, atque novo tellus lustrabitur imbre. / Tunc Tua cum propriis iungent insignia reges: / et crucis aereas signabit purpura turres. / Me magis Assyriae gentes, Indique Arabesque: / atque Palaestinae populi novere; sed olim / forsitan et nostro laetabitur Africa nexu / templaque Spiritui ponet celeberrima Sancto» (*Parth. M.* I 572–589). Cfr. anche il racconto apocrifo della caduta e della perdizione degli dei egiziani: *Parth. M.* III 397–411, cfr. Ps. Mt. 23; Is 19, 1, specialmente *Parth. M.* III 409–411: «...coepit tunc perdere vires / caeca superstitio verique exsurgere Patris / cultus...».

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DER DOPPELTE ODYSSEUS ARTUR BECKER UND DIE PRÄFIGURATIONEN DURCH DEN MYTHOS

von

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ABSTRACT: The article aims to outline the reception of the Odysseus myth that occurs throughout the literary works of Artur Becker. It shows how the biography of the author and his emigration to Germany in his childhood influenced his perception of identity now understood as trans-national and cosmopolitan in its nature without the rejection of one's heritage. Having experienced the loss of his homeland due to emigration the author identifies his fate with fellow Polish emigrants like Czesław Miłosz and Andrzej Bobkowski. From the latter he borrows the term "Kosmopolacy" which, translated to German as "Kosmopolen", functions as a description for the identity of Becker and a trans-cultural place that he sees as his homeland after the migration. The longing for his homeland serves as an organising principle for the essays and fictional works by Becker in which the Odysseus myth prefigures the self-understanding and the works of the author, finding its pinnacle in the novel *Wodka und Messer. Lied vom Ertrinken* (2008). The author is a double-Odysseus for the myth is to be found both in his biography as well as his literary works.

Artur Becker ist ein zeitgenössischer Autor polnischer Herkunft, dessen Person und Werk vom Odysseus-Mythos präfiguriert werden¹. Sowohl in seiner Essaysammlung, wie auch in seinem Prosawerk werden der Heimatverlust und die Rückkehr in die verlorene Heimat thematisiert. Anhand der autobiografischen Erinnerungen, die in den zahlreichen Essays zu finden sind, wird deutlich, dass die Sehnsucht nach der Heimat für Beckers Werdegang zum Schriftsteller und für die Gestaltung seiner Prosa und Lyrik prägend geworden ist². Der Odysseus-Mythos im Falle Beckers präfiguriert die meisten seiner fiktiven Werke und

¹ Der Begriff der Präfiguration hatte anfänglich eine religiöse Bedeutung und bezog sich auf die Prophezeiungsfiguren im Alten Testament, die im Neuen Bund in Erfüllung gehen sollten. Hier wird dieser Begriff nach M. KŁAŃSKA in seiner säkularisierten Form gebraucht, d.h. man versteht darunter einen Bezug zu einer Urfassung. Somit verweist der Begriff auf ein früher auftretendes Motiv, das die Struktur des gegebenen Werks, die Geschehnisse und Figuren, gewissermaßen antizipiert. In den Werken, die sich der Präfiguration bedienen, ist die Beziehung zwischen der dargestellten Welt und dem Mythos relativ frei und erscheint meistens in Form von Analogien zum Mythos. Siehe M. KŁAŃSKA, *Mit Odyszeusza w literaturze niemieckojęzycznej XX wieku*, Kraków 1982, S. 97.

² A. BECKER, *Kosmopolen. Auf der Suche nach einem europäischen Zuhause. Essays*, Frankfurt am Main 2016.

dient als ein organisatorisches Kompositionsprinzip für sie sowie als Handhabe für die Deutung des eigenen Lebenslaufs. Insofern ist der Autor ein „doppelter Odysseus“, da der mythologische Stoff auf zwei Ebenen rezipiert wird: der biografischen und der literarischen.

Diese zwei Ebenen werden hier in drei Teilen untersucht: Im ersten Teil wird gezeigt, wie das Moment des Heimatverlusts und die daraus resultierende Nomadenexistenz Einfluss auf die Identität des Schriftstellers hatte, deren Vergleichsfolie der homerische Held ist, und wie dessen Konsequenz die Entwicklung eines transkulturellen Orts- und Identitätsverständnisses war, das mit dem Namen „Kosmopolen“ bezeichnet wird. Im zweiten Teil wird das Heimatbild in Beckers Essay- und Prosawerk analysiert, wo Becker an Autoren wie Czesław Miłosz und William Blake anknüpft und weiter das Bild seiner Region als einen multikulturellen Ort prägt, der für ihn sein verlorenes Ithaka darstellt. Hier werden auch Merkmale des Heimatbildes herausgehoben, die dann in der Analyse der Rezeption des Odysseus-Mythos von Bedeutung sein werden. Im dritten Teil wird die Rezeption des Mythos in Beckers Prosawerken untersucht, wo gezeigt wird, dass der Odysseus-Stoff die meisten Romane des Autors durchzieht und eine besondere Ausprägung im Roman *Wodka und Messer. Lied vom Ertrinken* (2008) annimmt.

1. ODYSSEUS AUS KOSMOPOLEN – DER MODERNE NOMADE

Artur Becker ist ein 1968 in Bartoszyce (dt. Bartenstein) geborener Schriftsteller, Lyriker, Essayist und Publizist, der 2009 als erster Autor polnischer Herkunft den Adalbert-von-Chamisso-Preis bekam – eine Auszeichnung, die auf Deutsch schreibenden Autoren nicht deutscher Herkunft verliehen wird. Becker ist Mitglied im PEN-Zentrum Deutschland, dem Exil-P.E.N.-Club und im Verband deutscher Schriftsteller. 1985 emigrierte Becker nach Deutschland, nachdem er ein Jahr alleine in Bartoszyce auf seinen Reisepass gewartet hatte, und gehört somit zu der sog. polnischen 1980er-Migrationswelle³. In seinem Essay *Der Sachsenhain an der Aller* erinnert sich der Schriftsteller an seine ersten Jahre in diesem neuen Land, darunter an seinen Aufenthalt im Jugenddorf Celle, wo er mit anderen Emigrantenkinder Deutsch lernen sollte. Er schreibt über den Verbleib im Internat:

Ich war siebzehn und böse, weil ich von meinen Eltern in ein fremdes Land entführt wurde, weil mein geliebtes Mädchen in Poznań lebte, weil uns der Eiserner Vorhang trennte und weil mich die Sehnsucht zerfraß. Mich hielt nichts in diesem Jugenddorf, in dem ich plötzlich mit Zehnjährigen in einer Klasse

³ M. JOKIEL, *Vom Kosmopoliten zum Kosmo-Polen. Zur transkulturellen Identität Artur Beckers an Hand seines essayistischen Werks*, in: M. MAURACH, M. URBANEC (Hgg.), *Zentrum und Peripherie: Aus literaturwissenschaftlicher Sicht*, Opava 2017, S. 250.

sitzen und Deutsch lernen musste. Ein Albtraum für einen sechzehnjährigen Nonkonformisten, der Wodka und seine Wirkung kannte, der wusste, wie Sex schmeckte, der auf Polnisch Gedichte schrieb und sie im Zigarettendunst auf masurischen Dichtertreffen in Iława (Deutsch – Eylau) vorgelesen hatte [...]⁴.

Wenig später übersiedelte der junge Becker nach Verden an der Aller, wo er auch das Abitur ablegte. Die Emigration stellt eine wichtige Konstituente der literarischen Physiognomie des Autors dar. An den Moment des Umzugs wird in vielen Essays Beckers zurückerinnert, in dem Reisebericht *Im Zug durch Deutschland* konstatiert er: „Erwachsen kam ich zu meinen Eltern, die sich in Verden an der Aller angesiedelt hatten, kam mit poetischer und politischer Erfahrung nach Deutschland, obwohl ich ein sechzehnjähriges Kind war und Hunger hatte, großen Hunger“⁵. Im Essay *An meinen Schutzengel aus Polen* werden die Gefühle geschildert, die diese Situation begleiteten:

Ich litt einerseits unter dem Verlust meiner Freunde und meines Mädchens aus Poznań und freute mich andererseits auf das neue Leben in der für uns Polen der Solidarność-Epoche vor Milch und Honig triefenden Bundesrepublik, die in den im Ostblock politisch heißen Achtzigerjahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts eine Art Paradies darstellte: den Himmel auf Erden für die realsozialismüden Osteuropäer⁶.

Auch in seinem Prosawerk wird das Motiv der Migration oder des Migrantendaseins immer wieder thematisiert, daher kann dem Kommentar Robert JONCZYKS zugestimmt werden, dass die Emigration es Becker ermöglichte, ein polnischer Schriftsteller zu werden, der er nicht hätte werden können, wenn er in Polen geblieben wäre⁷. Der Autor scheint diese These selbst zu bestätigen, indem er auf die Sehnsucht im Kontext seiner Emigration, als Motor beim Schreiben seines ersten Romans verweist⁸. Der Heimatverlust, den der Schriftsteller 1985 erlitt, und die Sehnsucht nach der Vergangenheit tragen als entscheidende Faktoren zum Werk Beckers bei.

Dass Beckers Identität schwer zu bestimmen sei, bezeugen die verschiedenen Bezeichnungen, mit denen er von Literaturwissenschaftlern versehen wird,

⁴ *Kosmopolen*, S. 142.

⁵ Ebenda. S. 24.

⁶ Ebenda. S. 153.

⁷ R. JONCZYK, *Artur Becker im Gespräch mit Robert Jonczyk „Ich lebe auf einer Insel...“*. in: C. GANSEL, M. WOLTING (Hgg.), *Deutschland- und Polenbilder in der Literatur nach 1989*, Göttingen 2015, S. 397.

⁸ Siehe M. KARDACH, *Polska recepcja niemieckiej literatury autorstwa polskich pisarzy-emigrantów. Studium przypadku: Artur Becker oraz jego twórczość w latach 1997–2016*, in: M. WOLTING, S. WOLTING (Hgg.), *Zrozumieć Obcość. Recepcja literatury niemieckojęzycznej w Polsce po 1989 roku*, Kraków 2016, S. 282.

z.B.: „polnischer Emigranten-Schriftsteller“ und „Spätaussiedler“⁹, „deutsch-polnischer Schriftsteller“¹⁰, „ein in Deutschland lebender polnischer Autor“¹¹, „deutscher Schriftsteller aus Bartoszyce“¹². Er selbst bleibt bei seiner eigenen Verortung konsequent und sagt, er sei: „polnischer Emigrant deutscher Zunge“¹³, „polnischer Schriftsteller, der ich ja trotz meines deutschsprachigen Mantels, den ich täglich anziehe, geblieben bin“¹⁴, „polnischer Autor deutscher Sprache“, wobei er anmerkt, dass die Frage nach seiner eigenen Identität von seinem geistigen Zustand abhängig sei und dass er sich immer wieder neu definiere¹⁵.

Die Identität von Artur Becker scheint sich zwischen zwei Polen zu bewegen – einerseits ist sie durch die Kindheit in Polen und die ursprüngliche Ambition, ein polnischer Dichter zu werden, andererseits durch die Emigration nach Deutschland und den damit verbundenen Sprachwechsel 1989 geprägt. Dieser Zwiespalt hat seinen Anfang auch in der deutsch-polnischen Familie des Autors, deren kurze Geschichte im Essay *Zamęty* geschildert wird: Seine Großmutter Natalia Frankowska wurde in Litauen geboren und war während des Kriegs Zwangsarbeiterin auf einem Bauernhof in Hannover, später heiratete sie einen Deutschen und gebar seine Mutter. Großmutter Erna war eine Ostpreußerin aus Bartenstein und ist die Mutter seines Vaters, was ihn folglich, laut Becker, auch zu einem Deutschen macht, sie wurde 1945 von den Rotarmisten geschändet und musste Typhusleichen zum Scheiterhaufen tragen. Der eine Großvater war während des Kriegs ein polnischer Soldat und ein Gefangener der Nazis, der andere ein Wehrmachtssoldat und ein Gefangener der Alliierten. Dass die Familiengeschichte nicht ohne Einfluss auf das Identitätsverständnis Beckers blieb, bestätigt der Satz, der dieser Schilderung folgt: „Nach all diesen leidvollen Erfahrungen frage ich mich, wenn ich wieder einmal Zweifel habe, wie konnte ich ein deutschsprachiger Autor werden?“¹⁶. Weiter wird jedoch bestätigt, dass die Identität des Autors, obwohl schwer in nationale Rahmen zu fassen, fest mit seinem Migrationshintergrund verbunden sei, da er schreibt:

[...] ich weiß nur, dass ich nicht müde bin, denn ich habe eine Sehnsucht:
Ich sehne mich nach dem Paradies meiner Kindheit. Und ich verbinde dieses

⁹ Ebenda, S. 276.

¹⁰ A. GAJDIS, *Odysseus kehrt zurück – Masuren / Ostpreußen in den Romanen von Artur Becker*, in: M. WOLTING (Hg.), *Neues historisches Erzählen*, Göttingen 2019, S. 233.

¹¹ S. PIONTEK, *Zwischen B und B. Identitätsräume bei Artur Becker*, *Aussieger Beiträge: Germanistische Schriftenreihe aus Forschung und Lehre VI* 2012, S. 134.

¹² <http://gazetaolsztynska.pl/229090,W-Niemcezech-nie-ma-duchow.html>. (Zugriff am 9.9.2021).

¹³ *Kosmopolen*, S. 117.

¹⁴ Ebenda, S. 265.

¹⁵ Ebenda, S. 417.

¹⁶ Vgl. *Zamęty*, in: *Kosmopolen*, S. 175–180.

Paradies nicht mit meiner Volksrepublik Polen, der *PRL*, nicht mit dem Glas Wodka das jeden Mann zum Schwätzer und Aufschneider macht. Ich verbinde meine Sehnsucht mit der ermländisch-masurischen Natur. Sie ist uns Menschen eine Meisterin. Und ich verbinde meine Sehnsucht mit der Verantwortung im Umgang mit unserer schwierigen polnisch-deutschen Vergangenheit: Ich sehne mich nach dem Verstehen unseres Roulettespiels, zumal ich weiß, dass die Identitätssuche, zu der ich verdammt wurde, mit mir nicht enden wird¹⁷.

Die Migration bildet ein konstitutives Moment für das Werk Artur Beckers, dabei wird sie zu einem produktivem Störfaktor bezüglich seiner eigenen Identität, die nicht mehr als ein nationales Identitätsverständnis begriffen werden kann. Der Autor, sich seiner gegenwärtigen Position bewusst, befindet sich in einer Lage, wo er zwischen zwei Kulturen oszilliert, in denen er nicht völlig beheimatet ist, die jedoch die Rahmen für seine Verortung bilden. Er ist nicht nur ein topografischer Nomade, sondern auch ein geistiger, er schreibt: „Immer noch gehe ich in meinen Träumen und Geschichten in die Kopernikus-Straße, wo ich als Kind die ersten poetischen und weltlichen Schritte machte [...]“¹⁸. Seine Heimatlosigkeit, sein Nomadentum und der Versuch, die verlorene Heimat wiederzuerlangen, machen Becker Odysseus ähnlich. Becker fragt: „Was denkt und tut eigentlich ein moderner Nomade?“ und seine Antwort auf diese Frage ruft das Bild des mythologischen Helden in Erinnerung: „Er ist ein Mann der Unrast, aber einer ganz besonderen, weil sie nicht nur in der Welt haust und ein Produkt unseres gerade entstehenden 21. Jahrhunderts ist: Sie wohnt auch im Herzen dieses Nomaden, das in ihm unruhig pocht und ihn zum Reisen antreibt“¹⁹. Im Essay *Im Zug nach Deutschland* sagt er von sich, sein Herz sei in Polen, sein Intellekt in Europa und sein Körper gehöre der Gaia²⁰. Für diesen Zustand bedient sich der Schriftsteller des von Andrzej BOBKOWSKI (1913–1961), einem polnischen Schriftsteller und Exilanten der Nachkriegszeit, geprägten Begriffs *Kosmopolacy* – „Kosmopolen“. BOBKOWSKI verstand unter diesem Begriff einen weltoffenen Polen, der ohne sein Herkunftsland zu negieren, sich als Weltbürger identifiziert²¹. Bei Becker kann dieser Begriff auf zweierlei Weisen gedeutet werden – im Sinne einer Personenbezeichnung und im Sinne einer Ortsbezeichnung. Diesen Begriff pflegt er sowohl für seine Identitäts- wie auch für seine Heimatsbezeichnung zu benutzen und erweitert ihn insofern, als er jetzt für einen mentalen Ort steht, jenseits der Zeit und des Raums, einen „Ort der geistigen Harmonie“²² und „ein

¹⁷ Ebenda, S. 178.

¹⁸ *Kosmopolen*, S. 335.

¹⁹ Ebenda, S. 324.

²⁰ Ebenda, S. 28.

²¹ Vgl. A. BOBKOWSKI, *Szkice piórkem*, Warszawa 1995.

²² *Kosmopolen*, S. 23.

Land der Freidenker und Liebhaber der Schönheit und Wahrheit²³. Zusätzlich wird in Bezug auf die Person der Aspekt der Vermittlung zwischen der polnischen und anderen Kulturen hinzugefügt²⁴. Der Schriftsteller erweitert die Bezeichnung Kosmopole sogar auf Personen nicht polnischer Abstammung:

Es gibt verschiedene Formen des Kosmopolismus. Manche wissen gar nicht, dass sie Kosmopolen sind, obwohl sie es *de facto* sind. Manche haben mit Polen nichts zu tun und sind auch nie emigriert: Trotzdem sind sie Kosmopolen. Und andere wiederum wohnen in diesem mythischen Land, aber es ist ihnen gar nicht klar. Und noch andere wiederum ziehen ein T-Shirt an, auf dem demonstrativ ein Bekenntnis abgegeben wird²⁵.

Kosmopole als Identitätsbezeichnung stellt eine komplexe Form des Selbstverständnisses des Schriftstellers dar, der sich von einer eindeutigen nationalen Zugehörigkeit distanziert, wenn er sagt: „Nationales Bewusstsein zum einzigen Identitätsfaktor zu machen, ist nicht nur dumm, sondern auch verantwortungslos“ und „Eine Reduzierung auf die nationale Zugehörigkeit oder Konfession lässt mich erschauern [...]“²⁶. Dieses Konzept könnte, im Sinne WELSCH, als Transkulturalität begriffen werden²⁷. Der Autor existiert in einem Zwischenraum, der als Konsequenz der Synthese von zwei Kulturen, zwischen denen er sich bewegt, zu verstehen ist. Dieser hybride Raum ist durch die nomadische Existenzform des Schriftstellers bedingt, die durch biografische Umstände ausgelöst, später jedoch bewusst angenommen wurde. Da diese Existenzform bewusst praktiziert wird, kann sie mit dem von Kenneth WHITE geprägten Begriff des „intellektuellen Nomadismus“ versehen werden, darunter wird eine existenzielle Einstellung verstanden, in der eine Person sich durch konventionelle, d.h. nationale Identitäten und Staatsgrenzen begrenzt fühlt. Ein intellektueller Nomade sei sich dessen bewusst, dass alle Kulturen fragmentarisch sind, deswegen wandere er von einer zur anderen²⁸. Dass Beckers Kosmopolenkonzept ein intellektueller Nomadismus ist, schildert die folgende Stelle im Essay *Heimat, du süßes Wort...*:

In der Heimatliebe und dem Dasein des Einheimischen lauert aber eine Gefahr, die unterschätzt wird: man wähnt sich die ganze Zeit in Sicherheit, denn man ist ja zu Hause, im trauten Heim, doch Länder, Städte, Dörfer und seine

²³ Ebenda, S. 30.

²⁴ Ebenda, S. 318, 426.

²⁵ Ebenda, S. 23–24.

²⁶ Ebenda, S. 32.

²⁷ W. WELSCH, *Was ist eigentlich Transkulturalität?*, in: L. DAROWSKA, C. MACHOLD (Hgg.), *Hochschule als transkultureller Raum? Beiträge zu Kultur, Bildung und Differenz*, Bielefeld 2010, S. 39–66.

²⁸ K. WHITE, *Poeta Kosmograf*, übers. von K. BRAKONIECKI, Olsztyn 2010, S. 7.

Bewohner vergehen und verschwinden für immer, und wer seine Heimat liebt, müsste eigentlich mit dem Schlimmsten rechnen – er tut es aber meistens nicht²⁹.

Diese Stelle stimmt mit der Idee der Transnationalität von WHITE überein. Er verstehe den Begriff der Nation als einen strikt politischen Begriff und sei an Kulturräumen interessiert, denen die Grenzen der Nationen nicht entsprechen. Deshalb sollte ein transnationaler Geist kultiviert werden, um einen Begriff des gemeinsamen Raumes zu erhalten, jenseits von kleinen Partikularismen³⁰.

Als Kosmopole besitzt Becker eine allogenische Perspektive in Bezug auf Deutschland und Polen, d.h. er nimmt eine Position zwischen einem Autochthonen (endogenische Perspektive) und einem Ausländer (exogenische Perspektive) ein³¹. Er selbst nennt sich einen Zaungast, der im Laufe der Jahre seine Distanz zu den beiden Mentalitäten (d.i. der polnischen und der deutschen) und Völkern zu zelebrieren lernte³². Es muss nochmal betont werden, dass er „dreigeteilt“ ist, sein Herz sei in Polen, sein Intellekt in Europa und sein Körper gehöre der Mutter Erde³³. Über seine Position im Zwischenraum schreibt er:

So ein Autor sitzt zwischen den Stühlen und kann trotzdem zweierlei bedienen: die Erwartungen der Literatur seiner fremden Sprache und die Erwartungen der Literatur, aus der er ursprünglich kommt³⁴.

Sowohl für Deutschland als auch für Polen nähme Becker, wie es Małgorzata JOKIEL treffend bemerkt, die Perspektive eines Außenbeobachters mit einer Innenansicht ein, und erhebe somit den Anspruch als eine objektive Stimme zu gelten, die aus dem ideellen Kosmopolen komme, welches als ein transkultureller alternativer Raum erscheine³⁵.

Kosmopolen verstanden als Ort scheint für den Schriftsteller eine doppelte Funktion zu erfüllen: Erstens ist es ein hybrider, dritter Raum – ein Resultat des durch die Zwischenexistenz erzeugten Spannungsverhältnisses in der Verortung des Autors. Die Entscheidung, „zwischen zwei Stühlen“ zu leben, zieht mit sich die Notwendigkeit der Konstituierung eines alternativen dritten Raumes³⁶, in dem das

²⁹ *Kosmopolen*, S. 332.

³⁰ WHITE, *op. cit.* (Anm. 28), S. 24–25.

³¹ Zu den genannten Perspektiven siehe B. WESTPHAL, *La Géocritique. Réel, fiction, espace*, Paris 2007, S. 200–213.

³² *Kosmopolen*, S. 176.

³³ Ebenda, S. 28.

³⁴ Ebenda, S. 333.

³⁵ JOKIEL, *op. cit.* (Anm. 3).

³⁶ Zum Begriff siehe H. BHABHA, *Die Verortung der Kultur*, Tübingen, 2000; mehr dazu: S. GÜNZEL (Hg.), *Raum. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, Stuttgart–Weimar 2010, S. 175–192.

Erbe der zwei Kulturen nicht mehr in der Opposition eigen–fremd steht, sondern durch die Bejahung dessen die Bedingung der Möglichkeit einer über- oder transnationalen Identität entsteht. Zweitens ist der Ort Kosmopolen als eine Heterotopie, genauer gesagt eine Illusionsheterotopie zu verstehen. Als Illusionsheterotopie kontestiert Kosmopolen die konventionalisierten Identitätsmuster im Sinne nationaler oder konfessioneller Zugehörigkeit³⁷. Dazu schreibt Becker:

In gewisser Hinsicht ist also mein Kosmopolen gar kein fiktionales Land, sondern eine Heimat für all diejenigen, die ihre Identität nicht bloß als ein Geschenk der Eltern und ihrer Epoche begreifen. Die Suche nach der Identität des *Homo sapiens* treibt sie an, und deshalb reicht ihnen eine muttersprachliche und nationale Zugehörigkeit nicht mehr aus³⁸.

Dorota KOŁODZIEJCZYK geht sogar weiter und bezeichnet die Identität eines nomadischen Subjekts selbst als eine Heterotopie:

An Stelle eines universalisierenden Historizismus bietet der Postkolonialismus eine diversifizierende Kartographie der Subjektivität, in der die Verortung des Subjekts, seine Positionierung, sein inneres Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Bewegung (Migration, Reise, Entwurzelung) und Bestehen an einem Ort (Beheimatung, Verwurzelung), die Identität als eine Heterotopie erscheinen lässt: einen Ort, wo sich mehrere inkompatible oder einander fremde Räume begegnen³⁹.

In der Doppeldeutigkeit des Begriffs Kosmopolen ist auch das reziproke Verhältnis von Ort und Identität zu finden. Anhand dieses Konzepts wird deutlich, dass für Becker die Frage „Wer bin ich?“ eng mit der Frage „Wo bin ich und woher komme ich?“ verbunden ist. Die Migration als Störfaktor für eine nationale Identität ist Bedingung für die Erschaffung eines Ortes jenseits der nationalen Grenzen, dieser Ort wird demnächst zur Bedingung für die Entwicklung einer transnationalen Identität. Kosmopolen als Ort ist notwendig für die Entwicklung und Erhaltung der Identität, die ihrerseits notwendig für die Entwicklung und Erhaltung des Ortes ist. Ort und Identität stehen hier in einer dialektischen Beziehung.

2. BORUSSIA, DAS LAND NOD, DAS LAND ULRO – BECKERS ITHAKA

Beckers Nomadenexistenz führt mit sich die Notwendigkeit der Mobilität, die seiner Meinung nach eine Medizin gegen den Heimatverlust sei, dabei bemerkt

³⁷ Siehe M. FOUCAULT, *Die Heterotopien. Der utopische Körper. Zwei Radiovorträge*, übers. von M. BISCHOFF, Frankfurt a. M. 2005.

³⁸ *Kosmopolen*, S. 337.

³⁹ D. KOŁODZIEJCZYK, *Trawerses przez glob: studia postkolonialne i teoria globalizacji*, *Er(r)go* I 2004, S. 21 (meine Übersetzung, P.P.)

er jedoch, dass man auch in der ständigen Beweglichkeit des Nomadendaseins ein Zuhause haben müsse, in das man zurückkehren könnte. „Die Heimat, begriffen als ein Stück Erde, kann man verlieren, doch den Geist des Geburtsortes wird man nie verlieren“⁴⁰. Die Heimat wird vor allem zu einem mentalen Ort. Sowie der homerische Odysseus nicht imstande ist, in dasselbe Ithaka, das er vor 20 Jahren verlassen hat, zurückzukehren, so kann auch Becker nicht in die Heimat seiner Kinderjahre zurück. Dieser Ort existiert nur in der Erinnerung und wird, wie bei Odysseus, zum Antrieb der Sehnsucht nach dem Zuhause. Dieses Zuhause wird eher metaphorisch als topografisch verstanden:

[...] diesen Heimatort gilt es auch heute noch zu verteidigen: Er darf nicht verloren gehen, weil er eine wichtige psychologische Funktion zu erfüllen hat – er erinnert an Ithaka, an den Mythos der Rückkehr nach Hause, und auch an die Vertreibung aus dem Paradies⁴¹.

In diesem psychologischen Ortsverständnis ist ein Widerhall des Ortsverständnisses von Czesław MIŁOŚZ zu beobachten, der einerseits den Ort als einen Orientierungspunkt, in dem man sich aktuell aufhält versteht, andererseits steht er für die Erinnerungen an seinen Geburtsort Litauen⁴². Diese psychologische, erinnernde Funktion thematisiert Becker häufig in seinen Essays und der Ort, der diese Funktion erfüllt, ist für ihn die Region von Ermland und Masuren. Sie ist insofern Beckers Ithaka, als sie das Sehnsuchtsobjekt und der Ansporn zur ständigen Widerkehr für ihn ist.

Obwohl der Schriftsteller seine Kindheit im sozialistischen Polen als eine glückliche Zeit empfindet, ist er sich auch der komplizierten Geschichte seiner Region nach dem Kriegsende bewusst, was dazu führt, dass er diese häufig mit dem Namen „Ulro“ bezeichnet. Unter diesem Namen wird an den Essayband MIŁOŚZ' angeknüpft⁴³ und damit auch der konstante Wechsel der Bevölkerung dieser Region gemeint – von den Pruzzen bis zur Gegenwart. Paradigmatisch für das Bild von Ermland-Masuren steht die Stelle aus dem Essay *In den Gärten meiner Kindheit*, der zugleich den Teil *Der Kontinent Heimat* eröffnet, in dem der Autor sein Heimatbild entfaltet: „Warmia – das Ermland der Barten und Natanger, der Ostpreußen und Masuren, der Juden und Ukrainer, der vertriebenen Wilnaer und Lemberger und Polen – ist meine Heimatgalaxie [...]“⁴⁴. Becker verzichtet auf die Verklärung und Homogenisierung seiner Heimat, sie erscheint in seinen Texten als ein vielschichtiger Palimpsest, ein Schmelztiegel

⁴⁰ *Kosmopolen*, S. 335.

⁴¹ Ebenda, S. 332.

⁴² Vgl. A. FIUT, *Moment wieczny. O poezji Czesława Miłosza*, Warszawa 1993, S. 52.

⁴³ Cz. MIŁOŚZ, *Ziemia Ulro*, Kraków 1994.

⁴⁴ *Kosmopolen*, S. 269.

der Kulturen, und ist dem von Kazimierz BRAKONIECKI und Winfried LIPSCHER entworfenen Konzept des neuen Regionalismus nahe. Dies wird deutlich, wenn man LIPSCHERS Worte berücksichtigt:

Gegenwärtig besteht die Chance, daß der Raum des ehemaligen Ostpreußen für alle zur geistigen Heimat wird, die sich unabhängig von ihrer Volkszugehörigkeit damit verbunden fühlen. Das Bedürfnis des Menschen nach Selbstbewußtsein und Selbstfindung bringt das mit sich. Und demzufolge wird auch heute das Bewußtsein nach der gemeinsamen Verantwortung für die kulturelle Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft dieses europäischen Raumes deutlich⁴⁵.

In den Prosawerken ist dasselbe Heimatbild vorhanden, wie in der Essaysammlung *Kosmopolen*, die Region von Ermland und Masuren sei kein idyllisches Land der „dunklen Wälder und kristallinen Seen“⁴⁶ aus den kanonischen Texten über Ostpreußen, sondern ein Land, das ständigen gesellschaftlichen, politischen und kulturellen Änderungen unterliegt. Es ist von Personen jeder Art bewohnt, die im Laufe der Geschichte nach dem Jahr 1945 in dieser Region endeten: Es gibt Diebe, Schmuggler, Stalinisten, Marxisten, Alkoholiker, Unternehmer, Dichter, ehemalige Wehrmachtssoldaten, „echte Masuren“, Ukrainer und Juden⁴⁷.

Die Städte Masurens schliefen im grauen Bett, im grauen Tal des Sozialismus. Gelegentlich träumten sie von einer besseren Zukunft, und dann erinnerte man sich daran, dass viele Häuser erheblich älter waren als die Großeltern aus Galizien, Litauen und der Ukraine, die man zur Umsiedlung gezwungen hatte und die nun in den toten Körpern der Weltgeschichte hausen mussten⁴⁸.

Das Bild von „Ulro“ wird hier wiedererweckt, in dem Sinne, dass die Region nach dem Kriegsende zu einem Niemandsland geworden ist und, obwohl eine Provinz, ein Opfer der geopolitischen Verschiebungen ist. Die Bewohner, wie vom Paradies vertrieben, müssen ihre Existenz entwurzelt unter den neuen Umständen fortführen. Diese Provinz wird in Beckers Werken auch als ein Land dargestellt, das von der „großen Geschichte“ nach dem Krieg vergessen wurde, wofür symbolisch das mittelalterliche Tor mit seiner Turmuhr in *Dolina Róż* aus dem Roman *Der Lippenstift meiner Mutter* steht: „Das Schusterkind und sein Opa trennten sich vor dem mittelalterlichen Tor, dessen Turmuhr noch immer

⁴⁵ W. LIPSCHER, *Standortbestimmung – Das literarische Euro-Preußen*, in: W. LIPSCHER, K. BRAKONIECKI (Hgg.), *Meiner Heimat Gesicht. Ostpreußen im Spiegel der Menschen und Landschaft*, Augsburg 2001, S. 15.

⁴⁶ E. HANNIGHOFER, *Ostpreußenlied*, in: E.M. FRANK (Hg.), *Ostpreußen. Ein Lesebuch*, München 1990, S. 17.

⁴⁷ A. GAJDIS, *Topografie literackie Artura Beckera*, Transfer. Reception Studies IV 2019, S. 151.

⁴⁸ A. BECKER, *Der Lippenstift meiner Mutter*, München 2012, S. 51.

nicht repariert war. Bartek wusste mittlerweile nicht genau, wann eigentlich diese riesige Uhr stehen geblieben war, an welchem Tag, in welchem Monat und Jahr [...]“⁴⁹.

Wie oben schon angemerkt wurde, verzichtet der Autor auf die Verklärung der Region und ihrer Bewohner, deren Schattenseiten auch zur Schau gestellt werden. In dem erwähnten Roman zeigt sich Becker kritisch gegenüber der Mentalität der Menschen im sozialistischen Masuren. In der Szene, wo Oma Hilde, eine Ostpreuße, die Festnahme eines Heimwehtouristen aus Amerika durch die Miliz nicht verhindern kann, wird die Heuchelei der Bewohner von *Dolina Róż* thematisiert:

Sie sprach dem Fremden ihr Mitleid aus, Bartek konnte jedoch Hildes Schadenfreude spüren, denn innerlich freute sie sich über die Dummheit und Naivität des Deutschen aus Amerika. Das war eben das Böse, das in ihnen, den Bewohnern von Dolina Róż, strafflos wütete. Und sie wussten sehr wohl, wie sie dachten und was sie taten. Nach außen hin verhielten sie sich wie Heilige, Märtyrer und Leidensgefährten, in ihren Kellern garte jedoch das Gift der Wut und Schadenfreude⁵⁰.

Obwohl im Falle der Werke Beckers von der Entmythologisierung der masurischen Landschaft gesprochen wird und somit die Zuschreibung zur ostpreußischen Literatur eher abgelehnt wird⁵¹, soll damit nicht gemeint werden, dass die Natur in den Romanen des Autors nicht thematisiert wird. Sie funktioniert nach dem Prinzip des Kontrapunkts – sie ist der Gegenpol zu der grauen Ästhetik des Sozialismus⁵², doch im Roman *Wodka und Messer. Lied vom Ertrinken* wird sie auch um menschliche Züge erweitert und personifiziert: der Dadajsee kann mit den Menschen sprechen, ist auf einem Auge blind, weshalb er die Menschen falsch beurteilt und ertrinken lässt, die in ihm lebenden Fische sollen Engel sein, im Wald hingegen wohnen die Träume der Menschen.

In Bezug auf die Weltdarstellung im Prosawerk Beckers, insbesondere die Personen und die Natur, soll noch auf das wiederkehrende astronomische Motiv verwiesen werden. In *In den Gärten meiner Kindheit* wird Ermland „Heimatgalaxie“ genannt, weiter schreibt der Autor:

⁴⁹ Ebenda, S. 214–215.

⁵⁰ Ebenda, S. 160.

⁵¹ Siehe A. KUZBORSKA, *Postostpreußische Re-Migrationen von Artur Becker*, in: B. NEUMANN, A. TALARCZYK (Hgg.), *Erzählregionen. Regionales Erzählen und Erzählen über eine Region. Ein polnisch-deutsch-norwegisches Symposium*, Aachen 2011, S. 155–166. A. GAJDIS stimmt jedoch mit dieser These nicht überein und verweist auf Merkmale in den Romanen Beckers, die die Zuschreibung Beckers zum Kanon der ostpreußischen Literatur doch erlauben. Siehe GAJDIS, *Odysseus...* (Anm. 10), S. 233–250; DIES., *Topografie...* (Anm. 48), S. 153–154.

⁵² E. MAZURKIEWICZ, *Der Dadajsee ruft. Artur Beckers Reisen in die Vergangenheit*, Germanica: La littérature interculturelle de langue allemande LI 2012, S. 3.

Bei *Warmia* handelt es sich um eine osteuropäisch-westbaltische und nur wenige Lichtjahre zählende Milchstraße mit einer riesigen Sonne im Zentrum dieser spiralförmigen Seen- und Wäldersammlung. Jeder See, jeder Wald ist wie ein Planet und Stern und die Zentralsonne dieses kleinen Universums, *Warmias* Hauptstadt, heißt *Allenstein* – weil das All ein Stein ist. [...] Der Fluss, der den Namen *Alle* und im Polnischen *Lyna* trägt, fließt genau durch die Mitte meiner Galaxie, und manche nennen ihn den Mond von *Warmia*, die Luna der Ermländer⁵³.

In *Der Lippenstift meiner Mutter* ist die Kopernikus-Straße die wichtigste Straße von Dolina Róż, hinter dem mittelalterlichen Tor liegt das Lunatal, der Bruder des Protagonisten Bartek wird Quecksilber genannt, also Mercury im Englischen, was als Anspielung auf den Planeten gedeutet werden kann, und Bartek und seine Freunde hören sich das Album *The Dark Side of the Moon* von Pink Floyd an. Auch in *Wodka und Messer* ist dieses astronomische Motiv zu finden. Kuba Dernickis Zwillingbruder, den er tot im Bauch trug, wird von seinem Opa, der Amateur-Astronom ist, Kopernikus genannt. Nach der Entfernung des toten Fötus des Bruders besitzt Kuba zwei Bauchnabeln, dies könnte auch eine Anspielung an das polnische Sprichwort sein: „być pępkiem świata“ („der Nabel der Welt sein“). Weiter heißt die Geliebte des Protagonisten Justyna Star und führt ein Drei-Sterne-Hotel. *Dadaj* soll Milch im Westbaltischen bedeutet haben und am Boden des Dadajsees soll es so viele Sterne wie am Himmel geben, also repräsentiert der Dadajsee die Milchstraße. *Stairway to Heaven* von Led Zeppelin ist Dernickis Lieblingssong. In der Analyse des Romans *Wodka und Messer* werden diese Verweise auf das Jenseits rücksichtlich der Rezeption des Odysseus-Mythos besonders wichtig, wie im folgenden Kapitel erläutert wird.

3. REZEPTION DES ODYSSEUS-MYTHOS IN BECKERS ROMANEN MIT BESONDERER BETRACHTUNG DES WERKS *WODKA UND MESSER*. *LIED VOM ERTRINKEN*

Oberflächlich betrachtet ist das mythologische Motiv der Wanderung von Odysseus in den meisten Romanen Beckers anwesend, die Protagonisten kehren entweder nach Jahren der Emigration in ihre Heimat zurück oder sie verspüren den Trieb, ihre Heimat zu verlassen und Abenteuer außerhalb dieser zu suchen. Sie sind, im Sinne von Maria KŁAŃSKA, mal „zentrifugale“ (sie sehnen sich nach der Entfernung von ihrer Heimat), mal „zentripetale“ (sie sehnen sich nach der Rückkehr in die Heimat) Wanderer⁵⁴. Der Protagonist Jurek aus dem Roman *Der Dadajsee* emigriert kurz nach Einführung des Kriegsrechts in Polen aus Masuren nach Bremen. Aufgrund eines Zwists zwischen ihm und seinen Eltern bezüglich

⁵³ *Kosmopolen*, S. 269–270.

⁵⁴ Zu den Begriffen „zentrifugal“ und „zentripetal“ siehe KŁAŃSKA, *op. cit.* (Anm. 1), S. 10.

seiner Zukunft reist er weg, um wegen des Todes seines Vaters nach Jahren in sein Elternhaus zurückzukehren. Nach der Rückkehr wird er von der Frage geplagt, ob der Ort immer noch sein Zuhause sei. In *Das Herz von Chopin* flieht Chopin 1983 vor dem Abitur aus der masurischen Stadt B. nach Bremen, wo ihn endlich auch Zweifel an seiner Existenz in Deutschland befallen. Bartek aus dem Roman *Der Lippenstift meiner Mutter* will nach Gdańsk fliehen. Kuba aus *Wodka und Messer* emigriert nach einer Stadt namens W., kommt aber nach 24 Jahren zurück, um mit seiner Vergangenheit abzurechnen. Im Folgenden wird der Versuch unternommen, auf weitere Ähnlichkeiten zu dem mythologischen Stoff der *Odyssee* zu verweisen, die im Roman *Wodka und Messer* vorzufinden sind.

Dass die größte Ähnlichkeit zu Homers *Odyssee* natürlich im Motiv des Wanderers zu finden ist, wurde bereits erwähnt. Dabei sollte bemerkt werden, dass Kuba Dernicki sowohl als zentripetaler wie auch als zentrifugaler Wanderer gesehen werden kann. Er ist insofern zentrifugal, als er sich nach dem Tode seiner Freundin Marta Szapiro, die in der Silvesternacht 1981 im Dadajsee ertrunken war, entschied, aus seinem Heimatdorf nach Deutschland zu emigrieren. Doch diese Zentrifugalität kann auch anders betrachtet werden, da Dernicki in der Stadt W. ein erfolgreiches Leben zu führen scheint. Er arbeitet als Computer-Experte, heiratet und hat zwei Kinder. Trotz dieser Assimilation in der neuen Heimat verspürt der Protagonist einen Drang, wieder in seine „alte“ Heimat zurückzukehren. Dieses Moment macht Dernicki zu einem doppelt zentrifugalen Wanderer und bildet zugleich die Konstituente für seine Zentripetalität, da er in seine ursprüngliche Heimat zurückkehren will.

Weitere Merkmale sind nicht so eindeutig, was dadurch zu erklären ist, dass der Roman weder eine Renarration (die Geschichte des Odysseus wird hier nicht wiedererzählt) noch eine Reinterpretation (der mythologische Stoff wird nicht neu gedeutet) ist. In *Wodka und Messer* hat man es mit einer Präfiguration durch den Mythos zu tun, d.h. im Werk sind verschiedene Analogien zum Ursprungstext vorhanden, der Mythos fungiert hier als Vergleichsfolie für die im Werk dargestellte Welt⁵⁵. Mögliche Deutungen des Romans sollen hier kurz dargestellt werden⁵⁶.

Kuba Dernicki kehrt im Jahre 2006 zurück, nachdem er 1982 seinen Heimatort Wilimy verlassen hat. Ähnlich wie bei Odysseus, dessen Abwesenheit 20 Jahre gedauert hat, braucht Dernicki 24 Jahre bis er endlich die Heimreise unternimmt. Die Autofahrt, also der Moment, in dem sich der Protagonist seiner Heimat nähert, wird als „ewig lang“ bezeichnet und beträgt Tausende von Kilometern. Zusätzlich findet die Anreise um Mitternacht statt, 30 Kilometer von Wilimy entfernt, spielt es im Radio *Stairway to Heaven* und die Fahrt wird

⁵⁵ Ebenda, S. 21, 41, 97.

⁵⁶ A. BECKER, *Wodka und Messer: Lied vom Ertrinken*, München 2010.

von verschiedenen Erscheinungen begleitet, die auf einen Grenzübergang in eine Welt jenseits der realen verweisen, wahrscheinlich ins Totenreich:

Schwarze Punkte informierten auf gigantischen Warnschildern die Fahrer über die Unfallopfer. Hier zehn, dort zwei Tote. Da ein Engel, ein zehnjähriger Bub, hier eine junge hübsche Postangestellte oder ein Greis, der an seinem Fahrrad kein Licht hatte und von einem LKW erwischt wurde⁵⁷.

Dernickis Reise scheint auf einmal in eine magische Ebene jenseits der realen Welt zu führen, wo das dominante Merkmal der Tod zu sein scheint, im Radio hört Kuba von weiteren Toten, die im Dadajsee ertrunken sind: „Der Junge der heute Mittag ertrunken war, war erst siebzehn. [...] Zwei Tage zuvor sei ein neunzehnjähriger Exgymnasiast aus Olsztyn ertrunken [...]“⁵⁸. Als er in Wilimy ankommt, beginnt er zudem Toten zu begegnen und mit ihnen zu sprechen: Am Friedhof begegnet er seinem alten Schulfreund Maciek, der längst für tot gehalten wird, dieser wohnt in dem Wald, von dem gesagt wird, dass in ihm Träume verweilen. Sein Bruder Kopernikus, dessen toten Fötus Dernicki als Kind in seinem Bauch trug, beginnt mit ihm zu sprechen, er begegnet seiner im Dadajsee ertrunkenen Freundin aus der Schulzeit in der Gestalt von Justyna Star, die ihre Doppelgängerin ist.

Das oben erwähnte astronomische Motiv funktioniert im Roman als ein Verweis auf das Jenseits, es bestärkt den Eindruck, dass die Handlung an einem Ort spielt, der sich außerhalb der Erde befindet. Der Grenzübergang in eine außerirdische Welt kann auch als Rezeption des Odysseus-Mythos begriffen werden, da Odysseus auch in eine unreale Welt eintritt, nachdem er Kap Malea überschritten hat. Über dieses Moment schreibt Alfred HEUBECK: „Odysseus has crossed a fundamental boundary, normally closed to mortals, which separates the real and the unreal worlds“⁵⁹, dieses Urteil fällt auch Kazimierz KUMANIECKI: Insofern, als die bisherigen Reisen von Odysseus in der realen Welt stattfanden, befänden wir uns von dem Moment des Sturms an in einer Welt der Phantasie⁶⁰. Natürlich ist der Grenzübergang im Falle von Dernicki nicht identisch mit dem von Odysseus – während der homerische Held noch vor dem Eintreffen in seiner Heimat in eine magische Welt versetzt wird, fällt für Beckers Protagonisten der Moment der Heimkehr mit dem Moment des Übergangs in eine magische Welt zusammen, des Weiteren scheint Kuba bis ans Ende des Romans im Reich der Toten zu verweilen, während bei Odysseus Hades nur eine der Stationen bei

⁵⁷ Ebenda, S. 25.

⁵⁸ Ebenda, S. 26.

⁵⁹ A. HEUBECK, *Introduction*, in: A. HEUBECK, A. HOEKSTRA (Hgg.), *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey*, Bd. II: *Books IX–XVI*, Oxford, 1989, S. 4.

⁶⁰ K. KUMANIECKI, in: K. KUMANIECKI, J. MAŃKOWSKI (Hgg.), *Homer*, Warszawa 1974, S. 165.

seiner Heimkehr ist. Ein weiteres Indiz, dass es sich bei Beckers Protagonisten um dem Hades ähnliche Welt handelt, liefert eine Stelle aus dem Kapitel „Das dritte Gespräch mit dem Unsichtbaren“, wo Dernicki durch das sprechende Messer, mit dem sein Vatter seine Mutter umgebracht hat, mitgeteilt wird: „Als Lebendiger wirst du im Bungalow der Hoteldirektorin Justyna treffen – als Toter Marta“⁶¹.

In Wilimy sind noch verschiedene andere Elemente aus den Abenteuern des homerischen Helden zu finden: Wilimy wird von zwei Kyklopen bewohnt, von denen jeder ein Merkmal des Polyphems trägt – Tante Ala und dem Dadajsee, von denen einer – Dadaj – auch ein Menschenfresser ist, dem anderen wurde hingegen das Auge von seinem Opfer, das er zu ermorden versuchte, ausgestochen. Der zurückgekehrte Dernicki trifft seine ehemalige Geliebte (in Gestalt von Justyna Star), die auch von Freiern bedrängt wird – dem Bürgermeister Janusz Król und dem Schulfreund Leszek. Während seines Aufenthalts in Wilimy segelt Dernicki zu verschiedenen Inseln auf dem Dadajsee, eine weitere Ähnlichkeit mit Odysseus. Im Kapitel „Die Geisterparty im alten Kühlhaus der Fischer von Wilimy“ spricht Kubas verstorbene Mutter durch seinen Bauch, ein Umstand, der die Begegnung Odysseus’ mit seiner Mutter in der Unterwelt in Erinnerung ruft. Adalbert – Kubas Vater – lebt im Elend und wartet auch auf seinen Sohn, was als Analogie zu Laertes gedeutet werden kann.

Zusammenfassend sind in Beckers Roman *Wodka und Messer. Lied vom Ertrinken* genügend Analogien zu Homers Epos *Odyssee* vorhanden, um im Roman eine Präfiguration durch den Mythos festzustellen. Hierbei soll erneut betont werden, dass ein präfiguratives Verhältnis zum ursprünglichem Epos keine Wiedererzählung voraussetzt, sondern als ein Verweisungs- und Analogiegeflecht begriffen wird, d.h. der Autor schöpft aus dem Mythos Figuren, Motive, Handlungsstränge usw., die er dann beliebig, mehr oder weniger originalgetreu, arrangieren kann. Auf diese Weise präfiguriert der Mythos das Werk. Im Falle des analysierten Romans wird deutlich, dass der Autor Elemente der *Odyssee* wiederauftauchen lässt, diese jedoch nicht in einer originalgetreuen Reihenfolge zusammenstellt. Die Handlungsstränge des Epos, ab dem Moment der Überquerung des Kap Malea, wo der Held in eine magische Welt versetzt wird, werden übernommen und an einem Ort – dem masurischen Dorf Wilimy – kondensiert, es ist Ithaka und Hades zugleich und die vorkommenden Romanfiguren tragen, wie oben dargestellt, viele Merkmale, die eine Analogie zu den *Odyssee*-Figuren erlauben. Es wird dabei deutlich darauf verwiesen, dass Beckers Protagonist sich mit seinem Grenzübergang in einem Totenreich oder einer Unterwelt befindet, wo seine Zukunft entschieden wird. Dies erlaubt uns die These zu erstellen, dass Becker das mythologische Motiv der Heimkehr mit dem *Nekyia*-Motiv verbindet und diese zum kompositorischen Organisationsprinzip seines Romans macht.

⁶¹ *Wodka und Messer*, S. 450.

Darüber hinaus ist der Protagonist sowohl ein zentrifugaler, als auch ein zentripetaler Wanderer, was auf den Odysseus-Stoff zurückgeführt werden kann.

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PINDAR'S *PYTHIAN* 12: WHEN MORTALS TRIUMPH, THE GODS WEEP

by

LOUKAS PAPADIMITROPOULOS

ABSTRACT: In this paper I maintain that the adjective *δυσπενθέϊ* in line 10 of Pindar's *Pythian* 12 possibly alludes to Perseus' future murderer Megapenthes, suggesting thus that triumph might eventually lead to disaster, an idea that the Theban poet probably borrowed from the *Odyssey*. This allusion better explains certain parts of the poem and defines what the *laudandus*' instrument, the *aulos*, has come to symbolise. Nevertheless, Pindar does not confine himself to pointing out the dangers underlying any great achievement, but also proposes, in an implicit way, his own solution to this problem, namely the harmonious integration of the gifted individual into his civic setting, which has the capacity to serve as a protective confinement for him.

Pythian 12 was composed by Pindar in 490 BCE in honour of the piper Midas from Acragas. Its structure falls into three distinct parts: in the first one (1–6) the poet entreats the victor's city to receive him favourably, in the second (6–21) he narrates the myth of the instrument's invention¹, while in the third (22–32) he mentions the implications of this invention for humanity in general. The common denominator of these parts is of course Midas' instrument, the *aulos*². It has long been acknowledged by numerous scholars that through Pindar's elaboration of the Perseus myth this instrument has come to hypostatise the contiguity of opposites, as the hero's cry of triumph is inextricably connected with the Gorgons' shrill lament³. This argument is largely dependent on the assumption that by the

¹ GREENGARD (1980) rightly points out that the narration of the myth opens and closes with two words that derive from the same root (cf. *ἐφεῦρε* [7] with *εὔρεν* [22]) and with a repeated reference to the goddess. PÖHLMANN (2020: 37–46) considers the possibility that Midas' performance consisted of two presentations, an optional prelude (exploring the theme of Athena's invention of the instrument) and the obligatory Apollonian Pythian *nomos*, something which is highly probable considering the main mythological theme that Pindar has chosen to elaborate in this particular *epinikion*.

² On the technical aspects of this instrument, see GENTILI, LUISI 1995.

³ See SCHLESINGER (1968: 283), who maintains that the pain and death of the Gorgon are the victory and glory of Perseus, both things being the result of the same event; CROTTY (1982:

participle “weaving” (διαπλέξαισ’, 8) it is implied that the goddess Athena used the instrument to blend the wailing of Medusa’s sisters with Perseus’ cry of victory, an assumption which has been convincingly refuted by George F. HELD⁴. However, I would argue that this intermingling is not a necessary prerequisite for the notion of the unity of opposites to be suggested by Pindar; this task is rather accomplished through a subtle mythological allusion which puts Perseus’ prevalence into a broader perspective, emphasising thus the inherent dangers of any kind of major predominance, an assertion which Pindar possibly borrowed from Homer and which is highly relevant to various sorts of competition, whether they be athletic or artistic. This allusion might better explain certain parts of Pindar’s ode and is, I think, central to the significance of the entire poem, as it essentially defines what Midas’ instrument has come to symbolise. Nevertheless, the Theban poet does not confine himself to pointing out the dangers underlying any great achievement, but also proposes, in an implicit way, his own solution to this problem.

In the second strophe of the ode, where in one breath Pindar narrates the reactions of the Gorgons to Perseus’ beheading of Medusa and his subsequent triumph on the island of Seriphos, the poet uses the phrase “with direful toil” (δυσπενθέϊ σὺν καμάτῳ, 10). This phrase most probably refers to Perseus and to his attempt to decapitate Medusa⁵, especially if we accept the punctuation adopted in the edition by SNELL and MAEHLER, who put a comma after the name

13), who maintains that the *aulos* “has been developed into a symbol of that contradiction which any victory contains within itself, between security and insecurity, glory and toil, permanence and flux”; STRAUSS CLAY (1992: 523), who asserts that “the duality of the *aulos* arises from its double origin: victory turns out to be the complement of defeat, loss, of success”; CHUVIN (1995: 125), who believes that the tune of this instrument combines mourning and triumph; PAPADOPOULOU, PIRENNE-DELFORGE (2001: 47), who think that the *aulos* conveys joy and mourning, the alternation of which is and will remain the privilege of mortals; and PHILLIPS (2016: 258), who states that “Athena’s mimesis is dramatized as a mode of combination and reconfiguration, wherein each of the elements, the lament and the victory cry, contribute to a whole that is different from either of them individually”.

⁴ See HELD (1998), who maintains that διαπλέκω means “weave” and not “interweave”. See also STEINER 2013: 176. For a different opinion, see STRAUSS CLAY 1992: 523; PAPADOPOULOU, PIRENNE-DELFORGE 2001: 40. On the activity of weaving in the ancient world, see GERA 2003: 205–206. It should be noted that διὰ, in both its prepositional and prefix forms, may connote separation of some sort; however, it does not have to refer only to the mutual relation of elements (in this case, the Gorgons’ lament and the cry of Perseus, as has been suggested by some scholars), but can also denote the separation of something, here a work created by Athena which involved ‘switching off’ certain sound effects from the entire reservoir of heard sounds and arranging them into an artistic whole.

⁵ On the contrary, BRABFORD WELLES (1966: 92) believes that the phrase refers to the reaction of Medusa’s sisters. See also SEGAL 1995: 10; BERNARDINI 1995: 674. Personally, I agree with KÖHNKEN (1978: 92) that it is better suited to Perseus’ struggle, although I do not think that he is crying for help to Athena. See also J.K. NEWMAN, F.S. NEWMAN 1984: 89; nearly all the verbal recurrences that I mention subsequently have been noticed by them (pp. 86–90). Furthermore,

of the hero in line 11. But if we choose to construe this clause with Perseus, what is the precise meaning of *δυσπενθής* and how exactly are we supposed to interpret it? To whom does it ultimately refer? At first sight, the hero “brings sore affliction”⁶ to the Gorgons, whose mortal sister he has just killed and whose lamentation he has, therefore, aroused. However, there is an additional subtlety in the selection of this particular word, as it possibly brings to the audience’s mind the name of Perseus’ future murderer, Megapenthes⁷. Indeed, as we are informed in Hyginus’ *Fabulae* 244, Megapenthes eventually killed Perseus to avenge the death of his father, Proetus. The circumstances of Proetus’ death are mentioned in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* V 238–241: Perseus’ grandfather, Acrisius, had been driven into exile by his brother Proetus; Perseus turned the brother into stone with the Gorgon’s head and restored Acrisius to the throne. And although both of these ancient sources belong to Latin authors, it is highly probable that these authors were influenced by early Greek mythological texts, which have not come down to us. The implication of this mythological allusion on the part of Pindar is rather obvious: triumph might eventually lead to disaster, especially if we take into consideration the fact that the very means of the hero’s prevalence later on brought about his demise. Of course, Athena, as an omniscient goddess, was in all probability aware of the sequel to Perseus’ story and of the fact that his greatest accomplishment, the beheading of Medusa, would subsequently cause his death. Therefore, she considered it opportune to create an instrument that would remind mankind of the dangers inherent in any kind of great achievement through the paradigmatic story of Perseus. The lament of Medusa’s sisters, who were divine, was thus destined by Athena, the goddess of wisdom, to be addressed not only to their dead mortal sibling, but also – and more importantly – to the deplorable future plight of the Argive hero who decapitated her. Of course, Medusa’s sisters were probably unaware of this intended association; however, there is an indication in Pindar’s text that their wailing is used by Athena as a means to her aim, an assertion encouraged by the application of the term “maiden” to both the Gorgons and Athena (cf. *παρθενίοις*, 9, with *παρθένος*, 19). “When mortals triumph”, Pindar seems to say, “the gods weep”.

However, the idea that the means of a person’s extolment can bring about his downfall or can, in the best case, cause him severe problems is not entirely

KÖHNKEN (1976: 261) believes that this phrase is a linguistic parallel to *Odyssey* V 493 (*δυσπινέος καμάτοιο*).

⁶ This is the definition provided by LSJ.

⁷ There are some additional examples in ancient Greek literature where a mythological name is used with the prefix *δυσ-* in order to underscore the negative implications of his/her actions: see for example Hom. *Il.* III 39, XIII 769 and Alcman 73 D. (*Δύσπαρις*) and Eur. Or. 1387 (*Δυσσελέαν*). The compound name of Perseus’ future murderer makes it impossible to cite it in its entirety, but the audience of the ode would probably have understood Pindar’s insinuation and wordplay.

novel. In the *Odyssey*, the homonymous hero, after he has caused the blinding of the Cyclops Polyphemus and after he has managed to escape from the monster's cave with his remaining comrades, deems it right to inform Polyphemus of his identity, although he had previously concealed it. What urges him most in this revelation is in all probability the fact that he wants his victim to know that it was "the sacker of cities" who has caused him this damage (πτολιπόρθιον, IX 504). In fact, this adjective defines his very identity, as he himself perceives it. Thus, Odysseus views the blinding of the Cyclops as an extension of his previous feat, the sacking of Troy. Nevertheless, it is precisely this boast that substantially prolongs his wanderings and tribulations, as Polyphemus, who is now aware of the identity of his malefactor, can denounce him to his divine father, Poseidon, and can wish for his delayed return to his homeland, where further trials will await him (IX 528–535). Consequently, Odysseus' greatest achievement is ultimately the feature which nourishes his pride and causes his prolonged absence from his fatherland, as well as the troubles that he encounters after his homecoming. The similarity with Pindar's treatment of Perseus' myth, especially if we accept the validity of the aforementioned allusion, is patent. In fact, we might not be off the mark if we presume that the reason for Perseus' downfall in the non-extant Greek texts which probably influenced Hyginus and Ovid was, similarly to Homer, the hero's pride fomented by his feat. Only in this case it brought about his death.

This underlying notion of the gods' lament over a mortal's triumph, created by this mythological allusion, better explains certain parts of the entire poem. Firstly, it explains why Pindar has chosen to chronologically confound two distinct parts of the Perseus myth, the decapitation of Medusa and the petrification of the entire populace of Seriphos (9–12); through this perplexity the Theban poet intends to present Perseus' prevalence in the city where his mother was held captive as a direct result of his labour, enhancing, therefore, the sense of the hero's complete predominance. Secondly, the allusion to the special conditions of Perseus' birth through the reference to the golden rain into which Zeus was transformed in order to mate with Danae (17–18) not only stresses the hero's divine descent, but also implicitly emphasises his own worth, since gold in Pindar's poetry is consistently associated with the notions of value and excellence⁸; these associations in their turn ultimately serve to underline, in a more dramatic way, the extent of his downfall: despite his divine descent and personal worth, Perseus did not manage to stay unaffected by the inconstancy that characterises human affairs. Thirdly, when Pindar states that Athena released the hero from *those* labours (ἐκ τούτων [...] πόνων, 18), the implication is that the goddess did not subsequently manage to forestall Perseus' future calamity. Moreover, the song of the flute that Athena invents is characterised as "containing all voices" (πάμφωνον, 19), thus stressing the relevance of the story that

⁸ See most notably *Ol.* I 1 and III 42.

informs this invention, as well as its underlying message, to all mankind. Pindar subsequently emphasises the fact that although the discovery of the *aulos* was made by a goddess, she discovered it for mortal men to have (22), suggesting therefore that only mortals are susceptible to the dangers inherent in any kind of triumph. The message that the *aulos* itself carries is especially relevant to athletic competitions, to which it entices people to gather (24); the notion that the very means of triumph can result in a subsequent catastrophe will inevitably temper the pride of the victor and render him more cautious when it comes to how he handles his success. In fact, we may maintain that the name that Athena gives to her invention, “the many-headed strain” (κεφαλαῖν πολλὰν νόμον, 23), not only refers to the lamentation of Medusa’s sisters, who had snakes on their heads, but also to the more general implications of this lamentation, as they are applied in the case of Perseus. This is especially so if we bear in mind the fact that the word νόμος in ancient Greek also means “law”; thus, the goddess of wisdom hints at the multi-faceted reality of any kind of achievement and ascribes to its precariousness the validity of a law. Finally, the implication of this mythological allusion might shed some light on the concluding *gnome*; what a god will grant, either today or later on, might not be solely positive, but also negative. This is especially true if we take into consideration the possibility that the phrases “striking unexpectedly” (ἀεπτίτῃ βαλὼν, 31) and “beyond expectation” (ἔμπαλιν γνῶμας, 32)⁹ might well refer to the circumstances of Megapenthes’ murder of Perseus, although – admittedly – these precise circumstances are obscure to us. Nevertheless, the verbal repetition of a word associated with fate (cf. μόρσιμον, 30, with μοῖραν, 12) encourages the association of fate with the concept of death, since this notion was applied to the first occurrence of the term.

However, this underlying idea that the means of a mortal’s success might turn into the instrument of his downfall is not only relevant to Perseus, but also to mankind in general and to the victor Midas in particular. This association is effected primarily through sets of verbal repetitions which connect the myth of Perseus, narrated in the second part of the ode, with Pindar’s extended reference to the implications of the invention of the *aulos* for all humans, which comprises the third part of his poem¹⁰, and with Midas’ reception in his native city in the first section of the *epinikion*¹¹. Therefore, Perseus comes to exemplify

⁹ On the other hand, FENNELL (1879: 260) interprets this phrase by assuming that “Midas would seem to have failed to win some coveted distinction as well”.

¹⁰ Cf. ἄλλ’ (30) with ἀλλά (22) and with ἄλλ’ (18); κεφαλαῖν (23) with κεφαλαῖς (9); λαοσσόων (24) with λαοῖσι (12) (the two last repetitions are noted by GREENGARD 1980: 25); καμάτου (28) with καμάτῳ (10); ἦτοι (29) with ἦτοι (13); μόρσιμον (30) with μοῖραν (12); οὔτος (31) with τούτων (18).

¹¹ Cf. ἀνδράσι (22) with ἀνδρα (18) and with ἀνδρῶν (4); ἐκ (29) with ἐκ (20) with ἐκ (18) and with ἐκ (5); σύν (21) with σύν (10) and with σύν (4). The first two sets of repetitions connect

the human condition, as well as the danger that the *laudandus* faces in view of his victory. But if great achievements carry such a risk, and if the gods indeed weep when mortals triumph, should man be discouraged from aspiring to gain everlasting fame through his feats, whether they be athletic or of some other kind? Should he confine himself to a mediocre existence that lacks any kind of distinction or is there a way, according to Pindar, to circumvent the danger inherent in victory?

The solution that the poet suggests lies in the connection that he attempts to establish between the native city of the victor, Acragas, and the city of his instrument's origin, Orchomenus. Both cities feature rivers that flow near them, the Acragas (2–3) and the Cephissus (27). Both cities are protected by deities who traditionally oscillate between life and death, namely Persephone (2) and the Charites (26), who were also connected with the Eleusinian mysteries. In fact, when Pindar opens his ode by calling Acragas “splendour-loving” (φιλάγλαε, 1), the epithet he applies reminds us of one of the three Charites, Aglaia. Furthermore, the two cities are connected with three sets of clustered verbal repetitions (cf. καλλίχορον [26] with καλλίστα [1]; ναίοισι [26] with ναίεις [3]; and πόλιν [26] with πολίων [1]). The implication of this consistent association seems to be that Midas' art will continue to thrive unobstructed only if the gifted individual is harmoniously integrated into his civic setting, which has the capacity to serve as a protective confinement for him. In the matter of life and death, since his accomplishments might potentially lead to his disaster, as is implied by the paradigmatic story of Perseus, which is linked to the case of Midas, only his city can ultimately rescue him from the dangers inherent in any kind of victory. That is the reason why the ode begins with the invocation not to a deity, as is customary in Pindaric poetry, but to the city of Acragas, whom the eulogist entreats to favourably receive first the token of the individual's victory (στεφάνωμα, 5) that confers the glory of the victory on the city, and then the victor himself (αὐτόν, 6). We might conclude this brief study by pointing out that Perseus was a mythological figure traditionally linked with many cities; throughout his turbulent career he did not manage to settle in any of them; and perhaps that was an additional reason for his demise¹².

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the three parts of the poem. The association of the Perseus myth with Midas' case has been already pointed out by GREENGARD 1980: 25. See also SEGAL (1998: 93), who hypothesises that the death of Medusa “may be a mythical way of alluding to the defeat of the unsuccessful contestants”.

¹² I would like to thank the anonymous referee of “Eos” for their helpful suggestions.

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Μνήμη IN HERODOTUS II 77, 2: “HISTORY” OR “TRADITION”?

by

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ABSTRACT: In this short article, the author analyses the word *μνήμη* in one specific place in the *Histories* by Herodotus (II 77, 1), taking into account the broad context in which this word appears. Previous commentators and translators have perceived *mneme* to be broadly understood as “history”, as contained in the various documents that record extensive knowledge of the Egyptians from the region which is described by Herodotus in Book II. In contrast to this previously held view, the present author explains *mneme* as “tradition” recorded in time, i.e. a rich collection of customs (νόμοι, τὰ νόμια) which cover habits, views, beliefs, behaviours and social norms cultivated (ἐπασκέοντες) by very wise people (λογιώτατοι) whom Herodotus encountered during his trip to Egypt. In such a sense, *μνήμη* is used here for the first time in the history of the word’s usage.

Among 16 attestations of the noun *μνήμη* in the *Histories* by Herodotus (four times each in Books I, II and IV, once in Book V, and three times in Book VI), one instance deserves special attention. Describing the way of life and nutrition of the Egyptians in Book II, Herodotus uses the word *mneme* and in this passage, in my opinion, for the first time in the history of its usage this word means “tradition”, i.e. knowledge and historical truth. The passage in question and its translation are provided below in order to analyse the meaning of *mneme* in a much broader context than has been done so far.

Αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων οἳ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Αἴγυπτον οἰκέου-
σι, *μνήμην* ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα λογιώτατοί εἰσι
μακρῶ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην. Τρόπῳ δὲ ζῆς τοιῶδε διαχρέ-
ωνται·
(II 77, 1–4)¹

And among the Egyptians, it is those who inhabit the farmlands of Egypt that care about **tradition** most of all people, and therefore are undoubtedly the most learned people I have ever met. And they practice this way of life.

¹ Greek passages from Herodotus are quoted from WILSON 2015. Translations, unless stated otherwise, are mine.

In Herodotus' work, this is the only case in which *mneme* assumes a much broader meaning than in other places in the *Histories*, because it means "tradition" passed down with great care from generation to generation. This "tradition" includes everything that the Egyptians living in the Upper Delta of the Nile attached importance to and that constituted their indigenous identity, including customs, views, beliefs, behaviours and social norms. And it is these Egyptians, and certainly their prominent representatives, who are the subject of Herodotus' complimentary opinion contained in the sentence: λογιώτατοί εἰσι μακρῶ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην – "undoubtedly the most learned people I have met". The passage quoted above, due to the divergent sense of *mneme*, has been discussed by several modern commentators of Herodotus, namely, in chronological order, HOW and WELLS (1912), WADDELL (1939), LLOYD (1994), and ASHERI, LLOYD and CORCELLA (2007). All these commentators² suggest, more or less openly, that the word means a comprehensive, broadly understood "history", contained in various documents that recorded the extensive knowledge of the Egyptians from the region of Egypt described by Herodotus. HOW and WELLS (1912: 205) define *mneme* as follows: "μνήμην: not 'practising the memory', but 'caring for the records of the past'". WADDELL (1939 [1998: 193]) sees *mneme* as almost "history": "'memory of the past', almost 'history'". LLOYD (1994: II 330) explicitly understands *mneme* as "history"; he writes: "here μνήμην = *memoria* in the sense of 'history'. H. means that the Egs. in question are the most attentive of all men in preserving knowledge of the past". ASHERI, LLOYD and CORCELLA (2007: 291) think similarly, including the entire historical legacy of Egypt in the meaning of *mneme*: "μνήμην ... ἀπικόμην: an impressive corpus of kings-lists, annals, and historical narratives has survived which covers the entire range of Egyptian history".

The lexicographers' findings differ very little from the commentators' interpretation. POWELL (1938: 227), the author of the well-known *Lexicon to Herodotus*, understands *mneme* at II 77, 1 as "history". LSJ (1996: 1139), in turn, places *mneme* (at Hdt. II 77, 1) in the second group of meanings: "mention, notice", while MONTANARI (2015: 1354) translates the phrase μνήμην ἐπασκέειν as "to cultivate the memory of the past". Finally, in *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon* (DIGGLE 2021: 943) *mneme* receives three meanings in the fifth group of meanings (under the heading: *collective memory of the past*): "memory, record, tradition", and although Herodotus is mentioned here, it remains unknown to which passage from his *Histories* the meaning refers. It is worth noting that this is the only dictionary known to me in which the meaning of "tradition" appears in the context of the *Histories* by Herodotus in general.

² BLAKESLAY (1854) does not refer to the word *mneme*.

³ In the *Vocabulary* attached to his edition of Book II of the *Histories*, WADDELL (1939 [1998: 318]) attributes the following meanings to μνήμη: *remembrance, history; mention*.

Selected translations of *mneme* (most often in the phrase: μνήμην ἐπασκείειν) into various modern languages are very similar or even identical. They are listed here in chronological order: RAWLINSON (1880: 126) – “the preservation of the memory of past actions”; MACAULAY (1890: 150) – “to practise memory”; GODLEY (1920, repr. 1975: 363) – “to preserve the memory of the past”; LEGRAND (1944: 117) – “conserver le souvenir du passé”; SCHRADER (1977 [1992: 366]) – “absoluto apego a la memoria del pasado”; FRASCHETTI (1989: 87) – “coltivare la memoria”; COLONNA and BEVILACQUA (1996: 361) – “coltivare la memoria del passato di tutta l’umanità”⁴; WATERFIELD (1998: 124) – “to make a particular practise of recording the history”; FEIX (2006: 265) – “pflegen die Erinnerung an die Vergangenheit”; PURVIS (2007: 150) – “to foster the preservation of historical memory”. SOARES (2020: 297), on the other hand, combines μνήμην with ἀνθρώπων πάντων, translating this phrase as “the memory of humanity”, with which I completely disagree⁵. Only in one (Polish) translation does the expression μνήμην ἐπασκείειν mean “to preserve historical tradition”⁶.

But should *mneme* be understood so broadly and comprehensively, as the aforementioned commentators, translators or lexicographers suggest? In my opinion, not really, because the broader context of Herodotus’ statements indicates that *mneme* is a set of all the laws and norms rooted in the tradition cultivated in Egypt which Herodotus encountered during his journey across this country. Incidentally, the culture of Egypt, which he explored for a long time⁷ with the work by Hecataeus in his hand⁸, made a great impression on him. In the subsequent fourteen chapters (77–91) in Book II of the *Histories*, immediately after speaking in detail of several sacred Animals (chapters 65–76), Herodotus describes various customs of the Egyptians of the Upper Nile Delta, especially their way of eating and healing. Thus, he describes healthy meals, a curious custom – found at feasts of the rich – of carrying a wooden figure of the deceased in a coffin, an ancient dirge, showing respect for the elderly (expressed in a peculiar salutation), dress, horoscopes, omens and oracles, medical care, funeral customs, including three methods of embalming, sanctity of those who perish in the Nile,

⁴ See footnote 5.

⁵ In my opinion, and in the opinion of many other translators and commentators, gen. pl. ἀνθρώπων πάντων performs the function of the partitive genitive dependent on the superlative adverb μάλιστα: it is about those Egyptians who inhabit the farmlands of Egypt, because they “care about tradition the most of all people”.

⁶ HAMMER 1954: 152.

⁷ Cf. LLOYD 1994 (vol. I), especially Chapter Two: “Herodotus’ Travels in Egypt” (pp. 61–76). Regarding the date of Herodotus’ journey to Egypt, LLOYD’s conclusion is as follows: “All we can say is that Herodotus certainly visited Egypt some time after c. 459 and that the probabilities are in favour of a date between 449 and c. 430” (p. 68).

⁸ Cf. FOWLER 2007: 34: “He [*scil.* Hecataeus] was certainly a major source of the Egyptian *logos* of Herodotus, who pays him the compliment of abuse in a famous passage therein (2.143)”.

and finally a story about Chemmis, a city located on the right bank of the Nile, its inhabitants and games in honour of Perseus, son of Danae.

The historian concludes his description with an important sentence which goes back to where he started in chapter 77: “those Egyptians who live above the swamps [i.e. the inhabitants of the Upper Nile Delta] have all these customs”⁹. But it seems that the more important thing is that Herodotus includes two significant sentences in his account of the customs of the Egyptians: one at the beginning of chapter 79: “[they] are so devoted to the customs of the fathers that they do not adopt any other custom”¹⁰, and the other at the beginning of chapter 91: “they avoid adopting Hellenic customs as well as, in short, the customs of any other people”¹¹. These statements show, firstly, how strongly these Egyptians are attached to their own tradition, since they reject any foreign influences. They even cultivate this tradition (μνήμην ... ἐπασκέοντες – literally “cultivate, practice”). Secondly, what in my opinion is the main argument, Herodotus clearly means all local (i.e. from Upper Egypt) laws, customs and rituals, taken from various spheres of life and referred to as νόμοι or τὰ νόμαια. I strongly believe that they constitute the content of *mneme*, allowing the word to be translated as “tradition”, thanks to which the Egyptians retain their local identity. However, it does not mean that these customs are irrational, devoid of wisdom or that they cannot be given the attributes of learnedness. After all, in Herodotus’ opinion, this tradition is practiced on a daily basis by “learned people”, as the superlative λογιώτατοι suggests. W. JAEGER rightly invokes the well-known words of Democritus concerning the wise men of old (λόγιοι ἄνθρωποι)¹² who raised their hands towards the upper air and said: “Zeus speaks everything and knows everything and gives and takes away, and he is King of all”¹³.

⁹ Hdt. II 92, 1–2: Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἐλέων οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσι.

¹⁰ Hdt. II 79, 1: Πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτώνται.

¹¹ Hdt. II 91, 1–3: Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μηδ’ ἄλλων μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι.

¹² JAEGER 1947: 203 (in footnote 44 to Chapter 2: “The Theology of the Milesian Naturalists”). As JAEGER states elsewhere in this book: “Indeed, Democritus here has in mind the type of philosopher or λόγιος on whom the intellectual development of Ionian culture has put its stamp; he has merely projected the type into primitive times” (pp. 183–184). VANNICELLI (2007: 214), commenting on the passage from the *Histories* analysed here, refers to the concept of λόγιος, and especially to the role it plays in a given community, as follows: “We may summarize the above in three points: people qualified as λόγοι in Egypt are priests (that is, those who belong to a special category); they owe their superiority to practising memory; they are the most learned. [...] For Herodotus, the fact that a people has men who are λόγοι is somehow both a precondition and a sign of the historical depth of its traditions; their mention therefore seems to have a kind of exemplary value”.

¹³ Democr. B 30 (DIELS, KRANZ 1956: 151): τῶν λογίων ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγοι ἀνατείναντες τὰς χεῖρας ἐνταῦθα, ὃν νῦν ἡέρα καλέομεν οἱ Ἕλληνες: „πάντα, <εἶπαν>, Ζεὺς μυθῆται καὶ πάνθ’ οὗτος οἶδε καὶ διδοῖ καὶ ἀφαιρέεται καὶ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τῶν πάντων”.

Therefore, taking into account the broad context in which the passage from Book II (77, 1–4) of Herodotus' *Histories* has been analysed, *mneme* should be given the meaning of “tradition” recorded in time. This tradition consists of a rich set of customs (νόμοι, τὰ νόμια), cultivated, i.e. practised (ἐπασκέοντες) by wise, learned people (λογιώτατοι: in the sense given to it by Democritus), about which the historian talks in detail and with great enthusiasm in Book II of the *Histories*¹⁴.

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¹⁴ COBET (2002: 401) quotes this statement by Herodotus as an argument that it is thanks to the Egyptians that “Herodotus could make up his mind about definitions of time and history”.

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ARISTOPHANES *VESPAE* 530:
THE MYSTERIOUS VOICE AND PERSON

by

MIKOŁAJ SZYMAŃSKI

ABSTRACT: A conjecture is proposed in order to cure grammatical problems with the form φανεῖ in Ar. *V.* 530.

- Χο. νῦν δὲ τὸν ἐκ θήμετέρου
γυμνασίου δεῖ τι λέγειν
καινόν, ὅπως φανήσῃ...
Βδ. ἐνεγκάτω μοι δεῦρο τὴν κίστην τις ὡς τάχιστα¹.
ἅτὰρ φανεῖ ποῖός τις ὢν, ἣν ταῦτα παρακελεύη;² 530
Χο. μὴ κατὰ τὸν νεανίαν
τονδὶ λέγων.

The function of v. 530 seems clear. Bdelycleon wants the Chorus to finish the sentence he interrupted in v. 529, and the question is intended to prompt the wasps-jurymen to say what Philocleon will prove to be. The expected sense of the line should be therefore: “But what kind of a man will he prove to be according to your advice?” The difficulty lies in the fact that Greek for “I prove to be” or “it is manifest that I am” is φαίνομαι ὢν³. This would mean that φανεῖ is second person singular of middle future, addressed to the Chorus. So it is rendered by HICKIE 1902: “(*To the Chorus.*) But what sort of a person will you appear to be if you instigate him to this?”. The question, however, is irrelevant. Bdelycleon wants just to hear the end of the sentence pertaining to his father.

¹ GIL FERNÁNDEZ (2010: 260–261) transfers this line after v. 530, adding v. 537 (καὶ μὴν ὅς’ ἂν λέξῃ γ’ ἀπλῶς μνήμοσυνα γράφομαι ἴγώ) immediately after it. This noteworthy idea of the late Spanish scholar has, however, no practical relevance to the question discussed here.

² SREBRNY (1959–1960: 47–48) emends ἦν to εἰ since there seems no need for a “vivid future” condition (*modus eventualis*) when the advice has been already given (in vv. 526–528). SOMMERSTEIN (1977: 265–266) and WILSON (2007) agree with this approach. BILES, OLSON (2015: 253) defend the reading ἦν assuming that the phrase really means “if he takes the advice you offer”.

³ According to LSJ s.v. φαίνω B.II, φαίνομαι in this meaning is passive. In reality one finds it both in passive future, as here in v. 528, and in middle future, as e.g. in Soph. *Ant.* 662: φανέται [...] δίκαιος ὢν and Dem. 14, 69: τρίς, οὐχ ἅπαξ τεθνάναι δίκαιος ὢν φανέται.

Theoretically, to defend this second person, one could assume that the question is directed to Philocleon⁴. Then παρακελεύη would not be a form of the deponent verb παρακελεύομαι, but of παρακελεύω, and would mean “you are exhorted”⁵. But this would seem very artificial. Bdelycleon should speak to the Chorus since he wants it to finish the sentence.

A solution of this dilemma is proposed by STARKIE (1897) who regards φανεί as third person singular of active future, adducing Soph. *Tr.* 1157–1158 (Hercules addressing his son Hyllus):

ἐξήκεις ἵνα
φανεῖς ὅποῖος ὦν ἀνὴρ ἐμὸς καλῇ.

The analogy is, however, false, since in Sophocles the participle is not a predicate to φανεῖς. The sentence means literally: “you will show being what kind of man you are called mine”.

A recourse to a conjecture seems necessary. In my opinion we should print: ἄτὰρ φανεῖται ποῖος ὦν... Possibly the ending -ται vanished at some point, and τις was inserted to patch up the metre; but, as has been suggested to me by Jan KWAPISZ, it is also probable that in the beginning τις was added after ποῖος (ποῖός τις appears four times elsewhere in Aristophanes) and after that φανεῖται was curtailed to suit the metre. The corruption must have occurred rather early, for the *scholia vetera* explain φανῇ by ὀφθήση.

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⁴ Thus RODGERS 1930: “I’ll quickly show you what you’re like”.

⁵ See LSJ s.v. παρακελεύομαι III with the example from Philostr. *VA* V 27: χαίρειν παρεκελεύοντο.

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,LEAENA' HETAIRA ET ,SCYLLA' FELLATRIX
EINIGE WEITERE BEMERKUNGEN ZUM VERSTÄNDNIS
DER METAPHERN IN CATULL *CARMEN* 60

von

BORIS HOGENMÜLLER

ABSTRACT: Catullus' poem *carm.* 60 is generally considered a short mocking poem on Lesbia. Therein, Catullus, by means of a re-interpretation of two classical metaphors, succeeds in defaming his *puella* as daughter of a prostitute. At the same time, however, Catullus makes use of a witty and implicit allusion in order to formulate an appreciation of the Hellenistic poet Callimachus.

HINFÜHRUNG

Catulls kurzes, aus fünf Choliamben bestehendes *carmen* 60 hat in der Forschung eine ganze Reihe unterschiedlicher Fragen aufgeworfen¹. Insbesondere die Suche nach dem Adressaten oder der Adressatin des Gedichts bzw. der ungenannten Person, die Catull anklagend und voller Verzweiflung anspricht, hat zu verschiedenen Lösungsansätzen geführt². Eine plausible Identifikation des angesprochenen Gegenübers als die sich hinter dem Pseudonym Lesbia verbergende *puella* des Dichters gelang Otto WEINREICH (1959) wie auch Godo LIEBERG (1962 und 1966) durch die Analyse der griechischen Vorbilder bei der Formulierung der Pathosformel³.

¹ Otto WEINREICH hat diese in seiner aufschlussreichen Studie treffend zusammengefasst (WEINREICH 1959: 75): „Ist es ein Fragment, ist es ein abgeschlossenes *carmen*? [...] Wie verhält es sich zu v. 154–157 des die erste Hälfte der *carmina maiora* abschließenden Epyllions? Was ist primär, diese Stelle oder c. 60? Was war für die Pathosformel von der unmenschlichen Grausamkeit das unmittelbare Vorbild, Homer oder Euripides? Wie kommt es, daß hier in c. 59 und 60 zwei Choliamben-Gedichte unmittelbar aufeinander folgen [...]? Kann ein Ausblick auf die griechisch-lateinische Topik jener Pathosformel zu einem Rückschluß verhelfen auf die Person, an die Catull c. 60 richtet? Kann dafür die Anordnung der letzten Gruppe der *carmina minora* vor c. 60 einen Fingerzeig liefern?“.

² Als Adressaten des Gedichts sind verschiedentlich aus anderen Gedichten bekannte Namen angenommen worden: SÜSS (1876: 29) vermutet Gellius (*carm.* 116), HEYSE (1855) Alfenus (*carm.* 30), KROLL (1968) und FRIEDRICH (1908) wiederum Cornificius (*carm.* 38), GRANAROLO (1982: 71–72) vermutet Juventius, NAPPA (2003: 57–66) nimmt den Leser selbst als Adressaten an, DAMSCHEN (2004: 99, Anm. 37) sieht Eros als Adressaten.

³ Zu Lesbia als Adressatin vgl. auch ERNOUT 1964: 174; LENCHANTIN DE GUBERNATIS 1969: 104; WISEMAN 1969: 16 und 1985: 156–157; STOESSL 1977: 96–97; SMALL 1983: 40–42; SYNDIKUS 1984: 287–289; GARRISON 1989: 124; DETTMER 1997: 96–97; THOMSON 1997: 346; HOLZBERG 2002:

Die geistreiche Interpretation des im zweiten Vers stehenden Nomens *Scylla* als kunstvolle Allusion auf Kallimachos' *Hekale* und die daraus resultierende obszöne Übertragung auf Lesbia als Tochter einer *fellatrix*⁴ – zusammen mit der offenkundigen Konstruktion des Akroteleuton⁵, der Kombination von Akrostichon und Telestichon der Anfangs- und Endbuchstaben des Gedichtes *natu ceu aes* (= von Geburt/Natur aus wie Erz) als Anspielung auf den Namen der *Metelli* – ist das Verdienst von Shane HAWKINS (2014).

Die Ergebnisse der drei Philologen führten dazu, vier der fünf Verse, nämlich die Vers 2 bis 5, in einem gänzlich auf Lesbia ausgerichteten Kontext zu verstehen. Lediglich der erste Vers erschien als Anspielung auf die klassischen Vorbilder ein eher traditionelles Verständnis zu implizieren. Dass jedoch auch dieser Vers entgegen der überkommenen Lesart als Hommage auf den bewunderten hellenistischen Dichter in einem ebenso obszönen Sinn verstanden werden muss, ist meines Erachtens bisher unerkannt geblieben und soll daher in der vorliegenden kurzen Studie näher betrachtet werden.

CATULL *CARM.* 60 IM SPIEGEL DER FORSCHUNG

Catulls *carmen* 60 steht am Ende des ersten Drittels der Gedichtsammlung und beschließt somit die als ‚Polymetra‘ bezeichneten *carmina*⁶. Seit dem 16. Jahrhundert⁷ besteht jedoch der Eindruck, es handle sich bei *carm.* 60 um ein unvollendetes bzw. nur fragmentarisch überliefertes Gedicht, das aus bisher ungeklärten Gründen in das Corpus aufgenommen worden ist⁸. Aufgrund des erbrachten Nachweises des Akroteleutons halte ich dies jedoch für widerlegt.

99–100; DYSON 2007: 265; mit größerer Zurückhaltung jedoch QUINN 1970: 263–264 und 1972: 74; GOOLD 1983: 248; GREEN 2005: 232.

⁴ Darin beweist HAWKINS, dass der metaphorische Ausdruck *Skylia* im Kontext des Gedichtes eine kunstvolle Allusion auf Kallimachos' *Hekale* darstellt unter Annahme einer Verbindung zu dem obszön konnotierten Verb σκύλλειν. Hieraus schließt HAWKINS letztlich auf die Profession der angesprochenen Lesbia als die einer *fellatrix*, deren besonderes Geschick in der *fellatio* besteht.

⁵ Vgl. dazu SCHMID 1974: 102; GOOLD 1983: 248; MARTIN 1992: 72; WEISS 2001; NAPPA 2003: 59, Anm. 7; DAMSCHEN 2004: 99, Anm. 37; FONTAINE 2008: 66; KATZ 2009: 102–103, Anm. 80; dazu auch CASTELLETI 2012: 83–95.

⁶ Die Frage nach Aufbau, Einteilung und Disposition der *carmina* ist in der Forschung ausufernd geworden und scheint bis heute kein unzweifelhaftes Ergebnis gefunden zu haben. Aus der umfangreichen Forschungsliteratur sei an dieser Stelle auf einige Untersuchungen verwiesen: HEERINK 2009: 95–100; SKINNER 2007: 35–53; SCHAFFER 2003; SCHERF 1999; DETTMER 1997; CLAES 2002; DU QUESNAY, WOODMAN 2012.

⁷ Bereits der berühmte französische Gelehrte Marc Antoine MURET [Muretus] war 1554 der Ansicht, dass es sich bei *carm.* 60 eher um ein Fragment als um ein vollständiges Epigramm handelte („fragmentum potius esse, quam epigramma integrum“).

⁸ Vgl. dazu die Ansicht von MERRILL 1893: 95; KROLL 1968: 106; CLAUSEN 1976: 40 (= 2007: 61); SKINNER 1981: 72–74; THOMSON 1997: 336; HUBBARD 2005: 259.

Num te leaena montibus Libystinis
 aut Scylla latrans infima inguinum parte
 tam mente dura procreavit ac taetra,
 ut supplicis vocem in novissimo casu
 contemptam haberes, a nimis fero corde?

Dem Kontext nach spricht Catulls *persona* in diesem kurzen Gedicht voll tiefer Verzweiflung in einer einzigen rhetorischen Frage eine nicht näher benannte (weibliche) Adressatin – in dieser erkenne ich Catulls *puella* – an, die Catull in seiner jüngsten ‚Not‘ (*novissimo casu*) trotz seines Flehens (*vocem ... contemptam*) keinen Zuspruch hat zukommen lassen. Die Adressatin sei Catull zufolge so hart (*mente dura*), grausam (*taetra*) und gefühllos (*fero corde*), dass sie nur von einer Skylla (*Scylla*) oder einer lybischen Löwin (*leaena montibus Libystinis*) abstammen kann (*procreavit*)⁹. Mit Bezug auf *carm.* 38 verstehe ich den Ausdruck *novissimo casu* im Hinblick auf eine kürzlich eingetretene ‚Notlage‘, wobei es jedoch denkbar erscheint, darin eine doppeldeutige Anzüglichkeit zu erkennen. Wenn diese Notlage eine plötzlich eingetretene sexuelle ‚Notwendigkeit‘¹⁰ der sprechenden *persona* gewesen wäre, würde der Witz darin liegen, dass die Adressatin ihm tatsächlich geholfen hat, sie zu ‚beseitigen‘¹¹.

Gemäß dem neoterischen Anspruch von *doctrina* handelt es sich bei den Vergleichen um zutreffende Rezeptionen archaischer (Hom. *Il.* XVI 33–35), klassischer (Eur. *Med.* 1342–1343; *Bacch.* 988–990) und hellenistischer Vorbilder (Ps.-Theokr. 23, 19–20; Theokr. 3, 15–16). Gleichwohl ist Catulls Interpretation doppeldeutig, so dass neben der kunstvollen Allusion auf die genannten Autoren gleichzeitig ein obszöner Unterton vorliegt, wie Shane HAWKINS für die Bedeutung von ‚Scylla‘ in diesem Kontext herausgestellt hat, indem er das Nomen mit Verweis auf Kallimachos *Hekale* fr. 90 HOLLIS (= 288 PFEIFFER = 268 ASPER) als metaphorische Bezeichnung für eine Hetäre versteht, zu deren Praktiken u.a. die *fellatio* gehört¹².

⁹ Vgl. dazu bereits HOLZBERG 2002: 99–100.

¹⁰ Interessant scheint der Gedanke, dass es sich bei der angesprochenen Notlage um sexuelle Impotenz handeln können, bei der die *puella* nicht helfen wollte. Dass möglicherweise schon bei Catull, wenn auch implizit ein Gegenpol von *mens* (*dura*) und einer hier unausgesprochenen *mentula* (*dura*), wie sie explizit in Martial VII 18, 12 zu finden sind, vorlag, halte ich in Anbetracht des obszönen Kontextes für denkbar.

¹¹ Dass Catull die Frage mit der eine Verneinung erwartenden Partikel *num* einleitet, ändert meines Erachtens nicht die grundlegende Intention des Gedichtes, die *puella* zu diffamieren. Denn sicher würde Lesbia, gefragt, ob sie von einer *Scylla* bzw. *leaena* abstammt, dies abstreiten, selbst wenn sie der *persona* des Dichters aus der sexuellen Notlage geholfen hätte.

¹² Vgl. dazu Meleager *Anth. Pal.* V 190 mit V 145; Athen. I 577C–D; VI 253A; XIII 558C; Plaut. *Curc.* 77 und 113; Alciphron. I 18. Dazu auch LIEBERG 1962: 343.

I. DIE BEDEUTUNG VON *SCYLLA*

Die Identifikation der *Scylla* als Prostituierte scheint meines Erachtens richtig, wenn man zusätzlich das auf das Nomen bezogene Partizip *latrans* und die im Ablativ stehende Wendung *infima inguinum parte* im richtigen Kontext versteht. Der mythischen Überlieferung nach war *Scylla* ein Mischwesen, deren Oberkörper der einer jungen Frau war, während aus ihrem Unterkörper sechs Hundeköpfe und -beine wuchsen. Catull scheint hier eine obszönere Semantik im Blick zu haben, zumal von ihm nicht konkret die Hundegestalt genannt wird. Konkret spricht er von der *infima inguinum pars*, durch das Verbum *latrare* wird allenfalls implizit auf den animalischen Charakter angespielt. Das Verbum *latrare* ist in seiner Semantik allerdings vielschichtig und wurde einem Eintrag des *ThLL* [s.v. *latro*, Sp. 1013–1014] nach in klassischer Zeit bisweilen in der synonymen, jedoch deutlich negativeren Bedeutung von *loqui* (sprechen) verstanden¹³. Dass die von Catull genannte ‚*Scylla*‘ mit dem als *infima inguinum pars* bezeichneten Körperteil wohl eher ‚spricht‘ als ‚bellt‘, erschließt sich meines Erachtens aus der Bedeutung von *inguen*, worunter man die *inferior pars ventris inter coxas et pubem*, konkret den (weiblichen) Schambereich bzw. die Genitalien (*speciatim fere de genitalibus*) versteht¹⁴. So gesehen vermag die versteckte und gleichzeitig viel obszönere Schmähung der *puella* als Tochter einer *meretrix* bzw. *fellatrix*, die mit ihren Genitalien ‚spricht‘ bzw. ‚sich äußert‘ (*infima inguinum parte latrans*)¹⁵, Catulls Tendenz zu vernichtendem Spott in Einklang mit dem neoterischen Selbstanspruch von Gelehrsamkeit (*doctrina*) zu bringen¹⁶.

II. DIE BEDEUTUNG VON *LEAENA*

Diese These lässt sich verifizieren, wenn der zweite metaphorische Ausdruck ebenfalls in einem obszön-erotischen Kontext gelesen wird. Catulls Überzeugung nach könne die Adressatin des Gedichtes entweder von einer *Scylla* oder aber einer Löwin aus den libyschen Bergen (*leaena montibus Libystinis*) abstammen. Der Ausdruck *leaena* zur Bezeichnung besonderer Härte und Grausamkeit begegnet in diesem Sinn bereits bei Euripides (*Med.* 1341–1343, 1358–1359;

¹³ Vgl. Cic. *Brut.* 58: „latrant [...] quidam oratores, non loquuntur“.

¹⁴ Vgl. *ThLL* s. v. *inguen*, Sp. 1580–1581

¹⁵ Möglicherweise hat Catulls metaphorischer Ausdruck Martial als bekennenden Catull-Leser zu seinen Ausführungen in *carm.* VII 18 über „sprechende“ weibliche Genitalien inspiriert. Dort scheint dieser das Bild von einer *Scylla*, die mit ihren Genitalien „bellt“, aufzugreifen und an der angesprochenen Galla noch zu übersteigern (5–8; 11–14): „Accessi quotiens ad opus mixtisque movemur / inguinibus, cunnus non tacet, ipsa taces. / Di facerent, ut tu loquereris et ille taceret: / offendor cunni garrulitate tui. / [...] / Quis ridere potest fatui poppismata cunni? / Cum sonat hic, cui non mentula mens-que cadit? / Dic aliquid saltem clamosoque obstrepe cunno / et, si adeo muta es, disce uel inde loqui“.

¹⁶ Vgl. dazu HAWKINS 2014: 581: „Here, too, in Catullus, she is *Scylla latrans* the monster and the shameless bitch, but also, like Lesbia – with no untrue name – the whore and the *fellatrix*“.

Bacch. 988–991) und Theokrit (*Id.* 3, 15), später auch – ebenfalls in Kombination mit dem Nomen *Scylla* – in einer Elegie des Lygdamus (4, 90: „Nec te conceptam saeva leaena tulit“). Aus einer Erwähnung des älteren Plinius (*HN* VII 87; XXXIV 72) allerdings wird deutlich, dass das griechische Nomen λέαινα überdies als Name einer Hetäre bzw. *meretrix* verwendet wurde, wodurch dessen grundsätzlich erotische Konnotation zu belegen ist¹⁷.

Zudem verstand man im griechischen Sprachgebrauch unter der λέαινα, wie Aristophanes in der *Lysistrate* (231) impliziert, eine freizügige Stellung beim Geschlechtsverkehr, die dem Scholiasten zu dieser Stelle zufolge von Prostituierten (σχήμα ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἐταιρικόν) praktiziert wurde. Verbindet man nun diese beiden Erwähnungen miteinander und wendet sie auf die von Catull beschriebene Szene an, erscheint es plausibel, dass der Neoteriker auch mit dem vorliegenden Ausdruck unter Verwendung der obszönen Doppeldeutigkeit des Nomens die nachdrückliche Diffamierung und Schmähung der *puella* intendierte. In Catulls Verständnis ist Lesbia die Tochter einer *Scylla* – wie sie Shane HAWKINS versteht – oder einer *leaena*, zu deren Profession als Hetäre gerade die als anrühlich angesehene *fellatio* – das σκύλλειν im erwähnten *obsceno sensu* – gehört. Dies scheint mir umso plausibler, da mit eben dieser Praktik Lesbia bekannterweise auch in *carm.* 58 in Verbindung gebracht wird, worin Catull ihr voller Abscheu vorhält, die ‚Enkel des edlen Remus‘ an Wegkreuzungen und in Seitenstraßen sexuell zu befriedigen (58, 4–5: „nunc in quadriuiis et angiporis / glubit magnanimi Remi nepotes“). Dass in diesem Kontext allein die erotisch konnotierte Semantik von *glubere* in Form der *fellatio* und/oder verwandter Praktiken vorliegt, halte ich für hinreichend bewiesen¹⁸.

Gleichzeitig jedoch wahrt Catull den Selbstanspruch des Neoterikers, durch einen subtilen Bezug zu Kallimachos besonders kunstvoll und gewählt zu erscheinen. Denn ähnlich wie die erwähnte *Scylla* eine Affinität zu Kallimachos’ *Hekale* impliziert, dürfte auch die *leaena* mit dem hellenistischen Dichter besonders verbunden sein.

III. DIE IMPLIZITE HOMMAGE AUF KALLIMACHOS (*CARM.* 7 UND 60)

Im Gegensatz zu allen erwähnten Autoren, die den Ausdruck *leaena* als Metapher verwenden, beschreibt Catull in diesem Kontext die Abstammung der ‚Löwin‘ explizit als aus den *montes Libystini*. Mit diesem expliziten topographischen Ausdruck dürfte meines Erachtens wohl die am Mittelmeer gelegene und die antike Kyrenaika nach Norden hin begrenzende Djebel Akhdar Hochebene

¹⁷ Vgl. auch Plut. *Mor.* 505D–F (καλὸν δὲ καὶ Λέαινα [...] ἐταῖρα τῶν περὶ Ἀρμόδιον ἦν καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα); Polyæn. VIII 45 (ἦν γοῦν Ἀριστογείτονα ἐταῖρα ὄνομα Λέαινα); Paus. I 23, 1; Athen. VIII 596F (Λέαινα ἢ ἐταῖρα). Auch Plautus (*Curc.* 76–77) spricht von einer ältlichen Prostituierten bzw. Kupplerin, die als *leaena* bezeichnet wird.

¹⁸ Vgl. u.a. ADAMS 1982: 168; HOLZBERG 2002: 98–99; GAISSER 2012: 65; HAWKINS 2014: 577–581. Zuvor bereits PENELLA 1976: 118–120; RANDALL 1979: 29–30.

angedeutet werden, an deren Rand die von Battos gegründete Stadt Kyrene liegt – der weithin bekannte Geburtsort des Kallimachos. Dass Catull diesen impliziten Verweis auf den hellenistischen Dichter aus Gründen der Metrik oder gar rein zufällig formuliert hat, erachte ich als wenig wahrscheinlich und dem neoterischen Dichtungskonzept unangemessen, zumal in einem weiteren Gedicht der Sammlung ein ähnlicher Fall und damit offenkundiger Beweis für diese These zu erkennen ist.

In *carm.* 7 gibt Catulls *persona* vor, von Lesbia gefragt zu werden, wie viele ihrer Küsse ihm genug wären (*basiationes ... satis superque*). Die Antwort gibt der Dichter selbst mit einem metaphorischen Vergleich:

Quam magnus numerus Libyssae arenae
lasarpiciferis iacet Cyrenis
oraculum Iovis inter aestuosi
et Batti veteris sacrum sepulcrum...

Die Nennung der Kyrenaika, die sich in der Erwähnung der libyschen Wüste (*Libyssa arena*) verbirgt, der Stadt Kyrene (*Cyrenae*) selbst wie auch des Orakels des Zeus Ammon (*oraculum Iovis*) und des Grabmals des Battos (*sepulcrum Batti*) bezieht sich¹⁹ nur vordergründig als *obiectum comparationis* auf die unendlich große Anzahl der Küsse, hintergründig jedoch auf die Würdigung des Dichters aus Kyrene²⁰. Catull wollte dementsprechend die besondere Nähe der eigenen Dichtung zu Kallimachos²¹ und dessen Dichtungstheorie zeigen und dadurch ein die Zeiten überdauerndes Denkmal setzen.

Aus den Schlüssen, die letztlich aus der Interpretation von *carm.* 7 gezogen werden können, halte ich es für völlig plausibel, dass im Hinblick auf *carm.* 60 in den beiden Rückgriffen auf die mythische Skylla (*Scylla*) wie auch die Löwin (*leaena*) zum Ausdruck der Hartherzigkeit nicht nur eine Herabsetzung der Adressatin Lesbia durch die obszöne Semantik der beiden Nomina vorliegt, sondern durch die hintergründige Allusion auf Kallimachos' Vaterstadt und dessen Werk *Hekale* von Catull eine Würdigung des hellenistischen Dichters formuliert worden ist²². Damit steht *carm.* 60 trotz des Anscheins seiner fehlenden Vollendung in vollkommenen Einklang mit der Catulls Gedichten zugrundeliegenden neoterischen Dichtungstheorie.

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¹⁹ Vgl. SYNDIKUS 1984: 101–102.

²⁰ Vgl. auch BIRT 1904: 435; ELDER 1951: 108; COMMAGER 1965: 85.

²¹ Zu Catulls intertextuellen Bezügen auf Kallimachos vgl. allgemein ROSS 1969; KNOX 2007; BING 2009; THOMAS 2021.

²² Vgl. dazu auch NELIS 2012.

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A NOTE ON GREEK τύραννος*

by

RAFAŁ ROSÓŁ

ABSTRACT: This paper throws new light on the debate about the etymology of Greek τύραννος ‘absolute ruler, monarch, tyrant’. The author puts forward a hypothesis that it was borrowed indirectly from Hurrian *šarrini-* ‘~ the king’. This is a so-called determined form of the noun *šarri-* ‘king’, borrowed, in turn, from Akkadian *šarru* ‘id.’. Another word that goes back to Hurrian *šarrini-* is Biblical Hebrew/Philistine *seren* (attested in pl. *sarnê* or *srānīm*) ‘Philistine ruler’.

Since the Hieroglyphic Luvian title *tarwani-* ‘ruler, judge’ is now believed not to have existed (in lieu of it is the adjective *tarrawann(i)-* ‘just, righteous’)¹, and the meaning ‘prince’ of the Ugaritic noun *srn* seems to be doubtful², the only certain counterpart for Greek τύραννος m. ‘absolute ruler, monarch, tyrant’³ is Biblical Hebrew *seren* (attested in pl. *sarnê* and *srānīm*, with the Masoretic

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¹ This interpretation has been affirmed by MELCHERT (2019), who concludes his analysis as follows: “A thorough review of all currently available evidence fully upholds the claim of Pintore that Luvian *tarrawann(i)-* referring to persons is in origin an adjective meaning ‘just, righteous’, secondarily used as an honorific epithet ‘the just/righteous one’ like ‘hero’. It refers to a moral quality just like the homonymous abstract *tarrawann(i)-*, whose meaning is assured by its equivalence to Phoenician *šdq*. Neither has anything directly to do with the office of judge or ruler” (p. 344); see also PINTORE 1979 and 1983; ORESHKO 2018: 111–112; moreover, cf. EICHNER 1992: 72–73; PARKER 1998: 148–149; RUTHERFORD 2020: 102.

² This word is attested twice as pl. *srnm*: in *KTU* 1.147 10 (here without a context, because the text is damaged) and in *KTU* 1.22 I 18 together with *yn* ‘wine’, i.e. *yn srnm* interpreted as ‘wine of princes’ in *DUL* 759. According to another hypothesis, *srn* means ‘cup’; see WATSON 2007: 20 and 106. Cf. GARBINI 1991: 516–517: “it seems right to think that *srnm* is either a geographical name [...] or a name specifying a quality of wine; in both cases there is no mention of princes or the like”.

³ The noun appears in the sources since the 5th cent. BC, but two of its derivatives are attested earlier: τυραννίς, -ίδος f. ‘monarchy, tyranny’ (since the 7th cent. BC) and τυραννεύω (or -έω) ‘to be a monarch, tyrant, ruler’ (since the 7th/6th cent. BC); τύραννος occurs once in the *Homeric Hymns*, namely in the *Hymn to Ares* (8, 5), but this poem was created probably during the Roman period, at least not earlier than the 1st cent. BC; see CÀSSOLA 1975: 297. On τύραννος and its derivatives, see Greek-English dictionaries: *CGL* 1402–1403; *GE* 2167–2168; *LSJ* 1836. For more details, see PARKER 1998: 149–172; LURAGHI 2013; KÖIV 2021.

vocalisation) ‘Philistine ruler, governor of five Philistine cities’ (probably a Philistine loanword)⁴. Accordingly, the prevailing view over the last few decades that an originally Anatolian word spread both in the Levant and in Greece loses its persuasive power⁵. Therefore, it is necessary to ask the question again: what is the origin and the relationship of Greek *τύραννος* and Biblical Hebrew/Philistine *seren*?

In my opinion, some data from the Hurrian language can shed new light on the etymology of both words. I refer to the noun *šarri-* ‘king’, absolutive *šarri*, ergative *šarriš*⁶. This term, being a loanword from Akkadian *šarru* ‘king’ (of deities and humans)⁷, occurs widely in Hurrian sources, including usage as an epithet of gods (Tešub, Kušuḫ) and as a part of personal names (e.g. *Eašarri-*)⁸. In the context of *τύραννος* and *seren*, the most important is the so-called determined form *šarrini-* ‘~ the king’, ergative *šarriniš* (the absolutive form does not exist), pl. *šarrina*. The Hurrian suffixes *-ni-* (phonetically /ne/) and *-na-* (pl.) are similar to a definite article, but its nature is slightly different⁹; it is often treated as an anaphoric suffix¹⁰.

First of all, the similarity between Hurrian *šarrini-* and Biblical Hebrew/Philistine *seren* is conspicuous. Comparing these words, we have to keep in mind that the pronunciation of the Hurrian consonant *š* as the postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ is only a convention. The consonant was surely a voiceless fricative (or its voiced allophone depending on position), but its real realisation is unknown¹¹.

⁴ DCH VI 200; HALOT 770. Cf. also the word *ṭrn* appearing in a Philistine ostrakon from Ashkelon (dated to the 7th cent. BC); according to the editor (CROSS 2008: 339, no. 1.3), *ṭrn* means ‘ruler’; accepted by NIESIOŁOWSKI-SPANÒ 2015: 183.

⁵ However, MELCHERT (2019: 343) does not completely exclude the possibility that Greek *τύραννος* originated in *tarrawann(i)-*; he suggests that “the Philistines and Greeks borrowed the Luvian word in its secondary use as a title, quite possibly reanalyzed not as an honorific, but as referring to a position of authority”. On the basis of the Hieroglyphic Luvian word, an Anatolian origin of *τύραννος* was accepted by HEUBECK 1961: 68–70; PINTORE 1983; BROWN 1995–2001: I 65, cf. II 213 and 298; YAKUBOVITCH 2002: 111–113; UCHITEL 2007; GIUSFREDI 2009: 141; LURAGHI 2013: 135–136; NIESIOŁOWSKI-SPANÒ 2015: 182–183; BIANCONI 2020: 139, n. 5; cf. DELG 1146; BABINIOTIS 2011: 1478. For some criticism, see GARBINI 1991: 517; SIMON 2018: 406.

⁶ LAROCHE 1980: 217–218; see also RICHTER 2012: 356. Note that Hurrian, an ergative language, forms the absolutive case without ending (the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive one) and the ergative case with the ending *-š* (the subject of a transitive verb).

⁷ On the Akkadian *šarru*, see CAD XVII.2, 76; CDA 361.

⁸ See LAROCHE 1980: 217.

⁹ Note that LAROCHE (1980: 217) translates the determined form as ‘le roi’.

¹⁰ See WILHELM 2008: 92–93: “The suffixes *-ne* (sg.) and *-na* (pl.) are anaphoric suffixes which are positioned between the noun and its case endings. They are incompatible with the possessive suffixes [...]. Singular *-ne* never occurs in the absolutive case, but *-na*, a plural marker, does”.

¹¹ Cf. GIORGIERI 2000: 185, n. 43: “L’esatta natura fonologica e la realizzazione fonetica delle fricative del tipo cosiddetto ‘sibilante’ sono sconosciute”; WILHELM 2008: 85: “The phonetic realization of *s* and *š* is unknown”.

Some orthographic features indicate that *š* was an alveolar fricative /s/¹², but on the other hand, it was rendered as the interdental fricative *t* /θ/ in the Ugaritic alphabet¹³. As regards the vocalism, we cannot conduct a comparative analysis, for the vowels of the Biblical Hebrew plural forms *sarnê* and *srānîm* (on the basis of which the singular form *seren* has been reconstructed) were added by the Masoretes in the early mediaeval times. At any rate, it is entirely conceivable that *seren* goes back to Hurrian *šarrini*.

Whereas it seems plausible that the Philistines took the term for ‘ruler’ directly from the Hurrians living in Syro-Palestine during the second half of the second millennium BC, it is difficult to explain details regarding a possible relationship between Greek τύραννος and Hurrian *šarrini*. Striking phonetic differences indicate that the word was acquired via another language. For geographic and historical reasons, I would speculate that the Greeks borrowed τύραννος in Cyprus during the early Iron Age. They could adapt it from the so-called Eteocypriot language being still used in Classical times (especially in Amathus)¹⁴. I do not claim that Eteocypriot is related to Huro-Urartian, as some scholars do¹⁵, but I consider different Hurrian influences on the Cypriot culture and language(s) as possible. If Eteocypriot was really a source language for τύραννος, the old hypothesis that this term was of Pre-Greek origin seems to be partly true: τύραννος would originate in a language that was present in Cyprus before Greek¹⁶.

Given the fact that τύραννος was not borrowed directly from Hurrian and that our knowledge of Eteocypriot is very limited, it is difficult to explain differences between the Greek word and *šarrini* in terms of phonetics. Concerning the initial consonant, the Ugaritic data mentioned above seem to indicate that Hurrian *š* was, at least for some time, pronounced as an interdental fricative. If so, we can comprehend why the Hurrian *š*- might have been adapted to the voiceless stop *t*- (perhaps, already in Eteocypriot). In the case of the double *-rr-* in Hurrian vs. the double *-nn-* in Greek, one might tentatively consider a kind of metathesis *rr...n... > r...nn...* As regards vowels, the lack of an intermediate form between *šarrini*- and τύραννος does not allow us to conduct a strict analysis. However, it is remarkable that some similar unexplained inconsistencies also occur in other loanwords, e.g. κύμινον (Mycenaean *ku-mi-no*) n. ‘cumin’ vs. Akkadian *kamūnu(m)*, *kamū’u*, *kamannu* ‘cumin’, Biblical Hebrew *kammōn* ‘id.’, Arabic *kammūn* ‘id.’, etc.¹⁷

¹² See GIORGIERI 2000: 185, n. 43; WEGNER 2007: 43.

¹³ See GIORGIERI 2000: 185–186, n. 43.

¹⁴ On the Eteocypriot language, see STEELE 2013: 99–172.

¹⁵ See an overview of theories in STEELE 2013: 102–104 (with further literature).

¹⁶ On Pre-Greek origins of τύραννος see, first of all, BEEKES 2010: 1520 and 2014: 130; see also FURNÉE 1972: 64; PARKER 1998: 145–149; cf. *GEW* II 946–947; *DELG* II 46; BABINIOTIS 2011: 1478.

¹⁷ See MASSON 1967: 51–52; ROSÓL 2013: 55–56.

Despite some phonetic difficulties, we can assume that τύραννος is an indirect borrowing from Hurrian *šarrini-* ‘~ the king’, being a so-called determined form of the noun *šarri-* ‘king’. This term was, in turn, taken from Akkadian *šarru* ‘king’. Perhaps, the Greeks borrowed τύραννος in Cyprus. For this reason, it is possible that Eteocypriot was an intermediate language between Hurrian and Greek. Independently, Hurrian *šarrini-* came into Philistine, and hence into Hebrew as *seren*¹⁸.

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¹⁸ My hypothesis does not seem to have fully convinced an anonymous reviewer of this article, since she/he briefly considers three alternative sources of Greek τύραννος: (1) from Hurrian *tu-u-ru-e-ni-eš* / *du-ù-ru-e-ni-eš* with uncertain meaning (see LAROCHE 1980: 274), analysed by her/him as a compound consisting of *turi* ‘man’ and *eni* ‘god’ and semantically interpreted as ‘man’ + ‘god’ = ‘ruler’ (see also WEGNER 1988: 149 who links *tu-u-ru-e-ni-eš* / *du-ù-ru-e-ni-eš* with *turi* ‘man’; cf. RICHTER 2012: 476); (2) from Ugaritic *ùṭryn* ‘crown prince (in Hittite court)’ (DUL 125) with the assumption that the initial *ù-* is prothetic; (3) from Philistine *ṭrn* perh. ‘ruler’ (see note 4 above).

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ANCIENT LESBIAN WINE, SIMILAR TO MODERN MADEIRA?*

by

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ABSTRACT: When describing Lesbian wine, Pliny the Elder referred to it as “mare sapit” (*HN* XIV 74), a phrase that is usually associated with wines mixed with sea water, a process typical for some other Greek vintages, but certainly not Lesbian. By approaching the literary testimonies regarding ancient wine making from the perspective of contemporary oenology, I will attempt to show that Pliny experienced a taste similar to that of today’s Madeira wine.

Thanks to the recent adoption of multidisciplinary approaches that draw together the full remit of literary, archaeological, experimental, archaeobotanical and genetic evidence¹, our understanding of past wines has been considerably expanded. However, we still know very little about the actual taste of ancient wines and archaeological evidence can hardly be expected to move this subject forward. Nevertheless, approaching the literary testimonies regarding ancient wine making from the perspective of contemporary oenology may shed new light on this issue.

While describing wine from Lesbos Pliny the Elder stated “Lesbium sponte suae naturae mare sapit”². This passage has often been interpreted as a reference to the practice of adding sea water to wines³ and was presumed to be a mistake on Pliny’s part, because, according to all other sources, Lesbian wine was not mixed with sea water⁴. One possible explanation for Pliny’s statement is that the taste he experienced was due to the salt that was added to the clay of ancient Lesbian amphoras (which is still done today)⁵, but if this was the case then the organoleptic characteristics of Lesbian wine should also be similar to wines

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¹ DODD 2022 is the most recent example.

² Plin. *HN* XIV 74.

³ WHITBREAD 1995: 155.

⁴ KOMAR 2020: 91–94.

⁵ The amount of sodium in ancient Lesbian amphoras is much larger than the average, which might suggest a similar practice in antiquity, see CLINKENBEARD 1982: 262.

prepared with sea water. In this paper, I would like to propose a different reading of Pliny's remark – in my opinion the taste he experienced might have been similar to the taste of modern Madeira wine. Firstly, I will explain the process of wine fermentation in antiquity. This will be followed by a description of the characteristics of Lesbian wine and wines mixed with sea water during the fermentation process. Finally, I will discuss the supposed origins of maderisation and the effects that this process had on a wine's taste, in order to explain Pliny's "mistake".

ANCIENT WINE MAKING

Today's biological wines are made from grapes grown organically without the addition of chemical products during the cultivation or fermentation process; this includes treating wines with sulphur dioxide, which is a key element responsible for the taste and preservation of most of the wines we drink today⁶. Obviously, wines produced in antiquity would be labelled as biological as they used natural yeast varieties for fermentation and were not treated with SO₂⁷.

Saccharomyces cerevisiae are top-fermenting yeasts responsible for wine and beer fermentation. In musts that have a high sugar content, which in turn produces strong wines with a potency of between 14.5 and 16%, the so called "flor" yeast appear spontaneously during fermentation⁸ (*S. beticus*, *S. capensis*, *S. cheresiensis*, *S. montuliensis*, *S. rouxii*⁹), which are referred to as *flos* ('flower') in Latin¹⁰ and ἄνθος ('flower') in Greek¹¹. These yeast varieties produce certain chemical compounds, which are responsible for the specific sensory features of wines. The most notable of these compounds is sotolon, which gives wine a slightly spicy taste and aroma that can be described as similar to that of fresh bread, apples, roasted walnuts or, in the case of high levels of sotolon, curry¹². This taste was probably typical for the best ancient vintages, such as Chian, Lesbian and Thasian¹³. Contemporarily, surface yeasts are used in the production of Spanish

⁶ HARUTYUNYAN, MALFEITO-FERREIRA 2022.

⁷ There is no evidence of SO₂ being added to the must, but the Romans might have cleaned amphoras, dolia and other wine jars with burning sulphur fumes in order to inhibit the growth of yeasts and bacteria, see ROMANO, SUZZI 1993: 374; THURMOND 2017: 172. Sulphur has recently been detected in a few Roman dolia and storage jars; see GARNIER, PECCI 2021: 114.

⁸ They were identified in Georgian wines produced using traditional methods, similar to those used in ancient Greece and Rome, see CAPECE *et al.* 2013; VIGENTINI *et al.* 2016.

⁹ They are sometimes included in the group of *Saccharomyces cerevisiae*.

¹⁰ E.g. Plin. *HN* XIV 136; Col. *Rust.* XII 30.

¹¹ *Geopon.* VI 3; VII 15.

¹² ROBINSON 2006: 270, 275, 750. For more about flor yeasts see DAVID-VAIZANT, ALEXANDRE 2018.

¹³ KOMAR 2020: 89–95, 126.

sherry (*fino* variety), French *vins jaunes* (yellow wines), and Hungarian Tokaji (*Szamorodni* variety). Interestingly, white wines produced using this method turn a very dark yellow or even orange in colour due to the long maturation period (6 years in the case of French *vins jaunes*), which changes their chemical composition¹⁴. The addition of sulphur dioxide to the wine inhibits the oxidation process and also prevents colour changes and surface yeast formations. This is why most of today's white wines are literally white or light yellow in colour and have a fruity, rather than a spicy taste. It is possible that the salt or sea water that was used in ancient wine production acted similarly to SO₂ and impacted the organoleptic qualities of wines¹⁵.

SEA WATER IN WINE

Wines prepared with an admixture of sea water were called *τεθαλασσωμένοι* by the Greeks and were produced mainly in the South-Eastern Aegean: on Cos, Rhodes, in Clazomenae, Myndos and Halicarnassus¹⁶. Pliny argued that sea water accelerated the maturation process of wine¹⁷, according to Athenaeus it made wine sweet/pleasant¹⁸, while Plutarch and Columella viewed it as a preservative¹⁹. The latter mentioned that salt acted against the mustiness or “ropiness” of wine (*mucor*)²⁰, which might have been caused by a bacterium called *Lactobacillus trichodes*, which is especially dangerous for wines with low acidity²¹ that are typical for hot climates (such as the Dodecanese²²). According to modern scholars, the seasoning of must with sea water could increase its acidity and hence kill off the bacteria²³ (e.g. *Lactobacillus trichodes* or *Acetobacter*). Salt might have also reduced the solubility of albumins in wine and helped its clarification²⁴, as well as deactivating the Tyrosinase enzyme that is responsible for wine oxidation. The uncontrolled oxidation process converts alcohol into acetaldehyde and finally acetic acid, as a consequence of which wine turns into vinegar²⁵. The oxidation of various components

¹⁴ ROBINSON 2006: 270, 275, 750.

¹⁵ TCHERNIA 1998; TCHERNIA, BRUN 1999; KOMAR 2020: 84–86.

¹⁶ Plin. *HN* XIV 73, 78–79; Ath. *Deipn.* 32E; Dsc. *Mat. med.* V 10.

¹⁷ Plin. *HN* XIV 78.

¹⁸ Ath. *Deipn.* 26B.

¹⁹ Col. *Rust.* XII 23, 3; Plut. *Mor.* 914E.

²⁰ Col. *Rust.* XII 23, 3; THURMOND 2017: 183–184.

²¹ THURMOND 2017: 201. *Mucor* is also mentioned by Cato *Agr.* 148 and Plin. *HN* XIV 131, but only Col. *Rust.* XII 33 recommends using salt as a preventive measure.

²² KONSTANTINOS 2018, ch. 13.

²³ GARCÍA SOLER 1999: 231.

²⁴ TCHERNIA, BRUN 1999: 114.

²⁵ KOURAKOU-DRAGONA 2013: 123–124, 127, 133–134.

of white wines causes them to darken in colour – turning to orange and brown²⁶. If sea water did indeed stop oxidation, then adding it with wine would not make the mixture darken over time. As a matter of fact, these wines were always described simply as white by ancient authors²⁷. Moreover, they would not have the spicy taste of sotolon, which is typical of wines in which “flor” yeasts could act freely, unless they were artificially spiced with fenugreek²⁸.

LESBIAN WINE ACCORDING TO THE LITERARY SOURCES

I will now describe the characteristics of Lesbian wine and determine if they can be compared with the characteristics of wines produced with “flor” yeasts (typical biological ageing) or with τεθαλασσωμένοι, where the development of colour and certain organoleptic features was prevented. According to the literary sources Lesbian wine was an old beverage²⁹ characterised by a sweet (εὔπνους) aroma³⁰, the colour of which was usually described as ξανθός or κιρρός (‘yellow, orange, tawny’)³¹. It was called ἀθάλασσος, which meant ‘prepared without sea water’, according to Dioscorides³², while Galen suggested that it would be damaging for Lesbian wine if it was mixed with sea water³³. Archestratus mentions Lesbian wine in a passage from one of his works (preserved in Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophists*)³⁴, in which he appears to refer to the appearance of surface yeast, describing it as ὑγρὴν χαίτην λευκῷ πεπυκασμένον ἄνθει πίνειν³⁵ (“with hoary head indeed, whose moist locks are crowned with a white bouquet”). Moreover, Longus calls it ἀνθοσμίας³⁶, which according to KOURAKOU-DRAGONA comes from the word ἄνθος (‘flower’), the Greek name for “flor” yeast³⁷. Summing up, all literary sources agree that wine from Lesbos was subject to biological ageing, that it had a yellow/orange colour, and thanks

²⁶ TCHERNIA, BRUN 1999: 132–133, fig. 173.

²⁷ The texts refer to wine from Cos: Hor. *Serm.* II 4, 29; Plin. *HN* XIV 78; *CIL* IV 5590 with an interpretation by REMARK 1881: 21. Rhodian was similar to Coan, see Plin. *HN* XIV 79, which suggests the same colour and qualities.

²⁸ See an experiment by A. TCHERNIA and H. DURAND in TCHERNIA 1998.

²⁹ Ath. *Deipn.* 28F and 29B; Plaut. *Poen.* 699–700.

³⁰ Clem. Al. *Paed.* II 2, 30, 2.

³¹ Orib. *Syn.* IV 3, 1; Col. *med.* V 6, 31 and 45; Gal. *Comp. med. loc.* XIII 513 K.; *Meth. med.* X 835 K.; *Vict. at.* 94.

³² Dsc. *Mat. med.* V 11 (*MGO*).

³³ Gal. *Meth. med.* X 832–833 K.

³⁴ SALVIAT 1986: 179.

³⁵ Fr 59 Ri. = Ath. *Deipn.* 29B.

³⁶ Longus IV 10, 3.

³⁷ KOURAKOU-DRAGONA 2013: 65–70.

to the actions of “flor” yeasts it had a slightly spicy taste of sotolon. The formation of sotolon is accelerated by heat, for example by exposing wine to the sun during sea journeys³⁸ or by artificially heating it as is the case with today’s Madeira wines.

MADEIRA WINE

Madeira is a Portuguese wine fortified with grape spirits, the unique taste of which is due to oxidative ageing accelerated by heat, rather than to an admixture of distilled alcohol. This process, called maderisation, is very common in Spain and Portugal where heavy and strong wines with an alcohol content of between 16–18% are kept in special tanks at an elevated temperature – at least 3 months at 50–55°C or 6 months at 30–40°C. The best types of Madeira, however, are those that are stored in vats in the attics of houses that are gently heated by the sun. After heating, the wine matures in oak casks for at least 3 and up to 20 years³⁹. Heating accelerates the desired oxidation processes and produces darker (amber colour) wines with a caramel (if residual sugars are left) and characteristic spicy taste, which is mostly due to the presence of sotolon, a strong-smelling compound that is formed in wine from α -Ketobutyric acid, the amount of which increases during maderisation⁴⁰. Similar to the Greek and Roman dolia and amphoras that were used for wine fermentation and storage, oak barrels are permeable. This makes them ideal vessels for the formation of sotolon and other chemical compounds, which cannot develop in stainless steel and other impervious containers⁴¹.

Maderisation was supposedly invented by chance in the 18th century, when wines that were being shipped to India acquired desirable new characteristics⁴² (spicier and tasting of caramel and dried fruit) due to their exposure to the sun during the journey. However, it seems that people in Classical antiquity were also familiar with the fact that artificial heating and long sea journeys in hot climates could change the organoleptic characteristics of wines. This is suggested by a passage from Pliny:

Vina in apothecis canis ortu mutantur quaedam posteaque restituuntur sibi; **sic et mari navigato**, cuius iactatus his quae duraverint tantum vetustatis adicere sentitur, quantum habuerint.

(Plin. *HN* XIV 118)

³⁸ The Roman sailing season was usually between March and November.

³⁹ ROBINSON 2006: 416–419; PERESTRELO *et al.* 2011: 208–209, 213.

⁴⁰ PERESTRELO *et al.* 2011: 233–235; PERESTRELO *et al.* 2020.

⁴¹ ISSA-ISSA *et al.* 2021.

⁴² ROBINSON 2006: 416–419.

The whole section mentions strange properties of certain wines, including the fact that wines stored in *apothecae* or those transported by sea experienced changes to their properties (which was a normal process), but some of them could later return to their previous state (which was not entirely understandable for people in antiquity). Nevertheless, this passage likens wines stored in *apothecae* with those transported by sea, suggesting that their qualities were changed due to artificial heating. *Apothecae* were storage rooms for wine, situated above fireplaces or bath furnaces, smoke from which artificially heated the wine⁴³. They were called *fumaria* by the Romans (who obviously understood that heat influenced the qualities of wines by accelerating the ageing process⁴⁴) and were known as early as the consulship of Lucius Opimius (121 BC). Wine heating facilities are attested archaeologically around Verona (the Augustan age), Gallia Narbonensis (1st c. AD), in Aquitaine and Gallia Belgica (4th–5th c. AD)⁴⁵. Additionally, Cato's recipes for making Greek wines include leaving them in the sun for two (or even four) years⁴⁶, while Greek papyri from Egypt mention a ἡλίστήριον, which was a place for storing wine-filled amphoras in the sun⁴⁷. Thanks to contemporary oenological knowledge, we know that heat changed the colour (from white to yellow/orange) and taste (into spicy, caramel, nutty etc.) of wine. Now, returning to Lesbian wine, “mare sapit” probably means a wine whose taste was modified due to a long overseas journey, as in the second passage by Pliny where he mentions “vina [...] mari navigato”. Both probably described the same alteration of wine tastes – particularly spicy and at the same time tasting of caramel, characteristics which could have been produced through artificial heat or by letting it “naturally” maderise on the long overseas journey.

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this paper was to propose a new interpretation of Pliny's description of Lesbian wine as “mare sapit”. It has been proven that this wine was not mixed with sea water and that it had characteristics typical of biological wines that were produced with the use of surface yeasts, such as a dark yellow/orange colour and the spicy taste of sotolon. These organoleptic features usually increase when wine is exposed to heat, which accelerates the chemical transformation processes unless they are artificially prevented through the use

⁴³ Col. *Rust.* I 6, 19–20; Plin. *HN* XIV 57 and 94; XXIII 40.

⁴⁴ Col. *Rust.* I 6, 19–20; Plin. *HN* XIV 57, 94, 118; XXIII 40; Mart. X 36.

⁴⁵ M.S. BUSANA, *Wine Production in the Roman West: The Role of Artificial Heating*, presentation at the Vine-Growing and Winemaking in the Roman World conference, Rome, October 2021.

⁴⁶ Cato, *Agr.* 105, 113; cf. Plin. *HN* XIV 76.

⁴⁷ DZIERZBICKA 2018: 204–206. Wine was kept there for over 13 months.

of SO₂ or salt/sea water. Today, the heating of wine is known as maderisation, which is carried out in places similar to the *apothecae/fumaria* of classical antiquity or by simply exposing the wine to the sun, e.g. during long sea journeys. Therefore, it seems more likely that Pliny, when referring to Lesbian wine as “mare sapit”, was actually describing the spicy, sotolon taste that is similar to modern Madeira wines.

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DIE SAMISCHEN *LOGOI* IM KONTEXT DES GESCHICHTSDENKENS UND DER POLITISCHEN GESINNUNG HERODOTS*

von

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„Wer über Herodot schreibt, steht in bester Gesellschaft, läuft aber gerade dadurch Gefahr, zu langweilen oder zu verärgern. Denn Neues zu bringen fällt schwer“. Mit den angeführten Worten begann Reinhold BICHLER sein schon vor über zwanzig Jahren veröffentlichtes Buch *Herodots Welt*¹. In ähnlicher Art und Weise äußerte sich der große Felix JACOBY, indem er die Behauptung aufstellte, die *Historien* Herodots seien wegen ihrer Komplexität für *dissertationes inaugurales* nicht geeignet. Die hier zu präsentierende Dissertation nimmt allerdings die Herausforderung an, Neues zur Herodotforschung beizutragen.

Das Hauptanliegen der Dissertation ist ein Versuch, zwei zentrale Fragen bezüglich der samischen λόγοι zu beantworten: *primo* – welche Rolle spielten die samischen λόγοι im Gefüge des herodoteischen Werkes; *secundo* – sollten sie als eine zuverlässige historische Quelle betrachtet werden? Die Arbeit besteht aus einer Einführung, drei Kapiteln und einem Resümee. In der Einleitung wurde in erster Linie der Begriff λόγος erörtert, der auch im Titel der Dissertation enthalten

* Der vorliegende Text stellt eine Zusammenfassung meiner in polnischer Sprache verfassten Dissertation – *Logoi samijskie w kontekście koncepcji dziejów i poglądów politycznych Herodota* – dar, die am 15. September 2020 an der Historischen Fakultät der Jagellonen-Universität zu Krakau verteidigt wurde. Die Doktorarbeit wurde unter der Betreuung von Prof. Dr. Sławomir SPRAWSKI vorbereitet und von Prof. Dr. Jerzy DANIELEWICZ und Prof. Dr. Ryszard KULESZA begutachtet. An dieser Stelle bedanke ich mich bei meinem Doktorvater, ohne dessen Hilfe das Zustandekommen der Arbeit nicht möglich gewesen wäre. Mein besonderer Dank gilt darüber hinaus den Begutachtern für ihre hilfreichen kritischen Bemerkungen und Verbesserungsvorschläge. Meine Dankbarkeit möchte ich auch Professor Robert ROLLINGER und Professor Reinhold BICHLER bezeigen, die wesentlich zur Verbesserung meiner Doktorarbeit beitrugen (im Besonderen während meines Aufenthaltes an der Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck im Rahmen eines Ernst-Mach Stipendiums).

¹ R. BICHLER, *Herodots Welt. Der Aufbau der Historie am Bild der fremden Länder und Völker, ihrer Zivilisation und ihrer Geschichte*, Berlin 2001; das Zitat auf S. 11.

ist. In dieser Hinsicht wurde darauf hingewiesen, dass diese Begrifflichkeit auf die ursprüngliche Einteilung des herodoteischen Werkes zurückgreift und demzufolge – wenngleich sehr vereinfacht – als Erzählung verstanden werden kann. Die samischen λόγοι bilden infolgedessen drei Erzählungen aus dem dritten Buch der *Historien*, die sich auf die Geschichte der Insel Samos während der Regierungszeit des Tyrannen Polykrates (die ersten zwei λόγοι, III 39–60 und 120–125) und auf die Zeit nach dessen Ableben (der dritte λόγος, III 139–149) beziehen.

Wie ich in meiner Arbeit gezeigt habe, ist davon auszugehen, dass Herodot in den samischen λόγοι keine bloße Rekonstruktion der Ereignisse auf dem archaischen Samos liefert, um darzustellen – zitieren wir an dieser Stelle Leopold VON RANKE – „wie es eigentlich gewesen“ ist, sondern er fügt die Narration in sein Geschichtsdenken ein und erzeugt darüber hinaus Assoziationen mit Vorkommnissen der zweiten Hälfte des 5. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts².

Im ersten einführenden Kapitel wurden folgende Themen diskutiert: (a) das Geschichtsdenken Herodots, besonders die Überzeugung, dass das menschliche Schicksal labil sei und die Götter neidisch seien; (b) Ethnizität bei Herodot; (c) das Problem der Thalassokratie, d.h. der Dominanz über das Meer, das in der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts vor Chr. intensiv diskutiert wurde; (d) die politische Landschaft, in der Herodot sein Werk schuf – die samischen λόγοι wurden aus der Perspektive einer Spätdatierung betrachtet (nach 413 gegebenenfalls 405).

Das Motiv der Wechselhaftigkeit des menschlichen Schicksals ist seit Anbeginn der griechischen Literatur präsent. Es kommt im archaischen Epos bei Homer und Hesiod oder in der späteren archaischen Lyrik – z.B. bei Pindar, Simonides oder Solon – vor. Den Höhepunkt erreicht es allerdings zweifelsohne in den *Historien* Herodots, was im Proömium und im λόγος zum Ausdruck gebracht wird, der ein berühmtes Gespräch zwischen dem Athener Solon und dem Lyderkönig Krösus schildert. In diesem Gedankenaustausch konzentrieren sich die beiden Gesprächspartner auf das Wesen des Glückes. Es ist nicht zu übersehen, dass manche Worte und Wendungen, auf die Solon zurückgreift, für das Verständnis der herodoteischen Historiosophie von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung sind, beispielsweise: „ich weiß, dass die höheren Mächte [das Göttliche – J.K.] allesamt eifersüchtig sind und verwirrend“ (ἐπιστάμενον με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἔον φθονερόν τε καὶ παραχῶδες ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπίνων

² Dazu siehe z. B. E. IRWIN, *Herodotus on Aiginetan Identity*, in: D. FEARN (Hg.), *Aigina: Contexts for Choral Lyric Poetry. Myth, History, and Identity in the Fifth Century BC*, Oxford 2011, S. 397, Anm. 53; R. BICHLER, *Die analogen Strukturen in der Abstufung des Wissens über die Dimensionen von Raum und Zeit in Herodots Historien*, in: K. GEUSS, E. IRWIN, H. POISS (Hgg.), *Herodots Wege des Erzählens. Logos und Topos in den Historien*, Frankfurt am Main 2013, S. 40–41.

πρηγμάτων περί; Hdt. I 32, 1)³. Als ein zentraler Begriff, der im Krösus-λόγος vorkommt, soll darüber hinaus ὄλβος (beziehungsweise ὄλβιος) betrachtet werden, der sich im Grunde genommen auf zweierlei Weise interpretieren lässt. Einerseits kann er Glück bezeichnen, andererseits hingegen kann er als Reichtum verstanden werden. Das Wort ὄλβος gehört zum Wortschatz sowohl des Solon, als auch des Krösus und die beiden sprechen es des Öfteren aus. Sie sind allerdings nicht imstande, sich miteinander zu verständigen. Während der Lydenkönig ὄλβος mit aller Entschiedenheit mit dem Materiellen gleichzusetzen scheint, bleibt dieser Bestandteil in den Ausführungen Solons *in toto* aus. In dem erwähnten Wortgefecht spürt man des Weiteren den Herodoteischen Einfluss. Den erhaltenen Elegienfragmenten, deren Autorschaft die moderne Forschung Solon zuschreibt, lässt sich entnehmen, dass Reichtum dem menschlichen Glück keineswegs im Wege steht, solange er auf gerechte Art und Weise erworben wird (Fr. 1 G.–P.² = 13 W.²). Infolgedessen kann man davon ausgehen, dass Herodot die solonischen Anschauungen keineswegs nachahmend kopierte, sondern sie kreativ umgestaltete, um damit die Lehre des Atheners mit der Botschaft seiner *Historien* in Einklang zu bringen.

In der Folge wurde die Frage der Ethnizität in den *Historien* diskutiert, wobei Jonathan M. HALLS Buch *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*⁴ als methodologische Basis diente. Aus dieser Studie geht hervor, dass die ethnische Identität aus verschiedenen Bestandteilen gebildet ist, die *indices* genannt wurden. Die besagten *indices* sind jedoch unbeständig/wechselhaft und können beispielsweise von der Ethnie, der Zeit oder den politischen Verhältnissen abhängen. Wie geschickt Herodot mit dem Ethnischen umging, verdeutlicht ein trefflicher Beitrag von Anthony ELLIS, in der das Begriffspaar Μῆδος und Πέρσης unter die Lupe genommen wurde. Die Analyse bringt zu Tage, dass das Bedeutungsfeld der angeführten Ethnonyme kontextbedingt ist. Bezieht sich ein entsprechender λόγος auf die Perserkriege, solle man Μῆδος und Πέρσης als Synonyme betrachten. Wenn man dagegen mit einer Erzählung ethnographischer Natur zu tun hätte, bezeichnen sie zwei verschiedene ethnische Gruppen⁵. Eine ähnliche Feststellung kann man bezüglich der Griechen treffen, worauf Reinhold BICHLER hingewiesen hat, indem er feststellte, dass Griechenland – kulturell gesehen – mit Hellas politisch betrachtet im herodoteischen Œuvre nicht zu identifizieren sei⁶. Es ist

³ Alle Übersetzungen der *Historien* ins Deutsche sind, wenn nicht anders gekennzeichnet, von Walter MARG.

⁴ J.M. HALL, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge 1997.

⁵ A. ELLIS, *Perser, Meder oder Barbaren? Herodots Gebrauch der Persernamen und -sitten: zwischen griechischer Literatur und persischer Ethnographie*, in: H. KLINKOTT, N. KRAMER (Hgg.), *Zwischen Assur und Athen. Altorientalisches in den Historien Herodots*, Stuttgart 2017, S. 45–59.

⁶ R. BICHLER, *Der Antagonismus von Asien und Europa – eine historiographische Konzeption aus Kleinasien?*, in: J. FISCHER (Hg.), *Der Beitrag Kleinasien zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Wien 2014, S. 9–21.

ratsam, an dieser Stelle eine äußerst suggestive Passage anzuführen, und zwar eine Rede, die die Athener vor der Schlacht bei Salamis – also im Kontext der Perserkriege – gehalten haben sollen (Hdt. VIII 144, 2), in der das Griechentum (τὸ Ἑλληνικόν) definiert wurde, das aus den folgenden Elementen bestehe: das gleiche Blut, die gleiche Sprache, dieselben Göttertempel, Opfer und Sitten (ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα). Herodot liefert im ersten Buch eine Beschreibung der Ionier, die einen deutlich ethnographischen Charakter aufweist. Es fällt jedoch auf, dass die in der Passage VIII 144, 2 erwähnten Bestandteile der griechischen Identität hier keine Geltung finden. Die Ionier haben nämlich nach Herodot keinen gemeinsamen Ursprung – die einen sollen aus Athen stammen (was NB. mit der damaligen Propaganda der athenischen ἀρχή harmonierte), die anderen dagegen aus anderen zahlreichen πόλεις (Hdt. I 146). Die Ionier unterscheiden sich darüber hinaus durch ihre Sprache (γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὔτοι νενομίκασιν) – es gebe nämlich vier Variante, die die Ionier gesprochen haben sollen (ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων; Hdt. I 142). Was die gemeinsamen Tempel angeht, bemerkt zwar der Historiker, dass das Panionion auf Mykale eine ionische Kultstätte gewesen sei (Hdt. I 148), fügt aber im zweiten Buch hinzu, dass die Milesier und die Samier in Naukratis ihre eigenen Tempel (Apollo- und Heratempel) errichtet hätten (Hdt. II 178), womit sie ihre Besonderheit und Abgrenzung von den anderen Griechen und Ioniern hervorgehoben haben müssten.

Anschließend wurde im ersten Kapitel ein Umriss der Frage der s.g. Thalassokratie geliefert, wie man in der Forschung die maritime Dominanz zu bezeichnen pflegt. Die Realität, in der Herodot lebte und sein Werk schuf, d.h. die zweite Hälfte des 5. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts, wurde in großem Maße durch die athenische Thalassokratie geprägt, die erst mit der verhängnisvollen Niederlage im peloponnesischen Krieg ihr Ende nahm. Die Dominanz der athenischen ἀρχή schlug sich in der zeitgenössischen Literatur nieder. Hier ist auf Thukydides, Stesimbrotos von Thasos und schließlich Pseudo-Xenophon zu verweisen. Pseudo-Xenophon hat in seinem Werk *Athenaion politeia* strategische, militärische, politische, ökonomische und kulturelle Vorzüge der Thalassokratie thematisierte. Es steht außer Zweifel, dass Herodot sich der großen Tragweite der maritimen Vorrangstellung Athens bewusst war. Seine Ausführungen rekurrieren selbstverständlich nicht auf die ihm gegenwärtige politische Landschaft, die durch die Athener dominiert war, sondern auf die archaische Epoche und die Zeit der Perserkriege. Nichtsdestoweniger kann man die die Thalassokratie betreffenden Äußerungen als eine Rückprojizierung verstehen, die die Situation der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts vor Chr. widerspiegelt.

Das zweite Kapitel bildet die Konkretisierung der im vorherigen Teil umrissenen Probleme im Kontext der samischen λόγοι. Anfangs wurde die These aufgestellt, dass die samischen λόγοι nicht als getreue Rekonstruktion der samischen

Geschichte gesehen werden sollten. Einen ersten Hinweis darauf bietet der bloße Aufbau der *λόγοι*, da Kapitel III 39, in dem Polykrates zum ersten Mal in Erscheinung tritt, die Regierung des Tyrannen nur knapp präsentiert. Die übrigen Kapitel sowohl des ersten, als auch des zweiten *λόγος* sind dagegen tief in der herodoteischen Historiosophie verwurzelt und schildern höchst detailliert den Untergang und den Tod des samischen Alleinherrschers. Dies gilt ebenfalls für den dritten *λόγος*, anhand dessen man einen Einblick ins nachpolykrateische Samos gewinnen kann. Der *λόγος* beginnt mit den folgenden Worten: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σάμον βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος αἰρέει, πόλιων πασέων πρώτην Ἑλληνίδων καὶ βαρβάρων, διὰ τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην (Hdt. III 139, 1). Es ist umstritten, wie die Bezeichnung *πρώτην* zu verstehen ist – entweder im Zusammenhang mit der Reihenfolge der Eroberungen Dareios’ des Großen oder eher als eine Angabe zur Vorrangstellung der samischen πόλις⁷. Hier sollte man in Betracht ziehen, dass die zwei erwähnten Bedeutungen sich überlappt haben dürften. Auch wenn es sich bei der Form *πρώτην* um die Chronologie handelt, kann der Begriff gleichzeitig den Glanz der Stadt evoziert haben, zumal Herodot an einer anderen Stelle drei berühmte samische Bauwerke (der Tunnel des Eupalinos, das Heraion und ein im Meer rings um den Hafen) als μέγιστα πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐξεργασμένα (die größten unter allen Hellenen) bezeichnete (Hdt. III 60). Wie dem auch sei, erscheint Samos zu Beginn des dritten samischen *λόγος* als eine von äußeren Mächten unabhängige und prosperierende Insel, die nach dem Tod des Polykrates in schwere innere Konflikte gestürzt wird, durch die Perser erobert und letzten Endes entvölkert (ἔρημον εἰσοῦσαν ἀνδρῶν) dem Syloson – einem der Brüder des Polykrates – überlassen wird. Dadurch liefert uns Herodot ein anderes Beispiel für seinen im Proömium der *Historien* aufgestellten Satz, dass Städte, die früher groß gewesen seien, größtenteils wieder klein geworden seien.

Aus der Analyse der samischen *λόγοι* und deren Vergleich mit dem Krösus–Solon *λόγος* resultiert, dass die zwei besagten Teile des herodoteischen Werkes wesentliche Ähnlichkeiten aufweisen. Es handelt sich dabei sowohl um sprachliche als auch inhaltliche Analogien, so etwa wenn Solon und Amasis sich denselben Worten bedienen, wie etwa in folgender Stelle: Solon (Hdt. I 32) – Σκοπέειν δὲ χρή παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευταίην κῆ ἀποβήσεται, πολλοῖσι γὰρ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε; Amasis (Hdt. III 40): Οὐδένα γὰρ κω λόγῳ οἶδα ἀκούσας ὅστις ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόρριζος, εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα. Im ersten samischen *λόγος*, wie beim Gespräch Solons

⁷ Die besagte Unstimmigkeit ist beispielsweise in modernen Übersetzungen sichtbar: „After this, King Darius conquered Samos, the greatest of all city states, Greek or barbarian, the reason for his conquest being this“ (GODLEY); „Après cela, le roi Darius s’empara de Samos, – ce fut, de toutes les villes tant grecques que barbares, la première dont il fit la conquête“ (LEGRAND); „Jetzt eroberte König Dareios die Insel Samos; es war von allen griechischen und barbarischen Städten die erste Eroberung“ (FEIX); „Danach gewinnt König Dareios Samos, die erste unter allen Städten, hellenischen wie barbarischen“ (MARG).

und Krösus' tritt uns ein gängiges herodoteisches Motiv entgegen, das Motiv des weisen Ratgebers. Während im ersten Buch Solon dem Lyderkönig einen Rat gibt, schlüpft Amasis im ersten samischen λόγος in die Rolle des Ratgebers. Es fällt sowohl dem modernen als auch dem antiken⁸ Leser auf, dass die Paare Solon–Krösus und Amasis–Polykrates in Verbindung stehen, wenn beide Ratgeber darauf hinweisen, dass die Götter neidisch seien und das menschliche Schicksal nicht stabil sei. Bei genauerem Hinsehen lässt sich jedoch eine wesentliche Diskrepanz zwischen den oben genannten Paaren feststellen. Während der Lyder die Lehre und die Ratschläge des Solon zurückweist und missachtet (seiner Meinung nach ist der Gast aus Athen ein ungebildeter Mensch – ἀμαθής – gewesen), nimmt sich Polykrates die Warnungen des Amasis zu Herzen und versucht, dem Zorn der Götter zu entgehen. Diese Bemühungen scheiterten jedoch, was Herodot in der berühmten Erzählung vom Ring des Polykrates anschaulich darstellt. Der vom Tyrannen ins Meer geworfene Ring kehrt auf wundersamen Wege zu ihm zurück, ein Zeichen der Götter für das bevorstehende jähe Ende des Polykrates. Polykrates wurde nämlich von Oroites betrogen und von ihm nach Magnesia gelockt, wo der Satrap den Tyrannen ans Kreuz schlagen ließ, was von Herodot im zweiten samischen λόγος dargestellt wurde (Hdt. III 120–125). Nun stellt sich die Frage, ob es überhaupt möglich gewesen, dass Polykrates sein Leben hätte retten können oder ob Herodot uns ein Lehrstück über die Unvermeidlichkeit des Schicksals liefert.

Polykrates wäre vielleicht imstande gewesen, den göttlichen Zorn zu vermeiden, wenn er auf seine Macht verzichtet hätte. Diese Überlegung steht dennoch mit dem eindeutigen Vorschlag des Amasis in Widerspruch, dass der Tyrann das Teuerste aus seiner Schatzkammer ausfindig machen solle, dessen Verlust ihm am meisten wehtue, und dafür Sorge, dass es nie wieder unter den Menschen auftauche (Hdt. III 40). Die zitierte Passage zeigt mit aller Deutlichkeit, dass es sich dabei um einen wertvollen Gegenstand handelt. Dementsprechend wurde in der Dissertation dafür plädiert, dass die Figur des Amasis für das Verständnis des zweiten samischen λόγος von zentraler Bedeutung ist.

Amasis II. tritt bei Herodot im zweiten Buch in Erscheinung und zwar in zwei λόγοι. Im ersten λόγος (Hdt. II 161–162) wurden die Umstände dargestellt, unter denen Amasis – ein Söldner des Pharaos Apries – die Macht ergriff. Der zweite λόγος (Hdt. II 172–182), der im Kontext der Dissertation von erheblich größerer Bedeutung ist, beschreibt unter anderem Gewohnheiten des neuen Herrschers. Er präsentierte nämlich seinen Untertanen ein Bild eines Gottes (ἄγαλμα δαίμονος), das von den Ägyptern verehrt wurde, und verriet ihnen

⁸ Es handelt sich hier unter anderem um Maximus von Tyros, einen Rhetoren aus dem 2./3. Jahrhundert nach Chr., der in seinen *Philosophischen Vorträgen* die Figuren Krösus' und Amasis' zusammenstellte und sich äußerte, er mißtraue glücklichen Zufällen (ταῖς εὐτυχίαις), wie Solon bei Krösus und Amasis bei Polykrates (Max. Tyr. *Or.* 34, 4–5).

dabei, dass das Bild aus einem Fußbecken hergestellt wurde. Darauffolgend stellte Amasis einen Vergleich an, der seine eigene Lage verdeutlichen sollte – wie das göttliche Bild aus einem Gebrauchsgegenstand entstanden war, so war er ein Mensch von einfacher Herkunft, der zum König geworden war. In dieser Äußerung des Amasis klingt deutlich die Lehre Solons von der Wechselhaftigkeit des menschlichen Glückes an.

In der Dissertation wird dafür plädiert, dass der Schlüssel zum Verständnis dieses Herrschers in Kapitel I 30 liegt, wo Herodot informiert, Solon sei nach Ägypten zu Amasis gekommen (Hdt. I 30: ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο παρὰ Ἀμασιν), bevor er Krösus in Sardes besucht hatte. Während die Quellentradition, die von einem Aufenthalt Solons im Land am Nil berichtet, relativ umfassend ist, ist Herodot der einzige uns bekannte Autor, der von einem Treffen zwischen Solon und Amasis berichtet. Daher kann man davon ausgehen, dass Solon – wenngleich man über keine bezügliche Darstellung verfügt – mit Amasis ein Gespräch zu vergleichbaren Themen geführt haben müsse, wie er es mit Krösus tat⁹. Wenn man den oben präsentierte Standpunkt annähme, sollte man demgemäß bemerken, dass Amasis von Herodot nicht als weiser Gesprächspartner dargestellt wurde, denn er scheint ὄλβος mit dem Materiellem verbunden zu haben. Darauf verweist die Tatsache, dass Amasis ein goldenes Bild des Gottes zur Veranschaulichung seines Glückes benutzte und – was sich auf Polykrates bezieht – war tief davon überzeugt, dass ein Verlust eines wertvollen Gegenstandes zum Unglück führen kann. Deswegen erteilte er Polykrates den Rat, den Herodot in der Geschichte vom Ring erzählte. Aus den oben genannten Gründen wird in der Dissertation die These ausgestellt, dass Polykrates – trotz bester Ansichten – nicht imstande war, φθονὸς θεῶν zu vermeiden. Der Tyrann erkannte nämlich nicht, dass die Ratschläge, die er bei Amasis einholte, eine verformte Version der solonischen Lehre enthielten.

Es soll nicht übersehen werden, dass Amasis in den *Historien* als einzige Figur φιλέλλην genannt wurde, das heißt der Freund der Griechen. Herodot tat dies in jenem λόγος, in dem die Wohltaten des Pharaos gegenüber den Griechen aufgezählt wurden, z.B. dass die Stadt Naukratis den nach Ägypten kommenden Hellenen überlassen wurde (Hdt. II 178). In Bezug auf diesen λόγος wurde in der Doktorarbeit auf zwei Probleme aufmerksam gemacht. Die erste Frage bezieht sich auf die Diskrepanz zwischen dem Bericht Herodots und jener Darstellung, die Strabo in seiner *Geographie* lieferte. Laut Herodot sei Naukratis von Amasis allen Griechen überlassen worden (Hdt. II 178: τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοισι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι), während

⁹ Selbstverständlich wird hier nicht von einer tatsächlichen Unterhaltung ausgegangen, sondern von einem Gespräch, das in der im Text dargestellten Welt Herodots stattfand. Eine reale Begegnung Solons mit Amasis und Krösus ist alleine aus chronologischen Gründen sehr unwahrscheinlich, wenn nicht gar unmöglich.

Strabo mitteilt (XVII 1, 18), dass die Stadt von Milesiern in der Regierungszeit des Pharaos Psammetichos (ἐπὶ Ψαμμίτιχου; es geht hier um Psammetichos I.) gegründet worden sei (πόλιν ἔκτισαν Ναύκρατιν). Beim Vergleich der zitierten Stellen fallen folgende Unterschiede auf: nach der Auffassung Herodots ist Amasis *spiritus movens* der Überlassung der Stadt Naukratis, bei Strabo hingegen haben die Milesier diese πόλις aus eigener Initiative errichtet. Der zweite Unterschied betrifft die Chronologie – in den *Historien* findet die Überlassung von Naukratis unter Amasis II. statt (570–526 vor Chr.), während die Ereignisse bei Strabo sich etwa ein Jahrhundert früher in der Zeit von Psammetichos I. (664–610 vor Chr.) abspielen. In der Forschung wird anhand der archäologischen Funde der Vorrang dem Bericht des Strabo eingeräumt. Nun stellt sich die Frage, ob die chronologische Ungenauigkeit, die im Amasis-λόγος wahrzunehmen ist, aus Unwissen resultiert. In der Dissertation wurde ein Versuch unternommen, diesen Standpunkt zu widerlegen und eine neue Interpretation anzubieten – Herodot verband die Figur des Amasis mit Naukratis und hat die Chronologie ignoriert, um ein Treffen des philhellenischen Pharaos mit Solon zu ermöglichen. Seine Stiftung von Naukratis an die Griechen und sein Treffen mit Solon stellen ein kohärentes Ganze dar.

Die Gestalt des Polykrates wurde außerdem in Bezug auf die Ethnizität untersucht, genauer gesagt unter dem Blickwinkel der Opposition Griechen–Barbaren. Die Insel Samos erschien wegen ihrer bloßen geographischen Lage als ein Ort am Rande der griechischen Welt. Diese Randlage spiegelt sich auch in Herodots Werk wider, denn Samos wird kontextbedingt sowohl in Hellas, als auch in Asien lokalisiert. In der Beschreibung des bereits erwähnten Feldzuges des Dareios tritt Samos als eine griechische Stadt in Erscheinung, wenn hingegen die Spartaner eine Expedition gegen Polykrates unternahmen, wird Samos als ein Teil Asiens betrachtet (Hdt. III 56, 2). Bedeutsam in diesem Zusammenhang ist die Darstellung der Schlacht bei Lade (Hdt. VI 13–14). Herodot deutet hier eine zwiespältige Verhaltensweise der Samier an. Die meisten ließen sich von Aiakes (einem Neffen des Polykrates, der auf Geheiß der Perser wirkte) überreden, sie sollten auf den Kampf gegen die Perser verzichten. Die anderen dagegen, wie es dem Hellenen ziemt, weigerten sich ihre Waffen niederzulegen.

Auf die Tatsache, dass Polykrates als ein ethnischer Außenseiter dargestellt wird, wurde in der Forschung bereits aufmerksam gemacht. 2005 erschien ein Artikel von Emily KATZ ANHALT, in dem die Autorin völlig zurecht konstatierte, dass Polykrates „straddles Herodotus’ ethnic categories“¹⁰. Wenngleich man diese Feststellung für sinnvoll halten kann, erscheinen manche im Aufsatz vorgebrachten Argumente fragwürdig zu sein. In der Dissertation wurde dementsprechend die Annahme infrage gestellt, dass die ethnische Sonderstellung des

¹⁰ E. KATZ ANHALT, *Polycrates and his Brothers: Herodotus’ Depiction of Fraternal Relationships in the ‘Histories’*, CW XCVIII 2005, S. 139–152.

Polykrates im herodoteischen Werk in der Beziehung gegenüber seinen Brüdern bestehe. KATZ ANHALT spricht sich dafür aus, dass das gegenseitige Benehmen der griechischen Geschwister sich mit Beistand, Frieden und Harmonie auszeichne, während die Beziehungen der Nicht-Griechen seien durch die gegenteiligen Eigenschaften gekennzeichnet. Infolgedessen falle Polykrates aus dem Rahmen, denn er habe anfangs samt seinen Brüdern friedlich über Samos die Macht ausgeübt, danach aber habe der Tyrann einen der Brüder – Pantagnotos – töten, den anderen dagegen – Syloson – vertreiben lassen. Der erste Schwachpunkt der Argumentation besteht darin, dass man nicht in der Lage ist, dem herodoteischen Bericht zu entnehmen, dass Polykrates zu Beginn gewaltlos mit Pantagnotos und Syloson über Samos regiert. Im Kapitel III 39 wird ausschließlich festgestellt, dass Polykrates τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τριχῇ δασάμενος τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι Πανταγνώτῳ καὶ Συλοσῶντι ἔνειμε. Ein *argumentum ex silentio* scheint hier unbegründet zu sein, zumal – worauf schon verwiesen wurde – das Kapitel III 39, in dem Herodot die Macht des Polykrates thematisierte, nur wenige Details verrät. Die Knappheit des Kapitels wurde von KATZ ANHALT zwar in Betracht gezogen, sie plädierte allerdings dafür, dass Herodot die Darstellung nicht entfaltet habe, da sie seine These von der Eintracht der griechischen Brüder gestört hätte. Diese Feststellung ist jedoch nicht zu akzeptieren, zum einen da sie die These von KATZ ANHALT schon als bewiesen voraussetzt und zum anderen da die Kürze der herodoteischen Beschreibung aus der Tatsache resultiert, dass das Kapitel III 39 einleitender Natur ist und als ein Präludium zum eigentlichen λόγος gesehen werden soll, der den Niedergang und Tod des Polykrates schildert.

Da die Argumentation von KATZ ANHALT unbefriedigend erscheint, wurde in der Dissertation nach anderen Erklärungen gesucht. Daher wurden die weisen Berater Herodots, die öfters in den *Historien* auftauchen, eingehend studiert. Von außerordentlicher Nützlichkeit war dabei ein vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg veröffentlichter Beitrag von Richard LATTIMORE¹¹, in dem alle Stellen des herodoteischen Werkes zusammengestellt wurden, an denen ein Ratschlag erteilt und eingeholt wird. Aus der Analyse ergab sich, dass ein Grieche einem anderen Griechen in den *Historien* 23 Mal einen Ratschlag erteilt, ein Grieche einem Barbaren 14 Mal, ein Barbar einem anderen Barbaren 21 Mal. Allerdings kommt es nur einmal vor, dass ein Grieche von einem Barbaren einen Ratschlag empfängt und dies ist Polykrates, der den Ratschlag von Pharao Amasis erhält, der die verformte Lehre des Solon beinhaltet. Es wird dabei darüber hinaus sichtbar, dass ein griechischer Weiser (Solon) im Krösus-λόγος einem Barbaren (Krösus) einen Ratschlag erteilt, der im ersten samischen *logos* in einer verformten Gestalt von einem Barbaren (Amasis) an einen Griechen (Polykrates) gegeben wird.

Das dritte Kapitel der Dissertation stellt einen Versuch dar, einen Blick auf die samischen λόγοι als historische Quelle zu werfen. Infolgedessen soll dieses

¹¹ R. LATTIMORE, *The Wise Adviser in Herodotus*, CPh XXXIV 1939, S. 24–35.

Kapitel als eine Darstellung der samischen Geschichte im 6. Jahrhundert vor Chr. betrachtet werden. Aus der Analyse ging es hervor, dass die samischen λόγοι – trotz ihres tiefen Zusammenhangs mit dem Geschichtsdenken Herodots – in vielen Fällen als eine zuverlässige historische Quelle bewertet werden müssen. Im Laufe der Auseinandersetzung mit der Geschichte der Insel wurden einige neue Ideen zur Debatte gestellt, die in dem 2015 erschienenen Buch von Aileen CARTY zu finden sind¹², das bisher ohne Zweifel die beste Monographie ist, die die Gestalt des Polykrates thematisiert. Einige Anschauungen und Argumente scheinen jedoch nicht stichhaltig zu sein. Von daher wurde in der Dissertation die Hypothese infrage gestellt, dass die Regierungszeit von Syloson, den die Forscher „den Älteren“ zu nennen pflegen und dessen Tätigkeit in das frühe 6. vorchristliche Jahrhundert datiert wird, auf das 5. Jahrhundert vor Chr. verschoben werden sollte.

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¹² A. CARTY, *Polycrates, Tyrant of Samos: New Light on Archaic Greece*, Stuttgart 2015.

Kleoniki RIZOU, *Holz vom Helikon: Die Musen und ihre Landschaft in Kult, Mythos und Literatur*, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2020 (Kalliope. Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Poesie 19), 756 pp., ISBN 978-3-8253-4675-1, €88.00.

Le titre l'indique, la thématique principale de cette monographie concerne le rapport des Muses au paysage. S'il y est aussi question de cultes et de mythes, l'enjeu n'est pas d'ordre religieux-mythologique, à la différence de la plupart des études existantes sur les Muses. Il ne concerne pas non plus l'inspiration poétique dont les déesses sont les garantes. L'auteur s'occupe du « biotope naturel » des Muses, en particulier des montagnes et des cours d'eau qui leur sont liés. Sur la base des témoignages littéraires et archéologiques, elle analyse dans quelle mesure le paysage est une part essentielle de la notion de « Muse ». Le tout est très bien écrit : dans un bel allemand, clair, compréhensible ; avec de très nombreuses notes de bas de pages et une bibliographie actuelle bien fournie.

L'ouvrage commence par une longue introduction (A.I, 65 pages) qui présente les trois régions dans l'environnement desquelles les Muses sont traditionnellement situées : (1) le Parnasse qui surplombe le sanctuaire delphique consacré à Apollon, dieu musagète par excellence ; (2) l'Olympe sur lequel Hésiode (*Th.* 60–62) place la naissance des Muses, avec la plaine de la Piérie de laquelle les déesses tirent leur épiclèse de Piérides ; (3) l'Hélicon en Béotie pour lequel il existe le plus grand nombre de témoignages, littéraires comme archéologiques, et qui fait des déesses des Héliconiennes. Cette présentation est suivie d'abord d'une réflexion sur les significations des notions de montagne et de cours d'eau pour les anciens Grecs ; puis d'une exposition des liens des Muses avec les Nymphes en tant que divinités de la nature par excellence. L'auteur conclut de ce large déploiement qu'il convient de resserrer son propos autour de l'Hélicon, puisque ce lieu offre les témoignages « les plus détaillés et composites » au sujet des Muses. Si les arguments en faveur d'un tel choix sont explicites et pertinents, le lecteur est en droit de se demander pour quelle raison il a d'abord dû être perdu dans un vaste éventail de possibilités. La réponse provient certainement du fait qu'il s'agit d'une thèse de doctorat. En vue de la publication, cette partie introductive aurait pu être retravaillée, au moins pour aider les personnes non spécialistes des Muses, mais pas moins intéressées par cette stimulante thématique.

L'analyse de l'Hélicon comme paysage tout particulièrement dédié aux Muses est divisée en quatre parties. L'Hélicon lui-même est d'abord présenté de manière géographique et archéologique (A.II, 147 pages). Sous toutes ces coutures : mêlant les descriptions de différents auteurs antiques (Hésiode et d'autres poètes, mais aussi Strabon et Pausanias) et les rapports de fouilles modernes, l'auteur s'intéresse non seulement à la topographie du massif et ses cours d'eau, mais également à ses édifices (autel, fontaine, sanctuaire, bois sacré). Elle ne manque pas non plus de parler des cultes qui s'y déroulent, dont les fameux *Mouseia*, organisés entre le 3^e siècle avant et le 3^e après J.-C. par les habitants de la cité de Thespies. Une seconde partie se concentre sur trois témoignages poétiques reflétant trois genres littéraires et provenant de trois époques successives. (1) Le prologue de la *Théogonie* d'Hésiode est incontournable (B.I, 78 pages) ; c'est à partir de lui que les Muses et l'Hélicon sont toujours et encore mis en rapport. Après une analyse poétique, l'auteur développe les éléments des vers épiques qui donnent aux Muses une certaine réalité, dans le paysage et en lien avec les hommes. (2) La tragédie de l'*Héraclès* composée par Euripide présente une très grande densité d'expressions sur les Muses et la musique (B.II, 146 pages). L'auteur les analyse d'abord à l'intérieur de l'intrigue, puis de manière métaphorique : les images littéraires obtiennent par là

toute une dimension cultuelle. (3) Un fragment lyrique attribué à Corinna présente quelques vers de ce qui est conventionnellement appelé le *Concours entre l'Hélicon et le Cithéron* (B.III, 195 pages). Après un examen minutieux des témoignages sur Corinna qui permet à l'auteur d'en faire une poétesse hellénistique, ce fragment est interprété dans la perspective historico-littéraire propre à cette époque. Le rôle de l'Hélicon comme lieu symbolique de la poésie est ainsi renforcé. Les contextes et les enjeux de chaque témoignage diffèrent bien sûr les uns des autres. Mais tous trois présentent à leur manière les influences réciproques que l'Hélicon et les Muses exercent l'un sur l'autre. Par l'association de perspectives littéraires et géographiques-historiques, ces quatre parties dévoilent des aspects judicieux et inédits sur cette question.

Une très courte conclusion (C, 7 pages) résume rapidement le chemin parcouru jusque-là. L'auteur termine en relevant encore une fois dans quelle mesure le lien entre l'Hélicon et les Muses est fonctionnel : l'un comme les autres contribuent à leur formation réciproque.

Dans l'ensemble, ce livre donne à qui s'intéresse à la grande question de la place et du rôle des Muses dans l'antiquité grecque, et en particulier dans ce lieu qu'est l'Hélicon, des pistes stimulantes. Les très nombreuses citations et références, antiques et modernes, permettent en outre à chacun de nourrir considérablement ses propres réflexions.

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Alexandros KAMPAKOGLU, *Studies in the Reception of Pindar in Ptolemaic Poetry*, Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2019 (Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volume 76), XIV + 454 pp., ISBN 978-3-11-064140-0, €159.95.

In this extensive monograph, Alexandros KAMPAKOGLU (= K.) undertakes the ambitious task of discussing Pindar's influence on the work of four Alexandrian poets – Callimachus, Posidippus, Apollonius of Rhodes and Theocritus. Individual aspects have been studied and written about before, but no systematising analysis has been proposed so far which would take into consideration such a broad spectrum of source material.

The study is an edited and considerably expanded version of a 2011 doctoral dissertation. The book comprises three parts which are further divided into chapters, an "Introduction", an "Afterword", a list of "Works Cited", and three indices: an "Index of Greek Words", an "Index of Passages Discussed", and an "Index of Subjects".

The "Introduction", theoretical and methodological in character, talks about the intertextual strategies employed in the reception study. K. declares his adherence to MARTINDALE's and HINDS's approach, which centres on the reader generating meanings based on the intertexts he or she perceives, but, contrary to that declaration, the discussion does occasionally point to the poet's intentions, for instance: "Polyphony is certainly one of the effects Apollonius has in mind" (p. 127). Further on in the "Introduction", K. justifies the two criteria fundamental to his discussion of intertextual connections between Hellenistic poems and Pindar, and notes that while for obvious reasons his work focuses on the reception of Pindar's epinician poems, it will also present the influence of Pindar's non-epinician poetry on Alexandrian poets.

Part One of the book ("Epinician Poetry and Discourse") opens with a chapter on Callimachus' epinician elegies for chariot race victories. Two fragmentary elegies are analysed, one for the courtier Sosibius, and the other for Berenice II. K. discusses Callimachus' references to Archilochian κῶμος in the *Victoria Sosibii* in the context of Pindar's *Isthmian* 6 and correctly interprets the *Victoria Berenices* as a wedding gift (ἔδνον) which is offered by the poet to Zeus and Nemea on behalf of the bride (Berenice). He succeeds in demonstrating the way Callimachus borrows and transforms traditional epinician motifs such as χάρις, χρέος, ξενία, κλέος, φθόνος and τεθμός, and uses marital imagery to metaphorically describe an athletic victory. Callimachus' epinician discourse is aptly read as a "self-conscious and pointed game with Pindaric and epinician conventions" (p. 60).

In Chapter Two ("The Reception of Pindar in Posidippus' *Hippika* (AB 71–88)") K. analyses a group of eighteen epigrams by Posidippus, which commemorate victories in horseback-riding competitions and chariot races, convincingly demonstrating that the poems in question are a literary continuation of monumental inscriptions. However, it is doubtful whether one should see, as K. does, Posidippus referencing the notion of φῦα, or using the terms δαπάνη and μνημα, as allusions to Pindar; rather, those ought to be interpreted in the epigraphic context. The interpretation put forward by K. of the final line of AB 77 is also somewhat unlikely. According to K., "The last line of the epigram, and especially the conditional clause (εἰ γ' ἄρ[η] κεί δόξαι), seems to equate the victor's expenses with the *kleos* he has won (λείπεται οὐ[δ]ὲν ἐμοί): actually the fame that the *laudandus* has won compensates for his expenses" (p. 77) – but in fact Posidippus clearly references Pindaric ideology here, that is he claims that fame won through chariot victories is a result of considerable expenses (οὐκ ὀλίγαι δαπ[ά]ναι, l. 2) borne by the winner. Still, K. is right to point out that Posidippus' epigrams contain references to important athletic figures of the past. The remarks found in Chapter Two on the reading context of Posidippus' epigrams and their "transition from stone to papyrus" are hardly novel.

The most innovative and valuable material is surely to be found in the interpretations laid out in Chapter Three ("Epiniian Echoes in Apollonius' *Argonautica*: Heroic Foils and the Poetics of Immortality"), where K. identifies numerous themes, motifs and symbols to illustrate the way in which Apollonius combines epic and epiniian discourses. He concentrates on demonstrating how Apollonius exploits the epiniian imagery of Jason, Heracles and the Dioscuri, and he is correct in suggesting that we hear Pindaric echoes in the *Argonautica* as a metaphor of an athletic victory, successfully demonstrating that Apollonius' image of Jason as a victorious athlete who completes ἀεθλος or πόνος is a borrowing from Pindar. There are also many valuable observations in K.'s discussion of the epiniian profile of Heracles in Apollonius' poem.

The title of Part Two ("Encomia and Hymns") specifies the genres of the poems to be discussed in it. Part Two is certainly the least innovative section of the whole book, as the various aspects of its subject matter have already been analysed by earlier scholars. K. adds only a few new examples to the wealth of intertextual relationships that have been interpreted previously. The first two chapters deal with Theocritus. In Chapter Four, the image of Ptolemy II as the ideal king in Theocritus' *Idyll* 17 is interpreted in the light of Pindar's Sicilian odes and his representation of Theron in *Olympian* 2. Chapter Five analyses Theocritus' *Idyll* 24 (*Herakliskos*); K. points out that this particular version of the myth of Heracles killing the two snakes sent by Hera is based more on fr. 52u SNELL-MAEHLER than on *Nemean* 1. He is right to emphasise that "Pindar's and Theocritus's passages convey the idea of mortal limitations and by contrast of human potential for achievement" (p. 199), and in the conclusions to the chapter he sets out to demonstrate that Pindar was the model for Alexandrian poets' representations of divine and royal marriages which were a standard topic in Ptolemaic propaganda.

The next three chapters (Six to Eight) deal with Callimachus' hymns to Zeus, Apollo and Delos, which perfectly imitate the Pindaric analogy between a divine addressee and a human *laudandus*. K. draws on other researchers' earlier findings to conclude that for the most part, Callimachus' hymns are based on the *Homeric Hymns* and hexametric poetry, with Pindar's influence complementing their Homeric and Hesiodic intertexts. The interesting part here is his pointing to the "Pindaric flavour" in the address to the poet's θυμός in the opening line of the *Hymn to Delos*, as well as reading it as a transition formula between two hymns. Also worth noting is his attempt at interpreting the *Hymn to Delos* in the light of *Isthmian* 1.

Part Three of the study ("Myth and Poetry") has only one chapter ("The Poetics of Experimentation: Generic Hybridization and the Argonautic Myth"). In it, K. looks deeply into those aspects of *Pythian* 4, Pindar's most epic victory ode, which display similarities to Hellenistic poets in technique or approach. He calls upon various narrative parallels between Apollonius' *Argonautica* and Pindar's *Pythian* 4, such as the double proems or the parallel lives of Jason and Pelops. He convincingly demonstrates that both Apollonius' *Argonautica* and Pindar's *Pythian* 4 "register an interest in the combination of epic extensiveness with lyric narrative mode" (p. 402).

The "Afterword" contains a historical outline of Alexander's conquests and the reign of the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt. K. notes that the presence of Pindar's image in the group of statues depicting Greek poets and philosophers – Homer, Hesiod, Plato, Thales, Heraclitus and others – which stood in front of the temple of Sarapis in Memphis, is proof of Pindar's reception in Hellenistic Egypt. As he correctly remarks, "the reception of Pindar in Hellenistic Alexandria cannot be disjoined from any consideration of the Ptolemaic and Greco-Egyptian cultural contexts" (p. 408), a claim his book succeeds in demonstrating.

The study is a successful attempt at systematising research into the reception of Pindar's poetry in the Hellenistic era. Its strength lies in the occasional attempts at applying a comparative approach to the treatment of epiniian motifs in a number of Alexandrian poets, e.g. Apollonius and Callimachus.

The study is made difficult to read by the large amount of dense information and by digressions, which distract the reader from the main argument and make the primary point of reference – Pindar's works – seem to recede into the background of the discussion. At times the argument lacks

coherence, with the individual pieces of information apparently poorly connected. One supposes K. intended to close each chapter with a more or less elaborate Conclusion section, but Chapter Five lacks one. A more extensive description of the cultural context of epinician poetry in Ptolemaic Alexandria would also have been useful.

K. falls victim to some substantive inaccuracies. Of Phalaris' and Bousiris' appearance in Callimachus' *Aetia* 2, he writes, "both were Egyptian kings who mistreated strangers and were punished by Heracles" (p. 116), but actually Phalaris was a tyrant of Acragas who was infamous for his cruelty and, unlike the mythical ruler Bousiris, he was a historical character, and as such cannot have been punished by Heracles.

Another flaw which makes the book difficult to read is certainly the author's inconsistency or perhaps economy in quoting the poems under discussion, whether in their totality or in excerpts. For example, texts only preserved in fragments or less widely known, such as Callimachus' *Victoria Sosibii* or Pindar's fr. 52u SNELL–MAEHLER, are not quoted in spite of very detailed references to them. The text of the book also contains occasional typographical errors, for instance: "discrouse" for "discourse" (p. 74); "Aegenitan" for "Aeginetan" (p. 83); "the games is" for "the games are" (p. 137); "explitic" for "explicit" (p. 236); and "Eurgetes" for "Euergetes" (p. 407).

Despite the drawbacks listed here, researchers of Pindar's poetry will find Alexandros KAMPAKOGLU's book a valuable and inspiring reading; the author has offered us an important contribution to intertextual study of Hellenistic poetry.

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Christopher B. POLT, *Catullus and Roman Comedy. Theatricality and Personal Drama in the Late Republic*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021, 215 S., ISBN: 978-1-108-83981-5, £75.00.

Dass Catull sich in vielfältiger Weise mit der römischen Komödie auseinandersetzt, ist weitgehend unumstritten; die Frage nach den Rückschlüssen, die aus der offensichtlichen Orientierung an Sprache und Inhalten des plautinischen und terenzischen Œuvres ergeben, dagegen ist keineswegs abschließend beantwortet – und angesichts der bewussten Vieldeutigkeit fast aller Gedichte Catulls vielleicht auch tatsächlich nicht abschließend zu beantworten. Die Zielsetzung der vorliegenden Studie Christopher B. POLTS (= P.) beschreibt aber dennoch – oder gerade deshalb – ein äußerst lohnendes Unterfangen, wenn P. die Bedeutung der Komödie für Catull ähnlich genau vermessen will, wie dies etwa für die Prägung desselben Autors durch die kallimacheische Poetik bereits geschehen ist (S. 6). Ob dies mit einer Arbeit von eher überschaubarem Umfang wie derjenigen P.s tatsächlich geleistet werden kann, darf freilich bezweifelt werden; die unmittelbar im Anschluss an die allgemeine Formulierung der Zielsetzung geäußerte Absicht, in Catulls Gedichten zum einen weitere, bislang noch nicht ausreichend erforschte Anspielungen auf die Werke von Plautus und Terenz aufzuspüren und aus diesen zum anderen ein stimmigeres Bild der Auseinandersetzung Catulls mit der römischen Komödie abzuleiten (S. 7), erscheint jedenfalls als etwas realistischeres Vorhaben.

P. gliedert seine Studie in vier Kapitel, die von einer langen Einleitung und einem deutlich kürzeren ‚Epilog‘ flankiert werden. Die Einleitung formuliert drei Aspekte, unter denen P. die Auseinandersetzung Catulls mit der Komödie betrachten möchte: die Poetik der Kleinigkeiten, die Verortung der Texte und die römische Aneignung der griechischen Kultur. Während es P. im ersten Abschnitt gelingt, überzeugend nachzuweisen, dass Catull bei seinem Verständnis von *nugae* stärker von der Komödie als von Kallimachos abhängig ist, indem er vergleicht, wie Alltagsgegenstände mit symbolischer Bedeutung aufgeladen werden¹, erscheint der zweite nicht nur als etwas nebensächlicher, sondern wirft auch mehr Fragen auf, als er beantwortet: Die Tatsache, dass sowohl in der Komödie als auch bei Catull der mit Anstrengungen verbundene Erwerb von Reichtum in der Fremde dem *otium* in der Heimat gegenübersteht, ist wohl letztlich doch ein zu allgemeiner (etwa bereits homerischer) Zug, als dass er eine tiefere Verbindung speziell zwischen diesen beiden Gattungen nachweisen könnte. Spätestens wenn P. dem Leser in diesem Zusammenhang auch noch suggerieren will, Catulls Gedichte zeigten ein Bewusstsein für koloniale Problematiken (S. 34–36), darf der Text daher wohl doch als überinterpretiert gelten. Der dritte Aspekt der Einleitung schließlich birgt die Gefahr eines klassischen Zirkelschlusses, wenn P. die Tatsache, dass sowohl die *fabula palliata* als auch die Be- und Verarbeitung griechischer Vorbilder durch Catull eine spezifische (im Zweifel wohl noch genauer zu definierende) Form griechisch-römischer Hybridformen darstellen, in erster Linie mit der von P. ja erst postulierten catullischen Praxis einer Überformung dieser griechischen Vorlagen durch Elemente insbesondere der römischen Komödie begründen will².

Wichtiger als die abschließende Zusammenführung dieser Aspekte ist P. erkennbar die Konzentration auf die Rolle, die die Typen der Komödie (des *miles gloriosus*, der *meretrix mala*,

¹ Die entscheidende Formulierung dieser Differenzierung findet sich – ein wenig unglücklich platziert – in einer Fußnote: „Although quotidian objects and the materiality of poetry appears in Callimachus, they do not play nearly as large a role as in Catullus [...]“ (S. 9, Anm. 21).

² „This process of layering Roman comedy over non-dramatic Greek sources and refracting them through a comic lens appears frequently in Catullus’ poetry“ (S. 37).

des *senex durus*, des *adulescens amator*, des *seruus callidus* usw.) für Catulls Gedichte spielen³. Das erste Kapitel wendet sich dann völlig von Catull ab und analysiert auf der Grundlage von Ciceros Reden sowie historiographischer Darstellungen die Abhängigkeit der Selbstinszenierung historischer Gestalten (Nero, Pompeius, Roscius, Sextus Clodius, vgl. S. 62) von den genannten Typen der Komödie bzw. des Dramas; zumal die Agamemnon-Nachfolge des Pompeius oder auch die vielfach mit der Tragödie verflochtene Selbstdarstellung Neros scheinen den Rahmen der Untersuchung dabei jedoch eher zu sprengen, obgleich es P. durchaus gelingt, aus den Ausführungen dieses Kapitels ein umfassendes Bewusstsein des antiken Römers von der Theatralität des gesamten Lebens abzuleiten⁴.

Das dritte Kapitel bietet eine grundlegende Fallstudie, mit der P. sich der intertextuellen Ausrichtung seiner Untersuchung zuwendet. Dazu zieht P. das zentrale Motiv der Liebe als Krankheit heran, das er von seiner Präsenz im *Eunuchus* des Terenz über die von dieser Darstellung abhängigen Verarbeitungen in den *Tusculanen* Ciceros sowie im vierten Buch des lukrezischen Lehrgedichts bis hin zu Catull (*Carm.* 5–8, 51, 72, 76, 85 und 109) verfolgt. Das auf kurze Bemerkungen zu den Protoneoterikern (S. 70–73) folgende erste Unterkapitel nimmt dabei noch nicht die entscheidende Szene des *Eunuchus* in den Blick, sondern betont in erster Linie unter Verweis auf vorgängige Forschungen, dass der *Eunuchus* als „the most prominent and frequent exemplar of comic eroticism to which later writers turned“ zu gelten habe (S. 78).

Zentral ist in P.s Analyse der Kaskade von Komödienzitierten in *Tusc.* IV 65–78 die entscheidende Abweichung Ciceros von der Darstellung bei Terenz: Anders als der *seruus callidus* Parmeno, der gegenüber dem *adulescens amator* Phaedria aus der Irrationalität erotischer Emotionen die Unheilbarkeit der Liebeskrankheit ableitet, betont Cicero die rationale Selbstverantwortung auch des verliebten jungen Mannes in Literatur und Leben – und damit seine prinzipielle Therapierbarkeit (vorzugsweise mithilfe negativer *exempla* etwa aus der Komödie, vgl. S. 89 f.). Als ähnlich ‚konservativ‘ wie den Staatsmann Cicero stuft P. in dieser Hinsicht auch den Epikureer Lukrez ein: Der philosophischen *ataraxia* epikureischer Prägung stehe die übersteigerte erotische Emotionalität des *adulescens amator* nicht weniger entgegen als der Übernahme von Verantwortung für das Gemeinwesen. Dazu verwende auch Lukrez den entsprechenden Typus der Komödie als Negativbeispiel, dessen problematisches Wesen hinter der glänzenden Fassade erkannt werden müsse, um heilende Wirkung entfalten zu können⁵.

Indem P. nach seiner Hinwendung zu Catull in *Carm.* 5 die Konfrontation zwischen *adulescentes amatores* und *senes duri* betont, in *Carm.* 6 und 7 ein von der Komödie abhängiges Konzept von *curiositas* aufspürt, *Carm.* 8 als Integration der Rollen Phaedrias und Parmenos in der für P.s Studie besonders wichtige Eröffnung des *Eunuchus* interpretiert, das Motiv der Liebe als Krankheit in *Carm.* 51, 76 und 85 mit Szenen aus der Komödie vergleicht und die Abhängigkeit der Darstellung Lesbias in *Carm.* 109 von derjenigen der *meretrix bona* Thais anhand wörtlicher Übereinstimmungen nachweist, bildet das Unterkapitel das inhaltliche Zentrum der Studie P.s bzw. kehrt nach der Einleitung zu diesem zurück: Ohne den Wert der historischen und methodischen Vorüberlegungen im ersten Großkapitel und den vorangegangenen Unterpunkten des zweiten in Frage stellen zu wollen, darf wohl festgestellt werden, dass hier (endlich) die Inhalte entfaltet werden, um derentwillen der Leser ein Buch mit dem Titel *Catullus and Roman Comedy* ursprünglich einmal in die Hand genommen haben wird.

³ „[...] it is the *characters* of Roman comedy that serve as Catullus' primary focus of allusion to the genre rather than, say, its particular props, idioms, or style“ (S. 43, Hervorh. im Original).

⁴ „[...] we are the gestalt of all the masks we wear in front of others [...] and in constant flux as old masks are taken off and new ones put on. And the theater [...] offered a ready supply of roles through which Romans such as Cicero and Catullus could become themselves“ (S. 69).

⁵ „When the medicine hits, his eyes are cleared, he sees the beloved's *postscaenia*, and he realizes that he has been living his life inside a Roman comedy“ (S. 106 f.).

Besonderes Interesse verdienen hierbei etwa die Erwägungen zur Parallelität zweier Auffassungen von *curiositas*: Während sowohl der terenzische Chaerea als auch der Sprecher von *Carm.* 6 eine geradezu paranoide Furcht vor der Missgunst der neugierigen *senes curiosi* und deren zensorischem Gebaren zeigen, sind dieselbe Figur aus dem *Eunuchus* und der Sprecher von *Carm.* 7 übereinstimmend der Auffassung, ein *adulescens amator* müsse geradezu über seine Liebe reden, um deren Glück vollständig auskosten zu können (vgl. v.a. S. 113). Auch die intertextuelle Beziehung zwischen Lesbia und der terenzischen Thais trägt entscheidend zu einem vertieften Verständnis der Vieldeutigkeit in *Carm.* 109 bei, zumal die ambivalente Darstellung der *puella* auf diejenige des Sprechers übertragen werden kann, wodurch die Komplexität und die bewusst hergestellten Polyphonie des Gedichts noch deutlicher sichtbar werden (vgl. S. 124 f.).

Das dritte Kapitel geht von der Beobachtung der einander äußerst ähnlichen Eingänge von *Carm.* 21, 24 und 49 aus: Die Invektive gegen Aurelius, die an den *puer delicatus* Iuventius gerichteten Ratschläge bzw. Vorwürfe sowie das (auch nach Meinung P.s ironisch aufzufassende) Cicero-Lob sind für P. nicht nur ein direkter Verweis auf Plaut. *Bacch.* 1087–1089 sowie *Pers.* 777 f., sondern auch ein Beleg dafür, dass Catull seine Polemik in der Tradition eines *seruus callidus* als Übertölpelung seiner – zunächst durch ostentative Servilität in Sicherheit zu wiegenden – Gegner konzipiert⁶. Die Interpretationen, die P. im Anschluss an diese Hypothese vorlegt, sind allerdings nicht besonders überzeugend: Dass der Sprecher von *Carm.* 15 und 21 Aurelius eine Falle stellt und dieser dann auch in diese Falle tappt, erscheint angesichts der beiden jeweils mit einer offenkundig leeren Drohung endenden Gedichte als wenig wahrscheinliche Deutung; weiter hätte – gerade vor dem Hintergrund des Themas von P.s Studie – bestenfalls die Degradierung des Aurelius zu einem typischen *parasitus* in *Carm.* 21 führen können, die P. allerdings lediglich mit dem Verweis auf vorgängige Forschungen erwähnt (vgl. S. 135).

Noch problematischer ist die entsprechende Interpretation der Iuventius-Gedichte, wobei zunächst P.s Einschätzung, Catull habe in *Carm.* 24 bewusst offengelassen, ob mit dem *bellus homo* Aurelius oder Furius gemeint sei (S. 140 f.), angesichts der für den zeitgenössischen Leser wohl eindeutigen Beschreibung („iste tuus moribunda ab sede Pisauri / hospes“, Catull. 24, 3 f.) verwundert. Aber auch die Identifizierung des Sprechers in *Carm.* 24 mit einem *seruus callidus*, der den *puer delicatus* von den Rivalen Furius und/oder Aurelius ab- und auf die Seite des Sprechers ziehen soll, kann kaum überzeugen: Wenn man mit dem Typenarsenal der Komödie zur Interpretation der Empfehlungen an Iuventius schreiten will, wird man eher zum Typus der ebenso erfahrenen wie pragmatischen *lena* greifen, die dem *puer delicatus* von seiner ästhetischen Vorliebe für den mittellosen *homo bellus* ohne *seruus* und *arca* abrät. Am ehesten kann noch die Deutung von *Carm.* 49 als Parodie auf den *patronus omnium* überzeugen, der gleichzeitig ein *poeta* sein will; zur „Heroic Badness“ der plautinischen *serui callidi* (einer Prägung W.S. ANDERSONS) jedoch fehlt den Sprechern aller drei Gedichte die zweifelsfreie Dokumentation eines eindeutigen Sieges über den jeweiligen Gegner.

Das vierte und letzte Kapitel vor dem Epilog wendet sich vom *seruus callidus* ab und der *meretrix callida* zu, um nachzuweisen, wie diese sich – ähnlich der *puella* des Varus in *Carm.* 10 – gegen den ihr allein aufgrund seines sozialen Status haushoch überlegenen Sprecher behauptet, wenn dieser die in der Säulenhalle des Pompeius beheimateten Damen in *Carm.* 55 auf der Suche nach dem Freund Camerius zunächst äußerst harsch und geradezu aggressiv angeht, aber letztlich ohne Erfolg abziehen muss. Hier ist das intertextuelle Geflecht, das P. ausgehend vom Motiv des *seruus currens* und von der Herkules-Anspielung in Catull. 55, 13 aus entfaltet, wesentlich überzeugender: Sowohl die Parallelen zu dem plautinischen *miles gloriosus* Amphitruo als auch diejenigen zu dem stereotypen *Hercules comicus* (die freilich noch weiter hätten ausgebaut werden können) machen eine Interpretation beider Gedichte als bewusst in dieser Gattungstradition

⁶ „As we will see, Catullus also takes the same approach, wheedling his target to gain his trust only to execute a trick fueled by Plautine *malitia* to gain the upper hand“ (S. 132).

gestaltete Komödienszenen sehr wahrscheinlich – und hätten die Grundlage für einen interessanten Rückbezug auf die von P. bereits interpretierten *Carm.* 6 und 10 darstellen können, zumal es P. auch in *Carm.* 55 um die Darstellung der *meretrix callida* geht⁷.

Auch das zweite Unterkapitel besteht aus der Interpretation zweier Gedichte, denen P. dieselbe Grundkonstellation unterstellt, indem er *Carm.* 36 und 37 als Auseinandersetzung zwischen einem als *miles gloriosus* auftretenden Sprecher und einer als *meretrix* auftretenden *puella* liest, wobei der Sprecher die *callida meretrix* in *Carm.* 36 seinerseits durch den Einsatz plautinischer *malitia* überliste, während die unentschieden zwischen den Typen der *uirgo* und der *meretrix* schwankende *puella* in *Carm.* 37 zwar dem *miles gloriosus*, nicht aber den jambischen Invektiven entkommen könne. Auch hier wäre eine gründlichere Differenzierung zwischen der Übernahme der Figurentypen und der Überformung derselben durch Catull (insbesondere der Zeichnung des Sprechers als Jambendichter) hilfreich gewesen; der recht geringe Umfang der Studie rächt sich an Stellen wie dieser offenbar doch.

Dennoch bemüht P. sich, im Epilog auch noch die Nachfolger Catulls unterzubringen, indem er Catull. 110 als Bindeglied zwischen Plaut. *Asin.* 127–193 und Ov. *Am.* I 10 zu etablieren sucht. Zwar ergibt sich hier ein durchaus gewinnbringender Ansatz, wenn P. zeigen kann, wie die Entrüstung des ovidischen Sprechers über die Forderung der Geliebten nach Geschenken die Ersetzung derselben durch die als Geschenke aufgefassten Liebesgedichte voraussetzt und dadurch eine Abkehr von den materialistischen Handlungsmaximen der *meretrix* in der Komödie vollzieht, die der Sprecher der Gedichte Catulls nur andeutet, indem er zwar noch nicht auf den Gedanken verfällt, Liebesgedichte im Tauschhandel für erotische Dienstleistungen (oder amouröse Zuwendung) einzusetzen, aber immerhin einen strukturell entscheidenden Schritt in diese Richtung unternimmt, indem er diejenigen Damen, die sich seinen Avancen verweigern, mit Schmähedichten bedenkt⁸.

Dennoch bleibt am Ende von P.s schmale Band vor dem Hintergrund der Fragestellung zumal zu Catull vieles ungesagt; bedenkt man etwa P.s ausführliche Kontextualisierung der catullischen Komödienrezeption durch die konkurrierende Instrumentalisierung der Gattung bei Cicero und Lukrez, erscheint es doch bedauerlich, dass nicht mehr Sorgfalt auf die Durchführung der innovativen und auf diese Weise gründlich fundierten intertextuellen Ansätze verwendet wurde. Andererseits stellt dieses Manko zugleich möglicherweise die größte Stärke von P.s Studie dar: Gerade weil vieles nicht ganz durchdacht bzw. zu Ende gedacht worden ist, bietet das Buch zahlreiche Anregungen für die weitere Erforschung der Auseinandersetzung Catulls mit der römischen Komödie in Form vertiefender Einzelinterpretationen der von P. gut ausgewählten Gedichte.

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⁷ „For [...] comic *meretrices callidae*, the anti-value of *malitia* provides a means to self-defense, and something similar can be seen in Catullus' approbation of female Heroic Badness“ (S. 154).

⁸ „In adapting the *adulescens amator* in poem 110, Catullus borrows the comic lover's complaints and abuse, whereas the elegists innovate further by voluntarily embracing poverty and turning their poetry into an object of gift-exchange. The elegists seemed to have learned from Catullus that abuse isn't enough. If you want to catch flies, honey works better than vinegar“ (S. 187).

Stephen GERSH (ed.), *Plotinus' Legacy: The Transformation of Platonism from the Renaissance to the Modern Era*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019, pp. VIII+304, ISBN 978-1-108-41528-6, £78.99.

The present volume, edited by Stephen GERSH, is divided thematically into five parts and consists of eleven chapters, preceded by the editor's introduction. At the end of the book, the reader can also find an appendix, in which there is a chronological list of the editions and translations of Plotinus' *Enneads*, followed by an index. In his introduction, GERSH makes a claim which is further substantiated by the contributors to the volume, namely, that Plotinus exerted a major influence on the whole of Western philosophy, if not directly (since the Latin translation of the *Enneads* by Marius Victorinus, studied by Augustine towards the end of the 4th century, did not make it to the Middle Ages), then through Christian philosophers. GERSH points out that the two main figures who paved the way for Plotinus to become such a significant influence in the West are Augustine of Hippo and the anonymous 5th century monk, author of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*.

It is certainly through them that he became not only "the father of Western mysticism" (as he was called by the Quaker mystic and scholar Rufus JONES¹), but also the father of Western metaphysics, I might add, as Augustine and Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (not only Aristotle) were extremely important authorities for Aquinas in creating his monumental synthesis in the 13th century. The volume edited by GERSH demonstrates and documents convincingly what Rufus JONES was already sensing in 1930, when Plotinus was not as fashionable as today and regarded rather as an irrational proponent of mystical trances and ecstasies, despised by the Enlightened academia of the first half of the 20th century, than as a serious philosopher (which, presumably, must exclude trances and ecstasies). As Eric Robertson DODDS observes in his autobiography:

the membership of the class was initially six, but as Stewart [J.A. Stewart] proved to be an unexciting teacher it quickly dropped to two. I was one of the two; the other was a young American lately arrived from the Graduate School at Harvard. Out of regard for Stewart's feelings, if for no other reason, we felt bound to continue our attendance, and as we came away from the class we naturally fell into conversation. The American was a quiet reserved man, my senior by some years, who was preparing a Harvard thesis on the philosophy of F.H. Bradley. Like me he was seriously interested in mystical experience².

It was 1915 and the quiet American interested in mysticism was Thomas Stearns Eliot. That, however, is the past. Plotinus-the-irrational-mystic has been replaced in the last decades by Plotinus-the-serious-philosopher³, almost as serious as Aristotle himself, the embodiment

¹ R.M. JONES, *Some Exponents of Mystical Religion*, London 1930, p. 44. JONES is rarely credited with coining this phrase. Cf. RIST's observation that Plotinus "is sometimes called 'the father of Western mysticism'" (J.M. RIST, *Plotinus: The Road to Reality*, Cambridge 1967, p. 213).

² E.R. DODDS, *Missing Persons: An Autobiography*, Oxford 1977, p. 40.

³ RIST pointed out in 2006 that this change of paradigm has somewhat been to the detriment of the quality of the Plotinian studies: "while the number of scholars thinking and writing about Plotinus (and Neoplatonism more generally) in Anglo-American philosophy departments has risen enormously, the standard of much of the work done has dramatically declined" (J.M. RIST, *On Plotinus' Psychology*, *Rivista di Storia della Filosofia* LXI 2006, pp. 721–727, on p. 721).

of serious philosophy (of course, Aristotle cleansed from the irrational μῦθος of the Neoplatonic interpretations)⁴. Stephen GERSH points out that, on the one hand, the textual criticism, beginning from the Renaissance, weakened the influence of *corpus Hermeticum* and *corpus Dionysiacum* on the Platonic tradition and, on the other, it has brought back a direct presence of Plotinus to the West, starting with Marsilio Ficino's edition, translation and commentary on the *Enneads*.

The "post-Ficinian" reception of Plotinus, as GERSH calls it, includes primarily the Cambridge Platonists, but also Leibniz and the German universities of the 17th and 18th centuries. Certainly, a new chapter is opened, when Friedrich Creuzer begins to translate and popularise Plotinus among the German Romantics and Idealists, like Friedrich Schelling. The Romantic Plotinus was a reaction against the materialistic mechanism of the 18th century, the century when the pejorative term "Neoplatonism" was coined and when the long living legend of Plotinus-the-ecstatic was created by the scholars ecstatic about scientism. At the same time, Plotinus appears in a less distorted manner in the French Catholic intellectual tradition of the turn of the 20th century.

The first part of the book explores the Italian Renaissance and the pair of great friends, Ficino and Pico della Mirandola (chapter 1: "Marsilio Ficino as Commentator on Plotinus: Some Case Studies" by S. GERSH and chapter 2: "Giovanni Pico della Mirandola on Virtue, Happiness, and Magic" by Brian COPENHAVER). This is where the story of the renewed reception of Plotinus in the West begins and, because of the story told in Ficino's 1492 letter to Lorenzo de Medici, we can vividly imagine Pico della Mirandola standing in his door and seeing his joy over having completed his translation of Plato. We can then hear Pico responding with equal joy that now is the time to translate Plotinus. Which Ficino, of course, immediately started to do.

The second part of the volume is devoted to the 16th century France. This part, consisting of two chapters (chapter 3: "Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and Charles de Bovelles on Platonism, Theurgy, and Intellectual Difficulty" by Richard J. OOSTERHOFF and chapter 4: "Symphorien Champier on Medicine, Theology, and Politics" by Guido GIGLIONI), is interesting in itself, as it discusses the Renaissance reception of Platonism in France, which is less known in the Anglo-Saxon literature, but this part is more loosely connected to the rest of the book, because there seems not to have been any direct "post-Ficinian" interest in Plotinus within the Eldest Daughter of the Church.

The next part, however, shows with clarity how important Plotinus was for the 17th century philosophy in England. The three chapters on the Cambridge Platonists (chapter 5: "Henry More and Descartes" by David LEECH, chapter 6: "Ralph Cudworth as Interpreter of Plotinus" by Douglas HEDLEY, and chapter 7: "John Smith on the Immortality of the Soul" by Derek A. MICHAUD) are a part of the grand research endeavour, coordinated by HEDLEY, to restore the Cambridge Platonists as a link in the modern Platonic traditions, bridging the Renaissance Platonism with Romanticism. And Plotinus is the single most important figure in this fascinating story.

The fourth part, concerning German Romanticism (chapter 8: "Schelling and Plotinus" by Thomas LEINKAUF and chapter 9: "Hegel's Programmatic Recourse to the Ancient Philosophy of Intellect" by Jens HALFWASSEN) builds up on the pioneering research work done by the great German scholar Werner BEIERWALTES half a century ago⁵. Georg Friedrich Creuzer, a great German philologist who edited the *Enneads* in 1835 is mentioned by LEINKAUF as the one who introduced Schelling to Plotinus, but one would dream of a separate chapter on Creuzer that would enrich this part of the volume.

The last part extends throughout the 20th century to the current state of the Plotinian studies. Chapter 10 ("Henri-Louis Bergson and Plotinus") was written by Wayne J. HANKEY (who sadly passed away on the 6th of February 2022) and it is a highly instructive, interesting essay. HANKEY shows the importance of Plotinus for Bergson who gave a whole course on the *Enneads* in Collège de France in the academic year 1897/1898. He also demonstrates how Plotinus became, through

⁴ Cf. L.P. GERSON, *Aristotle and Other Platonists*, Ithaca 2015.

⁵ W. BEIERWALTES, *Platonismus und Idealismus*, Frankfurt a. M. 1972.

Bergson, an important influence on the French Thomists or French Catholic intellectuals of the 20th century in general. The figures interested in Plotinus that HANKEY invokes are such eminent philosophers and scholars as Étienne Gilson, Jacques Maritain, Pierre Hadot or Jean Trouillard, all of whom were to some extent interested not only in Plotinus' metaphysics, but in his metaphysical mysticism as well. Kevin CORRIGAN, in the paper which closes the volume (chapter 11: "Plotinus and Modern Scholarship: From Ficino to the Twenty-First Century"), points also to the future of the Plotinian studies. Especially, he emphasises "three continuing problems in Plotinus' thought" (pp. 275–276), that is, the problem of spontaneous emanation vs. free will and the loving agency of the Good, the development and the chronological order of the *Enneads*, and the character of Plotinus' writing.

The volume edited by GERSH is an excellent summary of what we know about the history of Plotinus' influence in the Western philosophy, but it is much more than that. It shows the continuity of the Platonic tradition precisely as linked to the figure of Plotinus and opens up the new avenues for study as we are witnessing the renewal of the Platonic philosophy across the Western intellectual and spiritual world.

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Amanda POTTER, Hunter GARDNER (eds.), *Ancient Epic in Film and Television*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022 (Screening Antiquity), X + 286 pp., ISBN 9781474473743 (hb.), 9781474473774 (Epub), 9781474473767 (PDF), £90.00 (all formats).

This collection of essays dealing with the relationship between ancient epic, film, and television is the tenth instalment in the Edinburgh University Press series “Screening Antiquity” launched in 2015 by Monica S. CYRINO and Lloyd LLEWELLYN-JONES with ‘Rome’ Season Two: Trial and Triumph¹.

The title of the present volume sounds highly promising but does not – and could not – deliver such a promise on its barely three hundred pages. The editors of the collection make it clear from the outset when they define their purpose as significantly less ambitious but still exciting: to explore why and how 21st-century television series consistently display more epic qualities than contemporary, so-called epic Hollywood films.

As expected, when dealing with the continuity of epic from ancient to our times, considerable energy is spent discussing the contemporary meaning and usage of the word ‘epic’, including a review of previous such debates. Already in 1984, Derek ELLEY, in his Routledge volume *The Epic Film. Myth and History*, attempted and, to all intents and purposes, seemed to have succeeded in “redefining the word *epic* in a filmic context” (p. 1). Almost three decades later, at Routledge in 2011, Robert BURGOYNE edited a volume, *The Epic Film in World Culture*, whose fifteen co-authors displayed no hesitation in applying the term to a large variety of films, whether related to classical Antiquity or not, and reflected instead on “the contradiction between the traditional messages embedded within epic form – the birth of a nation, the emergence of a people, the fulfilment of a heroic destiny – and the long history of the epic film as an international, global narrative apparatus not bound by nation or ethnicity” (p. 2). Two years later, Joanna PAUL felt the need to reopen the argument and further review the relationship between classical epic and epic cinema, a topic, in her opinion, neglected by scholars, and published her book *Film and the Classical Epic Tradition* in the OUP’s series “Classical Presences” (see especially pp. 1–34 and *passim*). She maintained her position concerning the bond between ancient and contemporary epic. She reinforced it by concluding that “aspects of the classical epic tradition keep on making their presence felt in cinema [...] with enough force to insist that there are grounds for claiming continuity between text and film” (p. 306). By returning to the ‘epic debate’, the editors of the present volume acknowledge a certain unease in using PAUL’s concept of a “network of connections between different kinds of epic” as these are vastly dissimilar in so many aspects. My own exploration of classical reception in audiovisual culture convinced me that constructs such as genres that originate on the theoretical side of art and have to be repeatedly redefined do not endure: only storytelling withstands time and evolves in true continuity. But this is an argument for another time and place.

¹ Seven years earlier, in 2008, CYRINO published a collective volume on the first season of the show entitled ‘Rome’ Season One. *History Makes Television* at Blackwell Publishing. Various other publishers have been initiating in the 21st century similar series on classical reception. The first that comes to mind is the Oxford University Press’ series “Classical Presences” with 122 impressive titles (2005–2022) already published, then Brill’s “Metaforms”, “Bloomsbury Studies in Classical Reception” or “Wiley Blackwell Handbooks to Classical Reception”; there were also volumes on reception within larger series, like the “Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World” – enough to fill a large bookcase and as most of them are collections of essays authored by dozens of scholars each, enough as well to induce nystagmus or old-fashioned confusion.

Even if the volume's purpose is clearly focused on the questions of how and why recent television series appear more epic than films, the full spectrum of media announced in the title – film and television – is further redacted by the authors, who limit themselves to a few selected films and television shows. The only exception is Jon SOLOMON's essay in which he shares insightful reflections with the reader, drawn on his database of allusions to the word "epic", Homer as a figure, the *Odyssey*, and the *Iliad*, found in films produced between 1984 and 2019. Out of over 150² such allusions, he selects, for his otherwise illuminating discussion, only "the most typical or successful examples" without defining his selection criteria (p. 33). Still, it is regrettable that the book does not offer an equivalent analysis of allusions to epic in television shows during the same or a comparable period.

The volume breaks into two parts; the first, six chapters long, deals with the ancient epic in feature films, and the second, offering seven chapters, centres on television, mainly on series. The first part begins with Dan CURLEY's (pp. 17–32) essay on "epic spatiality: the genre strategies for presenting and negotiating space" (p. 17). He identifies and discusses five displays of spatiality shared by ancient epic poetry and some twenty hundred years younger epic films, showing a subtle and impressive understanding of both. Called projections, these displays deal first with epic being a capacious genre accommodating much more than just the proverbial kings and battles and the unavoidable romance; the diversity of content requires lots of room, which translates into a considerable length. The second projection concerns the space on the screen. The author compares the wonder of the 20th-century widescreen, still remembered by the generation that witnessed its invention, and the regular and expected corresponding digital standard to the equivalent provider of space in epic poetry, the full dactylic hexameter, a metre serious enough to carry and house the entire glorious content. The third projection deals with vast spaces, spectacular vistas, and cityscapes. The fourth is the epic's ability to reach across space and time; the fifth is the opening of epic space for other genres, such as tragedy and elegy. CURLEY concludes that this capacity to create more space is typical of both poetry and screen epic and that it guarantees the genre's dynamic evolution.

As an example of audiovisual epic, CURLEY mainly discusses two movies, Benioff's and Peterson's *Troy* (2004), an adaptation of the *Iliad*, and Alejandro Amenábar's *Agora* (2009), a romanticised Spanish biopic on Hypatia, the 4th–5th-century CE Alexandrian philosopher, mathematician, and astronomer.

SOLOMON's (pp. 33–48) contribution, placed after CURLEY's chapter, deals, as was mentioned above, with allusions to epic in films; his reasoning leads to a reassuring conclusion that these frequent references to Antiquity reach myriads of people and constitute a highly effective tool for increasing awareness of classical tradition among the general public. This view appears overly optimistic. A classical allusion, whether intentional or not – SOLOMON makes that distinction – goes over the head of a less knowledgeable viewer unless it is an explicit and instructive mini-story, understandable to all. Otherwise, only if these references are used often and consistently may we share the hope of Mr. King, the Classics Master in Kipling's *Regulus*: "A little of it sticks among the barbarians" (see the end of the text at: <https://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/tale/regulus.htm>). On the other hand, we all have examples of children who were drawn to the study of classics³ influenced by films inspired by Antiquity.

² SOLOMON's entire collection of allusions to antiquity in film includes an impressive 1500 entries. How interesting and valuable it would be to reception scholars if it were hosted on an open-access website? We are still technologically far away from searchable databases of texts and images in audiovisual productions, comparable to thesauri and concordances available for the study of ancient authors.

³ Kirsten DAY mentions the case of Gore Vidal and Jon Solomon in her introduction to *Celluloid Classics: New Perspectives on Classical Antiquity in Modern Cinema*, Arethusa XLI 2008, p. 5, n. 5.

Emma J. STAFFORD (pp. 49–65), well versed in everything Herculean⁴, after devoting one-third of her chapter to deftly guiding the reader through the maze of ancient sources of Herakles' myth, reviews movies made about the hero at various times of film history and concludes that the tales of the twelve labours imposed an episodic treatment of the myth. She discusses the burdensome legacy of Herculean peplum, which brought Greek mythology closer to the distinctly Romanised Hollywood epic. In the late 20th century, the five television movies preceding the series *Hercules. The Legendary Journeys*, reinforced by Disney's *Hercules* and the *Journeys*' spinoff *Xena: Warrior Princess*, come in like a tsunami creating a surfeit of Herculean stories rather far removed from the ancient sources. The later films about Herakles (i.e., Harlin's *The Legend of Hercules*, Ratner's *Hercules* and Lyon's *Hercules Reborn*) decisively part ways with the myth, or possibly even with common sense. STAFFORD discusses and, rather surprisingly, approves of these three 2014 *nanars en jupettes*, as the French aptly call poor cinematographic renderings of classical Antiquity. Having watched the three movies as they were coming out, the first one in January and the other two in July of the same year, I was at first worried that they were a harbinger of doom; a slide of the genre into a rabbit hole similar to the depressing niche of Christmas movies. I was so relieved when the film industry let the overused theme of Herakles & Co. rest in peace for eight years now⁵. Still, it would be difficult to convince someone passionate about Herakles' reception in film that every new movie about the hero is not a gift. STAFFORD is one of several scholars who speak kindly of the 2014 neo-peplum trio or, at least, treat it seriously, as is their right⁶.

The review of ancient sources contrasted with the state of the myth's cinematographic reception led STAFFORD to conclude that filmmakers distracted by the episodic nature of Herakles' story never managed to produce its truly epic version. In her view, it should take the form of an extended television series faithfully covering the story described in the anonymous 15th Homeric Hymn to Herakles the Lionhearted. She provides her own superb translation of the nine hexameters in question. If it were posted on social media, it could have caught the attention of a showrunner in search of a topic; someone who otherwise is highly unlikely to consult a scholarly volume such as this. A lost opportunity for the public.

Jennifer REA (pp. 66–81) traces common threads between the *Aeneid* and the South-Korean/Czech 2013 English language dystopian film *Snowpiercer* (based on a 1982 French graphic novel, *Le Transperceneige*, by Jacques Lob, Benjamin Legrand and Jean-Marc Rochette) and considers them companion texts. The film director, Bong-Joon Ho, is a very articulate and talented intellectual who has generously explained his vision and directorial choices in the media, never indicating any intentional reference to Virgil. REA acknowledges that the film is not classically inspired but maintains that both the Roman epic poem and the contemporary movie deal with comparable universal challenges. While it is undoubtedly fascinating to identify companion texts to the ancient

⁴ Author of *Herakles* in 2012, in the Routledge series "Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World", edited by Susan DEACY; of a contribution on Herakles to the 2018 volume in "Screening Antiquity" series entitled *Epic Heroes on Screen*; co-editor of three volumes in Brill's "Metaforms": with Arlene ALLAN and Eva ANAGNOSTOU-LAOUTIDES of *Herakles Inside and Outside the Church* (February 2020); with Alastair J.L. BLANSHARD of *The Modern Hercules* (November 2020), and with Valerie MAINZ of *The Exemplary Hercules from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment and Beyond* (January 2021). The fourth volume, *Hercules Performed*, is expected provisionally in late 2023–early 2024.

⁵ In television during that time, the Herakles myth was paraphrased in 2016, season 5 of Kitsis & Horowitz' *Once Upon a Time*; however, the hero is cast only in the supportive role of the young Herc trapped between the world of the living and the transitory Underbrook (purgatory).

⁶ See three contributions to the 2018 Edinburgh University Press volume *Epic Heroes on Screen*, edited by Antony AUGUSTAKIS and Stacie RAUCCI: A.J.L. BLANSHARD, *Hercules: The Mythopoeitics of New Heroism*, pp. 28–32, 37–41; E. STAFFORD, *Hercules, Putin, and the Heroic Body on Screen in 2014*, pp. 43–59; and Angeline CHIU, *Heroes and Companions in "Hercules"* (2014), pp. 60–73.

masterpieces, are these texts instances of reception or the universality of themes considered important for all times?

If the book's purpose is to explore the epic qualities of television series vs films, then why is the popular television series *Snowpiercer*, going soon into its 4th season, not included in the analysis? The series was created and evolved with the approval and participation of Bong-Joon Ho, the executive producer; the television show, logically, must be considered part of the same story. The series is a cross between the film's reboot and a prequel: the action begins seven years (not seventeen, like in the movie) after the failed attempt to stop global warming transformed the planet into a frozen desert. The dystopian world is the same as in the 2013 film. Still, the dramatic events cascading in the television series would have broken down the net of similarities and clashes with the *Aeneid* identified by REA and removed any reason to view the ancient and the modern text as companions. Still, the exercise is appealing and beneficial as it highlights the universal aspects of themes displayed in ancient epic poetry as one of the reasons why we continue to admire it.

The Japanese film, *Thermae Romae* (dir. Hideki Takeuchi), discussed by Monica CYRINO (pp. 82–97) in the next chapter, is one of several adaptations of the popular manga authored by Mari Yamazaki. *Thermae Romae Novae*, a 2022 original net animation (ONA) series of eleven episodes, covers the 128 CE bath architect Lucius Modestus' time-travelling adventures in present-day Japan. The ending segments feature Yamazaki's visits to various famous hot springs, the presentation of their history and the many recreational and health benefits on offer. This latest adaptation further confirms CYRINO's view about the so-called media mix strategy, frequently used in Japan: a new addition to the mix is web anime. The main theme of CYRINO's chapter is the juxtaposition of the Roman empire and modern Japan, the two countries in the world that brought public baths to the level of a cultural institution. According to CYRINO's thoughtful and convincing analysis, the film constitutes a nostalgic look at the imperial past, a look not devoid of simple comedy and self-deprecatory humour. Curiously, this concept of "empire nostalgia", coined by the author, is absent from either the manga itself or from the 2022 web anime, where similarities and differences are used as a source of amusement, and the leading theme centres on civilised bathing customs and the benefits of mineral springs tested, for millennia.

Kirsten DAY's chapter (pp. 98–117) is a good transition between the first and the second part of the book, as it discusses the negative portrayal of women in Greek mythology, in film since the 1950s, and television series since the 1990s. It focuses on the examples of Helen of Troy paired symbolically with the Trojan Horse as devious and lethal instruments and of Pandora forming an obvious and just as lethal tandem with her jar. DAY points out the symbolism linking women to horses in Semonides of Amorgos, Anacreon, Theocritus, and Euripides, as well as presenting Helen and Pandora as agents of destruction in, for instance, Hesiod and Aeschylus. DAY's reasoning and the evidence she presents supporting it are certainly stimulating, if not entirely convincing.

At the beginning of part II, primarily dealing with 21st-century television series, Sylvie MAGERSTÄDT (pp. 119–134) wonders why *Olympus* (2015) and *Troy: Fall of a City* (2018) failed to attract high numbers of viewers. She answers that both shows lack the essential elements of character development and a coherent plot, failing to engage the audience's feelings. MAGERSTÄDT clearly differentiates between *Olympus*, hampered by a low budget, bad acting, and heavy green-screen use and the no-expense-spared BBC-produced *Troy: Fall of a City*, concluding that critics had no pity when condemning the former; however, their high praise did not help the latter get better audience ratings. The author implies that these two television series were the only recent adaptations of Greek myths, for some reason ignoring another contemporary BBC production, the 2013–2015 *Atlantis*, which, contrary to *Olympus* and *Troy: Fall of a City*, gained a vast and loyal audience but was somewhat surprisingly axed after just two seasons. Possibly, MAGERSTÄDT's unstated reason for excluding the series from her analysis was precisely its success with the public because the epic quality of *Atlantis* is certainly no less evident than that of *Olympus*.

Fiona HOBDEN (pp. 135–151) provides a very pleasant surprise by giving voice to a genre rarely studied, documentaries on classical Antiquity, to be precise, four documentaries about Odysseus'

travels (2009–2018): *Clash of the Gods* (2009), a ten-part series produced by the channel History, with two episodes about Odysseus, from the sack of Troy, via Lotus-Eaters and Laestrygonians to Circe, Hades, and home to Ithaca; *Gods and Monsters: Homer's Odyssey* (2010), written and presented on BBC4 by the poet Simon Armitage who sets out to show a renewed story of Odysseus and blends fragments of the *Odyssey* with his own retelling of the myth; *Sur les traces d'Ulysse* (2017), a Swiss Radio and Television “investigative travelogue” led by Nina Mavis Brunner, who in six episodes follows Odysseus’ itinerary visiting Turkey, Tunisia, Italy, Spain, and Gibraltar; her discussions with locals are interspersed with animation sequences; *Akala's Odyssey* (2018) is presented on the BBC4 by a poet – hip-hop artist Akala. His artistic quest is to compose a response to Homer. HOB DEN concludes that documentaries provide a mirror to *Odyssey*, reflecting the great story from a variety of perspectives and colouring it with contemporary tendencies and trends.

Hunter GARDNER (pp. 152–167) views the *Odyssey* as a ‘cultural companion’ to HBO’s *Game of Thrones*. Her extensive and densely presented argument requires a solid grasp of the series’ intricate plot, making it a challenge to follow and fully appreciate. GARDNER investigates the occurrence of epic motifs such as *xenia*, the laws of hospitality, and *nostos*, a return home, tied in with a quest for justice to be rendered for endured hardships, a quest which may become a desire for revenge. The powerfully shocking scenes of slaughter, namely the Red Wedding massacre and the burning of King’s Landing by Daenerys Targaryen, are compared to Odysseus’ killing of the suitors in violent retribution for imposing their arrogant presence on his family in an attempt to force his wife to wed again, aggravated by the disrespectful treatment of himself disguised as a beggar. Analysing instances of Daenerys’ revenge through the prism of epic themes, in particular, *nostos* and the distinction between seeking justice and exacting retribution, makes it easier – according to GARDNER – to accept the repeatedly and cruelly wronged Targaryen heiress’ behaviour inconsistent with her previous tolerance and compassion.

Like most, if not all of the contributors to the book’s second part, Jo WYNELL-MAYOW (pp. 168–184) refers to Homer to gauge the epic qualities of a television series. She focuses on the “spectacle of war” in the *Iliad* and compares it with battles in Gough & Millar’s series *Into the Badlands*, which aired on AMC from 2015 to 2019. The show is an SF /*wuxia* (martial arts filmed with wirework) presenting an apocalyptic world divided between ruthless warlords who control slavery-based societies and command troops excelling in martial arts instead of pre-apocalyptic firearms. WYNELL-MAYOW discerns in *wuxia* combats, led half a millennium into the future, an affinity with ancient Homeric battles, specifically duels, which feel “very much like a performed spectacle” (p. 168). The stylised aspect of fights is undoubtedly a shared characteristic of both the *Iliad* and *Into the Badlands*, with divine intervention in Homer corresponding to supernatural powers (whether real or perceived) of the post-apocalyptic fighters, both requiring from the audience a suspension of disbelief.

And we are back to analysing the *Iliad*, this time as a source text for television series presenting intense relationships between male characters. Lynn KOZAK (pp. 185–200) successfully argues that the interactions between the two main characters in NBC’s 2013–2015 *Hannibal*, an FBI profiler (Will Graham) and a serial killer/ forensic psychiatrist (Hannibal Lecter), are imagined on the template provided by the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus. The series creator, Bryan Fuller, shines a bright light on the similarity in S02E12 *Tom-wan* when Will and Hannibal compare themselves to the Homeric heroes and stress the strong empathetic capacity Will shares with Patroclus. Their relationship, just like the one between Achilles and Patroclus, is not crystal clear due to confusion about their roles between friend, mentor, beloved friend, and presumably but never explicitly, lover; their blurring identities become, to a certain degree, interchangeable. KOZAK concludes that “both *Hannibal* and the *Iliad* present central relationships between two men that defy definitions and exceed expectations” (p. 199).

Meredith SAFRAN (pp. 201–216) reflects on the function of the Lords of Kobol in the 2003, 2004–2009 *Battlestar Galactica* compared to the Olympians ruling the ancient world as related by Homer and Virgil. She concludes that the antagonist Cylons, humanoid AIs, reflect the Homeric

and Virgilian Pantheon with more affinity. There are twelve models of immortal Cylons as there are twelve Olympians, their role is to ensure that fate remains the highest authority. While they have more power than humans, this superiority does not prevent them from closely connecting with and favouring specific individuals. SAFRAN's 16-page long chapter is divided into five subsections, but it does not facilitate tracking the flow of the author's argument, which seems to fade buried in the wealth of minor details.

Amanda POTTER (pp. 217–232) delivers the closing frame to the volume, which opened with a discussion of the meaning of the word 'epic'. POTTER, also one of the book's editors, snaps the buckle in place by establishing how and when viewers of two entirely different but verifiably popular television series use the e-word, as anybody who conscientiously read the entire last instalment of "Screening Antiquity" is entitled to call it. Two types of audience studies provide data for the chapter: first, *Game of Thrones* Audience Research Project was conducted internationally in 2016–2017⁷ using an online survey that obtained over 10,000 responses to the survey questionnaire. POTTER selected four questions she considered promising for her purpose and reviewed the answers. Unfortunately, without access to the published study, it is impossible to agree or disagree with her choice of questions. Her analysis of how respondents used the word 'epic' appears detailed and exhaustive – she was presumably able to include all uses of the word – but its usefulness remains unconvincing. The author herself conducted the second survey (significantly different from the first) online, addressing it to viewers of the 1st season of *His Dark Materials*. 165 responses were received, which, in my view, is an insufficient number to elicit valid data on linguistic practices. Still, it may certainly serve as an indication of the use of the word by a specific segment of viewers strictly defined by time, region, and the show they watched. POTTER's conclusion appears logically and intuitively defensible: "*Epic* continues to be a marker for what twenty-first-century viewers think of as quality, popular and successful" (p. 229).

Joanna PAUL's *Afterword* (pp. 233–239), written from the informed perspective of the author of a monograph published almost a decade earlier about the classical epic tradition and its reception in film⁸, neatly pulls together the thirteen chapters highlighting a rather obvious conclusion that they provide "multiple perspectives on the ongoing 'expansion' of the epic genre" (p. 233). PAUL formulates what, in her opinion, is one of the "core" achievements of the research presented in the volume, namely, that "the foundational narratives of the classical epic tradition – the Homeric epics – continue to be instrumental in the genre's development" (p. 234). While reassuring in its confirmation of a view held universally from the outset, such recapping of the thirteen stimulating chapters does not do justice to the efforts of scholars who, according to the editors of the series, represent cutting-edge, exciting, and original research.

To conclude this review, a few *nugae* which caught my eye. In the "Introduction", the family name of one of the contributors is misspelt twice, and the error is repeated in the Index. The gender preference of the same author (p. 11), declared in the bio, is ignored. As we all know, some typos are inevitable; one such is found in the index: a double entry for Agamemnon, the one referring to p. 101 should have been listed in italics, as it is the title of Aeschylus' play. In Jon SOLOMON's bio, there is an amusing mistake: *Genealogy of the Pagan God* (p. 276) instead of *Gods* – Boccaccio would have been perplexed.

Such minor inattentions do not detract from the value of the book. However, two straightforward issues could be easily corrected in any future volume of the series. The first concerns the readers' comfort and may only be my preference for footnotes: to look for the content of notes, the reader must first go to the endnotes and then continue to the bibliography to identify the references

⁷ Martin BARKER, Clarissa SMITH, Feona ATTWOOD, *Watching Game of Thrones: How Audiences Engage with Dark Television*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021.

⁸ Joanna PAUL, *Film and the Classical Epic Tradition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013 (Classical Presences).

fully. The second concern could be a simple oversight: to accompany the first book in the series, “Screening Antiquity’s” editors wrote their preface announcing the scope and goals of the series, then, somewhat surprisingly, reprinted the exact same text in all consecutive instalments, without any recognition or acknowledgement of the research filling the already published and scholarly significant volumes.

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