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2005

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C O M M E N T A T I O N E S

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HERCULES FURENS – A EURIPIDEAN ALLEGORY OF HUMAN MADNESS

By

JADWIGA CZERWIŃSKA

ABSTRACT: The subject matter of the article is the interpretation of Heracles' madness, as represented by Euripides in the tragedy *Hercules Furens*. This drama is one of the three in which the poet depicts characters seized with frenzy – the other two are the *Orestes* and the *Bacchae*. The *Hercules Furens* becomes an attempt at elucidating this disturbing phenomenon which has absorbed the attention of poets and philosophers since the dawn of history. The meaning given by Euripides to his allegory of madness may be noticeable after analyzing the changes introduced by him in the traditional version of the myth. The poet's innovations are of great importance in the formation of the play's tragic irony.

The Greeks always thought that vehement emotions were something enigmatic and frightening. They were felt as a force which manifested in man, ruled over him and was beyond his control[1]. This was the reason why these feelings and their unimaginable might fascinated as well as terrified. The interest and fascination with these mysterious powers ruling over man appeared early in the history of Greek culture. In the works of Homer, unwise and unexplainable behaviour has been attributed to *ate*. *Ate* almost always describes a state of mind – a kind of disturbance or disorder of consciousness. In fact it is a partial or temporary madness (ibidem, p. 5) which is ascribed to an external, 'diabolic' impact of supernatural beings. In the *Iliad* Zeus is capable of engendering *ate.* Therefore, by way of allegory, *ate* has been known as his eldest daughter[2]. In this way

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[1] E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley 1951, p. 185.

[2] In the *Iliad* (XIX 91) we read: πρέσβα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἄτη. *Ate* was considered to be provoked by Zeus, Moira and the Erinyes (*Il.* XIX 86–89). Yet we may add that even Zeus was seized by the power of *ate*. This is stated in the *Iliad* XIX where for the first time we find the description of *Ate* as the eldest of Zeus' daughters who:

> blinds all men,
> with her destructive power. Her feet are soft,
> for she walks, not on the ground, but on men's heads,

this opinion when speaking to her children about their dead father (462). Afterwards she raises in her grief a cry to her beloved husband (490 f.):

> Dear love, – if any in Hades of the dead
> Can hear, – I cry this to thee, Hercules!

Megara begs her husband, who is in the underworld, to emerge and appear before her, even as an image – ἡ σκιά (the word means a ghost as well). And so, here we have a pointed reference to the picture of the other world which Homer described in the *Odyssey* XI where he also mentions Heracles[17]. Thus Megara's words express her definite disbelief in her husband's return. He died and is now a ghost in the underworld. In her words the notion that Heracles will not return from Hades, gradually developed in the play, reaches its climax: the presumptions of the *dramatis personae* that the hero is dead are progressively transformed into certainty. And precisely in this moment the hero arrives. Due to such contrast of scenes the poet achieves a spectacular dramatic effect and creates an extremely splendid *peripeteia*.

A radical change of situation caused by the hero's arrival (just like *deus ex machina*) finds its expression in him being compared to Zeus the Saviour[18]. He is considered as such by his rescued family but also by the Chorus in the second *stasimon* (638–700), who sings a magnificent encomium on his behalf beginning with the famous praise of youth. In the third *stasimon* during which we hear the cry of Lycus being murdered within the palace the solemn laudatory tone increases. The *choreutai* extol with pride Heracles' prowess (τὰν Ἡρακλέος ἀλκάν, 806), sincerely believing that its source comes from Zeus. The divine part of the hero's nature has given him the ability to perform so many noble

---

[17] In the *Odyssey* it is said that only Heracles' image stays in Hades, whereas he himself dwells among the immortal gods as the husband of Hebe, the daughter of Zeus and Hera (*Od.* XI 601–604). – Heracles' deification is mentioned in Hesiod's *Theogony* where the poet says that Heracles after fulfilling his labours, leads a life free from worries on Olympus as the husband of Hebe, the goddess with beautiful hair (*Theog.* 950–955). Pindar, the great praiser of Heracles' prowess, also refers to the hero's marriage with Hebe and to his life amongst the immortal gods. In his *epinikia*, as Mirto notices (*o.c.* [n. 5], p. 8), the hero appears as a paradigm of highest human capabilities. Despite his being under the bounds of human condition, Heracles in the end was to become ἥρως θεός. In his fourth *Isthmian Ode* Pindar stresses that Heracles receives love and adoration at the side of his father – Zeus (*Isthm.* IV 67–73). – A direct reference to what Homer, Pindar and Hesiod say on this subject is given in the fourth *stasimon* of the *Children of Heracles*. The Chorus refers to Alcmena, Heracles' mother and sings (*Heracl.* 910–916).

[18] While speaking to her children, Megara says with joyful delight (520–522). To Megara Heracles is like Zeus the Saviour, as to Amphitryon the hero is like light (ὦ φάος μολὼν πατρί..., 531). This last comparison clearly refers to the widespread Greek notion of life represented as light and death as darkness. Euripides, especially in the *Alcestis*, makes ample use of this notion, e.g. in the confrontation between Apollo and Thanatos and in the description of the dying protagonist (244–272).

figures in the stories of Leda and Antiope. According to the mythological tradition, Polydeuces was born as a result of Leda's union with Zeus, whereas Castor was conceived by Tyndareus. In certain versions of the myth of Antiope it is said that through her subsequent unions with Zeus and Epopeus twin brothers were born: Amphion and Zethus, the mythical founders of Thebes (Mirto, *o.c.* [n. 5], pp. 16 f.). A similar differentiation between divine and human twins is found in the tradition of Heracles and Iphicles[8]. In the *Shield of Heracles* (*Scutum*) which is attributed to Hesiod and whose opening section is surely genuine[9], we read the following lines concerning Alcmena and her sons (49–57):

ἣ δὲ θεῷ δμηθεῖσα καὶ ἀνέρι πολλὸν ἀρίστῳ
Θήβῃ ἐν ἑπταπύλῳ διδυμάονε γείνατο παῖδε,
οὐκέθ' ὁμὰ φρονέοντε· κασιγνήτω γε μὲν ἤστην·
τὸν μὲν χειρότερον, τὸν δ' αὖ μέγ' ἀμείνονα φῶτα
δεινόν τε κρατερόν τε, βίην Ἡρακληείην,
τὸν μὲν ὑποδμηθεῖσα κελαινεφέι Κρονίωνι,
αὐτὰρ Ἰφικλῆα δορυσσόῳ Ἀμφιτρύωνι·
κεκριμένην γενεήν, τὸν μὲν βροτῷ ἀνδρὶ μιγεῖσα
τὸν δὲ Διὶ Κρονίωνι, θεῶν σημάντορι πάντων.[10]

In this passage Alcmena's twins are clearly differentiated. "These were not of one spirit", as Hesiod informs us, "for one was weaker but the other a far

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[8] Alcmena as the mother of Heracles and Iphicles is mentioned by Pindar in his *epinikia*: *Nem.* 1 and 9, *Pyth.* 9, *Isthm.* 4.

[9] In the preface to the Polish translation of the works of Hesiod (Hezjod, *Narodziny bogów (Theogonia), Prace i dni, Tarcza*, przełożył, wstępem i przypisami opatrzył J. Łanowski, Warszawa 1999, p. 20) J. Łanowski indicates that *The Shield of Heracles* has been attributed to Hesiod because the beginning of this poem (till line 57) is very likely the poet's genuine passage from the *Ehoi* about Alcmena the wife of Amphitryon and her mortal and immortal partners. What follows shows the influence of Homeric inspiration: an anonymous author clearly refers to Homer, to the *aristeia* (description of famous deeds) of Homeric heroes, but especially to the well-known description of the shield of Achilles from the *Iliad* XVIII, as though he wanted to compete with Homer.

[10] *Scutum* 48–56 (*Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*. With an English Translation by H.G. Evelyn-White, Cambridge, Mass.–London 1914):
And she, being subject in love to a god and to a man exceeding goodly,
brought forth twin sons in seven-gated Thebes.
Though they were brothers, these were not of one spirit;
for one was weaker but the other a far better man,
one terrible and strong, the mighty Heracles.
She bore him through the embrace of the son of Cronos lord of dark clouds
and the other, Iphicles, of Amphitryon the spear-wielder
offspring distinct, this one of union with a mortal man,
but that other of union with Zeus, leader of all the gods.
Pindar writes about both of Alcmena's sons of and their two fathers in the *Pythian Odes* 9, 111–117.

In the tragedy about Heracles, Euripides has introduced many substantial innovations; both thematic and structural. These consist in either including new, or bringing into prominence already existing structural elements of the myth, elements which in Euripides' interpretation acquire great importance in creating the tragical idea of the play. In order to interpret the work properly it is necessary to consider the changes introduced by the poet to the mythical tradition and its earlier dramatic representations – including his own (*Alcestis*) – taking under discussion earlier pictures of the hero in the new light thrown on the myth and character of the protagonist.

A very interesting dramatic intervention which emphasizes the parabolical and allegorical meaning of this drama is the presentation of the hero by means of a portrait triptych. This simple but very significant move in the structural plane enabled the poet to create an artistic picture of the hero[3] and, at the same time, to set the dramatic accents in such a way that all three completing pictures may create a harmonious entity. We may notice a clearly outlined symmetry in their structure, which emphasizes this harmony: the main and central part of the portrait triptych is the description of the hero's madness and the crime committed by him. Two other parts constitute a certain frame to this original "portrait of madness" becoming its supplement as well. The first reaches back to events preceding the attack of frenzy in order to look for the sources of Heracles' disastrous emotions. The third refers to future events which reveal the consequences of human madness.

The first picture of Heracles' portrait triptych consists of the opening 800 lines and ends with the arrival of Lyssa and Iris sent by Hera. However, Heracles appears on the stage only at the end of the second *epeisodion* in a scene of merely 100 lines. Nevertheless, his absence at the beginning of the play – not only on stage but in Thebes generally, where the tragedy is set – is very distinctly felt, for all characters accentuate it. Therefore the question appears whether it is really justified to treat this part of the play as the first picture of the portrait triptych, since the hero is mainly absent. The answer may be found in almost every line of this part of the tragedy: Heracles is mentioned by everyone and with no doubt

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[3] In the plays of Euripides we may notice the author's vivid imagination and artistic intuition in the scenes and descriptions of *dramatis personae*. Biographers give information that the poet was a painter as well, and his paintings were supposed to be in Megara. We may find such information in the *Suda* as we read: γέγονε δὲ τὰ πρῶτα ζωγράφος, εἶτα μαθητὴς Προδίκου μὲν ἐν τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς, Σωκράτους δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς καὶ φιλοσόφοις. Modern researchers also refer to this, e.g. A. Lesky, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, Bern 1957/1958, p. 397, or U. Albini, in: Euripide, *Fenicie,* introduzione e traduzione di U. Albini, note di Fulvio Barberis, Milano 2000, p. VIII. Although an artistic inspiration is noticeable in the dramas of Euripides, it is not certain whether this was on account of him being a painter or this profession has been ascribed to the poet later, on the basis of the dramatist's artistic sensibility and imagination.

with Megara and Amphitryon (referring to the Hydra of Lerna and the Nemean lion, 151 ff.). Here appears the famous comparison of a hoplite, who traditionally fights with a spear and shield, to Heracles, an archer who fights with a bow and club (156 ff.). The hero's labours are most extensively treated by the Chorus in the first *stasimon*, beginning with the killing of the lion in Zeus' sanctuary in Nemea and ending with the descent to the underworld to fetch Cerberus. However, since the beginning of the play we keep on hearing about this last labour and its references, in a natural manner, introduce the theme of death or, more precisely, the hero's presumed death. Euripides introduces this theme to the play in a gradual manner and thus creates the effect of a developing belief in the hero's returnless descent to the underworld. The hero's unexpected arrival stands in a sharp contrast to this ever-growing opinion. In lines 24 ff. Amphitryon says of Heracles:

> He hath passed to Hades, to bring up to light
> The hound three-headed, whence he hath not
> Returned.

These words refer to the last part of the Chorus' song in the first *stasimon* (425 ff.). Still, there is no suggestion of his irretrievable departure. Certain hope is left also in lines 262 f. where we read:

> Not hidden in earth too deep
> For help is he. Though he hath let his babes.

First serious doubt appears only with Megara's words (296 f.) who, accepting the inevitability of death, is of a different opinion than Amphitryon (278 ff.). We read:

> Dost think, from the underworld thy son shall come?
> Ah, of the dead, who hath returned from Hades?

Therefore she questions the possibility of her husband's return from the underworld, adding at the same time a sententious remark: "Ah, of the dead, who hath returned from Hades?"[16]. This remark indicates that she considers Heracles to be a mortal man. Even the Chorus ventures to say that Heracles: "to the dolorous land, unto Hades, hath sailed for his last toil – strife; and there hath he quenched his light of life utterly – woe for the unreturning!" (425–429). Megara confirms

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[16] This remark brings to mind the manner in which the matter of death is presented in the *Alcestis*; I have discussed this question in my article: *Motywy fantastyki i baśniowości w „Alkestis" Eurypidesa*, Classica Wratislaviensia XXIV 2004, pp. 18–33.

'Αργεῖον 'Αμφιτρύων', ὃν 'Αλκαῖός ποτε
ἔτιχθ' ὁ Περσέως, πατέρα τόνδ' Ἡρακλέους;[6]

Amphitryon's statement itself – except for a certain tone of boastfulness – does not introduce any new elements to the ancient tradition of Alcmena's double union. Thus, why does Euripides begin the play in such a conventional (as it may seem) manner, while he otherwise makes radical innovations into the traditional version of the myth? Our knowledge of Euripides allows hypothesis that such prominence of the mentioned subject could not have been accidental. And the following course of the play confirms us in this opinion. Only through comparison with future events do Amphitryon's words acquire proper meaning. Together with the statements of other *dramatis personae* they create a logical and coherent presentation of the myth and give it a new significance.

Already in line 170 we may find first information which may refer to the above quoted statement of Amphitryon. We read:

τῷ τοῦ Διὸς μὲν Ζεὺς ἀμυνέτω μέρει
παιδός·[7]

Thus according to these words no more than τὸ μέρος παιδός – only a part of Heracles – belongs to Zeus, whereas the rest to himself, an opinion confirmed by the above quoted lines of the *prologus,* in which Amphitryon names himself Heracles' father. Such formulation of the "double" fatherhood, clearly outlined in the whole drama, is Euripides' innovation. Other modifications of the myth have been introduced likewise, but these are only consequences of the poet's assumptions made in regard to the myth and the drama. One of these changes is the total omission of Iphicles who appears in the tradition as Heracles' "twin" brother. Due to his removal, not only Amphitryon's role but also Heracles' nature has been presented in another light.

In order to understand the reason for this, so to speak, *damnatio memoriae* inflicted by Euripides on the mortal son of Amphitryon, it may be helpful to recall the mythological tradition of this character and his role in the myth. First we must notice the fact that twin pregnancy, similar to that of Alcmena, as a result of which two sons are born, one conceived by a god and the other by a man, appears as a frequent phenomenon in mythology. For instance, such pregnancy

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[6] *Herc. Fur.* 1–3:

Who knows not Zeus's couch-mate, who of men,
Argive Amphitryon, sprung from Perseus' son
Alcaeus, father of great Hercules?

(All quoted passages of the discussed play come from: Euripides, *The Madness of Hercules*. Translated by A.S. Way, in: Euripides, vol. III, Cambridge, Mass. 1912, reprinted 1962).

[7] *Herc. Fur.* 170 f.: "For Zeus's part – his own son's birth let Zeus / Defend".

better man", and further he adds: "offspring distinct". In other sources referring to Heracles the consistency with which Zeus' fatherhood is emphasized is noticeable. In the *Iliad* we find such expressions as "Hercules, the man Lord Zeus, son of Cronos, loved the most" (*Il.* XVIII 117–119), "son of almighty Zeus" (*Il.* XIV 249–256), or simply "his son" (*Il.* VIII 362–365). In the *Odyssey* Heracles, while speaking to Odysseus, similarly describes himself saying: "I was a son of Zeus, a child of Cronos"[11]. His divine origin is repeatedly mentioned by Hesiod in the *Theogony* (316), but especially in the *Shield* (*Sc.* 66, 110, 150, 163, 371, 392, 414, 424). This important element of the myth of Heracles has not been omitted by Pindar, who describes Zeus' arrival "to beget Heracles" (*Isthm.* 7, 1–8), or the god's entrance to Amphitryon's house "bearing the fearless seed of Heracles" (*Nem.* 10, 23–25), or just calls the hero "the brave son of Zeus" (*Ol.* 10). This matter is referred to also in the *Isthmian Odes* 1 whose second part concerns Heracles and his unusual act of strangling the snakes. This mythological episode presented by Pindar contains an evident exposition of the hero's divine origin, by means of which the poet explains Heracles' present victory confirmed later by Teiresias in his prophecy about the hero's future supremacy (*Nem.* 1). It is true that in the same ode Pindar mentions also Amphitryon who saw δύναμιν υἱοῦ, but this phrase, deprived even of a possessive pronoun, does not refer explicitly to him, unless in his role as Alcmena's husband who takes care of both her sons. It is therefore with full reason that we may recall Maria Serena Mirto's description of Amphitryon in his relation to Heracles as his "adoptive father" (Mirto, *o.c.* [n. 5], p. 22). In the *Iliad* Book V where Homer tells of how Hera and Hades were shot by Heracles' arrows, the hero is once called πάις Ἀμφιτρύωνος, whereas four lines later as υἱὸς Διὸς (*Il.* V 392 and 397). However, we may presume that Homer uses these phrases in a meaning similar to that in Pindar, especially if we compare them to other passages in Homer's poems where Zeus' fatherhood is strongly brought into prominence, as well as to Hesiod's and Pindar's works. The tradition of Zeus' fatherhood of Heracles is confirmed also in such plays of Euripides as the *Ion* (190–194), the *Andromache* (796 f.), and *The Children of Heracles* (210).

In the *Madness of Heracles*, on the other hand, the dramatist abandons the deep-rooted tradition (which has left its trace also in his own works) and in the quoted above first lines of the *prologus* makes his Amphitryon speak of his sharing with the god not only a woman but also Heracles' fatherhood (1–3). This opinion is confirmed in other passages of the tragedy, appearing for instance in a statement of Lycus. He says to Amphitryon "that Zeus was co-begetter of sons with thee" (149) and the word κοινεών used here underlines the idea of this shared

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[11] Homer, *The Odyssey,* translation by I. Johnston, Malaspina University-College 2004, www.mala.bc.ca/~Johnstoi/homer/odysseytofc.htm (*Od.* XI 620: Ζηνὸς μὲν παῖς ἦα Κρονίονος).

a tendency has been developed to reject irrational impulses from oneself and to burden other powers with their effects. The rejection took place only when such impulses could have covered man with shame. This fact illustrates the transmission of sense of shame onto someone else, for *ate*, the term itself, enabled this kind of 'projection' of shame onto external powers (Dodds, *o.c.* [n. 1], p. 17).

Fascination and fear inspired by strong emotions and passions, particularly by states of frenzy, gave occasion to attempts at understanding and describing this disquieting phenomenon. Greek tragedy has bequeathed to us great and impressive scenes of madness, the famous scene in Sophocles' *Ajax* being one of them. This matter especially absorbed Euripides, who was interested in the psychological aspect of human *physis* and its irrational element in particular. As a profound thinker, philosopher of the stage, who examined every manifestation of human emotionality, he must have noticed the dangerous force present in human frenzy. As a dramatist he must have seen in it a great subject for tragedy. The matter of madness is presented in three of his tragedies: the *Madness of Heracles*, the *Orestes* and the monumental *Bacchae*. These plays, although different in character as well as in form, attempt to reveal various manifestations of frenzy trying also to distinguish its sources, in order to expose as much as possible this disturbing and mysterious state of the human soul.

The *Hercules Furens* is an Euripidean story of human madness or rather allegory of it. It introduces characters and events which gain not just individual but universal significance in setting a paradigm of one of the aspects of man's existence. This would explain the schematic treatment of characters and the only seeming dramatic incoherence of which Euripides has been accused. However, it is only by abandoning the literal understanding of the stage picture and by reading the concealed allegorical meaning that we may discover the adequate significance and dimension of events and characters, and consider the play as a dramatic whole.

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and she brings folly onto humankind,
seducing them at random. Even Zeus... (*Il.* XIX 113–117)

(Homer, *The Iliad*, translation by I. Johnston, Malaspina University-College, 2000, www.mala.bc.ca/~johnstoi/homer/iliad_title.htm. Other quotations of the *Iliad* are given in the same translation). Afterwards in the same book the episode of Hera's trick at Heracles' birth is mentioned. The quoted passage gives the description of Zeus' anger with *Ate* (*Il.* XIX 156 ff.):

He seized Ate at once,
by the shining hair wound round her head.
His heart was furious. He swore a great oath
that Ate who blinds everyone, would no more
come to Olympus or to starry heaven.
That said, in one hand he swung her round,
then flung her clear out of the star-filled skies.
She quickly landed among toiling men.

absorbs the attention of the characters more than any protagonist present on the stage. All discussions and thoughts are concentrated on the person and fate of this grand hero. He and particularly his absence affects the drama's events. The Chorus constantly speaks of the hero. Even the references to the weakness and senility[4] of the Old Men of Thebes serve the purpose of emphasizing Heracles'[5] youth and physical strength. Due to all of this, Heracles becomes the great absent figure in this part of the tragedy, absorbing completely the field of comments. This is a unique phenomenon in Greek tragedy comparable only to Aeschylus' *Persians*, where Xerxes makes his appearance only at the end (918 ff.). However, in the preceding parts of that play the dramatic accents have been placed in a different manner than in the *Hercules Furens* where the attention is concentrated only on this one character, absent from the stage, a move without parallel in other plays. This concentration on Heracles is visible even when the *dramatis personae* speak, as it may seem, of themselves. It is not difficult to produce an example – the first is given in the opening lines of the *prologus* where Amphitryon declares with pride (1–3):

Τίς τὸν Διὸς σύλλεκτρον οὐκ οἶδεν βροτῶν,

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[4] In the opinion of H.D.F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy. A Literary Study*, London [3]1961, p. 240, the most helpless character is Amphitryon in the company of the Old Men of Thebes. However I regard the Old Men as the representatives of helplessness in the occurring events, for Amphitryon is far more active in offering resistance to Lycus. He has the boldness to defend Heracles against the usurper. He accuses Zeus of disloyalty to his son and descendants as he says: "Mortal, in worth thy godhead I outdo: Hercules' sons have I abandoned not" (342 f.). With these words he proves not only his determination but his *arete* as well. Therefore Amphitryon's position brings to mind "the power of female weakness" presented by Euripides in the *Hecuba*; in this play we may speak about "the power of senile weakness". It is only due to this power that Amphitryon stays with Megara and her children and later on manages to face the tragedy of the hero's madness and remains with him till the end.

[5] The song in the second *stasimon* (648 ff.) which M.S. Mirto (in: Euripide, *Eracle,* introduzione, traduzione e note di M.S. Mirto, Milano 2000 [prima ed. 1997], p. 9) designates as an ode with a joyful intonation of the paean, is the ending of the antithetical theme introduced by the Chorus which compares its senile weakness (120 ff., 268 f., 312–315, 436–441) to the might of youth represented by Heracles. In the opinion of G.M.A. Grube (*The Drama of Euripides*, London 1961 [first publ. 1941], p. 253), youth and old age are two themes which constitute a whole as the song refers to the return of the hero who is young and strong. The Old Men of Thebes confront Heracles' position with their own weakness and old age. Their longing is now even stronger than in preceding songs. Glorification of youth becomes a splendid introduction to the glorification of Heracles. It is worth mentioning that the Chorus' early references to its own senile weakness is an important dramatic element whose aim is to emphasize the tragic situation of Heracles' family who may only count on moral support provided by the Old Men of Thebes. At the same time however, the subject of the Chorus' physical weakness is a remarkable dramatic introduction and a way of preparing the audience for the hero's return as "Heracles the Saviour". With the hero's arrival, Euripides achieves a most effective *peripeteia*.

deeds. In the end it also enabled Heracles to return from the underworld in glory by overcoming the bounds of mortals which Megara mentioned in line 297 ("Ah, of the dead, who hath returned from Hades?"). The Chorus in a transport of joy sings that "by time is the might of thy son revealed in its glory" (805 f.), and that "the cause of the right is well-pleasing to heaven" (813 f.). These words are the last chord of their song and are still heard when Lyssa and Iris appear upon the palace. Their arrival, according to G.M.A. Grube, is a more impressive *coup de théâtre* than the hero's return[19]. The scene in which Hera's emissaries foretell the hero's madness and his horrible felony becomes to some extent a second *prologus* (Kitto, *o.c.* [n. 4], p. 246). The terrifying forecast transforms the laudatory joy in the last song of the Chorus into an anguished expectation of future events. The audience is fully aware of the tragic irony in this arrangement of praise and terror. To the accompaniment of Lyssa's aulos (877–979), the Chorus unfolds a horrifying picture of the *dance of death* as it sings (891–899):

> Her dance is beginning, but not with the cymbals
> clashing,
> Not with the pine-wand uptossed amid loud acclamation, –
> [...]
> But for shedding of blood, not the blood of the grape oblation.
> [...]
> Death shrieks through her pipe by the blast of
> her breath!
> Like a hound is he holding the children in chase! –
> Never shall Madness keep revel for naught through
> his dwell-place.

Heracles' future fit of madness has been evoked through comparison of the picture of death's dance to orgiastic frenzy of Dionysus' rites. However, the gift of Bromius (682) is replaced with an oblation of blood (894), whereas musical instruments that traditionally accompany bacchic orgies (683 f.) are reflected in Lyssa's aulos as its sound causes fear, not happiness and ecstasy as is the case in the bacchic ritual[20]. The description of Heracles' *dance of death* brings to mind the Eumenides' *thiasos* which drove Orestes mad for committing matricide. Their pageant, just like Heracles' frenzy dance to the accompaniment of

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[19] Grube, *o.c.* [n. 5], p. 254.

[20] Mirto, *o.c.* [n. 5], p. 10, adds a comment on this scene that the Chorus' song (825–921) is a *kommos* which is joined first by Amphitryon, as his voice comes from the palace when he accompanies the *choreutai* with his cries. The *kommos* is then joined by the messenger who announces the massacre of the family. On a language scale, these lines show that the Chorus, which in the second *stasimon* praises the hero and his deeds in order to extol his ἀρετή, here changes radically the tone of their song making it a frightful lamentation.

the hero's family, as we see them still alive in the scene of supplication at the beginning of the play.

The threnodic-encomiastic character of this part of the tragedy, in which laudatory themes go hand in hand with mourning lamentation[14] on Heracles and his sojourn in the underworld, is fully expressed in the first *stasimon* of the Chorus. Just after the words which introduce the threnodic atmosphere: "a mourning-song [...] also of him who hath passed to the places of underworld gloom" (348–352), the Chorus fluently moves on to the laudatory theme: "Amphitryon's scion be theme of my sing: I am fain to uplift him before ye wreathed with the Twelve Toils' garland of glory: for the dead have a heritage, yea, have a crown even deathless memorial of deeds of renown" (355–358)[15]. Due to this antithetical confrontation of the threnodic and commendatory theme Euripides achieves an uncommonly intensive atmosphere of lamentation. The more the hero's greatness and achievements are stressed in the play, the more intense is the grief caused by his leave. The suprahuman dimension of Heracles' labours and, consequently, of his ἀρετή, is stressed by Amphitryon as he speaks of his son's struggle "to rid the earth with pests" (20) or "his toils [...] his purging sea and lands" (225 f.). In these lines Euripides refers to Hesiod who explains that Zeus' reason for his union with Alcmena was "to beget one to defend against destruction gods and men who eat bread" (*Sc.* 27–29). These are evident references to Heracles' labours which the hero was to fulfil as a benefactor of mankind and hero-civilizer – as M.S. Mirto calls him when she says: "Protagonista, dunque, l'eroe civilizzatore caro all'immaginario e al culto ateniese (e panellenico), già figura esemplare dei limiti estremi delle capacità umane, al cui superamento non si può e non si deve ambire" (Mirto, *o.c.* [n. 5], p. 8). The subject of Heracles' labours is of great importance in the play and the dramatist refers to it several times. Lycus speaks of them during his discussion

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[14] Already in the *parodos* (107–136) the Old Men of Thebes raise a mourning lamentation and speak of Heracles' sojourn in the underworld.

[15] The combination of the encomiastic theme with the threnodic one is a well-known device in literature. A suitable example is provided with the encomium by Simonides, a poem dedicated to the dead at Thermopylae (26 [531]), whose character approximates threnody. What we have here is an evident transformation of aristocratic values: the defeated, killed while defending their country become the subject of an encomiastic glorification and receive the dignity of a mythical hero. The step of combining an encomium with a posthumous praise has been also made by Thucydides in the *epitaphios logos*, a speech on behalf of the soldiers killed in the first year of the Peloponnesian War (II 35–46). In fact the speech is a glorification of Athens and constitutes a real masterpiece in the work of Thucydides. Never has the historian given so many relevant and profound remarks on the matter of the state, as R. Turasiewicz writes in his introduction to: Tukidydes, *Wojna peloponeska*, przełożył K. Kumaniecki, opracował R. Turasiewicz, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1991, p. LXXI, nowhere else has his literary talent achieved such an artistic point as in this famous epitaph. This speech remains one of the most magnificent eulogies of the democratic system in world literature.

fatherhood. A little further Amphitryon himself calls Zeus "co-father of my son" (340), παιδὸς κοινεῶν' ἐκλήζομεν. Amphitryon sees himself as Heracles' father, not only as Alcmena's husband[12]. This is evident in his fear expressed after the family murder committed by the hero. He is afraid that Heracles would tarnish his name with patricide, for if so, then "to heap up his debt to the Furies the blood of a kinsman shall spill" (1075). In Euripides' tragedy the fatherhood shared by Zeus and Amphitryon becomes a fact which is constantly recalled – as M.S. Mirto indicates, both fathers participated in the procreation and formation of the hero's nature (Mirto, *o.c.* [n 5], p. 25) which due to Zeus is half divine and due to Amphitryon half human.

Euripides consequently leads us to the observation of a very important fact – the significance of which will reveal itself later – namely to Heracles' dichotomous nature. This dichotomy is emphasized by presenting two fathers of one son. Alcmena's twin pregnancy, an element common in early tradition, has been completely ignored. Euripides' abandonment of this tradition manifests itself in the tragedy by confining Alcmena's pregnancy to just one son[13]. The exclusion of Iphicles, Alcmena's second son who, according to the early versions of the myth, inherited from Amphitryon his human nature, becomes now an unavoidable consequence. Expounding Heracles' dichotomous nature was important to Euripides, for this was required by his idea of the tragic and the manner in which he wanted to throw light on the sources of the hero's madness.

In the first part of Heracles' portrait triptych Euripides refers to early tradition in order to present the power of Zeus' son and his extraordinary deeds. To achieve this, the dramatist makes use of encomiastic themes known from Pindar's poetry or from works of Homer and Hesiod. However, he introduces some crucial innovations to this tradition. Running the risk of a certain simplification, we may reduce them to the two most important elements. First is the emphasis on Heracles' dichotomous nature, brought about by introducing the notion of Amphitryon's co-parenthood and, consequently, by excluding the person of Iphicles. The second one consists in a chronological transfer of the hero's fit of madness. A logical consequence of this time shift seems to present on stage

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[12] Mirto, *o.c.* [n. 5], discusses this subject in the preface to her own translation of this tragedy. She pays much attention to the question of the double fatherhood of Heracles in the chapter *La doppia paternità di Eracle* (pp. 15–27), where she claims among others that "Anfitrione vede se stesso come chi ha dato la vita a Eracle, non solo il marito della madre!" (p. 26).

[13] Ibidem, p. 28. In the opinion of the author, the elimination of Iphicles may not be just a matter of Euripides' oversight. He makes no such mistakes and if he introduces any changes in the myth he does it only with purpose, after due consideration, so they appear with reason in the dramatic structure of the tragedy. In the case of Iphicles, not only does this figure play no role in the development of the events in the drama, but his presence would have made it difficult to present the poet's idea – Heracles' dichotomous nature.

Lyssa's aulos, is not joyful either for it takes place among tears and cries (*Or.* 319 f.). The Eumenides do not form a ring that brings joy as is the case with the bacchic circles. In the *Orestes* it has been described as ἀβάκχευτον (319) which may possibly mean that, although the goddesses also seize with frenzy, their madness is, unlike the bacchic *mania*, *unjoyful* and different. The chief point of this difference lies in the unreligious character of Heracles' and Orestes' madness, despite the fact that it was sent by the gods[21]. It was rather a picture of a *mania* that manifests itself as an illness – νόσος, without any positive assessment through initiation or mystery. The forecast and later the description of the following stages of Heracles' developing madness constitute the second and central part of his portrait triptich. From the structural point of view Euripides builds this part similarly to the first one. Again the protagonist is absent from stage, though his "presence" is far more perceptible than at the beginning of the play. The reason lies in a great dramatic intensity provoked first by the forecast of Heracles' murder, then by the Chorus' terrifying vision of the hero's future *dance of death* and finally by the announcement of the messenger who talks about the following dramatic events. His words render the astounding scene of madness which H.D.F. Kitto recognizes as the most effective piece of literature that Euripides ever wrote (Kitto, *o.c.* [n. 4], p. 237).

Through an analysis of the dramatic structure applied by Euripides in the description of Heracles' frenzy we may notice the following stages of the hero's disastrous rage. The first warning signal of Heracles' emotional excitement are his arrogant words of *hybris* as he announces that he will destroy the new ruler's palace and Lycus' head will be thrown to the dogs. Finally, he will smash with his club those who have betrayed him (despite the fact that he is their benefactor) and fill the white waters of Dirce with blood and bodies (565–573). For if he does not do this in defence of his children then – as he says – "How shall I be called Hercules the Victorious, as of old?" (581 f.). The fierceness of his threats signalize the hero's lack of mental stability (Grube, *o.c.* [n. 5], p. 254). His head has become too much accustomed to wearing the wreath of triumph (cf. Mirto, *o.c.* [n. 5], p. 15), as he himself believes in his insuperable might. As this aspect of Heracles' nature is presented, greater emphasis is laid on his suprahuman attributes and deeds which provoke him to surpass the limits of man. As a result of the hero's transition from grandeur to megalomania, as G.M.A. Grube notices, he must be punished according to the Greek belief that too much power may be dangerous (Grube, *o.c.* [n. 5], p. 252). It sparks the gods' envy and provokes

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[21] "Divine" origin of madness may mean that its power is so immense that may be comparable only with divine forces against which man remains helpless. Such interpretation of this phenomenon is coherent with the character of other Euripides' works in which man's invincible inward powers assume divine dimensions.

To Euripides the language of old myths acquires an allegorical and symbolical meaning. It becomes a figurative and visible instrument used to describe the human soul. The world of demons has become distant and has left man alone with his passions (Dodds, *o.c.* [n. 1], p. 186). Mysterious forces do not attack him from outside anymore but have become a part of himself for, as Heraclitus said, ἦθος ἀνθρώπωι δαίμον (*FVS* B 119). Euripides may use the language of old traditional terms but exposes men and women standing face to face with the mystery of evil, which, despite losing its supernatural, diabolic character, does not become less enigmatic and terrifying as man's irrational *ego* (Dodds, *o.c.* [n. 1], p. 186).

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come poco raffinato e non particolarmente colto, intendessero esprimere il proprio atteggiamento verso la dimensione pan-sofistica della letteratura imperiale[59]. L'attività retorica di carattere epidittico[60], che permeava di sé ogni aspetto della cultura imperiale, fece dell'atteggiamento adulatorio nei riguardi del pubblico di massa un paradigma valido anche per opere destinate alla lettura e non alla declamazione[61]. I poichilografi volevano certamente guadagnarsi la stima del pubblico, il quale, come l'uditorio delle *meletai* retoriche, si aspettava di esser colpito da una varietà di registri artistici, pur non essendo necessariamente altrettanto numeroso[62].

A mio giudizio, nel caso della poichilografia siamo di fronte ad una produzione letteraria legata esclusivamente ad una funzione epidittica e condizionata dalle regole dell'oratoria fittizia. Il suo pubblico era però costituito non solo da persone in cerca d'intrattenimento ma anche da fruitori di opere letterarie appassionati di squisitezze tematiche e formali. La *poikilographia* appare dunque una categoria letteraria i cui autori puntavano – come i declamatori di *meletai* – all'approvazione del pubblico. Ma i poichilografi rispondevano agli interessi culturali di lettori più esperti e raffinati di quanto lo fosse l'uditorio delle *performance* oratorie. Sullo sfondo di un fenomeno di «massificazione» della letteratura greco-romana in età imperiale, si deve, nonostante tutto, riconoscere alla poichilografia e alla commistione che in essa si attuava fra argomenti specialistici e generi letterari «bassi»[63] lo statuto di letteratura di «mire alte». Le allusioni dei poichilografi ad una moltitudine di lettori di livello popolare sembrano esprimere ironicamente, in forma iperbolica, nient'altro che l'aspirazione dei poichilografi a suscitare interesse per le loro opere tra un pubblico che fosse il più numeroso possibile ma abbastanza attento da riconoscere nel cumulo di citazioni, apparentemente disordinato, e nella molteplicità di registri di enunciazione la tecnica compositiva

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[59] Su questo aspetto della cultura greco-romana di età imperiale mi limito a segnalare i contributi di S. Nicosia, *La seconda sofistica*, in: *Lo spazio...* (n. 9), vol. I, tomo 3: *I Greci e Roma*, Roma 1994, pp. 85–116, di G. Anderson, *The Second Sophistic. A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire*, London 1993, di E.L. Bowie, *The Importance of Sophists*, YClS XXVII 1982, pp. 29–59, e di R. Popowski, *Druga Sofistyka*, in: Filostrat Starszy, *Obrazy*, trad. R. Popowski, Warszawa 2004, pp. 21–32.

[60] Cfr. Nicosia, *o.c.* (n. 59), p. 93, che chiama la seconda sofistica «un tipo di oratoria defunzionalizzata».

[61] Cfr. ibidem, p. 95: «movimento retorico [...] ha [...] alimentato una vastissima letteratura».

[62] Cfr. Meißner, *o.c.* (n. 52), p. 214: «Plinius beabsichtigt, eine neue litterarische Gattung für einen weiteren Lesekreis zu begründen», p. 216: «Die Naturgeschichte des Plinius soll also einen gemeinsamen Wissenrahmen für Fachleute [...] wie für Nichtspezialister (Kaiser, *otiosi*) darstellen».

[63] Cfr. Meißner, *o.c.* (n. 52), pp. 209–219; cfr., inoltre, Binder, *o.c.* (n. 37), p. 118 su Gellio: «Inhaltlich kann man ihn unter Fachschriftsteller einordnen, aber die Darstellungsmodalitäten weisen auf einen Unterhaltungsschriftsteller».

der committed by the hero in his frenzy. Against the perpetrator's intentions the victims were not those who they were supposed to be. By a mistaken recognition Haracles murdered his own wife and children believing them to be the family of the detested Eurystheus. The sojourn in Argos very strongly stuck in his mind, as H.D.F. Kitto notices (Kitto, *o.c.* [n. 4], p. 244). However, as we may presume, the problem lies not only in the temporary sojourn, but in the hero's whole life that has passed under the pressure of never-ending demands from Eurystheus. The actual ἀναγνώρισις takes place only after the felony, when Heracles recognizes his murdered wife and children. The manner in which the dramatist directed the action is in accordance with what the Stagirite says about the characters who may commit "the deed of horror [...] but done in ignorance, and the tie of kinship or friendship be discovered afterwards" (1453b 32 f.). In his opinion recognition which takes place after the crime "produces a startling effect" (1454a 3).

The last part of Heracles' portrait triptych begins with the moment of his awakening (1089 ff.). We must notice important elements used by Euripides in its composition, which form this part of the portrait and create its fine distinctions. The first element concerns the hero's recovery from madness. The second shows Heracles in a new light as a suffering person. The next displays him not as a hero but as a human being. The last one creates a new allegory about Heracles at the Crossroads. What is very important in our analysis is the fact that in this part we also find the ending of as well as a supplement to the question of Heracles' madness.

Let us survey briefly particular issues. This part of the triptych begins with the hero's slow recovery from the state of frenzy with which he was seized by Hera and her emissaries. The scene of Heracles' recovery from the state of unconsciousness and his realization of the committed murder has been composed in a manner similar to that which will be used later in the description of Agave in the *Bacchae*. The similarities are very clear: in both cases there is the same recovery from the state of frenzy during which the characters committed murder. Furthermore, the recognition of the victims occurs after the recovery from madness. The victims are members of the family: in case of Agave her son, in case of Heracles his wife and children. Finally, both characters regain consciousness with their fathers' help and participation in grief – Cadmus in the *Bacchae*, Amphitryon in the *Madness of Heracles*. Amphitryon faithfully stays with his son while Zeus – as the Chorus sang at the beginning of the play – brought the hero only oceans of misfortunes (1086 f.).

The second important element which appears in this part of the triptych is a new light thrown on the hero as a suffering human being, helpless in his loneliness into which he has fallen: first by becoming totally insane and later through isolation, through the extent of his crime. Due to this seclusion the hero separates himself even from those who still remain with him. Euripides unfolds the picture

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DIE *MEROPIS GE* DES THEOPOMP (*FGrHist* 115 F 75 C) FORSCHUNGSGESCHICHTE (1841–2000) UND INTERPRETATIONSVERSUCH*

Von

MAREK WINIARCZYK

Der Historiker Theopomp von Chios (geb. 378/377)[1] war Verfasser des umfangreichen Werkes Φιλιππικά, das das Bild der Epoche zwischen der Thronbesteigung des Philipp II. von Makedonien im Jahre 359 und dessen Tod im Jahre 336 zeichnete[2]. Es bestand zwar insgesamt aus 58 Büchern, doch einen Großteil davon bildeten verschiedene Exkurse. Aus diesem Grund ließ es der Makedonenkönig Philipp V. (221–179) so kürzen, dass darin lediglich die Geschichte des Philipp II. dargestellt wurde. Diese neue Fassung beanspruchte

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[1] Zum Leben Theopomps siehe z. B. P. Pédech, *Trois historiens méconnus. Théopompe – Duris – Phylarque*, Paris 1989, S. 19–25; M.A. Flower, *Theopompus of Chios. History and Rhetoric in the Fourth Century BC*, Oxford 1994, S. 11–25, der übrigens die von Photius (176 p. 120b–121a) überlieferten biographischen Daten in Frage stellte. Das Todesdatum ist nicht bekannt. Dies geben u. a. F. Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, II, Leipzig ²1892, S. 405; H.R. Breitenbach, *Theopompos*, *KlP* V (1975), Sp. 727; Pédech, *o.c.*, S. 24 zu. Andere Forscher unterbreiten verschiedene einschlägige Hypothesen – Tod nach 323: L. Bertelli, *L'Utopia greca*, in: L. Firpo (ed.), *Storia delle idee politiche, economiche e sociali*, I: *L'antichità classica*, Torino 1982, S. 550; nach 320: K. Meister, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Hellenismus*, Stuttgart–Berlin–Köln 1990, S. 90; idem, *Theopompos*, *DNP* XII 1 (2002), Sp. 396; nach 306: E. Rohde, *Zum griechischen Roman*, RhM XLVIII 1893, S. 112, Anm. 1 (ferner zitiert nach: idem, *Kleine Schriften*, II, Tübingen–Leipzig 1901; dort S. 11, Anm. 1).

[2] Ausgabe der *Philippika*: F. Jacoby, *FGrHist* II B, Berlin 1929 (Nr. 115); Kommentar: *FGrHist* II D, Berlin 1930, S. 351–403. Siehe z. B. Pédech, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 65–246; Flower, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 29–36. Die Struktur des Werkes wird transparent gemacht von: K.J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, III 2, Berlin–Leipzig ²1923, S. 20–24; Pédech, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 200–205. Veröffentlichung des Werkes – nach 324: W. Christ, W. Schmid, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, I, München ⁶1912, S. 532; Meister, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), Sp. 396; „before Theopompus went into exile in about 323/2 BC": Flower, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 36; „schwerlich vor Alexanders Tode": Rohde, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 11, Anm. 1.

their revenge which will change Heracles' greatest victory into his most disastrous catastrophe. Thus, a connection is revealed between man's offence consisting in his attainment of immense success and punishment from the jealous god. Such success produces *koros* – self-complacency of a man who has been too fortunate, and subsequently provokes *hybris*, arrogance in words or in actions or even in thoughts, as E.R. Dodds states. Referring to the purple carpet scene in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, this scholar notices that every manifestation of triumph occasions a disturbing feeling of guilt: *hybris* becomes a *primary evil*, a sin punished by death (Dodds, *o.c.* [n. 1], p. 31).

The messenger's speech delivered by him after running out of the palace is a magnificent piece of literary work which shows the poet's perfectness of style. He starts his account of Heracles' attack of madness with the words: "Dead are the children" (913), a statement striking for its brevity. It may seem that the worst has been exposed. However, with the messenger's every word dramatic tension produced by the horror of the described facts constantly increases. While preparing offerings after the murder of Lycus, Heracles suddenly comes to a standstill. He keeps silent. He is not himself anymore for "with rolling eyes distraught, with bloodshot eye-roots starting from his head, while dripped the slaver down his bearded cheek. Suddenly with a maniac laugh he spake" (931–935) that he intended to postpone the purification offerings until he killed Eurystheus (936 f.). He demands his bow and club in order to set off to Mycenae and destroy the Cyclopean walls (942–946). "Then set forth, speaking of his car the while, who car had none" (947 f.). This grotesque behaviour – as it may seem – is far from humorous when we look at it through the eyes of the terrified servants (Grube, *o.c.* [n. 5], p. 256) who ask: "Doth our lord make us sport, or is he mad?" (952). Meanwhile, Heracles rages through the palace, suddenly stops and says that he has arrived to the next place after travelling the distance only in his sick mind (954–963):

> Then to the men's hall rushing, cried "I have come
> To Nisus' town!" – who stood in his own halls.
> He casts him on the bare floor, and prepares
> To feast: yet, tarrying there but little space,
> He cried, "I go to Isthmus' woodland plains!"
> Then from his body cast his mantle's folds,
> And wrestled with – no man! proclaimed himself
> To himself the victor, cried, "Ye people, hear!" –
> To none! In fancy at Mycenae then
> He stormed against Eurystheus.

The dramatist can easily, as G.M.A. Grube notices, make use of the grotesque, because (as Plato used to say) where a weak man is ridiculous, a strong man is terrifying (Plat. *Phileb.* 49 b–c). And the might of Heracles is

ground. This scene becomes a mythical idea of decline after which a breath-taking silence occurs on the stage.

The Chorus strikes up a song about the hero's horrible crime which surpasses other legendary murders (Grube, *o.c.* [n. 5], p. 258): of the Danaids and of Procne (1017 ff.)[24]. We may see Heracles asleep among the bodies of his murdered wife and children. Afraid not to wake up the madman the terrified Old Men quietly hum their threnody interrupted by Amphitryon's wailing. Their combined softened lamentation becomes an introduction to the apathetic and torpid atmosphere of the following scene[25]. The lack of movement intensely stresses the dramatic expression of the main hero's inward tragedy. Euripides in a masterly manner depicts Heracles' awakening, who, still dazed and half conscious, slowly realizes the immensity of his misfortune. It comes down in streams with every word of his father who informs him of his act. It is therefore with reason that this scene has been described as so shocking[26].

Euripides achieves this uncommon dramatic effect by expertly connecting structural elements of the tragedy. These are *peripeteia* (or reversal of the situation) and recognition which Aristotle assessed as the two elements affecting our feelings the most (*Poet.* 1450a 33) and evoking pity and fear. He defines reversal of the situation as "a change by which the action veers round to its opposite" (1452a 23)[27], and recognition as "a change from ignorance to knowledge [...] between the persons destined by the poet for good or bad fortune" (1452a 30). The Stagirite adds that "the best form of recognition is coincident with Reversal of the Situation" (1452a 32). In the *Hercules Furens peripeteia* is presented in the mur-

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...ὅ οἱ μάλα πολλάκις υἱὸν
τειρόμενον σώεσκον ὑπ' Εὐρυσθῆος ἀέθλων.
ἤτοι ὃ μὲν κλαίεσκε πρὸς οὐρανόν, αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ Ζεὺς
τῷ ἐπαλεξήσουσαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προΐαλλεν.

Heracles speaks the same of Athena's protection in the *Odyssey* (XI 626): Ἑρμείας δέ μ' ἔπεμπεν ἰδὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. In the plays of Euripides the goddess Athena performs a similar function: contrary to Zeus, she has not abandoned Heracles but takes pity on him and floors the madman lest he should commit further murders and suffer further misfortunes.

[24] In the opinion of Mirto (*o.c.* [n. 5], p. 12), the mythical *exempla* mentioned here are of great importance. In conformity with the mythical tradition, they should have produced, when compared with the hero's fate, a kind of consolation. However, the Chorus sings that the present tragedy has surpassed those other misfortunes (1019 f.). Such impossibility of comparing Heracles' massacre with any other mythical paradigm will become later on, according to Mirto, Euripides' characteristic dramatic measure, the aim of which will be to eliminate the consoling function of mythological *exempla*.

[25] A similar device will be used by Euripides in the *Bacchae* in the scene of the abatement of Agave's bacchic *mania* (1259 ff.).

[26] Thus J. Łanowski, in: Eurypides, *Tragedie*, vol. II, Warszawa 1972, p. 203.

[27] S.H. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* [text, tr., comm.], London [4]1907. Further quotations come from this edition.

horrifying (Grube, *o.c.* [n. 5], p. 256), not only in the eyes of the messenger and servants.

However the worst is yet to come. Heracles suddenly notices his children. He grabs his bow and quiver and intends to kill them for he is "thinking to slay Eurystheus' sons" (971). The children run in fear and cling to their mother who cries (974–1000):

> What dost thou?
> Wouldst slay thy sons?
>
> [...]
>
> – He winding round the pillar as wound his son
> In fearful circlings, met him face to face
> And shot him to the heart. Back as he fell,
> His death-gasps dashed the column with redspray.
> Then shouted Hercules, and vaunted thus.
> "One of Eurystheus' fledglings here is slain,
> Dead at my feet, hath paid for his sire's hate!"
> Against the next then aimed his bow, who crouched
> At the altar's base...
>
> [...]
>
> the poor child clasped his knees,
>
> [...]
>
> He rolling savage gorgon-glaring eyes,
> Since the boy stood too near for that fell bow
> Swung back overhead his club, like forging-sledge,
> And shattered all the bones. This second slain,
> He speeds to add to victims twin a third
>
> [...]
>
> And with one arrow laid low wife and child.

This scene with its dramatism, dynamic sequence and terrible picture of human madness has no other comparable (unless we compare it to the act of *sparagmos* committed by Agave and the Bacchants on Pentheus)[22]. The culminating point is reached with a blow, struck by Athena[23] after which raging Heracles falls to the

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[22] In both cases on account of the character's mistake an unexpected turn of events takes place, defined – according to Aristotle's theory – as *peripeteia* which, together with *anagnorisis*, characterizes complicated plots (πεπλεγμένοι) (1452a 10–15*)*. Aristotle defines *peripeteia* as a reverse of circumstance in a direction opposite to the character's intentions in conformity with probability or necessity (1452a 24). The scenes in the *Madness of Heracles* and the *Bacchae* conform with the definition of *peripeteia* given by the Stagirite,. In both tragedies murder is committed by a person seized with frenzy and the victims are not those who were supposed to be.

[23] In mythology Athena is traditionally presented as the protectress of Heracles who, under her father's orders, watches over him. As an example we may refer to the *Iliad* VIII where we read (362–365):

and the symbolic representation of the myth. However, he introduces certain modifications not only in the mythical story itself but also by putting old symbols in a new light – which form the philosophical and psychological dimension of the tragedy. Hera is a necessary (for she appears in the myth) and justifiable element in the story. Her inescapable hatred is bound with Zeus' fatherhood (or, according to Euripides, co-fatherhood) from which Heracles' genius derives. The divine Hera becomes the personification of the gods' envy which, according to the archaic outlook on life (still traced in the works of classical authors, e.g. Sophocles), manifests itself in the fact that the almighty power and wisdom, as E.R. Dodds notes, always restrains man, denying him possibility to rise above his condition. The gods are jealous of every success, every happiness which could have raised for a moment man's mortality above its normal state of finiteness and thus encroach on the prerogatives of gods (Dodds, *o.c.* [n. 1], p. 29). In the *Iliad* the opinion is voiced that heroism does not bring happiness: a similar view is expressed by many other authors, among them Theognis who states that:

> Nor any man that works hard is aware
> whether a good or bad end he shall bear[29].

Also in the *Hercules Furens* the vanity of human plans is accentuated and we read: "violence, lest thou suffer it when God shall haply cause wind to change" (215 f.). Although these words refer to Lycus, the whole tragedy, based on the antithetical manner of exposing facts, constitutes an only too visible exemplification of this truth, especially with regard to Heracles:

> For till he had ended all his bitter toils,
> Fate shielded him, and Father Zeus would not
> That I, or Hera, wrought him ever harm Zeus,
> But, now he hath toiled Eurystheus' labours through,
> Hera will stain him with the blood of him,
> That he shall slay his sins: her will is mine (828–832).
>
> The sheets of murder's sails let out,
> That, when o'er Acheron's ferry his own hand
> In blood hath sped his crown of goodly sons,
> Then may he learn how dread is Hera's wrath,
> And mine, against: else the Gods must wane
> And mortals wax, if he taste not her vengeance (837–842).

Commenting on this view G.M.A. Grube states that in these circumstances Heracles must be punished. For if he is not, if his human nature becomes still

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[29] Thgn. fr. 135 f.: οὐδέ τις ἀνθρώπων ἐργάζεται ἐν φρεσὶν εἰδώς, / ἐς τέλος εἴτ' ἀγαθὸν γίνεται εἴτε κακόν.

frei von Krankheiten[7] und begegneten dem Tod glücklich und zufrieden[8]. Ihr Leben würde von so großer Gerechtigkeit beherrscht[9], dass die Götter sie mit Besuchen beehrten[10]. Die Bewohner von Μάχιμος[11] hingegen seien ein kriegerisches Volk, sie kämen sogar mit Waffen zur Welt. Sie führten ununterbrochen Kriege und eroberten die Nachbarländer, weswegen sie die Herrschaft über viele Völker an sich gerissen hätten, obwohl ihre Zahl zwei Millionen betrage[12]. Manche von ihnen erlägen Krankheiten, doch die meisten fielen in den Kriegen, von Steinen oder Hölzern getroffen, weil Waffen aus Eisen nichts gegen sie auszurichten vermöchten[13]. Eisen stehe bei ihnen übrigens in höherem Ansehen als Gold. Eines Tages hätten sie beschlossen, in unsere Oikumene einzufallen. Daher seien sie zu unzähligen Tausenden in See gestochen und hätten den Okeanos überquert[14]. Sie seien dann bei

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[7] Vgl. die Hyperboreer: Pind. *Pyth.* 10, 42 f.; die Bewohner der Sonneninsel: Diod. II 57, 4; die Inder: Ctesias *l.c.* (Anm. 4); Nearchus (*FGrHist* 133 F 10) ap. Arrian. *Ind.* 15, 12; Plin. *NH* VII 22; die Menschen in Pl. *Phaed.* 111B (ἀνόσους).

[8] Vgl. die Hyperboreer: Mela, *De chorogr.* III 37 „hilares redimiti sertis semet ipsi in pelagus ex certa rupe praecipitant".

[9] Vgl. die Abioi (*Il.* XIII 6) bzw. Gabioi (Aesch. *Prom. Solutus* fr. 196 Radt); die Äthiopen (Nic. Dam. [*FGrHist* 90 F 103m] ap. Stob. *Anth.* IV 2, 25 [IV 157 Hense]); die Hyperboreer (Hellanicus [*FGrHist* 4 F 187b] ap. Cl. Al. *Strom.* I 15, 72, 2; Argippaioi bzw. Orgimpaioi (Hdt. IV 23, 5; Plin. *NH* VI 34 f.; Mela, *De chorogr.* I 117); die Illyrer (Ps.-Scymnus, *Orb. descr.* 422 f. [*GGM* I 214]); die Skythen (Ephorus [*FGrHist* 70 F 42] ap. Strab. VII 3, 9 p. 302); die Issedonen (Hdt. IV 26, 2); die Serer (Mela, *De chorogr.* III 60); die Inder (Ctesias *FGrHist* 688 F 45, 16 ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 72 p. 46a); die Pygmäen (Ctesias F 45, 23); Kynokephaloi (Ctesias F 45, 37. 43). Zu den an den äußersten Enden der Erde lebenden gerechten Völkern siehe J.S. Romm, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*, Princeton 1992, S. 49–60; R. Bichler, *Von der Insel der Seligen zu Platons Staat*, I, Wien–Köln–Weimar 1995 (Alltag und Kultur im Altertum III), S. 16–39; H.-G. Nesselrath, *Herodot und die Enden der Erde*, MH LII 1995, S. 20–44.

[10] Theoxenia: *Il.* I 423 f.; *Od.* V 282 (Äthiopen); *Od.* VII 201–206 (Phäaken); Pind. *Pyth.* 10, 29 ff. (Hyperboreer); Bacch. *Epin.* 3, 58–62 (Hyperboreer); Pl. *Phaed.* 111BC; Arat. *Phaen.* 102 f. (Dike); Catull. 64, 384-396; Ovid. *Fasti* I 247 f. Äußerst fromm seien die Skythen: Ephorus (*FGrHist* 70 F 158) ap. *Peripl. Pont. Eux.* 49; die Panchaier: Euhem. F 3 Winiarczyk ap. Diod. VI 1, 4 = Eus. *Praep. evang.* II 2, 55, und die Atlanter: Dionys. Scyt. (*FGrHist* 32 F 7 = F 6 Rusten) ap. Diod. III 56, 2.

[11] Die Μάχιμοι als eine der sieben Schichten der ägyptischen Gesellschaft: Hdt. II 164, 1; τὸ μάχιμον als Gesellschaftsgruppe: Pl. *Crit.* 110C und Arist. *Polit.* VII 8, 1328 b 21-22.

[12] N.G.Wilson hat in seiner Ausgabe des Aelian (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1997) eine Konjektur des A. Korais (Paris 1805) δισχιλίων μυριάδων (d. h. 20 Millionen) angenommen.

[13] Vgl. den Mythos über Kaineus, z. B. Acusilaus (*FGrHist* 2 F 22) ap. *POxy* 1611 (XIII 133 f.); Palaeph. 10; Ps.-Apollod. *Bibl. epit.* I 22; Plut. *Stoic. absurd. poet. dic.* 1057CD; Hyg. *Fab.* 14, 4). Siehe O. Berthold, *Die Unverwundbarkeit in Sage und Aberglauben der Griechen*, Giessen 1911 (RGVV XI 1), S.17–21.

[14] Einige Forscher übersetzen μυριάσι χιλίαις als „10 Millionen", was weniger plausibel klingt, weil es zwei Millionen Machimoi gegeben haben soll. Versuche, diesen Widerspruch aufzulösen, bei G.J.D. Aalders, *Die Meropes des Theopomp*, Historia XXVII 1978, S. 319, Anm. 11. Vgl. H.-G. Nesselrath, *Theopomps Meropis und Platon: Nachahmung und Parodie*, Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft I 1998, S. 5, Anm. 23.

dass dieser interessant erzählte Mythos mit einem pessimistischen Blick auf das Schicksal des Menschen, der kein Glück finden kann, in Verbindung stehe[63].

3. Kritik bzw. Parodie der Dialoge Platons

Bekanntlich war Theopomps Verhältnis zu Platon durch Feindschaft bestimmt[64]. In seiner Schrift Κατὰ τῆς Πλάτωνος διατριβῆς (F 259 ap. Athen. *Deipnosoph.* XI 118 p. 508 CD) bzw. Καταδρομὴ τῆς Πλάτωνος διατριβῆς (T 48)[65] bezichtigte er ihn des Plagiats von Aristipp, Antisthenes und Bryson von Herakleia und warf sich zum Richter über seine Dialoge auf, indem er sie als ἀχρείους καὶ ψευδεῖς [F 259] bezeichnete. Nicht minder kritisierte er Platons Ideenlehre (F 359 ap. Simplic. *In Arist. Categ.* 56r [*CAG* VIII 216, 16– 19]) und dessen Neigung zur Definierung aller Dinge (F 275 ap. Arrian. *Epict. diatr.* II 17, 5–6).

Wenn sich also bei Theopomp so deutliche Anspielungen auf Platons Dialoge erkennen ließen (siehe oben I 5), so sahen sich manche Forscher zur Auffassung veranlasst, dass er hauptsächlich das Ziel verfolgt haben muss, mit Platon zu wetteifern oder seine Dialoge zu parodieren[66]. Dafür sollen folgende Tatsachen gesprochen haben[67]:

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[63] Gisinger, *o.c.* (Anm. 35), Sp. 1062.

[64] Feindliche Einstellung zu Platon: T 7 (περὶ δὲ Πλάτωνος βλασφημεῖν), T 48, F 259, 275, 294, 295, 359. Siehe z. B. Hirzel, *o.c.* (Anm. 24), S. 360–364; R. Fenk, *Adversarii Platonis quomodo de indole ac moribus eius iudicaverint*, Diss. Jena 1913, S. 56, 68 f.; J. Geffcken, *Antiplatonika*, Hermes LXIV 1929, S. 87–109, bes. S. 90 f.; Pédech, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 29–34; Giannantoni, *SSR* IV, S. 155 f.; Flower, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 37 f.; Natoli, *o.c.* (Anm. 47), S. 58, 148, 150 f. Es sei hinzugefügt, dass bereits Antisthenes einen Dialog gegen Platon u. d. T. Σάθων ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιλέγειν (*SSR* V A 41 ap. Diog. Laert. VI 16) verfasst hatte. Später behaupteten Aristoxenos (fr. 67 Wehrli ap. Diog. Laert. III 37) und Favorinus (fr. 23 Mensching ap. Diog. Laert. III 57), dass Platons *Politeia* nichts als ein Plagiat der Ἀντιλογίαι des Protagoras sei. Der sizilianische Geschichtsschreiber Alkimos (4./3. Jahrhundert) legte Gewicht auf die Feststellung, dass Platons Ideenlehre ein Plagiat von Epicharm sei (*FGrHist* 560 F 6 ap. Diog. Laert. III 9). Siehe z. B. L. Brisson, *Diogène Laërce, 'Vies et doctrines des philosophes illustres', Livre III: Structure et contenu*, *ANRW* II 36, 5 (1992), S. 3646–3651; F. Muccioli, *La letteratura storiografica fra Filisto e Timeo*, in: R. Vattuone (ed.), *Storici greci d'Occidente*, Bologna 2002, S. 147–149, 173 f.

[65] Für die zweite Version des Titels, der wir im Schriftenverzeichnis von Theopomp (um 100 n. Chr.) begegnen, sprach sich F. Jacoby aus. Das Wort διατριβή wird normalerweise als „Schule" übersetzt, doch Flower, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 37, Anm. 48 machte darauf aufmerksam, dass diese Bedeutung erst im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. aufgekommen sei. Daher sollte seiner Meinung nach die Übersetzung „teaching or instruction" lauten.

[66] Daebritz, *o.c.* (Anm. 38), Sp. 271; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *o.c.* (Anm. 24), S. 575; Geffcken, *o.c.* (Anm. 64), S. 90; Alfonsi, *o.c.* (Anm. 35), S. 94; B. Kytzler, *Utopisches Denken und Handeln in der klassischen Antike*, in: R. Villgradter, F. Krey (Hrsgg.), *Der utopische Roman*, Darmstadt 1973, S. 60; Bertelli, *o.c.* (Anm.1), S. 552 f.; Bichler, *o.c.* (Anm. 39), S. 636; Nesselrath, *Theopomps...* (Anm. 14), S. 4–7; B.M. Gauly, *Meropis I*, DNP VIII (2000), Sp. 9. Siehe auch Anm. 61 und 62.

[67] Siehe z. B. Rohde, *Zum griech. Roman* (Anm. 1), S. 12 f.; Gisinger, *o.c.* (Anm. 35), Sp. 1059; Nesselrath, *Theopomps...* (Anm. 14), S. 4–6.

of the mosaics, produced by medieval and Renaissance authors, enable us to reconstruct them partially[43].

The church was built on Galla Placidia's orders; in this way she was paying off the vow made during a sea storm that surprised the ship carrying the empress and her children, Valentinian and Justa Grata Honoria[44]. The exact date of the erection is unknown but it is assumed that the work started soon after 425[45]. Along the lower part of the triumphal arch there was an inscription listing the prerogatives of the saint for whom the church was built and naming the persons on whose behalf Galla Placidia was keeping the vows[46]. Below there were ten portraits of emperors and members of the imperial family, each of them topped with an appropriate inscription:

D CONSTANTINVS	D VALENTINIANVS
D THEODOSIVS	D GRATIANVS
D ARCADIVS	D CONSTANTINVS
D HONORIVS	GRATIANVS NEP
THEODOSIVS NEP	IOANNES NEP[47]

The portraits were divided into symmetrical groups, five on the left and five on the right side; additionally in each group they were placed chronologically. The identification of the portrayed individuals and the criterion of choice remain unclear. However, what is significant is Deichmann's observation that the Emperor Valens is not among the portrayed; on this basis the scholar concluded that the presented rulers were orthodox[48]. The most frequent identification of the individuals is as follows: (the right side) Constantine I, Theodosius I, Arcadius, Honorius, (the left side) Valentinian I, Gratian, Constantius III[49]. The most dubious names are the three names that differed from the others because of the accompanying term *nep*. The names in question are *Gratianvs Nep*, *Ioannes Nep* and *Theodosivs Nep*. W. Ensslin thought that the term *nep* was an abbreviation of

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[43] Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis* 42; *Tractatus de aedificationis et constructionis Ecclesiae Sancti Iohannis Evangelistae de Ravenna*: A: *in dedicatione Ecclesiae Sancti Iohannis Evangelsitae*; B: *item de Dedicatione Ecclesiae Sancti Iohannis Evangelistae* (Pierpaoli 2000: 17–43); Girolamo Rossi, *Storie ravennati* (ed. Pierpaoli 1997)

[44] *CIL* XI 276e; Dessau 818, 1; *ILCV* 20e.

[45] Deichmann 1974: 93 f.; Giordani 1980: 19 f.; Zangara 2000: 277.

[46] *CIL* XI 276b; *ILCV* 20b.

[47] *CIL* 276c; Dessau 818, 3 f.; *ILCV* 20c.

[48] Deichmann 1974: 115.

[49] Bormann (*CIL* XI 276c), Diehl (*ILCV* 20c) and Dessau (818, 3). These editions of inscription were based on the first edition of the work of G. Rossi. But in the second edition of his chronicle the form *Constantinus* was emended to *Constantius*; see Zangara 2000: 285, n. 114.

e la coerenza logica dell'opera, che obbedisce a un'architettura molto complessa[64].

Per tornare, in conclusione, alla definizione della categoria letteraria di poichilografia, dobbiamo considerare il concetto di genere letterario in maniera dinamica e non affatto statica. Diversamente, se riteniamo il genere letterario uno strumento critico descrittivo di natura precettistica ovvero normativa, l'identificazione del genere della poichilografia antica appare veramente problematica se non quasi impossibile. Se invece vogliamo definire il genere letterario come una strategia[65], cioè come un procedimento artistico seguito dall'autore, che si realizza pienamente nel rapporto con il destinatario durante il processo di comunicazione letteraria, esso diviene presentazione e nello stesso tempo trasformazione della realtà, condizionata dai codici culturali e dai modelli precettivi, per mezzo dei quali i destinatari scoprono questa realtà. In tal senso la poichilografia è la matrice ermeneutica[66] che dà alla cerchia dei *civiliter eruditi* di età imperiale[67] la possibilità di esplorare la propria eredità culturale. Essa è dunque un invito ad un viaggio intellettuale nel tempo e nello spazio, uno stimolo ad attivare la propria memoria letteraria di uomini colti. Questo contatto con l'eredità del passato non si realizza nelle reboanti esibizioni degli oratori e neanche nelle discussioni pseudo-erudite tra membri di circoli letterari. La poichilografia diviene un incitamento allo sforzo di anamnesi culturale, rivolto a lettori diligenti[68], che nell'atto intellettuale del recupero del passato possono trovare e precisare la propria identità culturale. I poichilografi, assumendo come vessillo artistico la varietà (*poikilia*), l'eleganza e l'efficacia estetica delle loro opere, si rivelano dunque eccellenti ciceroni nell'esplorazione dello spazio culturale della grecità classica e delle novità del mondo greco-romano*.

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[64] Il procedimento analogo si può notare nel caso dei lettori di romanzi. Su questo problema si veda E.L. Bowie, *The Ancient Readers of the Greek Novels*, in: *The Novel...* (n. 50), pp. 87–106.

[65] Cfr. G.B. Conte, *Genres and Readers. Lucretius. Love Poetry. Pliny's Encyclopedia*, trad. G.W. Most, Baltimore–London 1999, p. 120.

[66] Ibidem, 64.

[67] Cfr. Beall, *o.c.* (n. 34), p. 64.

[68] Per la diversità tra l'emotività delle *performances* orale e l'atto di lettura dei testi scritti si veda D. Wiles, *The Aesthetics of Variety: to poikilon in the Western Tradition*, Pallas LXI 2003, p. 363. Egli oppone «the live communication that is by nature ephemeral» a «the timless monument of the text».

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of man's *pathos*, not a hero's *pathos*. If anything heroic has been left in him then it is the heroic way of facing the rest of his life. The poet creates a new allegory about Heracles at the Crossroads where he gains his greatest victory. He becomes not only a mythical but a human hero, who accepts with all humility the truth: one may only live on, never start one's life from the beginning.

Heracles rejects his divine father when he says to Amphitryon: "for truer father thee I count than Zeus" (1265). Euripides puts forward two main reasons for the hero's choice. First, it is Amphitryon's love and care of Heracles' children and his loyalty to the hero. This stands in a sharp contrast to the attitude of Zeus who, in the opinion of the characters, is φίλος neither to his son nor to his descendants. Not only does he take no care of them, but even does not show any interest in their fate[28]. Heracles' decision resembles the choice made in the *Alcestis* by Admetus who rejects his parents as unworthy on account of their showing no affection for him (they did not want to die for Admetus, which was in his opinion their duty; Mirto, *o.c.* [n. 5], pp.29 f.). The second reason for rejecting Zeus' fatherhood is the hero's belief that the source of his misfortunes lies in the divine part of his nature. The ruin of life – his own and his family's – comes as a result of Hera's rancour raised by his divine origin. The hero speaks of this fact himself (1263 f.): "And Zeus – whoe'er be – begat me foe / To Hera". By rejecting Zeus, Heracles seems to reject the divine part of his nature in which he sees the source of all misfortunes. Thus with the choice of his earthly father the hero metaphorically turns to his human nature – as if the poet himself incited us to stop blaming the gods for Heracles' madness. Perhaps in this metaphor Euripides has hidden a profound meaning and has provided his audience with a guide to proper interpretation of the essence and sources of human frenzy.

The *Hercules Furens* is an Euripidean allegory of human madness in which the poet joins the drama's mythological dimension with the philosophical and psychological. Within the mythological he makes use of traditional language

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[28] Already in the first part of the play Amphitryon utters words of indignation to Zeus when at the altar of Zeus the Saviour Heracles' family supplicates in vain for the god's help. Tragic irony comes to the fore in this scene, especially when one recalls that the altar has been erected by Heracles himself in order to praise his heavenly father. Grube (*o.c.* [n. 5], p. 250) qualifies Amphitryon's anger towards the god as an uncontrolled fury in which he curses Zeus and notices in his blasphemies a striking and tragic might (339–347). – In confrontation with Zeus, Amphitryon's ἀρετή is evidently expressed and, as Mirto (*o.c.* [n. 5], p. 29) aptly points out, his conduct has always been marked by love and loyalty. First he remains with his son's wife and children and later he does not leave the hero until the end. Through this comparison it is utterly clear that due to such behaviour Amphitryon has atoned for the blemish of murdering Electryon, an act that could have effected the fate of his son. As for Zeus, who has brought about Hera's hatred, the god abandoned Heracles as soon as the hero had cleared the earth from pests. Just after the murder, the Chorus expresses a sorrowful accusation against the divine father (1086 f.) who allowed his son to be cast into misfortune. Zeus' attitude proves, as Mirto states (*o.c.* [n. 5], p. 11), not only his lack of affection towards his own son, but even his full hatred, similar to that of Hera.

2. Ein interessant erzählter Mythos

Lediglich M.A. Flower[58] dürfte die Position bezogen haben, dass es das einzige Ziel Theopomps gewesen sei, den Lesern Vergnügen zu bereiten, sie sich durch die Lektüre solcher Schilderungen von kriegerischen und politischen Handlungen entspannen zu lassen und zu zeigen, dass der Verfasser in der Lage sei, durch die Erzählung des Mythos Interesse zu wecken. Die Ansicht wird durch die Aussagen antiker Autoren gestützt. Der Rhetor Theon (1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.) [F 74] hat in diesem Exkurs ein schönes Beispiel für eine mythologische Erzählgeschichte gesehen, und Aelian (*VH* III 18, 9) hat Theopomp als einen δεινὸς μυθολόγος bezeichnet. Dionysios von Halikarnassos (1. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) [T 20] wiederum habe die Geschichte Silens für eine überflüssige und kindische Digression gehalten. Theopomp selbst sagt, dass et Mythoi erzählt[59].

E. Rohde gibt zu, dass Theopomps primäres Ziel darin bestanden haben kann, den Leser zu unterhalten[60], doch im Exkurs selbst sehe er den Wunsch, es mit Platon aufzunehmen und ihn zu überbieten[61]. Dieser Meinung schlossen sich u. a. Edgar Salin (1892–1974), Robert von Pöhlmann (1852–1914) und John Ferguson (1921–1989) an[62]. F. Gisinger hingegen stellte sich auf den Standpunkt,

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[58] Flower, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 216: „[...] to amuse the reader, to provide relief from the narrative of war and politics and assuredly to demonstrate his own virtuosity as a clever story-teller".

[59] ὅτι καὶ μύθους ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐρεῖ, κρεῖττον ἢ ὡς Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Κτησίας καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἰνδικὰ συγγράψαντες (F 381 ap. Strab. I 2, 35 p. 43). Die meisten Strabons Herausgeber setzen nach ἐρεῖ ein Komma, was den Eindruck entstehen lässt, als ob der Text ab κρεῖττον die Meinung des Strabo wiedergäbe. So z. B. A. Meineke, Lipsiae 1852; H.L. Jones, London 1917; F. Sbordone, Roma 1963; W. Aly, Bonn 1968; G. Aujac, Paris 1969. St. Radt, der letzte Strabon-Herausgeber (Göttingen 2002) schreibt folgenden Text: ἐρεῖ (κρεῖττον ἢ ὡς Ἡρόδοτος...), und übersetzt „(und macht es damit besser als Herodot...)". Der Geograph lobt daher Theopomp dafür, dass er kein Hehl daraus macht, Mythen zu erzählen, und tadelt andere Geschichtsschreiber, die dies nicht getan haben. Diese Deutung übernahmen Flower, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 34 f.; A.M. Biraschi, *Teopompo e l'uso del mito. A proposito di FGrHist 115 F 381*, Hermes CXXIV 1996, S. 160–169; G. Ottone, *Per una nuova edizione dei frammenti di Teopompo di Chio: riflessioni su alcune problematiche teoriche e metodologiche*, Ktema XXIX 2004, S.137–142; D. Lenfant (éd.), Ctésias de Cnide: *La Perse, L'Inde, Autres fragments*, Paris 2004, S. 228 (Kommentar zu T 11b). F 381 wird jedoch von den meisten Theopomp-Forschern so interpretiert, dass Theopomp selbst mit Stolz verkündet habe, besser erzählen zu können als Herodot, Ktesias, Hellanikos und die Verfasser der Werke über Indien. So z. B. Müller, *FHG* I, S. 283 (F 29); Rohde, *Zum griech. Roman* (Anm. 1), S. 9; Blass, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 409; Jacoby, o.c. (Anm. 2), S. 358; E. Salin, *Platon und die griechische Utopie*, München–Leipzig 1921, S. 201; R. von Pöhlmann, *Geschichte der sozialen Frage und des Sozialismus in der antiken Welt*, 3. Auflage durchgesehen und um einen Anhang vermehrt von F. Oertel, II, München 1925, S. 285; Momigliano, *o.c.* (Anm. 44), S. 339; R. Laqueur, *Theopompos*, *RE* V A (1934), Sp. 2213; T.S. Brown, *o.c.* (Anm. 51), S. 158, Anm. 90; Bruce, *o.c.* (Anm. 48), S. 101; Meister, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 92; Nesselrath, *Theopomps...* (Anm. 14), S. 3, Anm. 13; von Möllendorff, *o.c.* (Anm. 19), S. 57, Anm. 72.

[60] Rohde, *Zum griech. Roman* (Anm. 1), S. 22: „[...] war ihm aber unfraglich das reine Märchenspiel und dessen vergnügliche Darstellung Hauptaugenmerk".

[61] Ibidem, S. 21; idem, *Der griech. Roman* (Anm. 27), S. 219.

[62] Salin, *o.c.* (Anm. 59), S. 204 f.; von Pöhlmann, *o.c.* (Anm. 59), S. 289; Ferguson, *o.c.* (Anm. 39), S. 123.

more sophisticated while he develops, then humans will be like gods themselves, and gods cease to be superior. Yet man is not like a god (Grube, *o.c.* [n. 5], p. 256). Thus too much success, as E.R. Dodds writes, brings about danger from supernatural beings (Dodds, *o.c.* [n. 1], p. 30). This opinion has been expressed also by Sophocles in the *Antigone* (611–624):

> And through the future, both near and distant,
> as through the past, shall this law prevail:
> nothing that is vast comes to the life of mortals without ruin.
> See how that hope whose wanderings are so wide truly is a benefit to many men,
> but to an equal number it is a false lure of light-headed desires.
> The deception comes to one who is wholly unawares until he burns his foot on a hot fire.
> For with wisdom did someone once reveal the maxim, now famous,
> that evil at one time or another seems good,
> to him whose mind a god leads to ruin[30].

This opinion is connected with *ate* which, as E.R. Dodds states, is not only a punishment leading to physical misfortunes but also a planned intrigue driving the victim to an intellectual or moral mistake. Due to this he activates his own ruin (Dodds, *o.c.* [n. 1], pp. 38 f.). We may find a similar view in Theognis (402 ff.), whereas the orator Lycurgus while quoting in the *Oratio in Leocratem* an iambic fragment "of ancient poets" says: "when gods in anger seek a mortal's harm, first they deprive him of his sanity, and fashion of his mind a baser instrument, that he may have no knowledge when he errs"[31].

This is what occurred in the case of Heracles, an unaware victim of frenzy sent by the gods represented by Hera. She was the one who armed his hand and drove him mad as it has been presented in the mythological dimension of Euripides' drama. Consequently, we should ask what is, in the poet's opinion, Hera's philosophical and psychological significance. H.D.F. Kitto suggests that in the *Madness of Heracles* Hera is as important a figure as Aphrodite and Artemis are in the *Hippolytus* (Kitto, *o.c.* [n. 4], p. 247). This scholar sees in these goddesses two powers complementing one another. However, Euripides does not consider these forces from a moral standpoint as Aeschylus does (in the *Suppliants*), but takes

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[30] The passage has been quoted from: Sophocles. *The Antigone of Sophocles*. Edited with introduction and notes by Sir Richard Jebb, Cambridge 1891.

[31] Lycurgus, *Oratio in Leocratem* 92:

> ὅταν γὰρ ὀργὴ δαιμόνων βλάπτῃ τινά,
> οὐτ' αὐτὸ πρῶτον, ἐξαφαιρεῖται φρενῶν
> τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἐσθλόν, εἰς δὲ τὴν χείρω τρέπει
> γνώμην, ἵν' εἰδῇ μηδὲν ὧν ἁμαρτάνει.

The fragment has been quoted from: Lycurgus. *Minor Attic Orators in Two Volumes*, vol. 2, with an English translation by J.O. Burtt, Cambridge, Mass.–London 1962.

into account a psychological aspect, the significance of which may only be seen in the context of the poet's other works. The gods appear as personifications of inward forces in the human soul. These forces only assume the figures of gods well known in mythology. Rejecting the traditional idea of the gods Euripides writes (1341–1346):

> I deem not that the Gods for spousals crave
> Unhallowed: takes of God's hand manacled
> Ever I scorned, nor ever will believe,
> Nor that one God is born another's lord.
> For God hath need, if God indeed he be,
> Of naught: these be the minstrels' sorry tales[32].

The abandonment of the traditional manner of imagining the gods means that we may also treat the references to Hera as the cause of the hero's misfortunes only as a conventional, mythological explanation of the sources of his madness which came to him from outside as a result of divine intervention. The *ate* of an external demon is only a traditional symbol, an inherited and still functioning idea and, as G. Murray names it, the inherited conglomerate[33]. New types of beliefs and images very seldom eliminate completely the ones that prevailed before: either the older remain as an element – sometimes hidden and unnoticeable – or both exist together, logically incompatible but at the same time accepted by different people or even by the same persons (Dodds, *o.c.* [n. 1], p. 179).

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[32] The quoted words belong to Heracles' statement immediately following Theseus' reflection on the matter of fate and the gods (1311 ff.) where he first blames Hera for what happened to Heracles. Theseus further speaks of the gods' indecent unions, their fight for power and other crimes they have committed if the poets do not lie (1315). Heracles' words in which he states that "it is the creation of poets" (1346) may be understood as an answer given to his friend. He evidently disagrees with Theseus' position which reflects the traditional idea of the gods. Heracles' statement is presented in a tone of philosophical cogitation similar in character to that which we find in *The Trojan Women* in the hymn to Zeus uttered by Hecuba (884–888). The hero's admission which reveals his opinion about the gods and further also about *tyche* (νῦν δ', ὡς ἔοικε, τῇ τύχῃ δουλευτέον, 1357) sounds very sincere and impressive for he expresses it in his resignation and sorrow, that is at the same moment when we could rather expect insolent words full of reproach against the gods. His long exposition, however, suddenly ends with a conventional mythological reference to Hera's anger when he says (1393 f.) that we all are victims of one cruel strike – that of Hera. In the opinion of Kitto this proves that Heracles is an imperfect Platonist (Kitto, o.c. [n. 4], p. 246). However, I consider it to be a return to the conventional religious concepts after a profound cogitation upon the matter of the gods and fate. It is an example of Euripides' peculiar game with conventions and, at the same time, of his sophisticated game with the audience (attested in so many other tragedies, e.g. in the *Alcestis* and the *Helen*). All this was supposed to incline the poet to stray from the mythological level of the tragedy, in particular from the literal perception of the myth, so that the audience could find an allegory full of ambiguous contents in which the proper meaning of the drama is hidden.

[33] G. Murray, *Greek Studies*, Oxford 1946, pp. 66 f.

auch bei Theopomp nachzulesen gewesen sein muss[35]. Eine solche Möglichkeit kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, wiewohl sie im Exzerpt des Aelian nicht angedeutet wird. Es verdient an dieser Stelle hinzugefügt zu werden, dass der betrunkene Silen zunächst von Midas' Gefolgsleuten mit List überwältigt wurde (F 75a ap. Athen. *Deipnos*. II 23 p. 45 C) und erst danach mit dem König ins Gespräch kam und ihm von der Meropis erzählte[36].

Theopomp knüpfte überdies an andere Motive an, die bei verschiedenen Autoren zu finden waren.

1. Es kommen homerische Reminiszenzen zum Vorschein – der die Erde umströmende Okeanos (*Il.* XVIII 607), das Essen der Lotosfrüchte verursacht bei Odysseus' Gefährten Gedächtnisverlust (*Od.* IX 82–104), das Land der Kimmerier erinnert an das Chasma der Meroper (*Od.* XI 5).
2. Von der Tradition des Goldenen Zeitalters war bereits in Hesiods *Werken und Tagen* (117 f.) die Rede, und zahlriche spätere Autoren kamen ebenfalls auf sie zu sprechen[37].
3. Der Hyperboreer-Mythos, nach dem dieses Volk im hohen Norden jenseits des Rhipäischen Gebirges gelebt haben soll[38]. Einige Forscher glaubten, Theopomp sei damit gegen Hekataios von Abdera (4./3. Jahrhundert) zu Felde gezogen, der die die Insel Helixoia bewohnenden Hyperboreer als ein frommes und

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[35] Z. B. Jacoby, *o.c.* (Anm. 2), S. 367; F. Gisinger, *Meropis ge*, *RE* XVI 1 (1931), Sp. 1062; K. Reed, *Theopompus of Chios. History and Oratory in the Fourth Century*, Diss. Berkeley 1976, S. 73–75 (zitiert nach Flower, *o.c.* [Anm. 1], S. 216); Aalders, *o.c.* (Anm. 14), S. 326. Anders L. Alfonsi, *Il mito di Sileno e la VI egloga di Virgilio*, A&R ser. 3, X 1942, S. 95: „[...] Teopompo rielaborando lo stesso mito lo spogliò della significazione profonda che gli aveva dato lo Stagirita e ne fece proprio [...] una bella fiaba [...]"; Flower, *l.c.*; Nesselrath, *Theopomps*... (Anm. 14), S. 3.

[36] Auch in der 6. Ekloge des Vergil bekamen die Schäfer Silen in ihre Gewalt und ließen ihn u. a. von der Weltschöpfung, der Menschheitsgeschichte und verschiedenen Mythen erzählen (31–81). Siehe Serv. ad Verg. *Buc.* 6, 13 (III 1, 66 f. Thilo) [F 75b]: „sane hoc de Sileno non dicitur fictum a Vergilio, sed a Theopompo translatum. is enim apprehensum Silenum a Midae regis pastoribus dicit, crapula madentem et ex ea soporatum; illos dolo adgressos dormientem vinxisse; postea vinculis sponte labentibus liberatum de rebus naturalibus et antiquis Midae interroganti disputavisse".

[37] Zum Goldenen Zeitalter siehe z. B. B. Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit und sinnverwandte Vorstellungen*, Diss. Tübingen 1964, Hildesheim 1967 (Spudasmata XVI); K. Kubusch, *Aurea Saecula: Mythos und Geschichte. Untersuchungen eines Motivs in der antiken Literatur bis Ovid*, Diss. Marburg, Frankfurt/M.–Bern–New York 1986.

[38] Siehe z. B. O. Schroeder, *Hyperboreer*, ARW VIII 1905, S. 69–84; H. Daebritz, *Hyperboreer*, *RE* IX (1914), Sp. 258–279; R. Dion, *La notion d'Hyperboréens: ses vicissitudes au cours de l'Antiquité*, BAGB 1976, S. 143–157; J. Ramin, *Mythologie et géographie*, Paris 1979, S. 55–71; J.S. Romm, *Herodotus and Mythic Geography: The Case of the Hyperboreans*, TAPhA CXIX 1989, S. 97–117; idem, *The Edges*... (Anm. 9), S. 60–67; H.M. Werhahn, *Hyperboreer*, *RAC* XVI (1994), Sp. 967–986; T.P. Bridgman, *Hyperboreans: Myth and History in Celtic-Hellenic Contacts*, New York–London 2005; M. Winiarczyk, *Das Werk Peri Hyperboreon des Hekataios von Abdera (FGrHist 264 F 7–14). Forschungsgeschichte (1848–2006) und Interpretationsversuch*, Eos XCIII 2006 (im Druck).

den Hyperboreern angelangt[15]. Doch als sie erfuhren, dass sie bei uns den Ruf der Glücklichsten genießen, hätten sie voll Verachtung auf sie herabgeblickt, weil sie sie für φαύλως καὶ ταπεινῶς πράττοντας hielten, und seien umgekehrt. Des Weiteren erzählte Silen, dass in vielen großen Städten auf dem Kontinent die Μέροπες zu Hause seien[16]. Es hat sich jedoch nur die Beschreibung eines Ortes mit dem Namen Ἄνοστος (ohne Wiederkehr) erhalten, der am äußersten Ende ihres Landes gelegen haben soll. Er gleiche einem Schlund (χάσμα)[17], der von einem dichten, rötlichen Dunst[18] umgeben sei. Zwei Flüsse – Ἡδονή und Λύπη – durchflössen den Ort[19]. Überragt seien sie von Bäumen von der Größe hoher Platanen. Ihre Früchte hätten außergewöhnliche Eigenschaften. Wer die Frucht von einem Baum am Lype-Ufer koste, müsse so viele Tränen vergießen, dass er daran sterbe. Wer aber die Frucht von einem Baum am Hedone-Ufer koste, vergesse seine bisherigen Begierden[20], werde immer jünger, bis er schließlich gänzlich vom Erdboden verschwände[21].

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[15] Zu den Hyperboreern siehe unten I 3 und Anm. 38.

[16] Das Adjektiv μέροπες („artikuliert sprechend" bzw. „mit Sprache begabt") war das Beiwort der ἄνθρωποι. Siehe z. B. *Il.* I 250; Hes. *Op.* 109. 143; *Hymn. Hom. in Cer.* 310; Pind. *Isthm.* 6, 46. Das Substantiv μέροπες hingegen bedeutete so viel wie ἄνθρωποι. Siehe z. B. Aesch. *Suppl.* 1018; Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1263; Apoll. Rhod. IV 536; Hesych. s.v. μέροπες; Suda s.v. μέροπες (III 365 Adler); *Schol. Vat. (cod. C) in Dionys. Thracis artem grammaticam* 12, in: *Grammatici Graeci*, I 3, ed. Hilgard, Lipsiae 1901, S. 236, 21. Meroper wurden auch die Bewohner der Insel Kos genannt (z. B. *Hymn. Hom. Apoll.* 42). Die Insel hieß früher Meropis (Thuc. VIII 41, 2; Paus. VI 14, 12), weil ihr Herrscher den Namen Merops trug. Siehe A. Modrze, *Merope oder Meropis*, *RE* XV 1 (1931), Sp. 1055 f.; B.gr. Kruse, *Merops*, ibidem, Sp. 1065 f.; R. Arena, *Per una interpretazione dei termini „Meropes" e „Chaoi"*, RIL CVIII 1974, S. 417–437; B.M. Gauly, *Meropis 2*, *DNP* VIII (2000), Sp. 9.

[17] Χάσμα in der Erde: Pl. *Phaed.* 111CE; *Rep.* X 614C.

[18] Vgl. *Od.* XI 15 (Beschreibung des Landes der Kimmerier); Luc. *Ver. hist.* II 12.

[19] Siehe Plin. *NH* XXXI 19: „Theophrastus (fr. 219 Fortenbaugh et al.) Marsyae fontem in Phrygia ad Celaenarum oppidum saxa egerere. Non procul ab eo duo sunt fontes Claeon et Gelon ab effectu Graecorum nominum dicti" (Jacoby, *o.c.* [Anm. 2], S. 367 nimmt Abhängigkeit von Theopomp an). Mela *De chorogr.* III 102 berichtet von zwei Quellen auf den Fortunatae insulae: „alterum qui gustavere, risu solvuntur in mortem; ita adfectis remedium est ex altero bibere" (Rohde, *o.c.* [Anm. 1], S. 24, Anm. 1: „Möglich, dass hier schon Theopomps Erzählung benutzt und umgebildet ist"). *Lamellae Orphicae* I A 1–4 Pugliese Carratelli = F 474–477 Bernabé (Quellen der Mnemosyne und an der weißen Zypresse). Luc. *Ver. hist.* II 16 (Quellen des Lachens und der Lust). Paus. IX 39, 8 (Quellen der Lethe und Mnemosyne im Heiligtum des Trophonios in Lebadeia; s. P. Bonnechere, *Trophonios de Lébadée. Cultes er mythes d'une cité béotienne au mirroir de la mentalité antique*, Leiden–Boston 2003, S. 284–291). Vgl. Ἀμέλης ποταμός (Pl. *Rep.* X 621 A) und Λήθης ποταμός (Pl. *Rep.* X 621 C). Zum Fluss Λήθη siehe E. Rohde, *Psyche. Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube bei den Griechen*, I, Tübingen [9-10]1925, S. 316, Anm. 2. Zum Einfluss Theopomps auf Lukian s. A. Georgiadou, D.H.J. Larmour, *Lucian's Science Fiction Novel True Histories. Interpretation and Commentary*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 1998 (Mnemosyne suppl. CLXXIX), S. 34–36; P. von Möllendorff, *Auf der Suche nach der verlogenen Wahrheit. Lukians „Wahre Geschichten"*, Tübingen 2000 (Classica Monacensia XXI), S. 499–502.

[20] Hom. *Od.* IX 82–104 schreibt, dass das Essen der Lotosfrüchte das Gedächtnis von Odysseus' Reisegefährten gelöscht habe.

[21] Über das Rückwärtsleben und das Verschwinden von der Erdoberfläche schreibt Platon (*Politic.* 270D ff.).

nur noch 16 Bücher (T 31 ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 176 p. 121a). In seiner ursprünglichen Form existierte das Werk freilich noch im 9. Jahrhundert (bis dahin waren nämlich nur 5 Bücher verloren gegangen), als es von Photios gelesen wurde. Das 8. Buch und der Anfang des 9. Buches enthielten zahlreiche Wundergeschichten, weswegen sie bereits in der Antike Θαυμάσια (F 64–77)[3] genannt worden waren. So wird darin z. B. vom Leben des Epimenides von Kreta, Pherekydes von Syros und Pythagoras sowie über die Religion der Magier und den iranischen Dualismus berichtet. Darüber hinaus legt der Geschichtsschreiber dem Quell- und Waldhalbgott Silen die Erzählung von einem riesengroßen und unbekannten Festland jenseits des die Inseln Europa, Asien und Libyen umströmenden Okeanos in den Mund. Dieser Kontinent sei unbegrenzt (ἄπειρος), und die Menschen dort würden doppelt so lange leben[4] und seien doppelt so groß wie die Bewohner unserer Oikumene[5]. Es gäbe dort zahlreiche große Städte, und die dort geltenden Gesetze seien ganz anders als bei uns. Besonders zwei Städte zeichneten sich durch ihre Größe aus. Die Bewohner von Εὐσεβής führten eine friedliche Existenz und lebten im Überfluss. Sie bräuchten weder den Acker zu pflügen noch sei die Aussaat ihr Werk[6]. Sie seien

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[3] Serv. ad Verg. *Buc.* 6, 26 (III 1, 68 Thilo) [F 75b] „haec autem omnia de Sileno a Theopompo in eo libro qui Thaumasia appellatur, conscripta sunt". Cf. Diog. Laert. I 115 (F 69); I 117 (F 71). Nach Apollon. *Hist. mirab.* 1 p. 43 Keller (F 67b) habe Theopomp τὰ κατὰ τόπους θαυμάσια geschildert. Einige Forscher glaubten allerdings, die Θαυμάσια seien eine Sammlung von Exzerpten aus dem Gesamtwerk Theopomps. So A. Westermann, *ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ. Scriptores rerum mirabilium Graeci* (...), Brunsvigae–Londini 1839, S. LII; Christ, Schmid, *o.c.* (Anm. 2), S. 531; K. Ziegler, *Paradoxographoi*, *RE* XVIII 3 (1949), Sp. 1145; A. Giannini, *Studi sulla paradossografia greca, II. Da Callimaco all'età imperiale: la letteratura paradossografica*, Acme XVII 1964, S. 102–104. Kritische Stimmen zu dieser Hypothese beispielsweise in: C. Müller, *FHG* I, Paris 1841, S. LXX; M.R. Christ, *Theopompus and Herodotus. A Reassessment*, CQ XLIII 1993, S. 49, Anm. 11. F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, I, Leipzig 1891, S. 478, wiederum vermutete, dass ein anonymer Autor alle im 8. Buch der *Philippika* nachzulesenden Wundergeschichten zusammengestellt habe.

[4] 150 Jahre lebten die Bewohner der Sonneninsel (Iamb. ap. Diod. II 57, 4) und Taprobane (Ps.-Callisth. III 7). Die Lebenserwartung der Inder soll: a) 140 Jahre: Ctesias (*FGrHist* 688 F 45, 32) ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 72 p. 47a; Isigonus (*FHG* IV 435, fr. 3) ap. Plin. *NH* VII 27. b) 130 Jahre: Ctesias *l.c.*; Onesicrit. (*FGrHist* 134) F 24 ap. Strab. XV 1, 34 und F 11 ap. Plin. *NH* VII 28. c) 120 Jahre: Ctesias *l.c.* betragen haben. Das Alter von 120 Jahren hätten auch die Äthiopen erreicht: Hdt. III 23, 1. Nach Strabo (XV 1, 57 p. 711) lebten die Hyperboreer 1000 Jahre. Vgl. P. Schneider, *L'Éthiopie et l'Inde. Interférences et confusions aux extrémités du monde antique (VIII^e siècle avant J.-C. – VI^e siècle après J.-C.)*, Rome 2004, S. 100–103.

[5] Die Hyperboreer (sechs Ellen groß): Hecataeus (*FGrHist* 264 F 12) ap. Ael. *NA* XI 1; die Bewohner der Sonneninsel (vier Ellen groß): Iambulus ap. Diod. II 56, 2; die Inder („corpora hominum cubitorum quinum et binarum palmarum"): Onesicritus (*FGrHist* 134 F 11) ap. Plin. *NH* VII 28; die Bewohner von Taprobane: Mart. Cap. *De nuptiis* VI 697. Vgl. Schneider, *o.c.* (Anm. 4), S. 103–105.

[6] Vgl. z. B. Hom. *Od.* IX 108 f.; Hes. *Op.* 117 f.; Pl. *Politic.* 272A; Dicaearch. (F 49 Wehrli) ap. Porph. *De abst.* IV 2; Diod. II 57, 1; Verg. *Buc.* 4, 18. 29; *Georg.* I 128; Ovid. *Met.* I 101; Plut. *Sert.* 8.

erfahren nichts über ihre Gesetze, Sitten und Gebräuche, Beschäftigungen und ihr Götterpantheon.

Es ist nicht ganz klar, warum das 8. Buch der Φιλιππικά verschiedene *mirabilia* enthält. Felix Jacoby (1876–1959) äußerte die Vermutung[28], dass die Zusammenführung von so vielen Wundergeschichten den Leser zu entspannen und die Bedeutung des Sieges Philipps II. in der Schlacht auf dem Krokosfeld in Thessalien während des Heiligen Krieges im Jahre 352 unterstreichen sollte, wovon der Historiker auch im 9. Buch (F 78–84) geschrieben haben soll. Die Forscher interessierte die Frage, wieso denn überhaupt im 8. Buch von einem Treffen Silens mit Midas die Rede ist. Erwin Rohde (1845–1898) vertrat hierzu die Ansicht[29], Theopomp habe Silens Epiphanie in Makedonien erwähnt (cf. F 74b) und es daher für richtig gehalten, die Geschichte zu erzählen. Daran anknüpfend, formulierte Heinz-Günther Nesselrath die Vermutung[30], Theopomp habe von den diplomatischen Aktivitäten der Akademie Platons bei Hofe Philipps II. berichtet und sei dabei auf den Gedanken gekommen, zwischen der Ankunft des Gesandten der Akademie und der Erscheinung von Silen bei Midas eine satirische Parallele zu ziehen. Für diese Mutmaßung lässt sich natürlich kein Beweis erbringen.

Die Geschichte von der Begegnung des Midas mit Silen kann bereits bei früheren Autoren gefunden werden. Nach Herodot (VIII 138, 3) soll sie in Makedonien stattgefunden haben[31], Xenophon (*Anab.* I 2, 13) wiederum ließ sie in Phrygien spielen[32]. Sie wurde außerdem von Aristoteles im Dialog Εὔδημος ἢ Περὶ ψυχῆς angesprochen[33]. Das Kernstück von Silens Weisheit war die Behauptung, für den Menschen wäre es am besten, nie geboren zu werden, und wenn er schon zur Welt gekommen sei, dann sollte er möglichst schnell sterben[34]. Einige Forscher waren der Auffassung, dass diese pessimistische Einsicht Silens

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[28] Jacoby, *o.c.* (Anm. 2), S. 365. Vgl. A.E. Wardman, *Myth in Greek Historiography*, Historia IX 1960, S. 406 f. und Giannini, *o.c.* (Anm.3), S. 104.

[29] Rhode, *Zum griech. Roman* (Anm. 1), S. 9, Anm. 2. Vgl. Dion. Hal. *Ep. ad Pomp.* 6, 11 (F 74b).

[30] Nesselrath, *Theopomps...* (Anm. 14), S. 7.

[31] Ähnlich z. B. Dion. Hal. *l.c.*

[32] Ähnlich Paus. I 4, 5; Ovid. *Met.* XI 90–99.

[33] Arist. fr. 44 Rose = fr. 65 Gigon ap. Ps.-Plut. *Consol. ad Apollon.* 27 p. 115BE.

[34] Siehe Theognis 425–428; Bacch. *Epin.* 5, 160–164; Alcidamas, Μουσεῖον ap. Stob. IV 52, 22 (V 1077 f. Hense); Eurip. fr. 285, 1 f. Kannicht; Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1224–1227; Alexis, *Mandragorizomene* fr. 145, 14–16 Kassel–Austin (*PCG* II 103); Menand. *Sent.* 583; Cic. *Tusc. disp.* I 114; *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 7 p. 326 West. Zum antiken Pessimismus siehe z. B. H. Diels, *Der antike Pessimismus*, Berlin 1921 (Schule und Leben I); W. Nestle, *Der Pessimismus und seine Überwindung bei den Griechen*, NJA 1921, S. 81–97 (= idem, *Griechische Weltanschauung in ihrer Bedeutung für die Gegenwart*, Stuttgart 1946, S. 177–199); O. Regenbogen, *Die Geschichte von Solon und Krösus. Eine Studie zur Geistesgeschichte des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts*, Das humanistische Gymnasium XLI 1930, S. 1–20, bes. S. 6–10; J.C. Opstelten, *Sophocles and Greek Pessimism*, Amsterdam 1952.

Lebens unter Kronos' Herrschaft, also im Goldenen Zeitalter zu finden (271 C–272 B). Für umstritten halte ich hingegen all die Anspielungen, die H.-G. Nesselrath entdeckt zu haben glaubt[43]. Er vermutet, dass Silen, der θεοῦ μεν ἀφανέστερος τὴν φύσιν, ἀνθρώπου δε κρείττων, εἰ καὶ ἀθάνατος ἦν, an die Dämonenvorstellung im *Symposion* (202 DE) erinnere, wo Platon schreibt: καὶ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξύ ἐστι θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ.

6. Rudolf Hirzel (1846–1917) stand auf dem Standpunkt[44], dass Theopomp ein Anhänger der Philosophenschule des Antisthenes († nach 366 v. Chr.) gewesen sei und daher für die kynischen Ideale geworben habe, z. B. indem er das Leben der Eusebeis schilderte. Der Forscher suchte seine Hypothese mit folgenden Argumenten zu untermauern:
   a) Von den Sokratikern habe Theopomp nur Antisthenes geschätzt (*SSR* V A 22 = *FGrHist* 115 F 295 ap. Diog. Laert. VI 14), den er persönlich kennen gelernt hatte[45].
   b) Theopomp habe von Antisthenes die Kritik der Neigung Platons, alles zu definieren, und seiner Ideenlehre übernommen (siehe unten II 3).
   c) Antisthenes habe in seine Werke, z. B. Ἡρακλῆς ἢ Μίδας (*SSR* V A 41 ap. Diog. Laert. VI 18), Mythen einfließen lassen.
   d) Die Kyniker hätten Laster angeprangert und Menschen und Ereignisse unter Zuhilfenahme moralischer Wertmaßstäbe beurteilt.
   e) Theopomp sei „auch das Etymologisieren der Kyniker nicht fremd" (S. 385).
   f) Die Sprache der Kyniker habe den Stil von Theopomp beeinflusst – „die Nachlässigkeit in den Worten" und „die Neigung zu bitterem, dabei niedrigem kräftigen Ausdruck oder gar die Gewalt, die er mit Wortwitzen der Sprache anthut" (S. 385 f.).

Hirzels Argumente wurden von E. Rohde[46] einer überzeugenden Kritik unterzogen, der darzulegen wusste, dass Theopomp an die Schriften von

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[43] Nesselrath, *Theopomps...* (Anm. 14), S. 4 f.

[44] Hirzel, *o.c.* (Anm. 24), S. 380–386. Den kynischen Einfluss auf Theopomp erörterten später G. Murray, *Theopompus or the Cynic as Historian* [1928], in: idem, *Greek Studies*, Oxford 1946, S. 149–170 (Meropis findet aber keine Erwähnung); A. Momigliano, *Studi sulla storiografia greca del IV secolo a.C.*, RFIC LIX 1931, S. 344 f.; Lana, *o.c.* (Anm. 42), S. 291–294; Pédech, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 182 und 234–241; J.L. Moles, *The Cynics and Politics*, in: A. Laks, M. Schofield (eds), *Justice and Generosity. Proceedings of the Sixth Symposium Hellenisticum*, Cambridge 1995, S. 147. Pédech gibt allerdings zu (S. 237), dass Theopomp kein Kyniker „de stricte obédience" gewesen sei. Auch Lana vermutet (S. 293), dass der Historiker Kyniker nur in einem gewissen Sinne gewesen sei. Außerdem ist er der Ansicht, dass Theopomp „non concepí la sua opera storica come mezzo di diffusione e di propaganda di dottrine ciniche" (S. 294). Es hat den Anschein, als hätten diese Forscher vergessen, dass für Kyniker nur solche Personen gehalten werden können, die einen κυνικὸς βίος führen.

[45] Wahrscheinlicher ist die Überzeugung, dass Theopomp kein Schüler von Antisthenes war, obwohl er die Schriften des Philosophen gekannt und bewundert haben muss. So z. B. Pédech, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 33. 235; Flower, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 94–97.

[46] Rohde, *Zum griech. Roman* (Anm. 1), S. 13–25.

An interesting instance of literary influence is provided by Pliny's letter IV 11, giving a detailed description of the execution of the chief Vestal Cornelia under Domitian. As A.N. Sherwin-White rightly says in his commentary, "the whole letter is a remarkable example of special pleading"[26], since the writer's aim is to present Cornelia as an innocent victim of the emperor's cruelty. That is the reason why Pliny concentrates on the woman's gesture of rejecting the hand of the executioner who wanted to help her down into her underground cell. This gesture is indicative, according to Pliny, of the Vestal's *novissima sanctitas* and, it should be inferred, of her innocence of the guilt of unchastity[27]. It is in this context that the writer quotes (in Greek) some words from the account of Polyxena's death in Euripides' *Hecuba*[28]. The implication is obvious: Cornelia, like Polyxena, dies a virgin; her noble death, like that of Polyxena, stigmatizes the cruelty of the man responsible for this perversion of justice.

We have reviewed some features characteristic of the accounts of deaths noting that they appear in narratives involving either men or women, with no difference resulting from a dying person's sex. One feature typical of the descriptions of female deaths only deserves to be discussed briefly at the end of this paper. Valerius Maximus speaking about the suicide of Lucretia believes that it was by some malicious error of fortune that her manly spirit was placed in a womanly body, *muliebre corpus*[29]. The courageous behaviour of women is something difficult to account for[30], but it can be put to good literary effect in texts dealing with noble death. We have already had a glimpse of it in the Cean matron narrative discussed above: there is a marked contrast here between the tranquil

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[26] A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny. A Social and Historical Commentary*, Oxford 1966, p. 282. For Pliny's account of Cornelia's execution, see H.W. Traub, *Pliny's Treatment of History in Epistolary Form*, TAPhA LXXXVI 1955, pp. 213–217.

[27] However, Pliny does not want to be explicit. Note his careful wording of the scene: "cumque ei manum carnifex daret, aversata est et resiluit foedumque contactum *quasi* plane a casto puroque corpore novissima sanctitate reiecit...". *Novissima sanctitas* is ambiguous: either Cornelia sticks, in the last moment of her life, to what characterized her whole period of service as a Vestal virgin or she reminds herself, in the face of death, of something which she previously discarded.

[28] Eur. *Hec*. 569: πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ἔσχεν εὐσχήμων πεσεῖν. This line is referred to by Appian in his narrative of the murder of Caesar (*Civ*. II 493), see K. Sauer, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Todes in der griechisch-römischen Geschichtsschreibung*, Diss. Frankfurt a. M. 1930, p. 43.

[29] VI 1, 1: "Dux Romanae pudicitiae Lucretia, cuius virilis animus maligno errore fortunae muliebre corpus sortitus est...". For the idea that curageous death is something unwomanly, see e.g. Hor. *Carm*. I 37, 21 ff. on Cleopatra "quae generosius / perire quaerens nec muliebriter / expavit ensem nec..." (cf. Vell. II 87, 1: "inlata aspide, in morsu sane eius expers muliebris metus, spiritum reddidit"); Iustin. XIV 6, 11 on Olympias "non refugientem gladium sed nec vulnera aut muliebriter vociferantem, sed virorum fortium more pro gloria veteris prosapiae morti succumbentem".

[30] The same applies for effeminate men, see Tac. *Ann*. XIII 30, 2 on Caninius Rebilus "haud creditus sufficere ad constantiam sumendae mortis, ob libidines muliebriter infamis".

allerdings hervorgehoben, dass im Exkurs kein einziges Wort über die politische Verfassung oder die gesellschaftliche Ordnung verloren wird. Es fehlen zudem jegliche Spuren einer Gesellschaftskritik oder wenigstens des Versuchs, eine bessere Gesellschaftsordnung darzustellen. Theopomp schreibt nur davon, dass die Machimoi, Eusebeis und Meropes in den Poleis lebten und Gesetze hätten, die „im Widerspruch zu den bei uns geltenden stehen" (Ael. *VH* III 18, 3). Daher verwundert die Ansicht von Italo Lana, der im Exkurs eine neue Phase der Entwicklung der politischen Utopie erkannt haben will, in der nicht mehr die Polis, sondern die ganze Menschheit im Mittelpunkt stehe[71].

Silens Geschichte ist keineswegs eine politische Utopie, also ein Versuch, eine bessere Gesellschaft zu entwerfen. Eine solche Schlussfolgerung erlaubt das Testimonium des Apollodoros von Athen (2. Jahrhundert v. Chr.) [siehe Anm. 22], der die Μεροπὶς γῆ mit der Κιμμερὶς πόλις und der Παγχαία γῆ, also mit den Schriften Περὶ Ὑπερβορέων des Hekataios von Abdera und Ἱερὰ Ἀναγραφή (*Heilige Geschichte*) des Euhemeros von Messene (4./3. Jahrhundert), vergleicht. Bei den Genannten handelt sich um Autoren, die die am Rande der damaligen Welt gelegenen Inseln – Helixoia im hohen Norden jenseits des Rhipäischen Gebirges sowie Panchaia und Hiera im Indischen Ozean – beschrieben haben. Ich habe an anderer Stelle versucht aufzuzeigen, dass es gar nicht Euhemeros' Absicht war, eine politische Utopie zu Papier zu bringen, als er die Gesellschaft der Panchaier dargestellt hatte[72]. Ein solches Ziel verfolgte Iambulos, der ein auf sieben, auch im Indischen Ozean gelegenen Inseln lebendes Volk vorführte, ebenfalls nicht[73].

5. Eine Interpretation des Meropis-Exkurses fällt nicht leicht, denn verschiedene Elemente der Silen-Geschichte lassen sich nicht zu einem homogenen Ganzen verschmelzen.

a) Der von den kriegerischen Machimoi gegründete Staat.

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[71] Lana, *o.c.* (Anm. 42), S. 294–296: „Comincia cosí, con Teopompo, una nuova fase dell'utopia politica; non piú la polis è il suo oggetto, ma l'umanità intera" (S. 296). Zwar stellte von Pöhlmann, *o.c.* (Anm. 59), S. 291 Überlegungen darüber an, ob Theopomp es nicht vorgehabt hätte, die Landesutopie an die Stelle der Stadtstaatsutopie treten zu lassen, doch er verwarf schließlich diese Hypothese. Flower, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 214, Anm. 2 und Nesselrath, *Theopomps...* (Anm. 14), S. 3, Anm. 11 legen Lana die Behauptung in den Mund, Theopomp habe das Ideal der Rückkehr zur Natur auf seine Fahne geschrieben. Zwar kommt der italienische Forscher einige Mal darauf zu sprechen (S. 290, 291, 293, 294), aber auf Seite 293 schreibt er über „le manchevolezze e insufficienze anche della vita dei primitivi". Den Hauptgedanken von Lanas Aufsatz spiegelt das oben angeführte Zitat wider.

[72] M. Winiarczyk, *Euhemeros von Messene. Leben, Werk und Nachwirkung*, München–Leipzig 2002 (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde CLVII), S. 107–118.

[73] M. Winiarczyk, *Das Werk des Jambulos. Forschungsgeschichte (1550–1988) und Interpretationsversuch*, RhM CXL 1997, S. 128–153, bes. S. 141–146.

I. ERHALTUNGSZUSTAND, FORM UND EXKURSQUELLEN

Dieser Exkurs wird von acht antiken Autoren erwähnt[22], doch das umfangreichste Exzerpt ist in der *Varia historia* (III 18 = F 75c) aus der Feder des Aelian (um 170–nach 230)[23] überliefert worden. Er gab hierbei nicht das ganze Gespräch zwischen Silen und Midas wieder, sondern er beschränkte sich nur auf den Exkurs über die Meroper. Er führte ihn allerdings nicht *in extenso* an, vielmehr lieferte er nur eine Zusammenfassung davon[24]. Zudem kürzte ein anonymer Epitomator den Text der *Varia historia* ab III 3 bzw. III 13[25]. Dies ist natürlich nicht ohne weitreichende Folgen geblieben. Zum einen liegt uns der Originaltext nicht vor[26]. Zum anderen sind wir nicht im Stande, die ursprüngliche Fassung der Geschichte aus dem Werk des Theopomp zu rekonstruieren, da uns nur unzusammenhängende Exzerpte zur Verfügung stehen[27]. Darüber hinaus können wir zahlreiche Fragen nicht beantworten. Überfallen die Machimoi die Meroper? Wie ist die Einstellung der Meroper zu den Eusebeis?

Wenn also Apollodoros (siehe Anm. 22) behauptet, der Exkurs berichte über das Land der Meroper (Μεροπὶς γῆ), so scheint die Annahme, Theopomp habe gerade diesem Volk die meiste Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, korrekt. Doch bei Aelian kann nur über den am Rande des Landes der Meroper gelegenen seltsamen Ort Anostos nachgelesen werden. Er verliert aber kein einziges Wort über die Meroper selbst, die in vielen großen Städten gelebt haben sollen. Wir

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[22] Apollodorus (*FGrHist* 244 F 157a) ap. Strab. VII 3, 6 p. 299; Dion. Hal. *Ep. ad Pomp.* 6, 11; Theon, *Progymn.* 2 (II 66 Spengel); Tert. *Adv. Hermog.* 25; *De pallio* 2; *De anima* 2; Athen. II 23 p. 45 C; Ael. *VH* 3, 18; Serv. ad Verg. *Buc.* 6, 13. 26. F. Jacoby, *Hekataios aus Abdera*, *RE* VI (1912), Sp. 2755 (anders in *FGrHist* IIIa, Leiden 1943, S. 52 „nach Eratosthenes in der geschichte der geographie?"); P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford 1972, I S. 293, II S. 454 f., Anm. 830 und Aalders, *o.c.* (Anm. 14), S. 323, Anm. 30 mutmaßten, dass Apollodoros die Ansichten des Eratosthenes wiederholt habe, doch diese Hypothese wurde von J.S. Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion*, Opladen 1982 (Papyrologica Coloniensia X), S. 113 f., abgelehnt.

[23] Siehe J.F. Kindstrand, *Claudius Aelianus und sein Werk*, *ANRW* II 34, 4 (1998), S. 2954–2996.

[24] Siehe z. B. R. Hirzel, *Zur Charakteristik Theopomps*, RhM XLVII 1892, S. 384, Anm. 2: „ein dürftiges Excerpt"; U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Platon*, I, Berlin ²1920, S. 575: „ein allzu unzulängliches Exzerpt"; Jacoby, *FGrHist* II D, S. 367; Aalders, *o.c.* (Anm. 14), S. 318.

[25] Originaltext der *Varia historia* bis III 2: M.R. Dilts, *Claudii Aeliani Varia historia*, Leipzig 1974, S. XI; Kindstrand, *o.c.* (Anm. 23), S. 2969; bis III 12: W. Sontheimer, *Ailianos*, *KlP* I (1964), Sp. 172. Eine Kompromisslösung bot E. Bowie, *Claudius Ailianos*, *DNP* I (1996), Sp. 327: „vollständig bis zw. 3, 3 und 3, 12, danach in Exzerpten" an.

[26] Der Standpunkt von F. Jacoby, der den Passus III 18, 4 f. für authentisch hält und ihn in den *FGrHist* durch Sperrdruck hervorgehoben hat, scheint unberechtigt. Die Richtigkeit dieser Auffassung lässt sich nicht beweisen.

[27] E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, Darmstadt ⁵1974, S. 222 gibt zu, die vorhandenen Teile der Erzählung Silens „geben offenbar nur eine sehr unvollständige und unklare Vorstellung von dem Ganzen".

by Valerius as "summae dignitatis femina" conforms to the island's widespread custom of committing suicide in old age, a practice attested also by Strabo and Aelian (Str. X p. 486C; Ael. *VH* III 37). She approaches the proconsul to ask his permission to kill herself and it is clear that she wants him to be a spectator of her death. The act itself is indeed presented as a spectacle with the audience playing almost as significant a role as the protagonist. However, the audience is not homogenous and it is possible to distinguish within it three different units. First, there is the proconsul whom the dying woman addresses in her last speech. Then, the family who receives her admonitions and accepts her inheritance. The third unit consists of other onlookers and includes the author himself. At the end of his account Valerius focuses on this group and presents its reaction to what is happening, singling out stupefaction and tears.

Valerius' description of the Cean woman's end may be regarded as paradigmatic of other death and especially suicide narratives in ancient writers, narratives, significantly, relating to either women or men. Some characteristic features are worth mentioning. Firstly, a person's decision to die is not only firm but also a result of reflection, not a sudden impulse. It should be emphasized that suicide in antiquity is seldom regarded as an act of despair to which one rushes in a state of great emotional turmoil switching off all rational consideration; rather, it is usually viewed as, to use the Tacitean phrase, *mors diu meditata*[10]. We may recall Pliny's treatment of the death of Arria and his insistence that her "consilium pulcherrimae mortis non subitum fuisse" (*Epist.* III 16, 9). This attitude is best epitomized by Corellius Rufus' (one of Pliny's friends) retort to a doctor trying to persuade him to take some food (Corellius has decided to starve himself): Κέκρικα, "I've made up my mind" (ibidem, I 12, 10).

Secondly, the thorough description of a dying person's last moments, focusing on details which, at first sight, seem unimportant and irrelevant to the main subject. In our case we have for instance the information that the old woman was reclining in a couch adorned more splendidly than usual and that when addressing the proconsul she leaned on her elbow. This concentration on details serves, I think, a double purpose. It adds, firstly, to the vividness of description or, to use the Greek term, its ἐνάργεια. We should bear in mind that ancient theorists of style, Demetrius and Quintilian for example, attached much importance to this aspect of the literary presentation of things and events[11]. But there is something

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[10] See the stimulating chapter of this title in M. Griffin, *Seneca. A Philosopher in Politics*, Oxford 1976, pp. 367–388 and the same writer's *Philosophy, Cato, and Roman Suicide*, G&R XXXIII 1986, pp. 64–77, 192–202. For philosophical estimates of suicide see also van Hooff, *o.c.* (n. 6), pp. 181–197 and the classic treatment by R. Hirzel, *Der Selbstmord*, ARW XI 1908, pp. 75–104, 243–284, 417–476.

[11] Demetr. *De eloc.* 219; Quint. *Inst.* VIII 3, 61 ff. See G. Zanker, *Enargeia in the Ancient Criticism of Poetry*, RhM CXXIV 1981, pp. 297–311; A.D. Walker, *Enargeia and the Spectator in Greek Historiography*, TAPhA CXXIII 1993, pp. 353–377.

Lype[51]. Auch das Wort Μέροπες bedeutet „Sterbliche“ (siehe Anm. 16). Die Gegensätze Machimos / Eusebes und Hedone / Lype ließen einen tieferen, allgemeinmenschlichen Sinn erkennen: Das menschliche Leben sei durch diese Gegenbegriffe determiniert[52]. Die Geschichte des abgebrochenen Kriegszugs der Machimoi gegen unsere Oikumene dürfe zur Aufklärung darüber gedient haben, in welch jämmerlichen Zuständen die Menschen lebten, wenn selbst die glücklichen Hyperboreer sich die Verachtung der Machimoi zugezogen haben sollen. Der Anostos-Passus atme ebenfalls den Geist eines tiefen Pessimismus. Theopomp habe, so Aalders, das Bild der *condition humaine* zeichnen wollen, das an den archaischen Pessimismus anknüpfe.

b) Kritik an Philipp II

G.S. Shrimpton meldete sich in dieser Frage zweimal zu Wort. Zunächst brachte er seine Annahme zum Ausdruck, dass die Machimoi eine allegorische Darstellung von Philipp II. und seinen Getreuen seien und die Eusebeis das Gute verkörperten, das zu vernichten der makedonische Herrscher trachte[53]. Später modifizierte er seinen Standpunkt, indem er behauptete, Theopomp habe nicht nur Philipp selbst angegriffen, sondern auch die makedonische Eroberungspolitik an den Pranger gestellt[54].

c) kynisches Gerechtigkeits- und Frömmigkeitsideal

R. Hirzel und P. Pédech glaubten, das Leben der Eusebeis spiegele das kynische Gerechtigkeits- und Frömmigkeitsideal wider[55]. Doch bereits E. Rohde[56] zog diese Behauptung zu Recht in Zweifel, indem er die Tatsache unterstrich, dass der Lebensstil der Eusebeis traditionelle Elemente der Beschreibung des Goldenen Zeitalters enthalte, die auch bei anderen Autoren, darunter auch den Kynikern, vorkämen. Ferner suche man in der Darstellung der Gesellschaft der Eusebeis vergeblich nach Arbeit oder Anstrengung (πόνος), was den traditionellen kynischen Werten entspreche[57].

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[51] So bereits T.S. Brown, *Onesicritus. A Study in Hellenistic Historiography*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1949 (University of California Publications in History XXXIX), S. 65.

[52] Pédech, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 181 vertrat die Auffassung, dass die Antithesen an den iranischen Dualismus von Gut und Böse denken ließen.

[53] G.S. Shrimpton, *Theopompus' Treatment of Philip in the Philippica*, Phoenix XXXI 1977, S. 129, Anm. 13. Vgl. J. Dillery, *Xenophon and the History of his Times*, London –New York 1995, S. 48.

[54] G.S. Shrimpton, *Theopompus the Historian*, Montreal et al. 1991, S. 144.

[55] Hirzel, *o.c.* (Anm. 24), S. 380; Pédech, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 182.

[56] Rohde, *Zum griech. Roman* (Anm. 1), S. 21 f., Anm. 3.

[57] Unbegründet scheint mir die Bemerkung von Nesselrath, *Theopomps...* (Anm. 14), S. 5, Anm. 24, die Erwähnung der Gerechtigkeit wirke „innerhalb der übrigen durchweg schlaraffenländlichen Komponenten von Eusebes fast wie ein Fremdkörper“. Die Gerechtigkeit war ja ein fester Bestandteil der Gesellschaft des Goldenen Zeitalters, und die polis Eusebes darf keinesfalls dem in der altattischen Komödie vorfindbaren Schlaraffenland gleichgesetzt werden.

Pliny's letters show that after the end of the Flavian dynasty there was some interest in Rome in writing accounts of deaths, especially the violent deaths of political opponents of former emperors. He mentions two special works devoted to this subject, *Exitus inlustrium virorum* by Titinius Capito (VIII 12, 4 f.) and *Exitus occisorum aut relegatorum a Nerone* by G. Fannius (V 5, 3)[3]. Pliny himself seems to have dabbled in this kind of literature if it may be inferred from his letter on the Vestal Cornelia to which we shall return later. Obviously, the literary interest in the way people end their lives is by no means restricted to that period. Descriptions of death, sometimes highly detailed and emotive, may be found in a great number of ancient texts, beginning (predictably enough) with Homer's *Iliad*. Valerius Maximus, writing under Tiberius, devotes two chapters of his *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* to various examples of death: first he lists eighteen instances of people who passed away in an unusual manner and then comes to four other instances of those who, faced with death, were unable to discard their craving for life, *cupiditas vitae* (IX 12 f.). Introducing his first chapter Valerius notes that it is especially the first and the last day of human life that defines its true meaning, for it is most important under which auspices one's life begins and in what way it ends. "Ideoque eum demum felicem fuisse iudicamus cui et accipere lucem prospere et reddere placide contingit"[4]. What is remarkable about eighteen instances of *mortes non vulgares* which follow is that only one of them concerns not men but women. These are two anonymous mothers of the soldiers fighting in the battle of Lake Trasimene who died of joy having discovered that their sons had not been killed, an episode taken by the Tiberian writer from Livy (XXII 7, 13). Valerius characteristically comments: "Quas dolor non exstinxerat, laetitia consumpsit. Sed minus miror, quod mulieres"[5].

The author of the *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* is not alone in giving much greater emphasis to male deaths. In his book on suicide in the ancient world the

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P.R. Taylor, *Valerius' Flavian Argonautica*, CQ XLIV 1994, pp. 233 f. (both Thrasea and Seneca are taken into consideration by R. Preiswerk, *Zeitgeschichtliches bei Valerius Flaccus*, Philologus LXXXIX 1934, pp. 439 f.). Speaking about similarities between Alcimede and Arria the Younger (Thrasea's wife) Taylor writes that "unfortunately, at the point at which Thrasea begs her to live in order to look after their daughter, the archetype of Tacitus' *Annals* break off, denying the modern world precise details of her fate" (234). Apparently, she missed such passages as Plin. *Epist*. III 11, 3; VII 19, 5. 9; IX 13, 3. 5.

[3] For this kind of writing in general, see A. Ronconi, *Exitus illustrium virorum*, *RAC* VI (1966), coll. 1258–1268 (and his earlier paper of the same title in SIFC XVII 1940, pp. 3–32).

[4] It is hardly accidental that this introduction immediately follows the famous Sejanus passage of the work (IX 11, *ext*. 4). The prefect's fall stands in sharp contrast to the deaths of those who were allowed to "lucem [...] reddere placide". I am not convinced by J. Bellemore, *When Did Valerius Maximus Write the "Dicta et Facta Memorabilia"?*, Antichthon XXIII 1989, pp. 78 f., who thinks that the passage refers to Libo Drusus.

[5] His next example (IX 12, 3) makes it clear that what is perhaps excusable in the case of women should be regarded as unacceptable in the case of men, especially those of high standing.

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DEATH AND THE MAIDEN (OR MATRON): SOME FEMALE DEMISES IN EARLY IMPERIAL WRITERS*

By

JAKUB PIGOŃ

"Paete, non dolet" – "It causes no pain, Paetus". These words were spoken by Arria, the wife of the condemned consular Aulus Caecina Paetus, stabbing herself with a sword in AD 42 to encourage her husband to choose this noble way of dying. The dictum became famous as early as the times of Martial and Pliny the Younger (or perhaps even Persius who is said to have composed a short poem to commemorate the lady). Martial wrote an epigram giving his own, somewhat verbose version of Arria's last utterance (I 13)[1], whereas Pliny in one of his letters (III 16) goes out of his way to show that the woman did not act on the spur of the moment and that she was adamant in her decision to die long before it was finally fulfilled: "manifestum est ei consilium pulcherrimae mortis non subitum fuisse". It is possible that Arria's death left another trace in the literature of this period. In the first book of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* there is an extended description of the last moments of Aeson and Alcimede, the parents of Jason. Alcimede who chooses to die together with her husband and calls herself the partner of his fate, *casus comes* (I 763), may be regarded as a mythological counterpart of the Roman matron[2].

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[1] "Casta suo gladium cum traderet Arria Paeto, / quem de visceribus strinxerat ipsa suis, / 'Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci non dolet', inquit, / 'sed tu quod facies, hoc mihi, Paete, dolet'".

[2] But note that in Valerius Alcimede and her husband die by drinking the blood of a sacrificial bull (cf. Apollod. I 9, 27), although there existed an alternative version, attested by Diodorus (IV 50, 2), according to which Jason's mother kills herself with a sword. It seems that if Valerius really had intended to model her demise on that of Arria, he would have chosen that version. For the hypothesis that Valerius' account alludes to the end of Thrasea Paetus (Caecina's son-in-law) in AD 66, see

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THEODOSIUS, A SON OF ATHAULF AND GALLA PLACIDIA

By

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The marriage of Galla Placidia and Athaulf, contracted in January of 414 at Narbonne, is an event frequently and thoroughly discussed in every work devoted to the history of the Goths or to the late period of the Roman Empire. The famous speech made by Athaulf to one of the citizens of Narbonne, in which he allegedly presented his vision of the future of the Visigoths, was even the subject of a comprehensive monograph[1]. A lot of the discussions were devoted to the child born of this marriage, named, meaningfully, Theodosius. Researchers usually emphasise the importance of choosing this particular name, seeing it as an emanation of a political programme. It has also been said that in the future Theodosius would be able to strive for imperial power in the West and even become the symbol of a Romano–Visigothic rapprochement[2]. It is worth remembering that such opinions are put forward with regard to a child who was directly mentioned by only one author, Olympiodorus of Thebes, and the only pieces of information he gave, as may be deduced on the basis of the summary of his work made by Photius in the ninth century, were the birth of the boy, the name he was given, his early death and burial in a church not far from Barcelona[3].

Galla Placidia, as Theodosius I's daughter and the step-sister of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, was a rightful member of the imperial family[4]. As early as 400 there were rumours saying that the influential *magister militum* Stilicho was planning to marry his son Eucherius to Placidia, seeing this as an opportu-

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1 Marchetta 1987.

2 Burns 1994: 259; Scharf 1996: 14.

3 Olymp. fr. 26, 1 (Blockley).

4 *CIL* XV 7153.

Ben diversi sono invece i rapporti della poichilografia con la letteratura periegetica. Nel secondo secolo d. C., gli autori di racconti di viaggio (periegesi e peripli) tendevano a includere nelle loro opere notizie e curiosità inscrivibili nel genere poichilografico. Il tentativo di collegare la tradizione poichilografica con la geografia si può ravvisare nella *Periegesi della Grecia* di Pausania, il quale dichiara (I 26, 4) il proprio intento di offrire *panta ta Hellenika*. Pausania prendeva dunque posizione sulla tradizione periegetica: rinunciando allo schema delle descrizioni monografiche[43] delle varie regioni ed allo stesso tempo inclinando ad ampliare la propria opera con un'abbondanza di *excursus* di vari tipi, egli si avvicina alla maniera compositiva nonché all'orientamento estetico dei poichilografi[44]. Inoltre, la divisione dei dati in *theoremata* e *logoi* (I 39, 3), cioè in informazioni ottenute dalla conoscenza diretta dei luoghi e in informazioni desunte da fonti scritte, richiama alla mente il legame che unisce il vasto e vario materiale presentato da Ateneo poichilografo nei *Deipnosofisti*. La somiglianza fra le strategie espositive usate dai due autori è sorprendente: come Pausania non solo ha visitato certi luoghi, ma ha anche consultato le fonti ad essi relative, così, nel testo di Ateneo, i convitati di Larense non solo vedono con i propri occhi le pietanze e le degustano, ma cercano anche i testi – parole, frasi, passi interi – che le descrivono[45].

L'accumulazione di temi nell'ambito delle opere poichilografiche conferisce a queste opere un alto valore informativo, ragion per cui si tende di solito a collocarle all'interno del genere enciclopedico[46]. La situazione non è però così semplice. Mentre le enciclopedie vere e proprie sono testi di consultazione (*reference books*), destinati esclusivamente ad una lettura selettiva[47], nelle opere dei poichilografi la cura è posta nel riunire e ordinare, secondo un certo criterio, non più alfabetico, estratti di vari libri, mescolandoli con interventi dell'autore

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[43] Cfr. C. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1985, p. 3.

[44] Da rifiutare è l'opinione di Habicht, *o.c.* (n. 43), p. 139, che cercava la diversità principale tra Pausania e i poichilografi nel fatto che «he has one theme». Ma a questo proposito è opportuno ricordare che anche le opere di Ateneo oppure di Eliano hanno il tema principale (il simposio, il carattere degli uomini) presentato con grande varietà di mezzi. Per una trattazione opposta delle problematiche relative al rapporto di Pausania con i poichilografi si vedano C. Robert, *Pausanias als Schriftsteller. Studien und Beobachtungen*, Berlin 1909, p. 8, che chiama l'opera di Pausania παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία, e U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Homerische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1884, p. 339.

[45] Su questo tema si veda A. Lukinovich, *The Play of Reflection between Literary Form and the Sympotic Theme in the 'Deipnosophistae' of Athenaeus*, in: *Sympotica. A Symposium on the Symposion*, ed. O. Murray, Oxford 1990, pp. 263–271.

[46] Cfr. Fuchs, *o.c.* (n. 2), pp. 504–515. Sull'idea d'enciclopedismo nell'antichità si vedano T. Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History. The Empire of the Encyclopaedia*, Oxford 2004, pp. 1–25; S. Carey, *Pliny's Catalogue of Culture. Art and Empire in the Natural History*, Oxford 2003, pp. 17–40.

[47] Cfr. R. Collison, *Encyclopaedias: Their History throughout the Ages*, New York–London 1966, p. 25. Egli dice in riferimento all'opera di Plinio: «This vast work [...] could never have been designed for continous reading» e la considera un libro «for consultation rather than for continued reading».

b) Das glückliche Leben der frommen Eusebeis, die weder erkranken noch arbeiten müssen.
c) Die Beschreibung des Ortes Anostos, der am äußersten Ende des Landes der Meroper liegt.
d) Das negative Urteil der Machimoi über die Lebensweise der Hyperboreer.

Es scheint mir, dass die bisherigen Interpretationen von verschiedenartigen Fehlern behaftet sind.

a) Die Forscher verabsolutieren jeweils ein Element des Exkurses und behaupten, die wahren Intentionen Theopomps erkannt zu haben. Die Einen setzen den Akzent auf das Leben der Eusebeis (z. B. Nestle 1956, Lana, Pédech) oder der Machimoi (Shrimpton). Die Anderen wiederum konzentrieren sich auf den geheimnisvollen Ort Anostos (Nestle 1938, Aalders).
b) Der Begriff Utopie wird in verschiedenen Bedeutungen gebraucht, was zu Missverständnissen und unergiebigen Polemiken führt.
c) Die Behauptung, Theopomp habe nur ein einziges Ziel vor Augen gehabt, und zwar entweder die platonischen Dialoge zu kritisieren bzw. zu parodieren (siehe oben II 3) oder dem Leser Vergnügen zu bereiten (Flower) oder aber eine allegorische Darstellung des menschlichen Schicksals zu liefern (siehe oben II 1a). Meiner Ansicht nach ist die Alternative – entweder Unterhaltung oder ernsthafte Zielsetzung – falsch gestellt.

An die Deutung des Meropis-Exkurses muss man, glaube ich, anders herangehen, indem man in die Materie tiefer eindringt und drei Interpretationsebenen auseinander hält. Vor allem wollte Theopomp einen interessanten Mythos erzählen, der den Leser gewinnen und die Erzählkunst des Autors unter Beweis stellen würde (siehe oben II 2). Die Silen-Erzählung wetteifert mit Platon und parodiert seine Dialoge (siehe oben II 3). Ferner bin ich der Auffassung, dass der Originalmythos, in dem Abstrakta, Antithesen, der Ort Anostos und die Kritik an den Hyperboreern, die als die glücklichsten Menschen in unserer Oikumene gelten, vorkommen, einen tieferen Sinn haben muss. Es kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass es hier um eine Allegorie des menschlichen Schicksals geht, die in die pessimistische Lebensweisheit Silens eingebettet ist.

III. RESÜMEE

Von dem langen Gespräch zwischen Silen und Midas, das im 8. Buch der *Philippika* enthalten ist, hat sich nur der Meropis-Exkurs erhalten. Doch Aelian führte ihn nicht in voller Länge an, sondern er legte eine Kurzfassung vor. Ein späterer, anonymer Epitomator des Werkes Aelians nahm noch weitere Kürzungen vor. Daher liegt uns die Originalfassung nicht mehr vor, und wir sind nicht in

two deeds, one most shameful, another excellent, deserved among posterity as much glory as disgrace"[21].

My sixth and last point concerns literary tradition which is likely to leave its mark upon the narratives of deaths. It might be supposed that the Valerian passage, being an eye-witness account, is immune from such external influence. The truth is different, however. The simple fact that the old lady departs from life by means of hemlock invites the writer to use Plato's description of the demise of Socrates in the *Phaedo* as his intertext. Two details in the Roman author's narrative are worth mentioning. Firstly, tears shed by the audience watching the spectacle of death (including the narrator himself) resemble those shed by the attendants of Socrates (including Phaedo who is the narrator here; 117C f.). Secondly, and more importantly, the old lady's comments on the effect of poison seizing one by one various parts of her body are an obvious literary borrowing from the Platonic Socrates (117E–118 A)[22]. We may note in passing that in Plato himself the account is hardly realistic: in fact, the symptoms of hemlock-poisoning are much nastier than those described in the *Phaedo*[23].

Among deaths whose accounts serve as models for early imperial writers we should single out the end of Cato the Younger and, on mythological level, that of Priam, famously depicted by Vergil in the second book of the *Aeneid*[24]. There are also some paradigmatic accounts of female deaths, notably that of Cleopatra and that of Dido (and it is possible that the former influenced the latter)[25].

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[21] *Hist.* II 50, 1: "duobus facinoribus, altero flagitiosissimo, altero egregio, tantundem apud posteros meruit bonae famae quantum malae". Plut. *Otho* 18, 2 is slightly different (see Klingner, *o.c.* [n. 20], p. 25).

[22] See Römer, *o.c.* (n. 9), p. 65 (who also notes some other links between the two accounts).

[23] See C. Gill, *The Death of Socrates*, CQ XXIII 1973, pp. 25–28. His conclusion is that "the vivid and detailed picture of this death is not that of a man reproducing an actual event in every particular, but of an author selecting and embellishing those features which will illuminate, in visual form, the intelligible meaning of his argument" (i.e., a philosophical point on the purification of the *psyche* from the body). It may be noted, however, that the reliability of both accounts (Plato's and Valerius') is defended by Müller, *o.c.* (n. 9), p. 134, who believes, citing medical authorities, that the poison in question was not *cicuta virosa* (as assumed by Gill), but *conium maculatum*, the effects of which are very similar to the picture we find in both the *Phaedo* and the *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*.

[24] See A.M. Bowie, *The Death of Priam: Allegory and History in the Aeneid*, CQ XL 1990, pp. 470–481; Ash, *o.c.* (n. 16), pp. 79–83 (Vergil's Priam, Lucan's Pompey and Tacitus' Galba). For the Priam~Pompey association, see E. Narducci, *La provvidenza crudele. Lucano e la distruzione dei miti augustei*, Pisa 1979, pp. 43–49.

[25] So, e.g., W.A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid*, Oxford 1969, pp. 95 f. Compare Verg. *Aen.* VIII 709: "pallentem morte futura" with IV 644: "pallida morte futura". For Cleopatra's death in literature, see I. Becher, *Das Bild der Kleopatra in der griechischen und lateinischen Literatur*, Berlin 1966, pp. 151–173. For a recent treatment of Dido's suicide, see Hill, *o.c.* (n. 6), pp. 105–120.

a) Bei Theopomp werde der Mythos von Silen, bei Platon von ägyptischen Priestern erzählt.
b) Das Festland liege jenseits des Okeanos, Atlantis sei hingegen eine Insel, die untergegangen ist.
c) Die Größe und die Grenzen des Kontinents seien nicht bestimmt, bei Platon handle es sich um eine konkrete Insel.
d) Unsere Oikumene bestehe aus lauter Inseln, und das echte Festland befinde sich jenseits des Okeanos.
e) Die Atlanter hätten große Eroberungszüge veranstaltet, und die Expedition der Machimoi, die unsere Oikumene mit militärischer Gewalt unter ihre Herrschaft bringen wollten, sei bereits bei den Hyperboreern gescheitert.
f) Die Zahl der Machimoi (zwei Millionen, siehe Anm. 14) habe die Zahl der Atlanter weit überstiegen.

4. Utopie

Viele Forscher gehen davon aus, dass der Meropis-Exkurs eine Utopie ist bzw. gewisse Eigenschaften einer Utopie erkennen lässt[68]. In den meisten Fällen erklären sie jedoch nicht, was sie unter dem Begriff „Utopie" verstehen[69]. Ähnlich gehen diejenigen vor, die anderer Meinung sind[70]. Die Einen nehmen stillschweigend an, die Utopie sei etwas Unwirkliches, Märchenhaftes oder Phantastisches, die Anderen dagegen denken an eine politische Utopie. Es sei

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[68] Rohde, *Zum griech. Roman* (Anm. 1), S. 10; Gisinger, *o.c.* (Anm. 35), Sp. 1058; Nestle, *o.c.* (Anm. 49), S. 64; K. v. Fritz, *The Historian Theopompos*, American Historical Review XLVI 1940/1941, S. 779: „the fanciful utopian tale"; T.S. Brown, *o.c.* (Anm. 51), S. 64; Lana, *o.c.* (Anm. 42), passim; P. Treves, *L'utopia di Teopompo e la cronologia compositiva delle Storie filippiche*, in: idem, *Il mito di Alessandro e la Roma d'Augusto*, Milano 1953, S. 90–93 (*non vidi*); W. Nestle, *Griechische Geistesgeschichte von Homer bis Lukian in ihrer Entfaltung vom mythischen zum rationalen Denken dargestellt*, Stuttgart ²1956, S. 341: „die Utopie eines Schlaraffenlandes"; W.R. Connor, *History without Heroes: Theopompus' Treatment of Philip of Macedon*, GRBS VIII 1967, S. 153, Anm. 35: „Theopompus' Utopianism"; Fraser, *o.c.* (Anm. 22), II S. 830: „land [...] with the typical features of Utopia"; M. Vercruysse, *Theopompus, FGrHist 115 F 75. Een griekse Utopie*, Kleio X 1980, S. 178–193 (*non vidi*); L. Lacroix, *Pays légendaires et transferts miraculeux dans les traditions de la Grèce ancienne*, L'Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et de Science Morales et Politiques, 5ᵉ série, LXIX 1983, S. 104: „les utopies géographiques" (Meropis und Panchaia); R. Lane Fox, *Theopompus of Chios and the Greek World, 411–322 BC*, in: J. Boardmann, C.E. Vaphopoulou-Richardson (eds), *Chios. A Conference at the Homereion in Chios 1984*, Oxford 1986, S. 114: „the Utopian myth"; Pédech, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 179; Shrimpton, *o.c.* (Anm. 54), S. 128: „creates his own Utopia".

[69] Zu den verschiedenen Definitionen des Wortes „Utopia" siehe M. Winiarczyk, *Zur Problematik der antiken Utopie*, Eos LXXXIX 2002, S. 91–116, bes. S. 94–102. Dort stelle ich die politische Utopie utopischen Motiven gegenüber.

[70] Salin, *o.c.* (Anm. 59), S. 204: „ein schönes Märchen"; von Pöhlmann, *o.c.* (Anm. 59), S. 285, 289, 291; W.E. Brown, *o.c.* (Anm. 48), S. 59; Aalders, *o.c.* (Anm. 14), S. 322 f., 326; Flower, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 214–217; Gauly, *o.c.* (Anm. 66), Sp. 9.

un impianto enciclopedico. Questa interdisciplinarità si manifestava nella produzione di opere monografiche da parte di autori molto prolifici, la cui ampiezza di interessi si esprimeva nel gran numero di libri dedicati a vari problemi singoli[12]. I Σύμμικτα συμποτικά e i Συμποτικὰ ὑπομνήματα di Aristosseno di Taranto[13], scritti nel IV secolo a. C., sono segni premonitori del boom poichilografico datato intorno al II secolo d. C[14]. Bisogna ricordare che l'epoca alessandrina appare l'età di maggiore importanza per lo sviluppo della *poikilographia*. L'alessandrinismo, con la sua tendenza allo sfoggio di erudizione, con la sua predilezione programmatica per la varietà tematica e stilistica, per la commistione di generi e per la ricerca di cose eccezionali o straordinarie, appare in stretta relazione con la rapidissima diffusione della letteratura poichilografica nel mondo tardoantico. Un trattato di Callimaco, il cui titolo non si può ricostruire con sicurezza[15], era una raccolta di varie tematiche raggruppate secondo determinati criteri. Dai pochi frammenti in nostro possesso possiamo dedurre che quest'opera doveva già possedere tutte le caratteristiche rappresentative della *poikilographia* imperiale[16].

Nelle pagine che seguono tenteremo di riconoscere le leggi tematiche, compositive e funzionali osservate dagli autori di opere poichilografiche. Una volta definiti tutti questi elementi, sarà possibile stabilire il genere cui le opere appartengono.

Sul carattere e lo statuto di questa categoria letteraria possiamo ricavare varie notizie dai testi dei poichilografi stessi. Soprattutto le prefazioni e gli epiloghi ci forniscono numerose informazioni di primaria importanza sulla natura di questi testi e sulle tecniche di lavoro dei loro autori. Sulla base delle opere pervenuteci di Claudio Eliano, Aulo Gellio e Plinio il Vecchio, possiamo constatare che in età imperiale tre elementi essenziali caratterizzavano la produzione letteraria da noi chiamata *poikilographia*. Essi sono: (a) grande varietà tematica, (b) spiccato carattere compilatorio, (c) unità artistica, ovvero coerente struttura compositiva dell'opera. Il riconoscimento, nei singoli casi, di tratti compositivi originali potrebbe suscitare sorpresa, tanto più che spesso questo elemento sfugge ai critici moderni, i quali considerano i poichilografi semplici collettori del sapere

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[12] Cfr. ibidem: «prose authors [...] frequently crossed boundaries in their literary output. Thus Aristotle could write the *Poetics*, on the nature of drama, in addition to philosophical, political, and scientific work».

[13] Frr. 128 sqq. Wehrli.

[14] Il *Peplos* a volte attribuito ad Aristotele, è in realtà un'opera anonima datata intorno alla fine dell'età ellenistica; cfr. Regenbogen, *o.c.* (n. 9), col. 322.

[15] Frr. 407–411 Pfeiffer. Secondo la Suda il saggio di Callimaco è stato intitolato θαυμάτων τῶν εἰς ἁπᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κατὰ τόπους ὄντων συναγωγή.

[16] Cfr. M.M. Sassi, *Mirabilia*, in: *Lo spazio*... (n. 9), vol. I, tomo 2: *L'ellenismo*, Roma 1993, p. 458.

der Lage, den ursprünglichen Wortlaut von Silens Erzählung wiederherzustellen. Vor allem wissen wir nichts über die Meroper, die jedoch eine wichtige Rolle gespielt haben müssen, denn laut Apollodoros von Athen referierte der Exkurs gerade über ihr Land und Leben. Theopomp knüpfte an die Tradition des Goldenen Zeitalters, den Hyperboreer-Mythos und die Idealisierung der Naturvölker an. Außerdem fallen darin nicht wenige Reminiszenzen an die Werke vieler anderer Autoren (u. a. Homer, Hesiod, Herodot, Platon) auf.

Ich halte die Deutung des Silen-Mythos als Utopie und kynisches Gerechtigkeits- und Frömmigkeitsideal für falsch. Zu einseitig gerät meiner Meinung nach der Interpretationsversuch, der Sinn der Anführung des Mythos sei lediglich das Erzählen eines interessanten Mythos, die Kritik bzw. Parodie Platons oder die Allegorie des menschlichen Schicksals. Der Mythos muss auf drei Ebenen ausgelegt werden. In erster Linie hatte Theopomp es darauf abgesehen, einen spannenden mythischen Stoff vorzuführen, der den Leser in seinen Bann schlagen und ihn die Erzählkunst des Autors bewundern lassen würde. Des weiteren polemisierte Theopomp gegen die Dialoge Platons, indem er die dort aufgegriffenen und behandelten Motive kritisierte und parodierte. Es kann sein, dass sich der Mythos auch allegorisch explizieren lässt, weil darin Abstrakta, Antithesen, der Ort Anostos und die Kritik der glücklichen Hyperboreer vorzufinden sind. Vielleicht geht es hier darum, das menschliche Schicksal im Geiste des archaischen Pessimismus zu verdeutlichen. Erst die Berücksichtigung der drei verschiedenen Interpretationsebenen wird uns in den Stand setzen, die wahren Intentionen Theopomps zu erkennen.

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dedicavano allo studio dell'eredità culturale della Grecia antica. In modo simile si comporta Plinio, quando contrappone il titolo della propria opera a quelli di altre opere greche e latine («Me multum festiviorem excogitasse titulum»: *praef.* 26)[25], e intitola la sua opera *Naturalis historia*: con un arguto giuoco di parole, il titolo sembrerebbe suggerire che l'interesse dell'autore sia rivolto alla ricerca storica, mentre l'opera pliniana si concentra in realtà sui vari aspetti e fenomeni del mondo naturale[26]. Tra i titoli greci elencati dai due scrittori troviamo i seguenti: Πέπλος, Ἀμαλθείας Κέρας, Κηρία (Κηρίον)[27], Λειμών, Ἀνθηρά, Εὑρήματα, Λύχνοι, Στρωματεῖς, Πανδέκται, Ἑλικών, Προβλήματα, Ἐγχειρίδια[28], Παραξιφίδες, Πράγματα, Σχέδιον. Tra quelli latini troviamo: *Silvae*, *Antiquarum lectiones, Historia naturalis, Pratum, Coniectanea, Exempla, Artes, Antiquitates*. Ateneo nei *Sofisti a banchetto* (VII 321f) tramanda che Mnasea, autore di un'opera intitolata Παίγνια[29], fu soprannominato Salpa per via della varietà tematica della sua opera (διὰ τὸ ποικίλον συναγωγῆς). E la salpa è infatti un pesce screziato (ἐστὶ δὲ ποικίλος ἰχθύς)[30]. Il principio di varietà tematica, ovvero di *disparilitas rerum* – come la chiama Gellio –, è dunque un principio essenziale dei testi poichilografici. Esso si rivela un elemento costitutivo di grande importanza nella poichilografia. Gellio, infatti, definisce tutti gli scritti di questo tipo «varia et miscella et quasi confusanea doctrina» (*praef.* 5), ed Eliano, che li annovera in un unico genere letterario, nell'epilogo dell'opera *Sulle proprietà degli animali* ci

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he assumes the predominance of the notion of intellectual endeavours». Cfr. anche L. Holford-Strevens, *Aulus Gellius. An Antonine Scholar and His Achievements*, Oxford 2003, p. 27: «The substantive implies midnight oil, traditional both in titles [...] and in prefaces; the epitet the wisdom, learning and sophistication of Athens».

[25] Su questa frase si veda Schröder, *o.c.* (n. 18), pp. 52–55.

[26] Cfr. ibidem, p. 56: «*Historia* war seit langem eine feste Gattungsbeschreibung . [...] In seinem eigenen Titel aber verwendet er *historia* in dem weiteren Sinne [...]; er dürfte die Leser also zunächst verwirrt haben, da unter einem Buchtitel *Historia* wahrscheinlich ein Geschichtswerk erwartet wurde».

[27] Zilliacus, *o.c.* (n. 18), p. 14 ha osservato che questo titolo può riferire non tanto alla varietà tematica dell'opera (cera d'api prodotta dai vari materiali come l'imagine di un'opera) quanto semplicemente alle tavolette di cera (cfr. il titolo *Membranarum libri* di Neratio Prisco).

[28] Sia Plinio che Gellio probabilmente fanno riferimento ad una intitolazione di numero singolare, cioè ἐγχειρίδιον (cfr. G. Broccia, *Enchiridion. Per la storia di una denominazione libraria*, Roma 1979, p. 25: «la forma plurale dipenderebbe evidentemente dalla pluralità delle opere alle quali egli [Gellio] allude».

[29] Sul tema di quest'opera si veda J.N. Davidson, *Don't Try this at Home: Pliny's Salpe, Salpe's Paignia and Magic*, CQ XLV 1995, pp. 590–592; D. Bain, *Salpe's ΠΑΙΓΝΙΑ: Athenaeus 322 A and Plin. HN 28.38*, CQ XLVIII 1998, pp. 262–268.

[30] È da notare che la salpa era considerato il pesce onnivoro, che si nutriva anche degli escrementi (cfr. Epicarmo, 56, 2 Kassel–Austin: σκατοφάγοι σᾶλπαι βδελυραί con il commento di J. Wilkins, S. Hill, *Archestratus. The Life of Luxury: Europe's Oldest Cookery Book*, Toten 1994, p. 67, ad Archestr. 28 Brandt = *SH* 159 = 29 Olson–Sens). Anche se il sopranome di Mnasea allude a questa peculiarità del pesce, esso sempre mette in rilievo la varietà. La sua valutazione è però esplicitamente negativa.

glückliches Volk dargestellt hatte (*FGrHist* 264 F 7 ap. Diod. II 47)[39]. Zwar kann man dieser Hypothese nicht eine gewisse Strahlkraft absprechen, doch es lassen sich für sie keine Beweise erbringen. Vor allem weiß man nicht, ob das Buch Περὶ Ὑπερβορέων vor den Φιλιππικά erschienen war. Deswegen scheint die Vermutung, Theopomp habe hier an eine alte griechische Tradition, die bereits Hesiod (fr. 150, 21 Merkelbach–West), Pindar (*Pyth.* 10, 29–46; *Ol.* 3, 16; *Isthm.* 6, 23), Bakchylides (*Epin.* 3, 58–61) und Herodot (IV 32–36) vertraut war, angeknüpft, auf einem sichereren Fundament zu ruhen[40].

4. Die Langlebigkeit der Eusebeis und der Goldreichtum der Machimoi rufen die Aithiopen bei Herodot (III 23) ins Gedächtnis. Es hat den Anschein, als habe sich Theopomp der Tradition der Idealisierung der an den äußersten Enden der Welt lebenden Naturvölker angeschlossen[41].
5. Die meisten Anspielungen betreffen jedoch die platonischen Dialoge[42]. Im *Timaios* (24 D–25 D) und im *Kritias* (113 B–121 C) werden eine am Rande der Welt liegende Insel der Atlanter und zwei Staaten beschrieben, von denen der eine ein Leben im Überfluss zeige und Eroberungszüge organisiere (Atlantis) und der andere seinen Bewohnern nur eine bescheidene Existenz sichere (Ur-Athen). Im *Phaidon* (109 A–111 D) ist unsere Oikumene nur eine Absenkung, und in anderen Teilen der Welt leben bessere und glücklichere Menschen, die ein besseres Klima genießen und frei von Krankheiten sind. Ihre Tempel werden tatsächlich von Göttern bewohnt, mit denen sich die Menschen treffen können. Im *Politikos* ist die Geschichte von einer allmählichen Verjüngung der Menschen und ihrem Verschwinden von der Erdoberfläche enthalten (270 C–271 A). Auch dort ist die Beschreibung des

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[39] So Rohde, *Zum griech. Roman* (Anm. 1), S. 11, Anm. 1; Jacoby, *o.c.* (Anm. 2), S. 367: „nicht ganz unmöglich"; Gisinger, *o.c.* (Anm. 35), Sp. 1058; J. Ferguson, *Utopias of the Classical World*, Ithaca 1975, S. 123; R. Bichler, *Politische Ordnung und fremde Kultur im Bild der hellenistischen Utopie*, in: B. Funck (Hrsg.), *Hellenismus. Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters. Akten des Internationalen Hellenismus-Kolloquiums 9.-14. März 1994 in Berlin*, Tübingen 1996, S. 637.

[40] So Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIa, S. 54 („zeitlich nicht möglich"); Aalders, *o.c.* (Anm. 14), S. 325, Anm. 42. Vgl. Nesselrath, *Theopomps...* (Anm. 14), S. 6, Anm. 26: „muß [...] wohl offenbleiben".

[41] Zur Idealisierung der Naturvölker siehe z. B. A. Riese, *Die Idealisierung der Naturvölker des Nordens in der griechisch-römischen Literatur*, Frankfurt/M. 1875, S. 3–46; K. Trüdinger, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie*, Diss. Basel 1918, S. 133–146; A.O. Lovejoy, G. Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, Baltimore 1935 (ND Baltimore–London 1997), S. 287–367; Gatz, *o.c.* (Anm. 37), S. 189–200; Ferguson, o.c. (Anm. 39), S. 16–22.

[42] Über den Einfluss Platons schrieben u. a. Rohde, *Zum griech. Roman* (Anm. 1), S. 11–13, 19–23; Gisinger, *o.c.* (Anm. 35), Sp. 1059 f.; I. Lana, *L'utopia di Teopompo* [1951], in: idem, *Studi sul pensiero politico classico*, Napoli 1973, S. 278, Anm. 6; Aalders, *o.c.* (Anm. 14), S. 320 f.; Nesselrath, *Theopomps...* (Anm. 14), S. 4–7. Hirzel, *o.c.* (Anm. 24), S. 380–382 und Pédech, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 181 f. dagegen erkannten Parallelen zwischen Platon und Theopomp, maßen ihnen aber kaum Bedeutung bei.

the title *n*(*obilissimus*) *p*(*uer*) and concluded that the persons honoured with this title must have been young representatives of imperial families[50]. Gratian could have been identified with the son of Theodosius I and his second wife Galla, whom he married at the end of 387, mentioned by Ambrosius. He was probably born in 388 or at the beginning of the following year but he died soon[51]. We know that during her marriage to Theodosius Galla regularly got pregnant; she usually either suffered miscarriages or the babies died in infancy; the only child that actually lived was Galla Placidia. In 394 Galla died in another childbirth, as did the baby, who is supposed to be the John named in the inscription (*Ioannes Nep*)[52]. According to many researchers *Theodosius Nep* was, on the other hand, the son of Galla Placidia and Athaulf[53]. The available source texts are not a basis for rejecting this assumption, whose correctness seems to be confirmed by both the general layout of this gallery of imperial portraits including the image of Theodosius and its ideological message.

The lost mosaic decorations from the church of St John Evangelist are regarded as a magnificent example of late antique imperial propaganda[54]. The main reason for erecting the church was to keep the vow but also to show that the Emperor's family enjoyed God's protection. The mosaics not only focused on the motive of the miraculous salvation but also glorified the imperial family and emphasised its right to reign. The portraits showed the splendid origin the ruling dynasty could boast of. Even the layout of the portraits was very meaningful. Apart from Constantine, the founder of the Christian Empire, each row was started by a founder of dynasties ruling in the East and West. In this way Placidia was reminding that she belonged to both lines. She was the daughter of Theodosius I but she could also name among her ancestors Valentinian I, who had ruled the West many years before Theodosius I took the throne (she had emphasised her pride in belonging to the Valentinian dynasty by christening her second son Valentinian). It is also worth remembering that the wife of Gratian, portrayed right next to Valentinian, was Constantia, the daughter of Constantius II, the granddaughter of the first Christian Emperor[55]. Reminding about the figures of the two sons of Theodosius I and his second wife Galla, who had died in their infancy, was also to emphasise the legitimacy of the family ruling in the West. The marriage was

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[50] Ensslin 1950: 1915; Oost 1968: 274. Traditional reading *nep*(*os*) was proposed by Dessau (818, comm. ad loc.).

[51] Rebenich 1985: 380-383.

[52] Oost 1968: 57.

[53] Oost 1965: 8, n. 38; Oost 1968: 56; Amici 2000: 40. Reservations to this identification was put forward by Deichmann 1974: 114.

[54] Rebenich 1985: 377.

[55] Piccinini 1992: 35; Rebenich 1985: 377.

Isokrates angeknüpft hatte, als dessen Schüler er in der Antike galt[47], und sich hierbei des Wortschatzes der Redner Demosthenes, Aischines und Deinarchos bedient habe, die ihre Gegner bekanntlich mit Schimpfwörtern zu attackieren pflegten. Theopomp habe deswegen Wert auf die Behandlung der Geschichte vom moralisierenden Standpunkt aus gelegt, weil er kein politisches Verständnis für politische Ereignisse aufzubringen vermocht habe (S. 16). Außerdem dürften sich die Machimoi, die Eroberungskriege führten, kaum in den Kontext des kynischen Ideals stellen lassen, und die Eusebeis würden die für die im Goldenen Zeitalter lebenden Menschen typischen Eigenschaften aufweisen (siehe unten II 1c).

II. INTERPRETATIONSVERSUCHE

1. Allegorische Interpretation

Zahlreiche Forscher vertreten die Überzeugung, dass einem so originellen Mythos ein tieferer Sinn eingeschrieben sein müsse, doch nur manche von ihnen werden in dieser Hinsicht konkreter[48].

a) Allegorie des menschlichen Schicksals

Bereits Wilhelm Nestle (1865–1959) mutmaßte, dass Silen vom Wesen und Schicksal der Menschen in Anlehnung an den Dialog *Eudemos* des Aristoteles gesprochen habe[49]. Darauf weise die Beschreibung der Stelle Anostos hin. Auch K. Reed (siehe Anm. 35) suchte zu belegen, dass Theopomp die im Dialog des Aristoteles angesprochene Geschichte des Silen weiterentwickelt und forterzählt habe. G.J.D. Aalders[50] deutete darauf hin, dass in der Silenerzählung folgende Abstrakta vorkämen: Eusebes, Machimos, Anostos, Hedone,

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[47] Einige Forscher stellen diese antike Tradition jedoch in Frage. Siehe z. B. Flower, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 42–62. Anders Meister, *o.c.* (Anm. 1), S. 90; A.F. Natoli, *The Letter of Speusippus to Philipp II. Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary*, Stuttgart 2004 (Historia Einzelschriften CLXXVI), S. 55 f.

[48] So z. B. Müller, *FHG*, I, S. LXXVI: „Etenim allegoricae (scil. fabulae) sunt, ut moralia praecepta quaedam exprimeret [...] neque earum absimiles, quae in Platonis dialogis leguntur". W.E. Brown, *Some Hellenistic Utopias*, ClW XLVIII 1955, S. 59; B.E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances. A Literary-Historical Account of their Origins*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1967 (Sather Classical Lectures XXXVII), S. 341, Anm. 22: „undoubtedly with philosophical intent"; I.A.F. Bruce, *Theopompus and Classical Greek Historiography*, History and Theory IX 1970, S. 98: „he had a serious philosophical purpose for it [...] it is, in fact, a didactic myth in Platonic style". Auch Rohde, *Zum griech. Roman* (Anm. 1), S. 22 glaubt, dass Theopomp „eine Tendenz in seinen Darstellungen innegehalten habe", muss aber zugleich einräumen, dass sie nicht mehr erkennbar sei. Vgl. Ferguson, *o.c.* (Anm. 39), S. 123: „a strong tendency in Theopompus towards moralizing".

[49] W. Nestle, *Der Friedensgedanke in der antiken Welt*, Leipzig 1938 (Philologus Suppl. XXXI 1), S. 63.

[50] Aalders, *o.c.* (Anm. 14), S. 323–327.

The contrast between a courageous woman and cowardly men is perhaps nowhere more conspicuous than in Tacitus' account of the Pisonian conspiracy in the *Annals*, Book XV. The woman is called Epicharis and was tortured by Nero in the hope that her *muliebre corpus* (the phrase used by Valerius in reference to Lucretia) would not withstand pain. Nero was wrong, however, since Epicharis managed to endure the first day of questioning and committed suicide on the next day. Her attitude was simply incomparable to that of her fellow male conspirators who, although not tortured and standing much higher in the social ladder betrayed their next of kin[35]. "Clariore exemplo[36] libertina mulier...": we are a very long distance here from the famous remark attributed by Thucydides to Pericles that as far as women are concerned the best option is that they are not heard of at all, either in good things or in bad[37].

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[35] It should be stressed that the historian uses Epicharis not on her own account, but to stigmatize the unmanly behaviour of other conspirators. As G. Vidén (*Women in Roman Literature. Attitudes of Authors under the Early Empire*, Göteborg 1993, p. 60) rightly notes, "Tacitus' point is not to claim that even a woman of low social standing is capable of a noble act, but to say that in the corrupt times of the empire the *nobiles* are so depraved that they cannot endure what a person of law status, and a woman at that, can do".

[36] Cf. Tac. *Hist*. II 13, 2: "auxit invidiam praeclaro exemplo femina Ligus" (on an anonymous Ligurian woman killed by Othonian soldiers for refusing to disclose the hiding place of her son). For one's noble end as *exemplum* to others, see Thrasea's words to a quaestor in Tac. *Ann*. XVI 35, 1: "...in ea tempora natus es, quibus firmare animum expediat constantibus exemplis".

[37] Pericles' statement is cited by Plutarch as a starting-point for his essay *De mulierum virtutibus* (*Mor*. 242E–263C). He naturally disagrees.

such an important a role in biographical texts, especially in Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*[15].

In this way we reach our fifth point: the accounts of death are not infrequently summed up with a statement juxtaposing a dying person's life and demise. Once again the passage in Valerius is not a particularly good example although in her speech to the proconsul the old lady refers to her life of prosperity adding that it should be concluded with a prosperous end. Usually, the statement is given not as a dying person's own opinion but as an authorial commentary and the moral categories of good or bad, noble or base are used. There are four main possibilities. One's noble life has found its suitable conclusion in an equally noble death. One's vileness in life has been confirmed by a shameful end[16]. One's honourable life has been contradicted by the base way of dying[17]. One's life of disgrace has been redeemed, at least to a certain extent, by the final act of dying gloriously[18]. The last alternative seems particularly interesting and it should be connected with the so-called paradoxical characterization of people quite common among late republican and early imperial Roman writers[19]. The emperor Otho, for example, having lost the battle of Bedriacum decided to commit suicide in order to prevent further bloodshed. The account of his death, found in Plutarch, Tacitus, Suetonius and Cassius Dio, is strikingly reminiscent of the last moments of another civil war figure whose appraisal in the historical tradition of Rome differs however substantially – Cato the Younger[20]. Tacitus comments that Otho "by his

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[15] See H. Gugel, *Studien zur biographischen Technik Suetons*. Aus dem Nachlaß hrsg. von K. Vretska, Wien–Köln–Graz 1977, pp. 95–103.

[16] Thus Tacitus on the suicide of Tigellinus: "infamem vitam foedavit etiam exitu sero et inhonesto" (*Hist*. I 72, 3). See R. Ash, *Ordering Anarchy. Armies and Leaders in Tacitus' Histories*, London 1999, pp. 87 f.

[17] See the comment of L. Vetus in Tac. *Ann*. XVI 11, 1 who rejects the proposal to make Nero his main heir and thus save the rest of inheritance for his grandchildren: "ne vitam proxime libertatem actam novissimo servitio foedaret".

[18] Thus the rhetor Argentarius (quoted by Sen. *Suas*. 7, 8) on the suicide of P. Caecilius Metellus Scipio in the aftermath of the battle of Thapsus: "P. Scipionem a maioribus suis desciscentem generosa mors in numerum Scipionum reposuit" (cf. Sen. *Epist*. 24, 10); similarly Tacitus on the end of Sempronius Gracchus: "constantia mortis haud indignus Sempronio nomine: vita degeneraverat" (*Ann*. I 53, 5).

[19] See A. La Penna, *Il ritratto 'paradossale' da Silla a Petronio*, RFIC CIV 1976, pp. 270–293.

[20] For the juxtaposition of *mollis Otho* and Cato, see Mart. VI 32, 5 f.: "Sit Cato, dum vivit, sane vel Caesare maior: / dum moritur, numquid maior Othone fuit?". For the accounts of Otho's death, see Plut. *Otho* 15–17; Tac. *Hist*. II 46–49; Suet. *Otho* 10 f.; Cass. Dio LXIV 11–15. For some modern discussions, see F. Klingner, *Die Geschichte Kaiser Othos bei Tacitus*, Leipzig 1940 (Ber. über die Verhandl. der sächs. Akad. der Wiss., Philol.-hist. Kl. XCII 1), pp. 21–27; P. Schunck, *Studien zur Darstellung des Endes von Galba, Otho und Vitellius in den Historien des Tacitus*, SO XXXIX 1964, pp. 73–77; M. Labate, *Le ambiguità di Otone*, Maia XXIX/XXX 1977/1978, pp. 59 f.; L. Braun, *Galba und Otho bei Plutarch und Sueton*, Hermes CXX 1992, pp. 97–102; Ash, *o.c.* (n. 16), pp. 87–91.

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PER UNA MORFOLOGIA DELLA *POIKILOGRAPHIA* ANTICA

Di

KRYSTYNA BARTOL

Negli studi moderni di letteratura greca e latina di età imperiale, e in particolare in quelli dedicati ad un certo tipo di prosa, si incontra con una certa frequenza il termine tecnico *Buntschriftstellerei*. Questo sostantivo tedesco fa riferimento al titolo dell'opera di Claudio Eliano intitolata Ποικίλη ἱστορία (*Storia varia*) e tradizionalmente designa opere dai contenuti assai vari, presentati senz'alcun ordine e coerenza[1]. La critica moderna, nelle sue espressioni più inclini ai giudizi di valore, ha teso, e continua a tendere, a trattare la *Buntschriftstellerei* come prodotto della fase decadente della cultura greco-romana[2], come produzione secondaria ed essenzialmente compilatoria che utilizzava senza discernimento testi dei grandi autori del passato[3].

Le notizie antiche sui caratteri distintivi di questa categoria letteraria sono particolarmente scarse. Sulla base dei fragili indizi conservatici nei testi degli autori greci e latini, non siamo in grado di ricostruire il *proprium* della letteratura miscellanea nella teoria letteraria antica. Non conosciamo neanche il termine, greco o latino, con cui gli antichi la indicavano.

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[1] Si veda K.A. Neuhausen, *Buntschriftstellerei*, in: *Kleines Lexikon des Hellenismus*, hrsgg. von H.H. Schmitt, E. Vogt, Wiesbaden 1993, p. 122: «B. ist eine [...] Bezeichnung für hell. u. kaiserzeitl. Werke, deren Verf. Wissenswertes aus allen Gebieten in literarisch zumeist anspruchslosen, bunter Weise in Form von Lesefrüchten, Exzerpten, Gesprächen usw. [...] zusammentrugen»; E.L. Bowie, *Buntschriftstellerei, Greek*, in: *The New Pauly* I (2003), col. 819: «prose works which present their material in deliberately indiscriminate order».

[2] Si veda H. Fuchs, *Enzyklopädie*, *RAC* V (1962), col. 505: «In der späteren griech. Welt wurde die Fülle des ständig sich mehrenden Wissens zum Gegendstand der sog. Buntschriftstellerei», H. Krasser, *Buntschriftstellerei, Latin*, in: *The New Pauly* I (2003), col. 822: «*Buntschriftstellerei* flourished [...] as a typical product of educational culture in the imperial period».

[3] Vedi la definizione formulata da J.F. Kindstrand, *Claudius Aelianus und sein Werk*, *ANRW* II 34, 4 (1998), p. 2961: «Nitizen verschiedenen Inhalts, die aus der Literatur gesammelt worden sind, auf zwanglose Weise wiedergegeben».

Dutch scholar Anton J.L. van Hooff points to the fact that among more than 900 cases of self-killing which are registered in Greek and Roman texts, the great majority (75%) concern men. The proportion becomes even more unequal if we disregard mythical examples. In the Roman material alone we have 269 historical cases of male suicide as opposed to just 48 cases of female suicide, some 15% of the total[6]. However, it would be wrong to conclude that ancient writers were simply uninterested in describing the deaths (by means of suicide or otherwise) of women. To illustrate this let us look at two examples from the earlier period. Firstly, there is the splendid narrative of the end of Polyxena in Euripides' *Hecuba*. It is worth pointing out that this narrative became a model against which some subsequent writers shaped their own accounts of similar episodes. Interestingly, an aspect of Euripides' description has been taken by Appian for the death of one of his male figures, Julius Caesar (*Civ.* II 493; see n. 28 below). My second example is the Hellenistic historian Phylarchus about whom Paul Pédech writes that "il a été l'historien des femmes, le peintre de l'âme féminine, sans doute le plus délicat et le plus émouvant de toute l'Antiquité"[7]. Phylarchus' manner of depicting female deaths may be gauged from that of Plutarch whose accounts of the executions of Agesistrata and Cratesilea, the mothers of, respectively, Agis and Cleomenes (*Agis* 20.2–5; *Cleom.* 38.2–5) are derived from this historian[8].

We now return to Valerius Maximus who although in his list of *mortes non vulgares* limits himself, as we remember, to just one specimen of female death, provides some more examples elsewhere in his work, for instance that of Lucretia (VI 1, 1). Especial attention should be given to his detailed account of the suicide of an anonymous old woman on the island of Ceos (II 6, 8)[9]. The passage is particularly noteworthy since the story itself, in contrast to the whole remaining corpus of Valerian *exempla*, has been taken not from literary sources but from the author's own experience (he visited the island in the retinue of Sextus Pompeius, the proconsul of Asia in AD 27/28). The nonagenarian woman introduced

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[6] See A.J.L. van Hooff, *From Autothanasia to Suicide. Self-killing in Classical Antiquity*, London–New York 1990, pp. 21 and 198–232 (the list of 960 cases). This list has been supplemented since 1990 and comprises now 1313 instances, see van Hooff's review of T. Hill, *Ambitiosa Mors. Suicide and Self in Roman Thought and Literature*, New York–London 2004, published in Bryn Mawr Classical Review 2005.09.09 (ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ bcmr/2005/2005-09-09.html).

[7] P. Pédech, *Trois historiens méconnus. Théopompe – Duris – Phylarque*, Paris 1989, p. 477.

[8] Ibidem, pp. 477–479. We may compare Phylarchus' account of the sack of Mantinea, famously criticized by Polybius (II 56), in which women play a prominent role (although they are not actually being killed).

[9] For which see F. Römer, *Ein Glanzstück römischer Memorabilienliteratur (Val. Max. 2, 6, 8)*, Wiener Humanistische Blätter XXXI 1989, pp. 52–65. I have much profited from his analysis. Cf. also A.M. Müller, *Die Selbsttötung in der lateinischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit bis zum Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, Diss. Zürich 2003 (www.dissertationen.unizh.ch/2006/muellerangela/diss.pdf), pp. 130–135; she makes also some general observations on Valerius' treatment of suicide.

della *poikilographia* sono presenti anche in altre categorie della letteratura di età imperiale. I confini della poichilografia con altri tipi di prosa di età romana, come la paradossografia, la letteratura periegetica, il romanzo, la biografia, nonché con l'idea d'enciclopedismo, risultano in più di un caso incerti e confusi. La nostra difficoltà a inquadrare la poichilografia nell'ambito della prassi letteraria non solo prova la polimorfia[38] della produzione prosastica di quell'età, ma dimostra anche che, all'epoca, una teoria precisa del genere poichilografico non esisteva.

Il rapporto intercorrente tra poichilografia e letteratura paradossografica è di natura genetica. La raccolta callimachea di fenomeni straordinari, che risente degli interessi naturalistici dei peripatetici[39], diede avvio ad una lunga tradizione di opere dedicate al meraviglioso, e contribuì alla tendenza ad inserire questo tema anche in opere di altro argomento[40].

Nel secondo secolo d. C. troviamo dunque, oltre ad opere paradossografiche autonome, come la *Kaine historia* di Tolemeo Chenno[41], scritti di carattere estremamente composito dedicati a svariate discipline, i quali contengono in sé anche elementi della paradossografia. Il meraviglioso non ne costituiva il motivo principale, ma occupava uno spazio marginale e si limitava a fornire uno dei tanti elementi di *poikilia* nella grande quantità di temi raccolti in una stessa opera.

La descrizione di una dovizia di fenomeni straordinari e meraviglie naturali, attinti dal ricco materiale letterario elaborato dagli autori precedenti, è la norma p. es. nelle opere organizzate in una cornice simposiale[42].

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[38] Cfr. le osservazioni di T. Fögen, *Metasprachliche Reflexionen antiken Autoren zu den Charakteristika von Fachtexten*, in: *Antike Fachschriftsteller...* (n. 37), p. 34. Lo studioso tedesco ha giustamente osservato che si può trovare negli scritti antici «unterschiedliche gattungsspezifische Begriffe wie z. B. εἰσαγωγή, συναγωγή, ἐγχειρίδιον, ὑπόμνημα», ma che questi termini però «in einzelnen schwer voreinander abzuheben sind und zum Teil ungleichartige Schriften unter demselben Begriff subsumiert werden».

[39] Su questo tema si veda Sassi, *o.c.* (n. 16), p. 458.

[40] Cfr. Healy, *o.c.* (n. 10), p. 62: «Mirabilia (wonders, curiosities, extravagant fiction) [...] are to be found in the shadowy realms of 'sub-science'».

[41] Quest'opera è stata ampiamente indagata da K.-H. Tomberg, *Die Kaine Historia des Ptolemaios Chennos. Eine literarhistorische und quellenkritische Untersuchungen*, Bonn 1968. Cfr. inoltre A. Chatzis, *Der Philosoph und Grammatiker Ptolemaios Chennos. Leben, Schriftstellerei und Fragmente (mit Ausschluß der Aristotelesbiographie)*, Padeborn 1914. La storia della letteratura paradossografica è stata presentata da G. Schepens, K. Delacroix, *Ancient Paradoxography. Origin, Evolution, Production and Reception*, in: *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo greco-latino*, a cura di O. Pecere e A. Stramaglia, Cassino 1996, pp. 375–460.

[42] Su questo punto cfr. Tomberg, *o.c.* (n. 41), p. 58: «Die Symposion-Literatur erfaßte ein anekdotenhaftes buntes Material, das aus allen möglichen Verlagen zusammengetragen war und seiner Eigenart entsprechend ausgezeichnet für die ‚gelehrte' Tischunterhaltung geeignet war». Il meraviglioso faceva parte del repertorio dei «Quiz» temi simposiali, cfr. ibidem, p. 57; Chatzis, *o.c.* (n. 41), pp. LXXXVIII seg.

contracted in a difficult political situation when Maximus forced Valentinian II reigning in the West and his family to flee to the East and look to Theodosius I for help. The marriage of Valentinian's sister with Theodosius united the two imperial families and strengthened Theodosius' position prior to the approaching confrontation with Maximus, who was popular in the West[56]. The images of the sons born of this matrimony, who were Galla Placidia's brothers, reminded of establishing family relations between the two courts, which resulted in peaceful co-operation. At the same time Galla Placidia was emphasising that she was the last living representative of these relations, and therefore the reign of the West was due to her and her son. *Succesio imperatorum* also indicated that the rule of the imperial family in the West came from God and was executed thanks to God's protection and in agreement with the Eastern Empire[57]. By referring to her imperial ancestors Galla Placidia also in a way guaranteed that her son would be a good ruler since his famous ancestors had succeeded before him. The ideological meaning of the iconographic elements found in St John the Evangelist's church is understandable when we take account of the fact that Valentinian III took the throne after suppressing John's usurpation which had undermined the reign of the Theodosian dynasty in the West; moreover, the overthrowing of the usurper was only possible because of the intervention of the eastern army.

Galla Placidia was the main founder of St John the Evangelist's church, although she kept the vow for her children, Valentinian and Justa Grata Honoria and her famous ancestors as well. It was probably on her initiative that the image of her first son, Theodosius, was among the royal portraits. It is noticeable that Theodosius' portrait was placed in a church built at Ravenna rather than Rome, which – as a bulwark of senatorial aristocracy – was much more conservative. What is more, placing Theodosius' portrait in Rome might have reminded the citizens of their painful experiences from the times of the Gothic invasion. Placidia decided to put up the image of her first son in a public place when the two most fierce opponents of her marriage to Athaulf, the Emperors Honorius (who issued a law prohibiting marriage with barbarians) and Constantius, were already dead.

Ever since W. Ensslin published his paper on Galla Placidia it has been accepted that the name *Theodosius* was accompanied by the abbreviation *np* that stands for the title *nobilissimus puer* given to young members of the ruling family. The willingness to accept the emendation put forward by Ensslin is mainly based on the assumptions about the role that Theodosius could have played in the future, mentioned above. It is believed that the title of *nobilissimus puer* be-

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[56] Holum 1982: 44–47; Williams, Friell 1998: 61 f.

[57] Gerke 1966: 164–166; Holum 1982: 128 f.; Rebenich 1985: 377; Piccinini 1992: 35; Rizzardi 1996: 120; Zangara 2000: 286.

veiled way, that he knew about the birth of Placidia's first son. He referred to a passage in Daniel's prophecy saying that the marriage of the daughter of the southern king with a chieftain from the north would remain childless[25]. If it had not been for Olympiodorus' account, Hydatius' remark would probably have remained incomprehensible. Orosius' silence regarding the matter is also striking, as he entertained such high hopes for the marriage of Galla Placidia and Athaulf. The same may be said about the well-informed Prosper, who limited his account of Placidia's whole stay among the Goths to a brief remark about her return to Rome in 416, without commenting on all events prior to the return[26]. We may ask ourselves whether their silence was due to a lack of knowledge or rather willingness to be discreet about this peculiar scandal in the imperial family. We are introduced to the atmosphere of criticism set off by Placidia's actions among the traditionally minded Romans by a comment of an anonymous author of *Narratio de imperatoribus domus Valentinianae et Theodosianae*, who wrote that "soror imperatoris Augusta Placidia primum captiva, deinde uxor regis quidem sed barbari statum temporum decolorat"[27]. *Narratio* is a collection of very brief biographies of Emperors, starting from Valentinian I and finishing with Honorius, written in a period that is difficult to determine, but definitely after Honorius died[28]. The author limited his report to stating how long each emperor ruled, listed their military successes, and sometimes added information about their religious policy. If his biography of Honorius included such a damaging evaluation of Placidia's marriage, he was clearly indicating how controversial this was. A few years after she came back to Italy, Placidia was accused of preparing a conspiracy against her brother and of communicating with enemies (the accusers probably meant the Visigoths)[29]. The Gothic period of Placidia's life was used in political struggles that increased in the years 421–423. In these circumstances the desire to pass over in silence the fact that Placidia married a Goth and gave birth to Theodosius may have influenced at least some of the authors. We may not categorically exclude that a lack of knowledge also played a part here. Perhaps the news of the child's birth did not reach the general public and no one really cared about making it public, either. It was only almost a decade later, when Galla Placidia took over power over the Western part of the Empire as a regent for her underage son Valentinian that the figure of Theodosius started to be officially remembered.

The list of authors who failed to mention the birth of Theodosius in their works also includes Jordanes and, as far as we can deduce from remarks in

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[25] Hyd. 57.

[26] Prosper 1259.

[27] *MGH* XI: 630.

[28] Muhlberger 1990: 153 f.

[29] *Chron. Gall. ad an.* CCCCLII 90; Cass. *Chron.* 1205.

nity to further strengthen his relations with the imperial family[5]. Galla Placidia's future son would have been a candidate to the imperial throne, especially since the then Western Emperor Honorius did not live to have a son from two successive marriages to Stilicho's daughters. Although at the time of Galla Placidia's marriage to Athaulf there was still the possibility that Honorius would have a male child, it seems that his contemporaries doubted this and openly wondered about the reasons of Honorius' infertility[6]. In these circumstances the newly-born Theodosius may have indeed been treated as a possible candidate to the throne after Honorius died childless. It seems that some gestures of the East Roman court throughout the several months of the marriage between Galla and Athaulf support these assumptions. In December 414, the busts of Honorius, Theodosius II and his sister Pulcheria, who had received the title of Augusta in July of that year, were displayed in the Senate in Constantinople, whereas Galla Placidia was overlooked, probably not only because she was not Augusta. When the news of Athaulf's death reached Constantinople several months later it was celebrated boisterously[7]. These gestures seem to indicate the level of anxiety provoked in the East by Galla Placidia's marriage and by the consequent possibilities of shaping the dynastic policy in the West.

Theodosius's early death cancelled out all the plans that could have been related to his person. However, we have some indications that the memory of him remained alive. It is the aim of my analysis to present these, mostly indirect, clues and to attempt to put forward an interpretation of this evidence.

I

Source texts provide few details about Galla Placidia's almost six-year stay among the Goths. We are not even certain if the sister of the ruling Emperor of the West fell into the hands of the Goths during the memorable sack of Rome in August 410 or had been in their camp earlier[8]. The best known event from that period is her marriage to Athaulf. The credit for this must go mainly to two authors, Orosius and Olympiodorus. The former limited his account to the comment that the marriage was extremely profitable for the Empire ("coniugio multo rei publicae commodo fuit", Oros. VII 40, 2). The latter provided a very

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[5] Claud. *De cons. Stilich.* II 354 f.; Sirago 1961: 52; Cameron 1970: 46–49; Demougeot 1985: 185.

[6] Philost. *HE* XII. 2; Zos. V 28, 2 f.; Thdt. *HE* V 25, 2; Marcell. com. ad a. 408, 1.

[7] *Chron. Pasch.* ad a. 414; 415.

[8] Oros. VII 40. 2; Olymp. fr. 6; Hyd. 44; Philost. *HE* XII 4; Prosper 1259; Marcell. com. ad a. 410; Zos. VI 12, 3.

NOTAE ET DISCUSSIONES

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MARGINALIA

Scripsit

CAROLUS M. LUCARINI

1. *P. Oxy.* 4708, Archilochi elegia, vv. 16–21:

οἳ δὲ τότε βλαφθέντες ὁδοῦ παρὰ θ[ῖν' ἀλάληντο
Τε]ύθραντος δ' ἐρατὴν πρὸς πόλιν [ἐξέπεσον,
ἔ]νθα μένος πνείοντες ὁμῶς αὐτο[ί τε καὶ ἵπποι
]ηι μεγάλως θυμὸν ἀκη[χέμενοι.
φά]ν[το] γὰρ ὑψίπυλον Τρώων πόλιν εἰσ[αφικέσθαι,
καλλιφυ]ὴν δ' ἐπάτευν Μυσίδα πυροφόρο[ν.

Mutila supplerunt R. Janko, D. Obbink, M.L. West. Si versum 19 cum participio concluseris, ita verisimilius initium finges: δμῆθεν ˝Αρ]ηι μεγ. ("proelio superati sunt"), cfr. vv. 10–12; de forma verbi cfr. e.g. Pind. *Pyth.* 8, 17.

2. Naumach. 22–25 Heitsch:

εἰ δ' αὐτός <σ'> ἐθέλει συμφράδμονα θέσθαι
σύνθεο μὲν τάχα θυμῷ, ἀμείβεο δ' ὀψὲ σὺν αὐτῷ
φραζομένη, καὶ μηδὲν ὑπίσχεο μηδὲ κέλευε
σῇ ῥέζειν ἰότητι· τὸ γὰρ τέλος ἐστὶν ἀφαυρόν.

Quid uxor promittere (ὑπίσχεο) possit, equidem non video. Fortasse scripsit Naumachius: καὶ μηδ' ἀντίσχεο ("neque tu ei reluctare").

3. Ibidem, vv. 35–40:

εἰ δ' ὀλοοῖς ἑτάροισιν ἐφεσπόμενος κακὸς εἴη,
μὴ σὺ μὲν ἀντιβίην κείνου, τέκος, εἰς ἔριν ἔλθῃς,
ἀλλ' ἑτέρους ὄτρυνε μετὰ σφίσι νείκεα βάλλειν.

Volendo attribuire un'etichetta a questo tipo di scritti, possiamo definirlo *poikilographia*. La parola non è attestata nei testi pervenutici dall'antichità, ma si può ipotizzare che essa non fosse ignota alla lingua greca. Diogene Laerzio nel libro quinto della *Raccolta delle vite e delle dottrine dei filosofi* (V 85), enumerando gli autori di nome Demetrio, menziona, tra i poeti, un Demetrio di Erythrai[4] e lo qualifica così: ποικιλογράφος ἄνθρωπος, <ὃς> καὶ ἱστορικὰ καὶ ῥητορικὰ πεποίηκε. Diogene, dunque, documenta l'attività di Demetrio *poikilographos* nel campo di vari generi letterari (poesia, storiografia, oratoria)[5].

Orbene, i composti greci con terminazione in -γράφος, che designano gli autori di opere di una certa categoria letteraria, sono affiancati molto frequentemente da formazioni affini con terminazione in -γραφία, che denotano la composizione di opere di una certa categoria letteraria e, per analogia, la categoria letteraria stessa. A mo' di esempio, enumeriamo alcune coppie lessicali di questo tipo: ἱστοριογράφος – ἱστοριογραφία, μυθογράφος – μυθογραφία, λογογράφος – λογογραφία, κυκλογράφος – κυκλογραφία. Nel caso di alcuni composti in -γράφος, quali ἰαμβογράφος, τραγωιδογράφος, ἐλεγειογράφος[6], l'esistenza dei corrispondenti composti con terminazione in -γραφία, dei quali oggi pure non abbiamo attestazioni, può essere dunque ragionevolmente supposta. Così, sulla base dell'attestazione in greco del termine ποικιλογράφος, appare lecito ipotizzare che gli antichi Greci conoscessero anche il sostantivo ποικιλογραφία, che perciò noi ci sentiamo autorizzati ad usare in questa sede.

A prima vista, la *poikilographia* sembra una categoria facilmente definibile in relazione all'amplissima varietà tematica che essa abbraccia. Uno studio più attento delle singole opere letterarie ci convince però che la definizione di *poikilographia* è tutt'altro che scontata e che questa categoria della letteratura imperiale sfugge sia alle classificazioni della critica antica sia a quelle della critica contemporanea. Rimangono irrisolti, infatti, i problemi delle origini di questo fenomeno letterario, dei suoi complessi caratteri distintivi e dei suoi aspetti pragmatici, cioè della sua funzione sociale nella vita culturale dell'impero. La coesistenza, all'interno delle opere poichilografiche, di registri diversi che rinviano a vari generi contigui rende del resto difficile l'identificazione del genere letterario cui ricondurre queste opere. Infine, una tale identificazione è ulteriormente compli-

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[4] Da non confondere con Demetrio grammatico, vissuto – secondo la Suda – in età augustea; si veda E. Schwartz, *Demetrios (81)*, *RE* IV 2 (1901), col. 2817. Ma vedi C. Müller, *FHG* 381, che insiste sul riferimento della Suda al Demetrio chiamato *poikilographos* da Diogene Laerzio.

[5] Cfr. Schwartz, *o.c.* (n. 4), col. 2817: «auf verschiedenen Gebieten thätig»; cfr. anche R.D. Hicks, *Diogenes Laertius. Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, I, Cambridge (Mass.)–London 1980, p. 539: «a versatile man».

[6] Per altri esempi si veda P. Kretschmer, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, Göttingen 1944, pp. 518 seg.

of the 440s. Olympiodorus wrote in Greek for the eastern reader, but his narrative described almost exclusively events in the West in the years 407/408–425. The fact that the work dedicated to Theodosius II mentioned the son of Galla Placidia and Athaulf may evoke surprise, especially if we remember Constantinople's hostile reaction to the match. Olympiodorus' account was of specific nature, which its author realised, calling it, if we are to believe Photius, "material for history", so he did not consider it a history in the strict sense[39]. This was a compilation of all sorts of, frequently conflicting, information collected by the author thanks to his contacts with influential people in the West. It has been suggested that Olympiodorus visited Italy at least once, perhaps in 425, but his comprehensive knowledge of the situation in the West may suggest that he was a much more frequent visitor there and stayed in touch with various milieus: the imperial court, the senatorial aristocracy, officials, the Gallic aristocracy[40]. In his account he included a lot of information making up something like a catalogue of miseries that afflicted the western part of the Empire, which were only ended by the intervention of the eastern army in the years 424–425 and Valentinian III's accession to the throne. This is probably how we should understand Olympiodorus' information about Galla Placidia's marriage and the birth of Theodosius. Although both his source of information and the author himself emphasised the Roman nature of the ceremony and the fact that the birth of the son made Athaulf strive for friendship with the Romans, the eastern readers of the narrative must have had a different opinion on the matter, perceiving it as another manifestation of the crisis faced by the western part of the Theodosian dynasty.

The publishing date of Olympiodorus' account is close to the first public manifestation of the memory of Theodosius in the West, to be more precise in Galla Placidia's favourite place, i.e. Ravenna. On the empress' order the church of St John the Evangelist was erected there. The present-day building has little in common with the original fifth century church. Throughout centuries the temple was rebuilt numerous times, first time already in the sixth century, but it sustained the worst damage during the allied bombing attacks in 1944[41]. Since Deichmann published his monumental monograph on Ravenna, the church has been enjoying ever increasing interest from researchers[42]. In the course of the discussion the researchers' attention was caught by the mosaics that originally decorated the triumphal arch and walls of the apse, destroyed during the restoration work initiated by the abbot Teseo Aldrovandi in 1568. Literary descriptions

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[39] Olymp. *prologus*.

[40] Matthews 1970: 80; Baldwin 1980: 217 f.; Clover 1983: 127 f.; Gillett 1993: 13 f.; Liebeschuetz 2003: 203 f.

[41] Farioli Campanati 1995: 23–27; Novara Piolanti 1995: 661–684.

[42] Deichmann 1974.

detailed report of the ceremony at Narbonne, emphasising its thoroughly Roman character. According to Olympiodorus, the originator of the idea of the marriage and the person who made the most effort to bring it about was a man called Candidianus. He was probably Olympiodorus' source of information as well, which leads us to believe that he may have wanted to present himself as the author of the bold idea, although in reality there must have been a much larger group of people involved. Olympiodorus himself indirectly confirms that there was such a group when he says that the marriage took place in the house of an influential citizen of Narbonne, Ingenuus, with the former usurper Attalus and Rusticius and Phoebadius taking part in the ceremony. The only person we know a little better is Attalus, the others are only mentioned in Olympiodorus' work[9]. Dressed in the robes of a Roman officer, Athaulf showed Placidia the utmost respect, giving her priority and returning, in the form of wedding gifts, at least part of the jewels and gold plundered by the Goths in Rome in 410[10]. The propaganda importance attached to this marriage is best demonstrated by a passage of Orosius' *History* (VII 43, 3–6). Elaborating on his comment which supplements the information about the marriage and says that it was beneficial for the Roman Empire, elsewhere in his work he quotes Athaulf's words to a friend from Narbonne. The words serve to illustrate the change in Athaulf's approach after he entered into marriage with Galla. The chieftain of the Goths used to say that his main objective was to destroy Rome and to establish a Gothic kingdom. However, when he realised that the Goths were not capable of abiding by the laws without which a state cannot exist, he decided to devote himself to returning Rome to its former splendour. Orosius says that he learned about Athaulf's words during his stay at Bethlehem, where he met the said citizen of Narbonne, who repeated them to St Jerome[11].

There is no reason not to believe Orosius when he claims that he heard the story in Bethlehem. We must remember, however, that Athaulf's alleged words were repeated and written down by a Roman. The narrator must have been a man who had a good grasp of the history of the Visigoths' wars with the Empire, and who could use the moods of the Romans to his advantage. He started his narration with Athaulf's terrifying declaration that he wanted to destroy Rome because that was the intention that some Romans would ascribe to a barbarian king[12]. The next part of Athaulf's speech is an artistically written repetition of the demand, put forward many times in the past by both Alaric and

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[9] *PLRE* II: 882 and 961.

[10] Olymp. fr. 24.

[11] Oros. VII 43, 3–6.

[12] The similar intentions was ascribed to Galerius by Lactantius who hate the emperor: *De mort. pers*. 27, 8.

antico e screditano la loro capacità di comporre opere originali[17]. Non si deve invece perdere di vista questo aspetto, importante – a quanto ci sembra – per la comprensione del genere letterario in questione.

La varietà tematica risulta evidente dai titoli di opere poichilografiche[18] tramandati da Plinio e Gellio[19]. I titoli stessi sono molto raffinati, come rilevano questi autori[20], e mirano a produrre un effetto di preziosa eleganza («titulos... exquisitissimos indiderunt», Gell. *praef.* 5 seg.; «inscriptionis apud Graecos mira felicitas»[21], Plin. *praef.* 24; «alia inscripta nimis lepida multasque prorsum concinnitates redolentia», Gell. *praef.* 9; «inscriptiones propter quas vadimonium deseri possit», Plin. *praef.* 24). Plinio e Gellio si pongono in antitesi rispetto a questa pratica e scelgono – dichiarandolo in tono scherzoso – titoli più semplici e sobri[22], che si discostano dalla maniera degli altri autori. Gellio, attribuendo alla propria opera il titolo di *Noctes Atticae*, dissimula l'eterogeneità delle tematiche da lui trattate[23]. Questo titolo, però, sebbene Gellio sostenga che non possieda niente delle «festivitates inscriptionum, quas plerique alii utriusque linguae scriptores in id genus libris fecerunt» (*praef.* 3) e si riferisca alle circostanze della redazione del testo («longinquis per hiemem noctibus in agro ... terrae Atticae», *praef.* 3), costituisce un esempio di ricercatezza e stimola i lettori a riflettere sui significati da esso sottesi: da un lato, infatti, il titolo richiama l'esaltazione di Atene, la cui forza sta nella sua antichità e superiorità culturale[24]; dall'altro, allude al grande impegno con il quale gli esponenti della Seconda Sofistica si

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[17] Cfr. G. Anderson, *Aulus Gellius: A Miscellanist and his World*, *ANRW* II 34, 2 (1994), p. 1846 che insiste sul fatto che «Often, as in other miscellanists, any single precise motive for including a specific anecdote is lacking».

[18] Per un'attenta analisi di passi relativi a questi titoli si veda H. Zilliacus, *Boktiteln i antik litteratur*, Eranos XXXVI 1938, pp. 1–41. Fondamentale è anche contributo di B.J. Schröder, *Titel und Text*, Berlin–New York 1999, pp. 50–60.

[19] Plinio focalizza la sua attenzione simultaneamente su titoli greci e latini, mentre nella prefazione dell'opera gelliana i titoli greci vengono fortemente contrapposti a quelli latini. È da notare del resto che nella tradizione antica le opere latine potevano aver anche i titoli greci; su questo problema si veda K.-E. Henriksson, *Griechische Büchertitel in der römischen Literatur*, Helsinki 1956, pp. 178–181, 184 seg.

[20] Plinio vuole dare alla raffinatezza dei titoli greci un netto valore negativo. Cfr. Schröder, *o.c.* (n. 18), p. 51: «Diese Buchtitel [...] versprechen mehr, als der jeweilige Text halten kann, und der Leser sieht sich getäuscht».

[21] Cfr. ibidem: «Plinius einleitende Bewertung *mira felicitas* [...] ist offenbar kein Lob für die Griechen».

[22] Alcuni editori dell'opera pliniana suggeriscono l'occorrenza della parola *graviores* in *praef.* 24, mentre altri pensano a *grossiores*. Per questa diversità di opinioni tra i critici moderni cfr. Schröder, *o.c.* (n. 18), p. 54 seg.

[23] Cfr. P. Marache, *Aulu-Gelle. Les Nuits Attiques*. Livres I–IV, Paris 1967, p. XII.

[24] In questo senso interpreta il titolo gelliano A.D. Vardi, *Why Attic Nights? or What's in a Name?*, CQ XLIII 1993, pp. 300 seg.: «[it] is by alluding to Athens with its celebrated schools that

The ceremony was attended by Galla Placidia, Pope Leo and senators[65]. The presence of Galla Placidia indicates that the described event took place before 27 November 450, when the Empress died. The magnificent setting of the ceremony and especially the fact that Theodosius was buried in the imperial mausoleum indicate that the buried person was a member of the ruling family. S.I. Oost came to the conclusion that the Theodosius mentioned by Prosper's continuator and the son of Galla Placidia and Athaulf described by Olympiodorus was the same person. Galla Placidia, in Oost's interpretation, following her maternal feelings for her first-born son, 35 years after his death had his body exhumed and moved to Rome, and then buried in the imperial mausoleum[66]. Here G. Mackie's later findings corrected Oost's ideas, since it is most likely that Placidia took the urn with the remains of her son when she went back to Italy in 416. The value of the identification proposed by Oost is based on the fact that we do not know of any other member of the imperial family by the name of Theodosius who could have been buried in Rome in 450. Although Theodosius II reigning in the West died in the same year, he was buried in Constantinople, just like the founder of the dynasty, Theodosius I. It is unlikely that the remains of either of them were moved to Rome[67]. Although Oost's thesis is commonly accepted nowadays, Placidia's motives remain debatable. Oost explained the burial of Theodosius' remains in the imperial mausoleum in Rome mostly evoking Galla Placidia's motherly feelings. In recent years G. Zecchini put forward a different opinion; he observed great resemblance between Placidia's marriage to Athaulf and the so-called "Honoria's affair". Honoria, the daughter of Placidia and the sister of the Emperor Valentinian III, supposedly offered to marry the chieftain of the Huns, Attila. According to Zecchini the 450 ceremony was to remind the much earlier episode from Placidia's life, when she married a barbarian chieftain, and to serve as some sort of justification, or even an ideological model, for Honoria's act[68]. Although Zecchini's line of argument, especially ascribing too much meaning to

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[65] *Continvatio codicvm Ovetensis et Reichenaviensis* ad a. 450: "Theodosius cum magna pompa a Placidia et Leone et omni senatu deductus et in mausoleo ad apostolum Petrum depositus est". Mausoleum was erected c. 400 by emperor Honorius in the end of the south transept of St. Peter's Basilic. It was demolished in the sixteenth century: Platner, Ashby 1965: s.v. *Sep. Mariae*; Ward-Perkins 1984: 205; Krautheimer 1985: 16 f.; Brandenburg 2004: 100 f.

[66] Oost 1965: 8.

[67] Arce 1988: 116. In 1458 was discovered by accident a marble sarcophagus containing two cypress-wood coffins, one large and one smaller. It was believed that they contained the remains of Constantine the Great and one of his sons. But, because the burial of Theodosius is the only case of child burial in the Mausoleum of Honorius known to us, it seems more reasonable to assume that the smaller coffin discovered in the fifteenth century contained his remains: Lanciani 1989: 77 f.; Johnson 1991: 337 f.; Mackie 1995: 402 f.

[68] Zecchni 1993: 194.

compositivi e stabiliscono l'impalcatura strutturale delle loro opere. Gellio dichiara apertamente il riuso disordinato di testi eterogenei («usi sumus ordine rerum fortuito, quem antea in excerpendo feceramus», *praef.* 2; «indistincte atque promisce annotabam eaque mihi ad subsidium memoriae», ibidem)[34], ma corregge in parte questo disordine selezionando diligentemente le questioni trattate nella sua vasta raccolta. Tale filtraggio è funzionale al raggiungimento delle finalità didascaliche e d'intrattenimento dell'opera. Gellio contrappone al procedimento dei Greci, i quali «multa et varia lectitantes ... sine cura discriminis solam copiam secati» (*praef.* 12), la propria tecnica di composizione del testo, e aggiunge: «ego vero ... modica ex his [*scil.* multis voluminibus] eaque sola accepi quae aut ingenia prompta expeditaque ad honestae eruditionis cupidinem utiliumque artium contemplationem celeri faciliaque compendio ducerent» (ibidem). La frase «honestae ... contemplatio» indica in realtà gli scopi educativi ed estetici dell'opera gelliana[35]. Così, le opinioni degli studiosi che negano[36] coerenza tematica e formale alle opere poichilografiche si possono confutare sulla base dei risultati della lettura attenta dei testi stessi: essa mostra che l'accumulazione disordinata di vari temi e citazioni è, nel caso della letteratura miscellanea, un effetto della strategia compositiva, ovvero del principio compositivo dei poichilografi.

La caratterizzazione della poichilografia antica come genere letterario appare oggi molto problematica[37] perché gli elementi tematici e strutturali caratteristici

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[34] La presenza delle dichiarazioni che sembrano esprimere la svalutazione delle proprie capacità artistiche da parte degli autori stessi è tipica per le opere miscellanee, come ha giustamente osservato Holford-Strevens, *o.c.* (n. 24), p. 26. Cfr. S.M. Beall, *Aulus Gellius 17.8: Composition and Gentleman Scholar*, CPh XCIV 1999, pp. 55–64.

[35] Cfr. M.H. Henry, *On the Aims and Purposes of Aulus Gellius' Noctes Atticae*, *ANRW* II 34, 2 (1994), p. 1919: «Gellius' statement that he has [...] culled the pleasurable, educational, or useful [...] invites his readers to plumb each anecdote for the source of the pleasure, the focus of the education, the use to which each remark may be put». Si veda anche Kindstrand, *o.c.* (n. 3), p. 2970: «Er [Eliano] will Wissen vermitteln, Unterhaltung geben und aus Stoff auch moralisierende Folgerungen ziehen».

[36] Come p. es. G.B. Conte, *Latin Literature*, trad. J. B. Solodow, Baltimore 1999, p. 583 che chiama Gellio «a dilettante», la sua opera «the unsystematic work of a dilettante». In modo simile lo studioso italiano chiama Plinio: «a dilettante scientist».

[37] È da notare che è difficile stabilire con chiarezza i criteri distintivi utilizzati dai classicisti moderni anche nella classificazione di altri tipi della prosa imperiale. Cfr. B.P. Reardon, *Courants littéraires grecs des II^e^ et III^e^ siècles après J.-C.*, Paris 1971, che caratteriza Ateneo e Pausania come «les antiquaires», Eliano e Polyeno come «les compilateurs», Filostrato, Alcifrone e Luciano come «les littérateurs». Queste classificazioni, a mio parere troppo generiche, erano motivate dall'incertezza degli eruditi moderni nell'attribuire all'uno o all'altro genere le opere degli autori dell'età imperiale. La questione dell'attribuzione delle opere prosastiche imperiali ai generi letterari rimane, agli occhi dei classicisti, il problema più difficile e non ancora risolta. Cfr. V. Binder, *Vir elegantissimi eloquii et multae undecumque scientiae. Das Selbstverständnis des Aulus Gellius zwischen Fachwissen und Allgemeinbildung*, in: *Antike Fachschriftsteller: literarischer Diskurs und sozialer Kontext*, hrsgg. von M. Horster, Ch. Reitz, Wiesbaden 2003, pp. 107 seg.

plerem: “de agris pe[rditis gemit”. De hac vi verbi *perdere* cfr. *ThLL* s.v. col. 1272, 15–38.

7. Ibidem, 8, 35: “]perfid[ ]dam contemptus[de]orum”. Ita Vergilium inducit Damonem suum casum lamentantem (*Buc*. 8, 32–35: “O digno coniuncta viro, dum despicis omnis [*scil*. Nysa] / dumque tibi est odio mea fistula dumque capellae / [...] / nec curare deum credis mortalia quemquam!” Ita scholium resarciendum censeo: “ob id quod] perfid[e facere quae]dam, contemptus [est de]orum”. Periuri atque perfidi, adnotat scholiasta, ideo sunt crudeles, quod deos non timent.

8. Servius *in Verg. Aen*. I 9: “QUIDVE DOLENS: bene philosophice dubitavit. Dicunt enim quidam ad deos nihil pertinere”. Excidit, opinor, aliquod verbum; restitue: “quidam ad deos nihil <nostra> pertinere”. Cfr. ibidem, I 11: “nam Epicurei dicunt deos humana penitus non curare”. Idem *in Verg. Buc*. 8, 35: “dum credis nullum deorum curare mortalia”.

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more to it than stylistic considerations. Such details are indicative of a dying person's attitude and the way in which he or she approaches the end of life. No piece of information is, from this perspective, irrelevant; they all build up into a picture of one who, in the face of death, is composed and courageous or, on the contrary, restless and terrified.

Thirdly, death is represented as, in a sense, a social event. People, as a rule, do not die in loneliness, they pass away accompanied by their families, friends, slaves, clients or pupils. This is especially the case with those committing suicide by abstaining from food or taking poison, as in the Valerian passage. Ancient writers frequently point to the basic difference of mood between a dying person and his or her companions. The former's peace of mind stands in sharp contrast to the worried agitation of those who, quite often, try to dissuade their friend, relative or master from choosing death[12]. A variant of this motif is found in some accounts of killings, especially executions where, paradoxically, it is a killer who is frightened whereas his victim even encourages him to do his duty[13].

Yet another characteristic feature of these accounts is that the last words of a dying person are recorded, usually in direct speech. They are frequently treated as highly significant and interpreted as the final message of one's life[14]. Obviously, this feature is closely connected with the last point. The social character of death is accomplished among others, perhaps above all, on the verbal level and the conversation between a dying person and his or her companions may be condensed into one short utterance of the main hero. The Valerian passage is not the best example since the Cean matron is by no means brief in her speech to the proconsul and, more importantly, this speech is followed by some other utterances of her which are however only mentioned, not given directly (an address to the family, a prayer to Hermes Psychopompos and comments on the growing effect of poison). On the other hand, Arria's "Paete non dolet" is perfectly paradigmatic. These words are uttered in a specific situation, with a concrete addressee in mind but, at the same time, they have a more general dimension and should be viewed as a symbolic recapitulation of the Roman matron's courageous life. There is, as a rule, a remarkable relationship between the dying words and the previous life of a person in question, so it is no accident that these words play

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[12] A good example is Nepos' description of the final illness and suicide of Atticus whose "tanta constantia vocis atque vultus" differs markedly from the behaviour of Marcus Agrippa ("cum quidem Agrippa eum flens atque osculans oraret atque obsecraret..."; *Att.* 22, 1 f.).

[13] See, e.g., Aufidius Bassus on the death of Cicero, quoted by Sen. *Suas.* 6, 18 (with "trementi deinde dubitantique" referring to the slaying soldier); Tac. *Ann.* XV 67, 4 on the execution of Subrius Flavus ("et ille multum tremens"). And compare Sil. I 179–181 (based, but improving upon, Livy XXI 2, 6) where executioners, tired with their work, are reproved by their victim.

[14] See W. Schmidt, *De ultimis morientium verbis*, Diss. Marburg 1914; Ch. Gnilka, *Ultima verba*, JACh XXII 1979, pp. 5–21.

opere poichilografiche sarebbe dimostrato – secondo gli studiosi di questa corrente[53] – dalle dichiarazioni dei poichilografi stessi. Plinio, per esempio, nella lettera dedicatoria a Tito, indica nelle persone comuni (*humile vulgus*) i destinatari della propria opera, e Gellio, quando dice: «nos ... prope ... subrustice», sembra voler sminuire le proprie capacità creative. Nell'esame di queste due dichiarazioni, però, non deve sfuggirci l'ironia che le attraversa e che svolge una funzione ben precisa, come giustamente hanno osservato Holford-Strevens[54] e Howe[55]. L'espediente retorico della negazione serve spesso a conferire un tono ironico alle parole degli scrittori e aggiunge un tocco di raffinatezza e una certa ambiguità ai loro testi. Anche se Eliano motiva l'uso della *poikilia* nella propria opera con l'intento di evitare la noia che una trattazione uniforme e monotona rischierebbe di ingenerare nel lettore (τῶι ποικίλωι τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τὸ ἐφολικὸν θηρῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων βδελυγμίαν ἀποδιδράσκων, *NA*, *epil.*)[56], il che potrebbe far pensare a un pubblico poco tenace e non molto pratico di lettura, si deve tener presente che, nelle epoche precedenti, la *poikilia* era stata considerata un'esibizione di erudizione letteraria, e che il lettore in grado di riconoscere gli elementi costitutivi di tale varietà meritava l'epiteto di *pepaideumenos*, cioè «persona colta»[57]. Per gli autori di età imperiale, come pure per i loro lettori, che guardavano con nostalgia al tempo in cui la *poikilia* era stata praticata e apprezzata[58], l'osservanza del principio della varietà divenne certamente una pratica «snob» da intellettuali.

Credo, infatti, che gli autori di opere poichilografiche, fingendo provocatoriamente di svalutare le proprie capacità artistiche e qualificando il proprio pubblico

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fand und eine bequeme Auswahl wünscht». Cfr. inoltre Binder, *o.c.* (n. 37), p. 113: «Die Buntschriftstellerei eines Aulus Gellius erfüllt die Funktion einer Abkürzung auf dem Wege zu einer gerade nicht allgemein, sondern als obersichtlich zumindest in Abgrenzung vom *vulgus* gekennzeichneten Bildung»; B. Meißner, *Die technologischen Fachliteratur der Antike. Struktur, Überlieferung und Wirkung technisches Wissens der Antike (ca. 400 v. Chr.–ca. 500 n. Chr.)*, Halle 1999, p. 213 su Plinio: «Wesentliche Funktion des Werkes ist die Reduktion der Komplexität und des Zeitaufwandtes bei der Informationsbeschaffung».

[53] Cfr. Healy, *o.c.* (n. 10), p. 40.

[54] *O.c.* (n. 24), p. 20.

[55] N.Ph. Howe, *In Defense of the Encyclopedic Mode: on Pliny's Preface to the Natural History*, Latomus XLIV 1985, p. 562.

[56] Cfr. Beall, *o.c.* (n. 34), p. 56: «to retain the interest of his readers Gellius extends the principle of *variatio* to his method of presenting sources [...] One result of this varied treatment is that Gellius' work lacks the stylistic predictability». Cfr., inoltre, Holford-Strevens, *o.c.* (n. 24), p. 29.

[57] Sul tema della cultura letteraria come l'indice dell'appartenenza alla classe dell'élite si veda M. Horster, *Literarische Elite? Überlegungen zum sozialen Kontext lateinischen Fachschriftsteller in Republik und Kaiserzeit*, in: *Antike Fachschriftsteller...* (n. 37), pp. 176–197.

[58] Sul valore dell'aggettivo *poikilos* si veda K. Bartol, *The Importance of Appropriateness. Rethinking the Definition of Nomos*, Philologus CXLII 1998, pp. 302 seg.

cata dalle opposte opinioni degli studiosi circa il valore letterario delle opere miscellanee.

La *poikilographia* di età imperiale è espressione di un'epoca pervasa di ammirazione per il grande passato della Grecia. La letteratura di quell'età contribuì notevolmente ad accentuare la nostalgia culturale e l'idea della superiorità del tempo passato. La tendenza della letteratura a coltivare tali sentimenti di ammirazione portò a riutilizzare il ricco materiale letterario degli autori classici e a considerarlo parte importante del nuovo codice letterario nella cornice culturale del mondo greco-romano. Questo atteggiamento rimase vivo non solo tra i Greci, che, sotto l'egemonia politica raggiunta da Roma con la conquista della Grecia, si definirono eredi e cultori delle tradizioni classiche, ma anche tra i Romani, che nella loro venerazione per la grandezza della cultura del passato vollero guardare alle età precedenti, riprendendo dagli autori antichi vari temi ed elementi lessicali[7].

Le origini della *poikilographia* risalgono tuttavia ad epoche anteriori all'impero. Sembra ragionevole la posizione di chi vede nell'epoca ellenistica i primi indizi di un interesse per modelli tematici e stilistici destinati ad essere impiegati più diffusamente nella letteratura poichilografica di età più tarda[8]. Va invece respinta la tesi che il genere letterario della *poikilographia* deriverebbe dalla speculazione e dall'insegnamento dei sofisti e dei peripatetici di età classica[9]. Quest'epoca, con la sua fervida vita intellettuale, contribuì tutt'al più alla nascita e alla diffusione dell'idea di ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, vale a dire «formazione generale» o «cultura enciclopedica», che diede impulso alla varietà di interessi propria della riflessione sofistica e dell'insegnamento impartito dai sofisti agli uomini liberi[10]. In tal modo la varia erudizione (*polymatheia*) o – per usare la definizione di Healy[11] – l'interdisciplinarità che caratterizzava gli interessi degli scrittori (e, si può supporre, dei loro destinatari) animò un clima culturale propizio alla letteratura poichilografica, ma non si tradusse in una produzione imponente di opere che incorporassero temi vari o rispecchiassero

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[7] Come p. es. Frontone e Aulo Gellio. Per questo problema si veda P.V. Cova, *Marco Cornelio Frontone*, *ANRW* II 32, 4 (1994), pp. 892–895 (cap. *L'arcaismo e il pensiero linguistico-letterario*) e D.W.T. Vessey, *Aulus Gellius and the Cult of the Past*, ibidem, pp. 1863–1917.

[8] Si veda Kindstrand, *o.c.* (n. 3), p. 2961, Neuhausen, *o.c.* (n. 1), p. 122.

[9] Su questa tesi insistono O. Regenbogen, *Pamphila*, *RE* XVIII 3 (1949), col. 327; Fuchs, *o.c.* (n. 2), col. 504; cfr. anche M. Vegetti, *Aristotele, il Liceo e l'enciclopedismo del sapere*, in: *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica*, a cura di G. Cambiano, L. Canfora, D. Lanza, vol. I: *La produzione e la circolazione del testo*, tomo 1: *La Polis*, Roma 1993, p. 593.

[10] Si veda J.F. Healy, *Pliny the Elder on Science and Technology*, Oxford 1999, p. 36: «In Greece, the Sophists had been the first to claim to impart to their pupils such knowledge as they might need in dayly life. Hippias of Elis [...] mastered all the subjects of instruction later referred to by Aristotle [...] as the branches of knowledge necessary for a freeman».

[11] Ibidem, pp. 32 seg.

woman and the weeping spectators of her death (it may be presumed, predominantly male spectators). The pupils of Socrates in the *Phaedo*, we remember, are also weeping and the philosopher reproaches them saying that it was precisely to prevent such scenes that he forbade his wife and other women of his household to come (117D). Thus, to return to the Roman writer, the woman behaves as if she were a man whereas the men behave as if they were women.

The same applies, although in a less marked manner, to Arria and Paetus. In his account of their joint suicide Cassius Dio, obviously following an earlier Roman source, notes the man's fear overcome only by the brave act of his wife[31]. Another case is related by Pliny in one of his letters (*Epist*. VI 24): an unnamed woman from the neighbourhood of Comum, having realized that her husband's illness was incurable, tied herself to him with a rope and threw herself down into the lake, so that they committed suicide together. The woman, explicitly compared to the famous Arria, is referred to by Pliny as "comesque ipsa mortis, dux immo et exemplum et necessitas". The phrase resembles Tacitus' description of the wife of the senior consular Mamercus Scaurus who, faced with the accusation, apparently on trumped-up charges, ends his life "hortante Sextia uxore, quae incitamentum mortis et particeps fuit" (*Ann*. VI 29, 4)[32]. Ancient texts yield numerous examples, both mythological and historical, of women, usually wives, following their male associates into death[33]. Such female figures as Laodamia or Euadne and, on historical level, Servilia, the daughter-in-law of the triumvir Lepidus, or Porcia, the daughter of Cato and the wife of Brutus, are spoken of, predictably enough, with approval and esteem. Valerius Maximus, for instance, plays himself with the idea that dying Porcia surpassed her famous father in bravery: "sed nescio an hoc fortius, quod ille usitato tu novo genere mortis absumpta es"[34]. However, the cases of Arria, the anonymous wife in Pliny or Sextia are different: these women, instead of following their husbands, actually took the initiative themselves and thus encouraged their male companions to join them.

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[31] Cass. Dio LX 16, 6: καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀποδειλιῶντα ἐπέρρωσε...

[32] And compare Pliny himself on Arria: "marito et solacium mortis et exemplum fuit" (*Epist*. III 16, 2).

[33] For some Roman examples, see S. Treggiari, *Roman Marriage. Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian*, Oxford 1991, pp. 486–488. We also have some interesting epigraphical evidence, see van Hooff, *o.c.* (n. 6), pp. 152 f. (note esp. *CIL* X 5920 on Oppia who is set side by side with Arria and Laodamia – although we are not certain whether she killed herself after her husband's death).

[34] VI 6, 5. She was said to have swallowed live coals. Similarly Servilia "quae vivo igni devorato praematura morte immortalem nominis sui pensavit memoriam" (Vell. II 88, 3). But perhaps they killed themselves by inhaling poisonous gas (see van Hooff, *o.c.* [n. 6], p. 63). As for Porcia, Plutarch is sceptical of the tradition that she died in grief for her husband (*Brut*. 53, 4 f.), rightly; see Treggiari, *o.c.* (n. 32), p. 487.

Der Text der Inschrift war aber schon seit langem bekannt. Er wurde nach älteren Lieferungen im *CIL* III 1608 unter den *Daciae incertae* veröffentlicht. Das Denkmal selbst stand bis im 19. Jh. in der adligen Residenz von Petreştii de Jos, danach gehörte es der Sammlung des Grafen Wass von Ţaga (beide im Kreis Cluj) an[3]. Von da kam es, irgendwann kurz nach dem 2. Weltkrieg, ins Stadtmuseum von Gherla[4]. Obwohl seine Abstammung unklar bleibt, weist die Art des Steines auf die Gegend von Gherla hin[5].

Die Transkription des Textes im *CIL* ist ziemlich treu dem Original gegenüber, nur in den 7. und 9. Zeilen gibt es Unklarheiten[6]. Das gilt ganz besonders für den letzten Namen aus der Z. 9[7]. Keine Andeutung und Datierung ist vorgeschlagen worden. Diesmal können wir eine direkte Überprüfung des Steines vornehmen.

Das vorliegende Denkmal hat die Form eines Parallelypipeds aus Stein, genauer aus kalkreichem Sandstein, und weist folgende Ausmaße auf: 137 cm Höhe, 68 cm Breite, 54 cm Dicke. Sowohl die Hinterseite als auch die rechte Seite sind nicht bearbeitet; die linke Seite wurde aber sorgfältig geschliffen. Die Vorderseite hat ein Schriftfeld von 119 x 50,5 cm mit einem Rand von ca. 3 cm Breite rundum, dann einen 8 cm breiten Rahmen, mit drei inneren ungleich voneinander gelegenen Rinnen. Das Verhältnis zwischen der Breite und Dicke des Steinblocks zeigt, daß es sich eher um ein Grab-*cippus* über eine Basis eines pilasterförmigen Denkmals die Rede wäre. Das sollte einem imposanten Grabbau angehört haben, wobei zu bemerken ist, dass in Gherla solche Denkmäler ähnlichen Typs und Dimensionen schon bekannt sind[8].

Der Text besteht aus zehn Zeilen. Zwischen der letzten Zeile und dem unteren Kästchenrand gibt es 34 cm. Die sorgfältig eingeschnittenen Buchstaben betragen 5,5 cm Höhe, ihre Breite ist aber unterschiedlich, die Formen sind manchmal übertrieben[9], und der zwischenzeilige Raum beträgt 2–2,5 cm. Die Raumgliederung des Textes und die Buchstabenzüge weisen darauf hin, dass der

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poca 1998). Dieses Denkmal wurde von R. Zăgreanu (*Ateliere de pietrari în epoca romană pe valea Someşului*, unveröffentlichte Magisterarbeit, Cluj-Napoca 2004, S. 117) bemerkt und bearbeitet.

[3] S. *CIL* III 1608, die Besprechung.

[4] Das soll während der Verstaatlichung sowohl der Residenz von Ţaga als auch des Armenischen Stadtmuseums, in den 50er Jahren erfolgt sein.

[5] Die im Petreştii de Jos aufbewährten Denkmäler waren sehr unterschiedlicher Abstammungen (s. *Repertoriul*... [Anm. 1], S. 308 f., Nr. 7).

[6] Der Text lautet wie folgt: „D. M. / Aelia Secundi/na vix. an. XIIII / et Aelia Crispina / vix. an. IIII / Aeli Secundus / et Deccia parent/es fil. pientiss. / et Ael. Constas (?) / mar."

[7] Dafür wurden hiermit vier Varianten vorgeschlagen.

[8] Zăgreanu, *o.c.* (Anm. 2), S. 85 f., 158–160.

[9] Vgl. die schmale Form mancher Buchstaben wie *E* oder *T*, die gebogenen waagerechten Hasten der Buschstaben *E* und *L*, die auf einer zu grossen Breite geschriebenen Buchstaben *D*, *M* oder sogar *N* u. s. w. All diese Zuge lassen eher auf das 3. Jh. n. Chr. als auf das vorige schliessen.

stowed by the emperor served to indicate the most probable future heir. Usually the title was given to the current emperor's sons when they were a few years old, especially when the ruler's authority did not have a solid basis yet or was threatened. In some cases we may suspect that the emperor's children received this title of honour already at the moment of birth. The title of *nobilissimus puer* was also bestowed on Valentinian, the future Emperor, who was not the son of Honorius but his sister Placidia, and in this case it clearly served to indicate the heir to the throne[58]. The practice of giving the title of *nobilissimus puer* to their children was also adopted by usurpers, as evidenced by Constantine III, who bestowed the title on one of his sons, Julian[59]. If we assume that Theodosius also received the title, we must ask who gave it to him. We should immediately exclude Honorius, who opposed his sister's marriage and his nephew's birth. In this situation the only person who could have done it was Attalus, crowned by Athaulf in 414. This questionable hypothesis can be neither ruled out nor borne out; however, it is worth returning to the only evidence in which the abbreviation is used in reference to Theodosius. The only author who listed all the figures placed on the fringe of the triumphal arch was Girolamo Rossi. His description is not only very detailed but it seems to prove that the author did not interfere with the text he copied and tried to be very faithful to what he saw. This is especially conspicuous when we compare his description with the one left by the author of *Tractatus B*, who treated the inscriptions he transcribed rather freely, interpreted the abbreviation *D* placed before the Emperors' names, not to mention the fact that of all the names there he copied only three[60]. It is supposed that G. Rossi used the text of *Tractatus B* but also saw the mosaics and inscriptions, which enabled him to correct and complete his source information. The condition of the portraits and inscriptions must have been good enough for Rossi not to have problems reading them. We know from the reports of two English travellers who visited Ravenna around the middle of the eighteenth century that fragments of the portraits were still visible at the time, which indicates that in 1568 they had not been completely destroyed[61]. If G. Rossi did not try to interpret the abbreviation *D*, it seems justified to suppose that he also left the term *nep.* in the original form, and therefore it was an abbreviation of the word

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[58] Olymp. fr. 33. 2; Philost. *HE* XII. 12; see: O'Flynn 1983: 67 f.

[59] Olymp. fr. 13.

[60] *Tractatus* B: "Sub quibus in junctura praefati arcus ita invenimus adsignatos versus, verum tantum supercapita *Imperatorum divorum*, id est, Constantii, Archadii, Valentiniani et ceterorum"; G. Rossi, *Historiae Ravennatum*: "Erat autem haec imagines in arcu testudinis ad dexteram quinque, quibus sic erat adscriptum: D. Constantinus, D. Theodosius, D. Arcadius, D. Honorius, Theodosius Nep…".

[61] Novara 1995: 551-556.

monuments funéraires les places inférieures par rapport à celles des propriétaires des tombeaux et de leur famille. Et c'est bien le cas ici. Leur sarcophage se trouve devant l'hérôon et il est probablement plus modeste que les autres. Cependant, quand des liens d'affection existent entre les propriétaires, leur famille et les *thremmata*, alors ils sont enterrées dans le même sarcophage que les propriétaires du tombeau ou avec leurs propres enfants[9].

À la fin il nous reste encore une autre question fort difficile ou plutôt impossible à résoudre: pourquoi G. Octavius Eutychès, Ephésien a construit le tombeau en commun avec un habitant d'Hypaipa, aux environs d'Hypaipa? Ce dernier semble être moins important comme copropriétaire, car sa contribution dans la construction du tombeau n'était probablement pas égale à celle de l'Ephésien. Seul un sarcophage semble lui appartenir.

Pour l'un et l'autre la construction de l'ensemble funéraire, de l'hérôon en commun devait être bien commode. Probablement aucun d'eux n'aurait pu construire tout seul un tel tombeau avec un terrain adjacent, car leurs moyens ne le permettaient pas[10]. On peut seulement supposer que les deux hommes étaient liés par des liens d'amitié et peut-être que l'un d'eux disposait d'un terrain près de Palkéanoi?

Rien ne permet d'esquisser une réponse, même la plus approximative concernant le métier et la fortune des deux hommes[11].

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[9] Pour les enfants recueillis et leur ensevelissement cf. Kubińska, *Les monuments*... (n. 1), pp. 162–163.

[10] Cf. ibidem, p. 163.

[11] Cf. ibidem, p. 163; M. Sartre, *L'Orient romain. Provinces et sociétés provinciales en Méditerranée orientale d'Auguste aux Sévères (31 avant. J.C.–235 après. J.C.)*, Paris 1991, p. 169.

nep(os)[62]. It indicated kinship to Theodosius I, the grandfather of Placidia's son, as a result of which the viewer could better understand who *Theodosius Nep* was.

It is another matter why Galla Placidia decided to place the image of her first-born, half-forgotten son among the portraits of emperors, to put him almost on a par with them. The whole gallery was to emphasise the legitimacy of the ruling dynasty. To achieve this goal the Empress also had the images of her brothers, Gratianus and John, who had died early, placed there. In this way she referred to the fact that their father, reigning in the East, established family relations with the Western imperial family. This was important in that Placidia herself and her son regained power in 425 thanks to Constantinople's military support. Displaying Theodosius' portrait may have also been aimed at strengthening Galla Placidia's position by showing that she was the mother of not one but two possible heirs to the West Roman throne[63]. We must not forget, however, that at least some of the portraits may have had a meaning other than political. They were placed in a church perhaps in order to focus the attention of churchgoers visiting the cult site on the dead whose memory was beginning to fade and to remind them of the necessity to pray for them.

In recent years G. Mackie's detailed analysis of the fragments of two medieval chronicles authored by Tommasso Tusco and Riccobaldo Ferrarensis showed that the iconographic representation of Theodosius in St John the Evangelist's church was not simply evoking his memory. Both Tommasso Tusco and Riccobaldo Ferrarensis mentioned the presence of a tomb with the inscription *Theodosius Imperator* in the church of S. Lorenzo in Caesarea and in a building traditionally called the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna. This could not have been the tomb of either Emperor Theodosius I or II, and the word *imperator* was probably the result of misinterpreting the abbreviation *INP – IN PACE*[64]. If G. Mackie's conjectures are correct then this is a clue about Theodosius' fate after his death.

Another argument in the discussion on Theodosius was provided by an observation made by S.I. Oost. In several detailed studies, whose publication preceded the now classical biography of Galla Placidia, he analysed some problems regarding the Empress' life that had not been solved before. Among others, he took note of the information provided by an anonymous continuator of Prosper of Aquitaine's chronicle, who attached his own narrative to one of the earlier editions of the chronicle. He made an intriguing comment on the burial of a Theodosius in the imperial mausoleum in Rome in the year 451.

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[62] Novara Piolanti 1995: 664; Amici 2000: 19; Zangara 2000: 276.

[63] Amici 2000: 39; Scharf 1996: 22, is even more sceptical.

[64] Mackie 1996: 396–404.

Athaulf, to be given a Roman military rank. The following part of the speech was to convince the readers of the benefits of combining the Roman order with the Gothic military potential; in this part there was talk of restoring the glory of the Roman name, which also must have influenced the potential readers of Orosius' work. The marriage to the Emperor's daughter was to guarantee in a way that Athaulf would loyally fulfil the duties of a Roman general. For this reason Orosius emphasised the role of Galla Placidia, giving her sole credit for this change in the chieftain's approach[13].

It is difficult to resist the impression that Athaulf's words quoted by Orosius may have been a reflection of opinions formulated soon after the famous wedding, aimed at explaining the motives of the authors of the plan and possibly clearing them of the accusation of co-operating with barbarians. Although we are unable to identify Jerome's and Orosius' source of information, the presence of this man in the Palestine less than a year after the reported event may indicate that he was among the group of people preparing the marriage and he left Gaul for fear of repressions[14]. Apart from a few names of the people who participated in the wedding ceremony, given by Olympiodorus, we have no prosopographical data that would enable us to determine who belonged to the group interested in the marriage of Galla Placidia and Athaulf. We may only guess that they were both Roman officials and Gallic aristocrats[15]. Gaul did not lack people unsatisfied with the actions of the Emperor. The experience of the recent usurpations of Constantine and Jovinus showed that at least some Gallic aristocrats were willing to support a usurper when they concluded that their interests were not taken care of well enough by the imperial court. The moment the Goths led by Athaulf entered Gaul, some influential Gallic circles realised that amicable relations with the newcomers would ensure stabilisation and peace. These expectations coincided with the intentions of the Goths, who having explored every possibility to reach an agreement with the Emperor, persuaded by the former usurper Attalus came to Gaul at the beginning of 412 in order to support another usurper, Jovinus. However, disagreements, whose true reasons are not quite clear to us, quickly broke out between the two parties. It seems that both parties wanted to promote their own interests without taking sufficient account of their partners' standpoint. It follows from Olympiodorus' account that Athaulf wanted to be the main support of Jovinus' power, which prompted his violent attack against Sarus, an old enemy and rival, and caused his discontent with the fact that Jovinus elevated

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[13] Marchetta 1987: 7–141; Zecchini 1989: 123; Heather 1991: 219 f.; Jiménez Garnica 1999: 93–115; Marcone 2003: 135–155.

[14] Hunt 1992: 264–274. For the identity of Orosius' informer see: Matthews 1975: 322; *PLRE* II: ANONYMUS 87 – INGENIVS; Frye 1991: 507 f.; Rebenich 1993: 118–122.

[15] Rousseau 1992: 358 f.

his brother Sebastian as co-emperor[16]. The increasing discrepancies made Athaulf abandon his ally and look for new ways of reaching an agreement with Honorius. In exchange for his help in suppressing Jovinus' rebellion, Rome promised Athaulf food supplies. When the Goths fulfilled their obligations, they were asked to return Galla Placidia. Moreover, as a result of Heraclian's rebellion sweeping across Africa, the Romans faced problems with delivering the promised grain[17]. Desperate, Athaulf decided to openly oppose Honorius and in the autumn of 413 he conquered Tulouse and Narbonne and tried, unsuccessfully, to take Marseille[18]. During the two years of their presence in Gaul, the Goths used all forms of pressure, but none of them proved fully successful. They remained a group that was present within the borders of the Empire but outside of the Roman order. Therefore, when the plan was formed to make Athaulf a Roman general, and he was even offered the prospect of entering the imperial family through his marriage to Placidia, the Gothic chieftain accepted it. It was Placidia's presence among the Goths that seemingly increased the chances of a successful implementation of this project, but in reality it proved to be the main hindrance. Placidia herself must have been favourably disposed towards the offer of marrying Athaulf. We have no information about possible resistance on her part, neither do we know if she actively participated in the preparations for the wedding, although it would seem impossible that any decisions were made without her involvement. The marriage changed her status from hostage, which she had been for three years, to the wife of the king of the Goths. It seems that the marriage to the Roman princess could bring also some profits to Athaulf strengthening his personal position among the Goths.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion it may be concluded that the marriage between Placidia and Athaulf was an attempt to put pressure on the Emperor Honorius, a way to get him to make concessions and approve the plan of solving Rome's current problems by giving Athaulf a Roman military rank and turning the Goths into an army serving the Emperor. There is no indication that the plan had been agreed on with the Emperor, which means that he was faced with an accomplished fact. It cannot be excluded that the initiators of the marriage believed the Emperor would not oppose the initiative in which the Emperor's sister participated. They were wrong, however, and the co-operation of the Gallic Romans and the Visigoths brought about an impetuous reaction from the imperial court. Honorius and his advisors, including the ambitious general Flavius Constantius, had no intention of accepting this grassroots initiative. They

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[16] Olymp. fr. 20, 1; see: Wolfram 1990: 175 f.; Rousseau 1992: 355; Burns 1994: 256.

[17] Olymp. fr. 22, 1 f.

[18] Hyd. 55; Olymp. fr. 22, 2; the comportment of Athaulf could be explained by the famine in the southern Gaul: *Chron. Gall. ad an.* CCCCLII 72.

not take part in this ceremony). We cannot categorically rule out the political interpretation of these gestures that, like the image in St John the Evangelist's church, might have been aimed at emphasising the right of her successors to the throne of the Western Empire. We should not, however, overestimate the political meaning. What is equally, or perhaps even more, important are some reasons clearly related to the mentality of the times. Taking Theodosius' body from the church near Barcelona and moving it to Ravenna, and later to Rome, Placidia was driven by the intention to secure him a safe burial place, protecting him from the destructive forces of nature and man, which was the basic obligation the living had towards the dead[70]. With time this desire led Placidia to place him under the protection of St Peter. What could have been just as important was the wish to call the attention of the living to Theodosius, as a result of which his memory could survive. His burial in the imperial mausoleum meant that he rested among his family; it was also a reiteration that the half-barbarian was an equal member of the family reigning in the Western part of the Roman Empire.

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[70] See interesting comments of Pietri 1986: 134 f.

Le deuxieme chapitre est très important pour notre thèse et est consacré au problème de l'oralité des textes de Paul dans le contexte rhétorique de l'antiquité. Les refléxions menées sur ce sujet ont été inspirées par les idées des chercheurs de l'école d'*oral biblical criticism*[6]. Tout d'abord il fallait rappeler que la culture ancienne gréco-romaine était une culture rhétorique. On peut dire que la rhétorique y organisait la vie sociale et on sait que les études rhétoriques étaient le dernier et le plus important degré dans le processus de l'éducation ancienne. Presque tout le monde avait un contact avec la rhétorique ou devait l'utiliser dans la vie cotidienne. La communication orale, malgré la circulation des textes écrits, restait toujours prédominante dans cette culture[7]. Nous avons essayé de répondre à la question de savoir si cette contexte rhétorique pourrait influencer aussi le mode de la réception des textes littéraires en général, ce qui est bien sûr important à propos des épîtres de Saint Paul.

Il nous semble qu'il y a quelques éléments qui sont essentiels dans ce contexte. Tout d'abord il faut se souvenir que le nombre des lecteurs dans l'antiquité était assez limité. W. Harris par exemple dit d'environ dix pour cent de population littéraire à l'époque du principat[8]. La situation était naturellement differente dans les autres périodes et places, mais on peut dire qu'en général il n'y avait pas beaucoup de personnes capables de lire indépendamment par exemple les épîtres de Paul. Alors la lecture publique à haute voix était non seulement une coutume spécifique des anciens, mais dans la plupart des cas simplement la nécessité[9]. Une

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[6] Parmi les autres: J.D. Harvey, *Listening to the Text: Oral Patterning in Paul's Letters*, Leicester 1998 (ETS Studies); C.W. Davis, *Oral Biblical Criticism. The Influence of the Principles of Orality on the Literary Structure of Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, JSNTSup 172, Sheffield 1999 (JSNTSup 172); P.J. Achtemeier, *"Omne Verbum Sonat": The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity,* JBL CIX 1990, pp. 3–27; F.D. Gilliard, *More Silent Reading in Antiquity: Non omne verbum sonabat*, JBL CXII 1993, pp. 689–696; P.J.J. Botha, *The Verbal Art of the Pauline Letters: Rhetoric, Performance and Presence*, dans: *Rhetoric...* (n. 3), pp. 409–428.

[7] L. Alexander, *The Living Voice: Scepticism towards the Written Word in Early Christian and in Graeco-Roman Texts*, dans: *The Bible in Three Dimensions*, ed. by D.J.A. Clines, S.E. Fowl and S.E. Porter, Sheffield 1990 (JSOTSS 87), pp. 221–247; W.J. Ong, *Oralność i piśmienność: słowo poddane technologii*, przełożył i wstępem opatrzył J. Japola, Lublin 1992.

[8] W. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge, Mass. 1989, pp. 22–24. Les autres opinions dans: R. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge 1999, passim; *Literacy in the Roman World*, ed. by J.H. Humphrey, Ann Arbor 1991 (Journal of Roman Archeology, Supplementary Series Number 3), passim.

[9] C'était aussi le cas de la lecture privée, mais ici la raison était la compétence dans la lecture. Ce problème est analysé en détail dans la dissertation. Sur ce sujet voir parmi les autres: J. Balogh, *Voces paginarum. Beiträge zur Geschischte des lauten Lesens und Schreibens*, Philologus LXXXII 1927, pp. 84–109, 202–240; G.L. Hendrickson, *Ancient Reading*, CJ XXV 1929–1930, pp. 182–196; W.P. Clark, *Ancient Reading*, CJ XXV 1929–1930, pp. 698–700 ; B.M.W. Knox, *Silent Reading in Antiquity*, GRBS IX 1968, pp. 421–435; P.J. Achtemeier, *o.c.* (n. 6), pp. 3–27; F.D. Gilliard, *o.c.* (n. 6), pp. 689–696; A.K. Gavrilov, *Techniques of Reading in Classical Antiquity*, CQ XLVII 1997, pp. 56–73; M.F. Burnyeat, *Postscript on Silent Reading,* CQ XLVII 1997, pp. 74–76; S. Bunsch, *Lautes und leises Lesen in der Antike,* RhM CXLV 2002, pp. 1–45.

Honoria's story, has been criticised, it is worth considering whether reminding of Theodosius' figure might have been so significant politically[69].

It seems that Theodosius' parents, especially Galla Placidia, had some plans related to his birth in connection with solving the question of succession to the throne in the West. In the literature on the subject the emphasis on these intentions is mostly based on indirect source information about Theodosius but to a much larger extent follows from the knowledge of the following events, e.g. the fact that Valentinian, the son of Galla Placidia and Constantius, became Honorius' heir. In this case the person of Galla Placidia enabled solving the matter of succession to the throne but the succession was not in the matrilinear line, since Constantius was bestowed the title of August in 421 and became Honorius' co-regent. This fact is commonly regarded as the best means to ensure the throne for Valentinian, although his accession to power faced some difficulties following both from conflicts at the Ravenna court and Constantinople's hostile response. It is an unlikely assumption that a solution similar to that adopted in the case of Constantius would have been applied to the barbarian Athaulf. The hypothetical possibility that Theodosius would succeed Honorius in the future was advantageous mostly to Placidia herself, as it guaranteed her new and increasing political influences. As the wife of a barbarian chieftain, who would serve the Emperor with his army, and at the same time the mother of the heir to the throne, she would have had a very strong position, becoming in fact a figure of paramount importance in the West, which she after all achieved in the following years, using a very similar means (marriage to the Roman general Constantius). The death of Theodosius and Athaulf cancelled those plans. Additionally, the hostile reaction of not only the imperial court but also public opinion must have made her aware how difficult it would have been to implement this plan. Placidia's return to Italy in 416 did not mean that she had closed the door on the Gothic episode of her life, although she only started to show her devotion to the memory of her dead son publicly after 425, when she became the regent in the West, thus gaining some freedom of action. All references to Theodosius in literature and iconography were made after this date, but they should not be interpreted by means of the same theories and hypotheses as his birth. In 425 the situation was different than in 415, as were Galla Placidia's goals.

All testimonies of preserving the memory of Theodosius are related to Placidia. It was she who ordered to place his image in the church she had erected in Ravenna; it was on her initiative that his remains were ceremoniously buried in the family mausoleum in Rome. The ceremony was attended by senators and Pope Leo, but they probably participated not because of Theodosius but because of Placidia's presence (it ought to be noticed that the Emperor Valentinianus did

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[69] Stickler 2002: 125–129.

informa di aver mescolato, all'interno di essa, vari elementi tematici (ἀνέμιξα ... τὰ ποικίλα). Quanto alla tecnica compositiva dei suoi scritti, egli la paragona alla pratica della tessitura e dell'intreccio, ponendo così l'accento sul collegamento fra i differenti argomenti via via affrontati.

La varietà dei temi è legata ad un'altra delle caratteristiche prima elencate della poichilografia, cioè all'impiego di numerose citazioni da opere di autori precedenti[31]. Si potrebbe quasi dire che l'insistenza dei poichilografi antichi sull'accumulazione di citazioni sia il loro tratto distintivo principale. Eliano, definendo il proprio saggio *Sulle proprietà degli animali* con le parole συγγραφή, συνθήκη, e confessando: εἶπον, ὅσα πάντες ἢ πλεῖστοι (*NA*, *epil.*), dichiara il carattere compilativo della propria opera. Ma egli non si limita a riesumare passi tratti da grandi autori del passato. Infatti, asserendo: εἶπον τινα, ὧν οὐκ ἄλλος εἶπε (ibidem), Eliano afferma la propria consapevolezza di creare un testo affatto nuovo. Egli sostiene che la dipendenza dall'eredità letteraria e intellettuale della grecità classica, vale a dire il riuso di materiali letterari – pratica molto diffusa fra i letterati di età imperiale –, non debba fungere da garanzia di qualità di un'opera poichilografica. Secondo lui, il giudizio deve riguardare piuttosto la dimensione estetica ed artistica di un'opera: in altre parole, la novità oppure l'originalità del testo. Anche la dichiarazione di Gellio presenta qualche somiglianza con quella di Eliano, nel senso che anch'essa insiste sulla priorità dei valori estetici nella valutazione di un'opera («quantum censimus in cura et elegantia scriptionis», *praef.* 10).

Siamo giunti così a riflettere sulla terza delle componenti distintive della *poikilographia*: l'orientamento estetico, ovvero l'elaborazione artistica del testo. Eliano (*NA*, *epil.*), quando osserva: ἀνέμιξα τὰ ποικίλα ποικίλως, afferma che riesce non solo ad accumulare temi differenti all'interno di una stessa opera, ma anche a raccordare gli elementi contenutistici l'uno all'altro in un percorso coerente e piacevole. Questi riferimenti alle tecniche di elaborazione dei testi sono però molto vaghi e non offrono una chiave di interpretazione della strategia discorsiva adottata nelle opere miscellanee. Nella produzione superstite emergono però con chiarezza le concezioni compositive e stilistiche elaborate dagli autori di queste opere. Continuando una prassi iniziata da Platone, cioè seguendo lo svolgimento di un simposio[32], oppure imitando i racconti inscritti nella tradizione delle memorie senofontee[33], gli autori fissano i principi

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[31] Cfr. S.J. Harrison, *Apuleius. A Latin Sophist*, Oxford 2003, p. 92–94, secondo il quale il titolo *Florida* allude appunto al carattere compilativo dell'opera di Apuleio. Cfr. p. 92: «'flowery parts' which might indicate choice selections culled from a longer original without stylistic reference, or pieces with 'flowery' style», e p. 94: «*Florida* is thus a collection of excerpts itself from a choice collection». Ma si veda Vardi, *o.c.* (n. 24), p. 299. Egli osserva che il titolo *Florida* – come *Pratum,* Λειμών, Ἀνθηρά – denotano, nel senso metaforico, la varietà tematica di quest'opera.

[32] Su questo tema si veda J. Martin, *Deipnonliteratur*, *RAC* III (1957), coll. 658–666.

[33] Si veda ibidem.

his surviving works, Cassiodorus. The latter's account in the *Chronica* was similar to that of Prosper, whose chronicle was his basic source of information, mentioning only Galla Placidia's return to Italy in 416[30]. We know from other parts of Cassiodorus' work that he sometimes modified Prosper's account, especially when the correction or additional information presented the Goths in a better light and enabled him to emphasise their merits[31]. We also know that in *Variae* he painted a rather unfavourable picture of Galla Placidia, accusing her of weakening Italy's defence[32]. In the light of the above it is likely that in the lost *Gothic History* he did not mention the marriage and the child's birth either, which naturally does not mean that he did not know about these events. What is equally intriguing is Jordanes' silence, which A. Amici recently tried to explain. She comes to the conclusion that if Jordanes had known about the birth of Theodosius, which according to her was a symbol of Romano–Visigothic reconciliation, he would have used this information in his work, just like he used – for propaganda reasons – the birth of Germanus the Younger, the son of Matasunta and Germanus, a relative of the Emperor Justinian[33]. I am not sure, however, whether the fact that Jordanes did not mention Theodosius' birth in the *Getica* must necessarily mean that he had no knowledge of it. There are several objections against this hypothesis. Firstly, the only author who devoted more attention to Theodosius' birth was Olympiodorus, whose work was known mostly in Constantinople, where Jordanes wrote. Moreover, Jordanes' whole account of the history of the Visigoths in the years 410–418, although subject to various manipulations, clearly proves a good grasp of events from that period. Jordanes is the only author who pointed to Forum Iulii, rather than Narbonne, as the place of Placidia's marriage ceremony[34]. Attempts at explaining this information that stands out from the rest have not brought commonly accepted results, but this does not mean that the information is completely worthless[35]. Since there was no place called Forum Iulii in Aemilia, but there was a place called Forum Livii (Forlì) near Ravenna, it seems that Jordanes confused the two places, although the importance of his information consists in confirming the Gothic presence near Ravenna in 411. This may indicate that Athaulf, trying to take advantage of the fact that he kept Galla Placidia hostage, approached Ravenna on his way

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[30] Cass. *Chron.* 1243.

[31] Croke 2003: 360.

[32] Cass. *Variae* XI 1, 9.

[33] On the birth of Germanus: Jord. *Get.* 314. Amici 2002: 104; see also Goffart 1988: 69–73.

[34] Jord. *Get.* 160.

[35] Sirago 1961: 172; Oost 1968: 106; Demougeot 1979: 466; Marchetta 1987: 190; Cesa 1992/1993: 34.

certain[4]. According to Hodot the form should be read with one <σ> (Hodot 1975: 121) the same proposal may be found in the edition in *IK* V 19. It should be noted, however, that examples of the orthography with double <σσ> in this inscription are few: ευεργετησαντεσσι l, 9, παντεσσι τοις αγωνεσσιν l29 f. or τοις ισσοθεοισι l,15, of which only the first three forms have dialectal endings; ισσοθεοισι is surely an example of a hyperaeolism (cf. Sapph. fr. 31 V. ἴσος θέοισι; Hodot 1975: 130). The stone, however, has the orthography with one <σ> (cf. a photograph in ZPE XIX 1975, tab. II), even if one would expect the regular Greek form continuing the Class. adv. πασσυδί[5].

As far as the word-formation is concerned, the form πασυδιασαντος seems to be an example of a secondary derivative in -άζω from a form of the adv. πασσυδί (see above), attested since Homer with a fairly broad meaning 'with all one's force, with all speed, coming all together, in a body, in a full force' (LSJ); cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* II 12:

> θωρῆξαί ἑκέλευε κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς
> **πανσυδίῃ**· νῦν γάρ κεν ἕλοι πόλιν εὐρυάγυιαν[6];
> Bid him arm the long-haired Achaeans with all speed,
> since now he may take the broad-wayed city… (transl. S. Butler).

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[4] According to Chantraine, the examples of fluctuation between the forms yielding an /ns/ cluster vs. /s/ in the Homeric text, e.g. ἀστήτην vs. ἀνστήτην, ἔσπετε vs. ἔνσπετε, could point to the fact that the other possibility was also already known in Alexandrean times (Chantraine 1958: 172).

[5] The solution may be related to the problem of dephonologization of geminates in the κοινή, where frequent orthographic variation between <CC> and <C> is observed. Theodorsson gives 31 examples for such graphemic neutralization in Hellenistic Attic from the 3rd cent. BC onwards: e.g. Μηδισα for Μηδισσα, Αλικαρνασευς for Αλικαρνασσευς, εκκλησιαις for εκκλησσιαις, Λαοδικισα (1st cent. BC) for Λαοδικισσα, as well as examples of the opposite direction, e.g. χαρισστηριον (1st cent. BC) for χαριστηριον, or Μενεσστρατος (1st cent. BC) for Μενεστρατος. He points out that the intervocalic context is the most evident one and postulates the general equalization of consonant length in Hellenistic Attic (Theodorsson 1978, 52 ff.; 86 ff.). The same process may be found also in the local variant of the κοινή in Egypt, where 213 examples of the change <CC> into <C> can be observed and 62 the other way round, e.g. πρασειν (13 BC) for πρασσειν, τεσαρα (22 BC) for τεσσαρα or καταβησση (1st cent. AD) for αταβηση, ερρωσσο (22 BC) for ερρωσο (Theodorsson 1977: 196, 199). The analogical process is attested from the same period in Lesbian (from the 3rd cent. BC onwards). There are instances of graphic simplification of geminated consonants, as σταλα- for σταλλα-, επρασον for επρασσον, εν Πελοπονασω for Πελοποναssω (both end of 3rd cent. BC), τον γραμματεα Απολαν for τ. γ. Απολλαν (2nd cent. BC), etc. Conversely, one may observe also doubled orthography of some forms, as e.g. τα ιρα χρημμα[τα] (3rd cent. BC) for τ. ι. χρηματα, επαινεσσαι (end of 3rd cent. BC) for επαινεσαι, οππως (2nd cent. BC) for οπως, with a tendency to increase in the Roman Period (Hodot 1990: 90 f.).

[6] Cf. also *Il.* XI 709, with the context of horses: ἦλθον ὁμῶς αὐτοί τε πολεῖς καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι / πανσυδίῃ· μετὰ δέ σφι Μολίονε θωρήσσοντο.

stesso. Naturalmente, il lettore che cercasse un'informazione specifica poteva ben consultare selettivamente anche gli scritti poichilografici, ma una lettura continua ci permette di cogliere la tecnica compositiva e la coerenza di questi testi caratterizzati dalla diversità e dalla varietà, tanto tematiche quanto formali[48].

Le opere poichilografiche, con la loro struttura digressiva così apprezzata in questo periodo, rivelano affinità anche con i testi biografici[49] e con il romanzo[50], due generi letterari che godono di notevole popolarità in età imperiale. Il gusto dei poichilografi per l'impiego di motivi e tecniche compositive rinvenibili anche in altri generi letterari dev'essere considerato alla luce della collocazione sociale dei singoli generi. Sembra che la produzione poichilografica fosse indirizzata allo stesso pubblico appassionato anche di altre forme di letteratura erudita, cioè di opere paradossografiche, periegetiche, enciclopediche, biografiche e romanzesche[51]. La tendenza, dimostrata da autori di vari generi letterari nella vastissima produzione prosastica imperiale, ad affascinare i lettori con l'esibizione di erudizione e di un'ampia gamma di argomenti rispondeva probabilmente alle attese di un pubblico che chiedeva agli scrittori una rielaborazione di brani della letteratura del passato.

La critica moderna ha spesso sostenuto che i poichilografi destinassero le loro opere a un pubblico di bassa estrazione culturale che, schiacciato dalla vastità della dottrina contenuta nella ricchissima produzione letteraria delle epoche precedenti, si avvalesse del contributo di abili compilatori di opere divulgative di carattere onnicomprensivo[52]. Che tale fosse il pubblico cui erano destinate le

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[48] Negli studi recenti sono stati ampiamente indagati i problemi riguardanti la coerenza tematica e compositiva dei *Deipnosophistae* di Ateneo. Fondamentali su quest'aspetto dei *Dotti a banchetto* sono i contributi presentati nel tomo pubblicato a Exeter, *Athenaeus and His World. Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire*, eds. D. Braund, J. Wilkins, Exeter 2000. Per una attenta rassegna critica degli studi recenti si veda J. Danielewicz, *Nowe spojrzenia na „Ucztę mędrców" Atenajosa*, Meander LVII 2002, pp. 109–123. Sembra infondato l'intento polemico di O. Murray teso alla demolizione di risultati degli studi moderni, si veda O. Murray, *Sympotica – Twenty Years on*, Pallas LXI 2003, p. 19: «But the basic question, what is the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus, remains to me problematic; should we understand it as a literary work, a dialogue intended for reading; [...] or should we rather see it as a work of reference, whose banquet organisation is simply a means of faciliating reference to the information it contains on a thematic basis...?».

[49] Per le affinità dei testi biografici di età imperiale con vari generi letterari si veda S. Swain, *Biography and Biographic in the Literature of the Roman Empire*, in: *Portraits. Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire*, eds. J.M. Edwards, S. Swain, Oxford 1997, pp. 1–37.

[50] Per i rapporti del romanzo con vari generi letterari si veda C. Ruiz-Montero, *The Rise of the Greek Novel*, in: *The Novel in the Ancient World,* ed. G.L. Schmeling, Leiden 1996, pp. 29–85.

[51] Cfr. N.G. Wilson, *Aelian. Historical Miscellany*, Cambridge, Mass.–London 1997, p. 2.

[52] Cfr. Kinstrand, *o.c.* (n. 3), p. 2961: «Der ursprüngliche Grund für diese Art von Schriftstellerei dürfte darin zu finden sein, daß man die vorhandene Literatur zu umfangreich

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A NOTE TO LESBIAN πασυδιαζω *KYM* 015, 4*

By

WOJCIECH SOWA

In a honorary decree from Asian Kyme occurs an interesting example of elsewhere unattested verb *πασυδιαζω in the meaning 'to assembly (people)'. This *hapax legomenon* yields here only the aorist participle in gen. sg., being obviously the semantic equivalent of the forms of the verbs widely attested in such a context, e.g. συγκαλέω, ἀθροίζω, or συλλέγω, cf. *KYM* 015, 4 (2 BC–14 AD):

> ...επι δ]η τουτοισι τω δα[μω]ονια **πασυδιασαντος** και [μεγαλο]πρεπεστα[τ]αις τειμαις δογματιζοντος...
> ...and thereupon the people, having assembled, decided to give the highest honour...

Two possible readings, πασσυ° or πασυ°, have been suggested. The older one (e.g. Hoffmann 1893: 122, n. 173) refers to the related forms of the adverbs πασσυδί, πασσυδεί, or πασσυδία which all occur in Classical Greek[1]. In Homer the corresponding forms are attested in two variants, πανσυδίῃ (most of the manuscripts and papyri, e.g. *Il.* II 12, 29, 66; XI 709, 725), and πασσυδίῃ or even πανσσσυδίηι[2]. According to tradition, the *lectio* with <ν> can be traced back to Aristarchus[3], such a statement should not, however, be considered

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* Lesbian dialectal inscriptions have been cited according to the convention proposed by Hodot 1990: 272–317; the abbreviations follow this proposal, i.e. *KYM* 015 = standard *IK* V 19. For the concordance of Lesbian inscriptions see Hodot 1990: 318–322.

[1] Cf. e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* I 4, 18: ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὁρῶν ἐκβοηθοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους **πασσυδί**, ἐκβοηθεῖ.

[2] Cf. Vind. 39, 14th cent., Vind. 5, 14th–15th cent., Harl. 1771, 15th cent., Harl. 5693, approx. 13th cent., Vat. 1319, 13th cent., *PAnt.* 156, 3rd/4th cent., *POxy.* 2747, 5th/6th cent.; cf. also Townleianus, van Thiel 1996.

[3] Cf. *Schol. in Il.* II 12a (Dindorf 1875: 72): <**πανσυδίῃ**·> οὕτως διὰ τοῦ ν τὸ πανσυδίῃ ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος, καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἄνστησον (X 176) καὶ τάχα δ' ἀνστήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν (II 694). κἀν ταῖς πλείοσι δὲ καὶ χαριεστέραις τῶν ἐκδόσεων οὕτως εἶχον. A; cf. also Erbse 1969: 180.

Also geht es um eine Grabinschrift. Sie wurde auf das Grab zweier Mädchen – ersichtlicherweise zweier Geschwister – gesetzt: Aelia Secundina starb im Alter von 14 Jahren, und Aelia Crispina von nur 4 Jahren. Selbstverständlich hat der Tod an unterschiedlichen Daten und in einer anderen Reihenfolge stattfinden können, denn die Errichtung einer beeindruckenden Grabanlage kostete viel und dauerte lange. Einfach nur ihre Existenz zeigt, dass diese Familie Aelia eine sehr gute materielle Lage hatte.

Die Eltern der Mädchen, die Widmer des Denkmals, werden im Text explizite genannt. Sie haben denselben Familiennamen, Aelius, im Plural gesetzt (ohne Verdoppelung des letzten Vokals)[12]. Daraus geht klar hervor, dass diese Familie die römische Staatsbürgerschaft irgendwann unter Hadrian bekommen hat[13]. Die Tatsache, dass beide Eltern denselben Familienname tragen, weist in diesem Fall nicht auf eine niedrige Herkunft oder sogar auf den Status von Freigelassenen desselben Herren hin[14]. Der Gentiliz Aelius war zu der Zeit sehr häufig in den Provinzen, einschließlich in Dakien, und vor allem in dem Militärmilieu[15], so dass es sich nur um einen Zufall die Rede sein kann. Auch wenn sie ziemlich reich war, scheint diese Familie nicht zu der Lokalaristokratie gehört zu haben; der Vater war weder Militär, noch übte er jedwelches Lokalamt aus. Höchstwahrscheinlich handelt es sich um eine Familie mit Vermögen, die in dem Militärvicus um das Lager der dortigen Hilfstruppe wohnte[16] und vor allem aus nicht landwirtschaftlichen Beschäftigungen reich wurde.

Hervorzuheben ist die Namengebung dieser Leute. Der Vater trägt den Beinamen Secundus, woraus auch der Name einer seiner Töchter (Secundina) abgeleitet wurde, während die zweite Crispina heißt. Alle diese *cognomina* guter römischer Herkunft sind bei den romanisierten Kelten, vor allem im Mitteleuropa

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[12] H. Mihăescu, *La langue latine dans le sud-est de l'Europe*, Bucureşti–Paris 1978, S. 188 f.

[13] Die Nachfolger der durch Kaiser Hadrian eingebürgerten Leute tragen den Namen Publius Aelius und sind in den Donauprovinzen sehr zahlreich (A. Mócsy, *Beiträge zur Namenstatistik*, Budapest 1985 [Dissertationes Pannonicae III/3], S. 26, 52); eben deshalb geben sie ihren Vornamen nicht mehr an. Die anderen Aelii, die Nachfolger derer, die die Staatsbürgerschaft von Antoninus Pius bekommen haben, sind viel geringer in der Zahl und schreiben in der Regel auch ihren Vornamen Titus.

[14] Im Falle der seltenen Namen, die in der römischen Gesellschaft nicht sehr verbreitet (durch ihre Gebung an breiten Kategorien von neuen Bürgern) waren, ist diese Feststellung nicht mehr gültig: derselbe Gentiliz der Ehegatten kann gerade ihren Rechtsstatus als Freigelassene desselben Herren beweisen. Vgl. I. Piso, *Die soziale und ethnische Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung in Sarmizegetusa und in Apulum*, in: W. Eck (Hrsg.), *Prosopographie und Sozialgeschichte. Studien zur Metodik und Erkenntnismöglichkeit der kaiserzeitlichen Prosopographie (Kolloquium Köln, 24.–26. November 1991)*, Köln–Wien–Weimar 1993, S. 328.

[15] Mócsy, *o.c.* (Anm. 13), S. 47–57; B. Lörincz, Fr. Redő, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, I, Budapest 1994, S. 33–38.

[16] Wir glauben immerhin, dass der Stein aus der Umgebung von Gherla stammt (s. oben).

from southern Italy and perhaps tried to start negotiations with Honorius. The next part of Jordanes' report shows that the attempt failed, although the author goes out of his way to make sure the reader does not get this impression. In his account Athaulf entered Forum Iulii only to marry Galla Placidia and then willingly left Italy although Honorius, with no material means at his disposal, was supposedly totally helpless in the face of the unfolding events[36]. He did not comment on any instances of Rome's hostility towards the Goths but at the same time tried to emphasise the beneficial results of the Goths' wars against other barbarians in Gaul and Spain. Jordanes was familiar with Orosius' work, which he mentioned several times; moreover, his commentary on the information about the marriage between Athaulf and Galla Placidia was something of a summary of Athaulf's alleged speech quoted by none other than Orosius[37]. He also consulted the oral tradition, which provided him with information unknown to other authors (the second conquest of Rome by Athaulf – what is unlikely, the place of the marriage, the name of Athaulf's assassin). Reporting this unknown information on the one hand enabled Jordanes to conceal the fact that the attempt at normalising the Romano–Visigothic relations through the marriage of Athaulf and Galla Placidia was inspired by the Romans, and on the other hand to pass over in silence the actual failure of the attempt[38]. It is possible that his failure to report on Theodosius also resulted from the unwillingness to admit that even the birth of the Roman princess' son could not break the resistance of the imperial court. It is difficult to draw a conclusion about the Gothic oral tradition based on Jordanes' and Cassiodorus' silence, but the unusualness of the events related to Galla Placidia's presence among the Goths was conducive to preserving the memory of them.

III

The first and at the same time the last written mention about Theodosius comes, as I have already mentioned several times, from Olympiodorus' work. It is difficult to tell when exactly his narrative was written. There is no doubt that he was writing after 425 (the last reported event) and prior to 450 (the death of Theodosius II, to whom the work was dedicated), but the majority of attempts at determining the time of publication indicates the late 430s or the beginning

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[36] Jord. *Get*. 160.

[37] Jord. *Get*. 160.

[38] On the using of the Gothic oral tradition by Jordanes see various opinions put forward by Goffart 1988: 26–29, 38 f.; Zecchni 1993a: 193–209; Burns 1994: 260; Croke 2003: 366, 374.

Erbse 1969: H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera)*, rec. H. Erbse, vol. I, Berolini 1969.

Frisk, *GEW* = H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1960.

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Hodot 1990: R. Hodot, *Le dialecte éolien d'Asie. La langue des inscriptions, VII^e s. a. C.–IV^e s. p. C.*, Paris 1990.

Hoffmann 1893: O. Hoffmann, *Die Griechischen Dialekte in ihrem historischen Zusammenhange mit den wichtigsten ihrer Quellen*, vol. II: *Der nord-achäische Dialekt*, Göttingen 1893.

IG XII, 2 = *Inscriptiones Graecae,* vol. XII, fasc. 2: *Inscriptiones Lesbi, Nesi, Tenedi*. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum regiae Borussicae edidit W. Paton, Berolini 1899.

IK V = *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, vol. V: *Die Inschriften von Kyme*, hrsg. von H. Engelmann, Bonn 1976.

Latte 1953–1966: *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, ed. K. Latte, vols. I–II (A–Ω). Hauniae 1953–1966.

LIV^2 = *Lexikon der Indogermanischen Verben. Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*, Unter Leitung von Helmut Rix. Unter der Mitarbeit vieler anderer bearb. von M. Kümmel [*et al.*], 2., erweiterte und verbesserte Aufl. bearb. von M. Kümmel und H. Rix, Wiesbaden 2001.

LSJ = H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, revised and augmented throughout by H.S. Jones, ninth edition with a revised supplement, Oxford 1996.

Teodorsson 1978: S.T. Teodorsson, *The Phonology of Attic in the Hellenistic Period*, Göteborg 1978 (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia XL).

van Thiel 1996: *Homeri Ilias*, rec. H. van Thiel, Hildesheim 1996.

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LA RHÉTORIQUE DE PAUL DE TARSE*

Par

SŁAWOMIR TORBUS

La thèse a pour objet de prouver que la méthode rhétorique de l'analyse du texte est justifiée comme le point de départ de l'exégèse des épîtres de Saint Paul, et essayer de démontrer que la méthode effectivement contribue à la meilleure compréhension de ces textes. Les conclusions tirées de réflexions théoriques ont permis d'adopter la méthode propre à l'analyse, qui a été appliquée ensuite aux fragments de 1 *Cor*. La conception de la thèse était inspirée par la suggestion formulée par Roland Meynet[1], qui supposait que le phénomène determiné comme «la rhétorique orale» a eu l'influence sur le style spécifique des épîtres de Paul de Tarse.

La dissertation se compose de quatre chapitres:

I. La perspective rhétorique dans l'interprétation de la Bible (pp. 4–31)
II. L'analyse orale de la Bible (pp. 32–115)
III. La méthode de l'analyse rhétorique (pp. 116–130)
IV. L'application de la méthodologie (pp. 131–189)

L'introduction (pp. 1–3) contient la présentation du sujet et la disposition du matériel. La conclusion (pp. 190–194) récapitule brièvement les présuppositions principales de la thèse. La dissertation est finie par la bibliographie (pp. 195–209) et la table des matières (pp. 210–211).

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* Cet article est un resumé de notre thèse de doctorat intitulée «Première Épitre aux Corinthiens dans une perspective rhétorique», écrite sous la direction du Professeur Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion (Université de Wrocław). La thèse a été soutenue au mois de septembre 2004 a Wrocław. Nous sommes très reconaissant au Professeur Teresa Szostek (Université de Wrocław) et au Professeur Remigiusz Popowski (Université Catholique de Lublin), qui ont eu la gentilesse d'examiner le travail avant la soutenance. Nous remercions aussi le Professeur Laurent Pernot, directeur du CARRA (Centre d'Analyse des Rhétoriques Religieuses de l'Antiquité) à l'Université de Strasbourg II, qui nous a accueilli dans son prestigieux établissement en septembre 2002 et en octobre 2003 dans le cadre d'une bourse de stage attribuée par le Gouvernement Français. Nous sommes convaincu que sans ces séjours scientifiques à Strasbourg, la préparation de cette thèse n'aurait pas été possible.

[1] R. Meynet, *L'analyse rhétorique. Une nouvelle méthode pour comprendre la Bible*, Paris 1989, pp. 314 suiv.

were also aware of the political and dynastic consequences of the marriage. Constantius was sent to Gaul, where he managed to cut the Goths off from their supplies, thus forcing them to retreat further west, towards Spain[19]. Although Athaulf made one more attempt at putting pressure on the Emperor's court, by elevating Attalus to power, this proved a failed effort as well[20].

Theodosius was probably born in the autumn of 414 or in the beginning of 415[21]. This fact best illustrates the desperation but also determination of Athaulf and Galla Placidia, who prior to her marriage had been treated as a hostage who might be returned to the Romans, in favourable circumstances and for the right price[22]. The marriage and its consequences brought about a change in Galla Placidia's situation. It seems that the child's birth was another opportunity to look for the Emperor's approval of the marriage. It was not Honorius, however, but rather Theodosius II reigning in the East that they were trying to win over. The name given to the child was a reference to Theodosius I, who was regarded as a friend of the Gothic people by Jordanes in the sixth century. It is worth remembering, however, that the same name was borne by Theodosius II, who had been reigning in the East since 408, the son of the Emperor Arcadius and Aelia Eudoxia, the daughter of the Frank chieftain Bauton[23]. It is possible that Placidia and Athaulf, in choosing a name for their child, were making a courteous gesture towards the eastern court, trying to gain their favour. However, Constantinople's reaction to Placidia's marriage presented above proves that the gesture was not received well. The death of Theodosius when he was a few months old ruined his parents' hopes. Soon afterwards Athaulf was murdered. Before his death he ordered his brother to continue the endeavours to gain the Roman friendship and told him to return Galla Placidia to Rome, thus concluding that her presence among the Goths would not contribute to reaching an agreement with the Emperor's court[24].

II

The hostile reaction of the Western court and Constantinople's dislike of Placidia and Athaulf's attempt at modernising the awareness of their contemporaries may explain why Theodosius' birth was so poorly reflected in our sources. Apart from Olympiodorus only Hydatius gave readers to understand, in an allusive and

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[19] Oros. VII 43, 1; Hyd. 60.

[20] Prosper 1254; for different opinion see: Cesa 1992/1993: 23–53, who placed the second usurpation of Attalus in 413; Maisano 1979: 43.

[21] Olymp. fr. 26, 1; see: Wolfram 1990: 177.

[22] She was described as hostage by Oros. VII 40, 2 and Zos. VI 12, 3.

[23] Philost. *HE* XI 6; *PLRE* II: 410; Demougeot 1985: 189.

[24] Olymp. fr. 26, 1.

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ῥηιδίη δ' ὁδὸς ἥδε διακρῖναι φιλότητα
λευγαλέην, ἑτάροις δὲ φίλον ἀγαθοῖσι γενέσθαι,
σῇ πινυτῇ· τίς γάρ κεν ἑκὼν φίλον ἄφρονα θεῖτο;

Si coniunx malis hominibus comitem se adiungat, suadet poeta uxori ut coetui melioris indolis aliquos immittat, quos maritus sequi malet. At boni homines salubrium consiliorum magis quam rixarum (νείκεα) auctores existunt. Levissima emendatione fortasse genuinam lectionem adipisceris: μετὰ σφίσι εἰκότα βάλλειν. Litteris grandioribus *E* cum *O* facillime confunditur; adde verborum nexum νείκεα βάλλειν communiorem esse (cfr. Hom. *Il.* II 376).

4. Paulinus Pellaeus, *Eucharist.* 17 sq.[1]:

Sit mihi fas igitur versu tua dona canentem
pangere et expressas verbis quoque pendere grates.

Fortasse fuit "versu<s> tua dona canentem pangere", cfr. e.g. Lucr. I 24 sq.

5. Rutilius Namatianus, *De red. suo* II 9 sq.:

partimur trepidum per opuscula bina ruborem
quem satius fuerat sustinuisse semel.

In duos libros se opus suum partitum esse affirmat poeta, ne nimia longitudine premantur lectores. Verbum *ruborem* corruptum videtur, neque ea quae ad ipsum tuendum excogitavit E. Doblhofer[2] verisimilia mihi videntur. Scribe *laborem*, cum litterae *a* et *u* facillime confundantur (cfr. L. Havet, *Manuel de critique verbale appliquée aux textes latins*, Paris 1911, § 646): adde copulam *sustinere laborem* saepe inveniri (cfr. *ThLL* s.v. *labor* col. 797, 19 sq.).

6. *Scholia Veronensia in Verg. Buc.* 8, 26[3]: "S[i]c de agris pe[". Versum Vergilianum "Mopso Nysa datur: quid non speremus amantes?" allegorice accepit nebulo qui scholium excogitavit, quasi Nysa esset ager Vergilio ereptus (cfr. Lunelli ad locum). Ita supplevit Lunelli: "de agris pe[rcontatio". Ego sup-

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[1] Paulini versus ex Moussyi editione depromo (Paulin de Pella, *Poème d'action de grâces et Prière*, intr., texte crit., traduction, notes et ind. par C. Moussy, Paris 1974); novam huius opusculi editionem me intra paucos menses in Bibliotheca Teubneriana publici iuris facturum spero.

[2] Rutilius Claudius Namatianus, *De reditu suo sive Iter Gallicum*, hrsg., eingl. und erkl. von E. Doblhofer, Bd. I–II, Heidelberg 1972–1977. *Rumorem* temptavit Panvinius, *timorem* Pithou, *pudorem* Kapp, parum feliciter.

[3] A. Lunelli, *Scholiorum in Vergilium Veronensium reliquiae: notizie degli scavi, edizione provvisoria (I)*, Maia LIII 2001, pp. 63–131.

4th cent. BC Ionic from Asia Minor, Hernández-Vázquez 1994: 229 f.) 'an assembly, council of people', cf. *ERE* 01: a 26 ... ποησασθαι δε και επαραν εν τα εκλησια α[υτικ]α τω δικαζοντι...; d 9 ... και ταις γραφαι[ς ε]ισ[κομιζοισ]ι εις εκλησιαν; *NAS* 01 b22 ..ε]γ κυ[ρ]ια εκ[λησι]α... (318 BC). One may note also the use of such forms as κοινον: *MAT* 03 εδ]οξε τω κοινω των Φωκε[ων (second half of the 3rd cent. BC, cf. Xen. *Hell.* I 2, 10 ἀριστεία ἔδωκαν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδιᾳ πολλοῖς) 'community (of people)'; πληθος: *IG* XII 2, 17, 4 ... επελθον]τες επι το πλη[θος το Μυτιληναων και αποδο]ντες το ψαφισμα...; συμπας δαμος *MYT* 026, 5 (1st cent.) 'all of the people'; or συγκλητος: *MYT* 033 (2nd cent.) ... η οι εξ αυτοων γραψωσι η συν[κλητω δογμα... '(people) called together'. This last form has been used as the Greek equivalent of the Roman term *senatus*. Of course, all these forms have correspondences in the Classical language. Very interesting is the fact that there is no instance of the form ἀγορά used in Lesbian epigraphical material, except for the compounds, e.g. αγορανομιας (as the equivalent of the Latin *aedilis*). However, ἀγορά 'an assembly of people' is generally very rare in prose.

In his analysis of the honorary decree for L. Vaccius Labeo, Hodot points to the fact that the entire text seems to be artificially Aeolised, with the majority of the formulas and forms belonging to the κοινή, sometimes with dialectal endings added. He does not treat the form as an example of a dialectal word, ascribing it rather to the peculiarity of the editor of the text (Hodot 1975: 126; idem 1990: 187, n. 201; 232). This proposal seems acceptable. The form πασυδιασαντος shows no special dialectal features, it stands in a special context (*terminus technicus* from the political sphere of life) in an honorary decree for a Roman noble, in the place, where other inscriptions show more common forms. It seems that πασυδιασαντος may have originated as the result of an artificial stylization of the text, to express the honours in a more official and more splendid way[10].

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EM = Etymologicum Magnum, ed. T. Gaisford, Amsterdam 1967 (repr.).

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[10] The Hesychean Gloss Π 1079, ascribed to the Aeolic: πασσύριον· ἀντὶ τοῦ πασσυδίην. Αἰολεῖς. τὸ πασσύριον ἡμῶν ἁπάντων γένος seems unclear. It is probably a *locus corruptus*.

rhétoriques comme le parallélisme et le chiasme organisant la structure du texte. La fonction a été exercée aussi par les formules épistolaires, qui signalaient les transitions entre les sections du texte. On peut supposer que le même rôle a été joué par des autres moyens, par exemple les néologismes.

Paul pouvait utiliser les marques linguistiques de composition naturellement – il faut se souvenir que le processus de la composition de ses épîtres était, dirions-nous, oral. Les textes ont été composés par au moins deux auteurs, qui dictaient les mots au secrétaire, probablement en présence d'autres personnes, par exemple les collaborateurs et l'envoyé qui lira ensuite l'épître à l'audience. Alors non seulement la réception, mais aussi la composition de ces textes était plongé dans le monde de la communication orale, où *vox viva* était un médium le plus important. L'auteur était conscient que son texte serait écouté par la communauté, pas lit individuellement.

Nous avons donc constaté que le style n'est pas oral *per se*, parce que les caractéristiques oraux du style comme par exemple les parallélismes pourraient être utiliser dans les textes, qui ne sert pas à la communication orale, simplement en tant qu'un ornement. Dans la rhétorique orale les caractéristiques jouent un rôle fonctionnel: ils augmentent l'éfficacité de la transmission du message – autrement dit *elocutio* permet découvrir *dispositio* du texte. Nous sommes convaincu qu'on peut dire du style oral seulement en connaissant la situation communicative, comme dans le cas des épîtres de Saint Paul.

L'outil parfait pour analyser *elocutio* des textes de Paul est la méthodologie de Roland Meynet[10], qui est la synthèse des études dans le domaine de la rhétorique linguistique des textes bibliques. La méthodologie, après quelques nécessaires modifications, a été adoptée pour appliquer les conclusions tirées ci-dessus. La description de la méthodologie avec une histoire des recherches constitue le contenu du troisième chapitre.

Le dernier chapitre constitue l'application de la méthodologie. Dans la première partie du chapitre nous avons examiné *1 Cor.* 11, 2–16. Il s'est révélé que les éléments linguistiqes du texte constituent les figures rhétorique formées par les symétriques répétitions des sons. Les figures organisent la structure et permettent discerner très clairement les parties du texte. En effet, en analysant le style du texte selon la méthodologie adoptée, nous avons pu marquer objectivement les cadres structurels pour les suivantes étapes de l'éxègese. Cela a permis une interprétation cohérente de ce fragment, qui a rendu possible la compréhension du déroulement de l'argumentation. Nous avons constaté que les présuppositions théoriques ont été confirmées.

Dans la deuxième partie du chapitre nous avons présenté l'état des recherches sur le rôle des formules épistolaires dans le Nouveau Testament et l'analyse de

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[10] Meynet, *o.c.* (n. 1), passim.

Munatius Dionysius d'Hypaipa? L'épitaphe ne le précise pas. Peut-on pourtant supposer qu'il y est question seulement des *thremmata* de G. Octavius Eutychès et que dans la famille de Munatius Dionysius cette catégorie était absente?

Tous les sarcophages mentionnés ci-dessus étaient destinés à plusieurs générations et leurs dimensions étaient considérables. Le terme de πυρία désignant le sarcophage se trouve seulement en Ionie et en Lydie[3].

Passons maintenant au terme de péribole[4] qui ne désigne pas ici l'enceinte, mais un terrain arboré. On peut supposer que tout le monument et l'ensemble du terrain étaient entourés d'une enceinte. Près de la porte d'entrée de celle-ci se trouvait sans doute l'épitaphe concernant l'ensemble funéraire[5]. Les arbres autour de l'hérôon et le terrain mettaient en valeur l'aspect de ce grand tombeau.

Vu ceci, une autre question doit être posée. Où se trouvait l'hérôon en question? Probablement, près du village de Palkéanoi, dans une petite nécropole proche de ce hameau?

Les lignes 14–16 prêtent à une observation intéressante et importante, car elles montrent que l'ensemble funéraire et son épitaphe se trouvaient en dehors de la nécropole de la ville d'Hypaipa, mais près du village de Palkéanoi. Car quelqu'un inculpé de viol de tombeau en question sera obligé de payer non seulement 2500 deniers au fisc impérial, mais aussi 500 deniers au village de Palkéanoi[6]. Le village de Palkéanoi[7] devait appartenir à Hypaipa, parce que dans les archives d'Hypaipa a été déposée la copie des dispositions où G. Octavius Eutychès et Munatius Dionysius ont défini (établi) leurs droits sur le tombeau.

L'épitaphe est bien sommaire, les noms des femmes et des enfants des deux propriétaires ainsi que ceux des enfants recueillis n'y sont pas mentionnés. Il n'y avait pas suffisamment de place sur la pierre pour y les faire graver. Ils pouvaient être inscrits plus tard sur les sarcophages à eux destinés. C'étaient probablement des sarcophages à guirlandes, plus précisément demi-produits; repandus à Ephèse même et sur le territoire ionien et lydien (cf. ci-dessus n. 3).

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[3] Cf. ibidem, p. 50 et n. 19; G. Koch, *Sarkophage der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, Darmstadt 1993, p. 166.

[4] Pour le terme de péribole cf. Kubińska, *Les monuments*... (n. 1), p. 146.

[5] Cf. J. Kubińska, *Ostothèques et kaustrai dans les inscriptions grecques d'Asie Mineure*, Warsaw 1999 (Światowit Supplement Series A: Antiquity, vol. III), pp. 66 suiv. (Kaustrai n° 13 Ephèse).

[6] Cf. N. Firatli, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* (avec l'édition et l'index commenté des épitaphes par L. Robert), Paris 1964, p. 144.

[7] Pour ἡ Παλκεανῶν κατοικία: Que la forme soit assurée ou incertaine (ainsi L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, Heidelberg 1984, p. 466, § 998), Παλκεανῶν est, de toute évidence, pourvu d'un suffixe qui a vocation à fournir des éthniques ou des démotiques. Sur l'interprétation possible d'un tel emploi toponymique, voir par exemple ce que dit le même Zgusta (p. 392, § 824) de Μο(ι)τεανοί, de formation et d'emploi identiques. Nous exprimons ici notre vive reconnaissance au prof. Cl. Brixhe qui a attiré notre attention sur les explications de L. Zgusta (lettre du 16 novembre 2005) et pour sa revision du texte.

est fondé dans la mesure où c'est à cet empereur que nous devons une contribution sinon définitive, au moins très importante, dans le processus de constitution de l'office impérial. Par contre, ni Dioclétien ni ses réformes n'ont apporté de modifications principales dans le mode du fonctionnement de la préfecture urbaine. Il nous semble que cet office fonctionnait alors encore selon les règles issues des débuts de l'Empire, sans oublier les modifications ultérieures introduites aux II^e^ et III^e^ siècles après J.-C. Les débuts de la nouvelle organisation avaient peut-être lieu déjà sous le règne de Maxence, et sûrement sous Constantin le Grand. Ce dernier empereur a localisé la nouvelle capitale de l'Empire à Constantinople et en même temps il a réorganisé le système administratif à Rome. Cette dernière réforme et le développement ultérieur de l'office de préfet de la ville ont été examinés à fond et présentés dans deux vastes monographies d'A. Chastagnol qui, en pratique, désignent les limites d'intérêts de la présente étude[4]. Du point de vue territorial, la thématique de cet article se limite à Rome et à ses environs.

Nous pouvons admettre qu'au cours du Haut-Empire, les attributions de la préfecture urbaine ne faisaient qu'accroître. En faveur du préfet agissait certainement sa double nature qui s'exprimait dans la genèse compliquée de cet office. D'un côté, c'était sans doute une œuvre impériale (d'Auguste et de Tibère), de l'autre côté, au moins formellement, l'office de préfecture urbaine pouvait profiter de tous les avantages dûs aux offices ayant des traditions républicaines. Par ailleurs, le fait que les préfets de la ville étaient nommés uniquement parmi les ex-consuls n'est pas à négliger ici. L'appartenance de la préfecture urbaine à l'administration impériale favorisait cet office par la jurisprudence de cette époque-là, qui généralement au cours du Haut-Empire, limitait d'une manière conséquente l'importance et l'influence d'anciens fonctionnaires républicains en faveur de nouvelles fonctions de préfets, de procurateurs et de curateurs subordonnés directement ou indirectement au souverain. Le préfet de la ville était certainement un outil commode dans les mains de l'empereur. Parmi les compétences d'une préfecture urbaine sous le principat, se trouvaient trois zones d'actions principales: les fonctions policières et administratives (*potestas*) et la jurisprudence (*iurisdictio*) dans les affaires pénales, et plus tard, l'apparition et le développement de la jurisprudence dans les affaires civiles. Il faut souligner que ce partage, et surtout, la séparation des fonctions policières et administratives de la jurisprudence, bien que basés sur un texte d'Ulpien[5], sont faits en pratique pour les besoins de la science contemporaine. Aux yeux des Romains, ces compétences constituaient un ensemble inséparable.

Au cours des modifications des attributions de la préfecture urbaine, nous pouvons distinguer trois périodes principales:

1) La période de la domination des tâches policières et administratives (de Tibère à Trajan);

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[4] Chastagnol, *Préfecture* (n. 1); idem, *Fastes* (n. 1).

[5] Ulp. (*l. s. de off. praef. urbi*), *Dig.* I 12, 1, 3.

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EINE RÖMISCHE INSCHRIFT IM MUSEUM DER STADT GHERLA*

Von

RADU ARDEVAN, RADU ZĂGREANU

Die moderne Stadt Gherla liegt im Nord-Westen des heutigen Rumänien; im 2.–3. Jh. n. Chr. lag sie gerade in der Mitte der römischen Provinz Dacia Porolissensis. Hier befand sich das Kastellum einer Hilfstruppe, die *ala II Pannoniorum*, und eine entsprechende Zivilsiedlung unbekannten Namens. Seit dem Ende des 19. Jhs. fungiert in der modernen Stadt ein Museum, wo viele Spuren der Römerzeit aufbewahrt werden[1].

In den Sammlungen dieses Museums wird ohne Inventurnummer ein antikes Steindenkmal aufbewahrt, das eine lateinische Inschrift trägt. Sowohl das Aussehen des Stückes und der Buchstaben als auch der Textinhalt weisen zweifelsohne auf ein epigraphisches Denkmal der Römerzeit hin (vgl. Abb. 1). Zu unserer Überraschung scheint es bisher noch nicht modern veröffentlicht gewesen zu sein[2].

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* Eine rumänische Fassung dieses Textes wird in dem Band des Symposiums der Stadtgeschichte (Gherla 2004) veröffentlicht.

[1] Vgl. z. B.: E. Orosz, *Jelentés a Szamosujvári római castellum pretoriumának ásatásáról*, Szamosujvár 1907; C. Daicoviciu, D. Protase, *Un nouveau diplôme militaire de Dacia Porolissensis*, JRS LI 1961, S. 63–70; I.I. Russu, *Dacia şi Pannonia Inferior în lumina diplomei militare din anul 123*, Bucureşti 1973, S. 11–14, 78–79; R. Ardevan, *Monetary Circulation in the Ancient Settlement of Gherla (Cluj County)*, Eos LXXIX 1991, S. 223–235; ders., *Eine römische Inschrift aus Gherla*, ZPE XCIX 1993, S. 220–222; ders., *Der germanische Kriegsgefangene aus dem Römerlager von Gherla*, in: N. Gudea (Hrsg.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1997. Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Zalău 1999, S. 879–883. Allgemeine Darstellung: I.H. Crişan (Hrsg.), *Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Cluj*, Cluj-Napoca 1992, S. 212–216, Nr. 8, 11–15; N. Gudea, *Der dakische Limes. Materialien zu seiner Geschichte*, Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums zu Mainz XLIV 1997, S. 102 f., Nr. 97.

[2] Es erscheint weder in den neueren Inschriftensammlungen noch in den Namensverzeichnissen des römischen Dakien (I.I. Russu, *Onomasticon Daciae*, Anuarul Institutului de Studii Clasice [= AISC] IV 1944, S. 186–233; ders., *Rectificări şi adausuri la "Onomasticon Daciae"*, AISC V 1948, S. 282–296; ders., *L'onomastique de la Dacie romaine*, in: H.-G. Pflaum, N. Duval (Hrsgg.), *L'onomastique latine. Actes du Colloque international C.N.R.S. no. 564*, Paris 1977, S. 353–363; A. Paki, *Populaţia din Dacia de nord în lumina izvoarelor epigrafice*, unveröffentlichte Dissertation, Cluj-Na-

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PRAEFECTUS URBI

LE GARDIEN DE L'ORDRE PUBLIC À ROME SOUS LE HAUT-EMPIRE (À PARTIR D'AUGUSTE JUSQU'À DIOCLÉTIEN)*

Par

SEBASTIAN RUCIŃSKI

Chaque État doit posséder des mécanismes qui lui permettent d'assurer la stabilité du régime politique, la sécurité de ses citoyens et l'ordre public. Au cours de l'histoire de Rome, ce devoir fondamental de l'État était rempli de différentes manières. À l'époque de la République, cette tâche était répartie à toutes les magistratures et à tous les fonctionnaires qui leur étaient subordonnés, bien sûr, dans le cadre de leurs diverses compétences et possibilités d'agir. Ce système, malgré des problèmes passagers, fonctionnait plutôt bien pendant des siècles, soutenu par une forte tradition du régime dans la société romaine, ainsi que par le respect de la loi et une discipline sociale *quasi* militaire. Des succès militaires remportés par l'armée romaine et un butin de guerre rapporté permettaient de détendre les tentions sociales créées sur le fond économique et par conséquent, de renforcer le régime politique. Pourtant, le dernier siècle de la République était marqué par les anciennes méthodes qui devenaient de moins en moins efficaces. Le fait qu'il n'y avait pas d'importantes forces de police sur le territoire de Rome et le fait que les fonctionnaires chargés de la protection de l'ordre public appartenaient souvent aux fractions politiques ennemies provoquaient des émeutes spontanées.

La situation a diamétralement et définitivement changé avec la prise du pouvoir par Auguste qui dans le cadre de ses réformes a initié aussi le processus de formation des offices chargés d'assurer l'ordre public sur tout le territoire de Rome. À la différence pourtant de l'époque républicaine, les nouveaux fonctionnaires ont été

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* Résumé de la thèse du doctorat «*Praefectus urbi. S*trażnik porządku publicznego w Rzymie w okresie wczesnego Cesarstwa (od Augusta do Dioklecjana)», écrite sous la direction de Professeur Leszek Mrozewicz et soutenue à Faculté des Sciences Humaines de l'Académie Casimir le Grand de Bydgoszcz (actuellement: Université Casimir le Grand à Bydgoszcz).

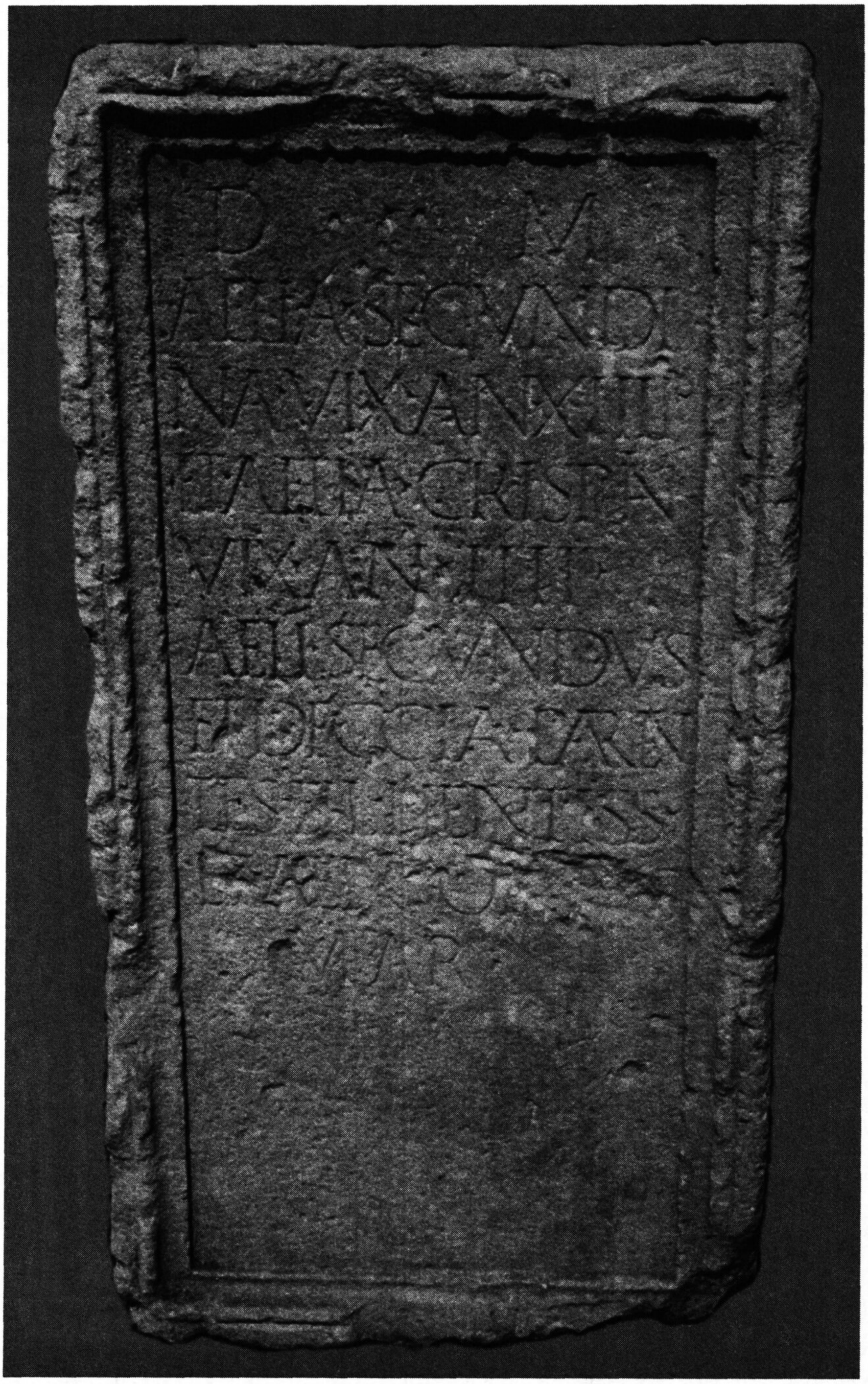


Abb. 1. Die Inschrift der Familie Aelia aus Gherla

The attested form πασσυδί may be interpreted as a compound of *παντ- and the stem συ- , a zero grade from the root σευ- < Comm.-Gr. *tseu̯- < IE. *$k^{(u)}i̯eu̯$- 'sich in Bewegung setzen' (cf. *LIV*²: 394 with comparative material), extended with an adverbial suffix -δι (cf. Frisk *GEW* II 471)[7]. Such a zero grade may be found in glosses, cf. Hsch. Σ 2217: σῦθι· ἐλθέ, the meaning of the Homeric forms of the stem σευ- is certainly 'to quicken, to set oneself to do something'[8].

The meaning of πασσυδίᾳ 'with all speed' is attested by Hsch. Π 1077 πασσυδίᾳ· ὁμοῦ πάσῃ σπουδῇ, ἢ ὁρμῇ. τινὲς δὲ πανδημ(ε)ί, although other sources underline the semantic component 'all', or 'a group of people who have gathered': πανσυδίῃ ἐπίρρημά ἐστὶν **ἀθροίσεως**, παμπληθί. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ πασσυδίην μετὰ τοῦ ν παντὶ τῷ πλήθει, πανστρατία, παρὰ τὸ ὁμοῦ τάττεσθαι καὶ σεύεσθαι, ἤγουν ὁρμάν καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν (*EM* 650), also Hsch. Π 387: πανσυδίη· ὁμοῦ πάντες[9].

Here the question arises as to what the semantics of the epigraphically attested *hapax* πασυδιασαντος are. The verb seems to have been used in a technical sense to express the meaning 'to assemble people for a political meeting or a council', and could be the equivalent of Class. Gr. συλλέγειν, ἀθροίζειν or συγκαλεῖν. All these forms apply to people; sometimes they are used in a military sense 'to gather the army' (as e.g. Xen. *Anab.* I 2). In Lesbian inscriptions the concept 'assembly of people' can be expressed in several ways. An adverb πανδαμί (Class. πανδημεί, cf. Hdt. VI 63, VII 120) 'with the whole people, in a mass, in a body' is used in such a function, cf. *ERE* 01 (4th cent. BC): a 8 ...τα οπλα εξεκλαιισε εκ τας πολιος [πα]νδαμι...; b 3 εξ]εκλαισε εκ τας [πολι]ος πανδαμι... On the other hand, Lesbian also uses a form εκκλησια / εκλησια here, the same as Class. Gr. (cf. ἐκκλησίην συναγείρας Hdt. III 142; ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας Xen. *Hell.* I 6, 8) and other dialects (εκκλησια, εκκλησιη

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[7] Cf. Vedic *cyávate* 'sich bewegen / in Bewegung geraten', Av. Narten-pres. *Šauuaite* '(fort)gehen'.

[8] Cf. the analysis by García Ramón (1994: 53–75), who points to the fact that in the Homeric texts the expected present from a root *$k^{(u)}i̯eu̯$- occurs neither in a hypothetical form *σεύομαι (*σεύεται <*$k^{(u)}i̯eu̯$-*e-toi̯*, which could correspond to Ved. *cyávate*) nor in *σεύω (<*$k^{(u)}i̯eu̯$-*e/o*-), it appears for the first time in archaic lyric poetry, cf. e.g. Bacch. *Dith.* 18, 10: σεύοντ' ἀγέλας βίαι. In Homer only the forms of an intransitive imperfect (°)ἐσσεύοντο (3pl.), an aorist (°)ἔσσυτο, σεύατο, σύτο (3sg.), a perfect (°)ἔσσυται (3sg.), and a transitive aorist (°)ἔσσευε (García Ramón 1994: 63ff.) are found. García Ramón underlines the fact of a complementary distribution between the forms of 3pl. impf. (°)ἐσσεύοντο and 3sg. aor. (°)ἔσσυτο. The aorist form expresses a 'punctual' meaning, while with the form of the impf. an 'iterative-distributive' momentary action used with more subjects is expressed (García Ramón 1994: 65 f.).

[9] Cf. also *Schol. in Il.* II 12 h ἀληθεύει δηλονότι ὁ ὄνειρος, οἱ δὲ ὁτι τὸ **πανσυδίη** σημαίνει μετὰ πάντων (Erbse 1969: 180). According to Hainsworth the meaning 'with all speed' "satisfies the Homeric occurrences"; he points to the fact that "the sense 'in full force' is not attested before Xenophon" (Hainsworth 1993: 302), where the form occurs twice (*Cyr.* I 4, 18; *Hell.* IV 4, 9), in a purely military meaning 'πανστρατία'.

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AUGUSTUS AND HIS IDEOLOGY IN OVID'S *METAMORPHOSES**

By

MARIUSZ ZAGÓRSKI

In the literature of every epoch there are works which in spite of the lapse of time do not lose their importance and relevance, but still remain interesting for both the audience and scholars. These works, which we usually call masterpieces, still encourage new aesthetical experiences and interpretations. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are without doubt a work that perfectly meets these criteria. As one of the most difficult works of Latin literature, and precisely because of this difficulty, it still incites many scholars to challenge Ovid's talent. This state of affairs has inspired me to take part in a discussion on this author and to reflect on the way of presenting Augustus and his ideology in the poem. This question undoubtedly remains one of the most important for interpretation of the *Metamorphoses*. Two opposite views have been formulated by scholars. According to the first view, the *Metamorphoses* are totally subordinated to the Augustan ideology and are in fact a great eulogy of Augustus himself. Other scholars, however, analyzing the same passages of the work, hold the opinion that the poem in fact treats Augustus highly ironically and is distinctly critical of his ideals. The discussion provoked in 1938 by B. Otis in his article *Ovid and the Augustans*[1] has become an inspiration for new literary theories, and has reached new perspectives on the subject.

In recent years there has been a tendency to treat literary studies as a complex and dynamic discipline, which embraces social, economic, political and philosophical aspects of a literary work. This perspective leads to a search of

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* This paper is a summary of my doctoral dissertation "Oktawian August i jego program ideowy w *Metamorfozach* Owidiusza", written under the supervision of Prof. Marian Szarmach at the Classical Philology Department of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń 2005; reviewers: I. Mikołajczyk (Toruń), S. Śnieżewski (Kraków).

[1] B. Otis, *Ovid and the Augustans*, TAPhA LXIX 1938, pp. 188–229.

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UN TOMBEAU CONSTRUIT EN COMMUN PAR UN HABITANT D'EPHÈSE ET UN HABITANT D'HYPAIPA

Par

JADWIGA KUBIŃSKA

L'inscription funéraire dont nous nous occupons ici reflète comme les autres, surtout à l'époque de l'Empire romain, le grand souci de s'assurer un tombeau. D'apparence banale, elle ne l'est pas du tout. L'étude attentive du formulaire de l'épitaphe permet de constater que ce souci fut réalisé de façon bien intéressante et rare. Il ne s'agit pas de termes funéraires employés dans le texte, mais de la conception de deux propriétaires concernant leur tombeau et ceux qui devaient y reposer. C'est-à dire leurs familles dans le sens le plus large du terme.

L'analyse du texte de l'épitaphe faite ci-dessous permettra au lecteur d'y voir un trait qui distingue ce document de tant d'autres dédiés au même sujet.

L'inscription est gravée sur une plaque de marbre bleuâtre en forme de *tabula ansata* haute de 0,46 m, longue de 0,99 m, épaisse de 0,016 m. Elle a été encastrée dans la fontaine du village de Kürdeli et a été endommagée au milieu. J. Keil et A. von Premerstein la datent du début du II^me^ s. de n. è.[1]

1. Τοῦτο τὸ ἡρῶον κατεσκεύασα[ν] σὺν καὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ
2. καὶ τοῖς δένδρεσιν αὐτοῦ τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἡρῶον Γ. Ὀκτάβιος
3. Εὐτύχης Ἐφέσιος σὺν καὶ Μουνατίῳ Διονυσίῳ τοῦ Παυ-
4. λείνου Ὑπαιπηνῷ, ἔφ' ᾧ ἐν τῇ μέσῃ πυρίᾳ κηδευθήσεται
5. ὁ Εὐτύχης καὶ ἡ γυνή αὐτ[οῦ] καὶ τέκνα καὶ τὶναν ἂν βου-
6. λήσεται αὐτὸς ζῶν· ἑ[τέρῳ δ]ὲ μηδενὶ ἐξὸν εἶναι ἐν τῇ
7. μέσῃ πυρίᾳ κηδευθῆν[αι· εἰς τὴ]ν δὲ ἀ[πὸ] μεσανβρίας πυ-
8. ρίαν κηδευ[θή]σεται ὁ Δ[ιονύσιο]ς ὁ προγεγραμένος καὶ ἡ

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[1] A. Fontrier, BCH XIX 1895, p. 263; J. Keil et A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien*, Wien 1914, pp. 77–78, n° 108. Cf. aussi J. Kubińska, *Les monuments funéraires dans les inscriptions grecques de l'Asie Mineure*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 50 et 146. Elle y a étudié surtout les termes d'architecture funéraire, mais ne s'est pas occupée des ayants-droit; R. Meriç, R. Merkelbach, J. Nollé, S. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, Tl. VII 2: *Nr. 3501–5115 (Repertorium)*, Bonn 1981(= *Inschriften Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Bd. XVII 2), n° 3850.

besonders häufig[17]. Eine – auch wenn entfernte – römisch-keltische Abstammung der Familie würde uns nicht überraschen, solange die Militäreinheit in Gherla, die *ala II Pannoniorum*, ursprünglich aus romanisierten Kelten aus Pannonien gebildet wurde[18], und der Einfluss der keltischen Romanität in dieser antiken Ortschaft ziemlich sichtbar ist[19]. Der Name der Mutter, Deccia (mit der männlichen Variante Deccius), wird vorwiegend auch in der romanisierten keltischen Welt angetroffen[20]; das bestätigt die obige Behauptung.

Zur Widmung der Eltern kommt noch eine Person, und zwar Aelius Consius (?) hinzu. Sein Name scheint ebenfalls römisch-keltischen Ursprungs zu sein[21], und sein Gentiliz Aelius kann auch in diesem Fall nur einen einfachen Zufall darstellen. Er erscheint mit der Eigenschaft von *maritus*, natürlich von einer der zwei Mädchen. Weil Aelia Crispina aber im Alter von vier Jahren gestorben ist, kann nur ihre ältere Schwester Aelia Secundina in Frage kommen. Diese ist mit 14 gestorben; sie hätte gesetzlich verlobt oder sogar verheiratet sein können[22]. Also ist die Übersetzung von *maritus* durch „Gatte" richtig, und eine Frühehe in solchem Alter der Frau galt in der damaligen Gesellschaft nicht als etwas Außerordentliches[23]. Wir wissen nichts über Aelius Consius (?) und, in Abwesenheit eines expliziten Eintrags, können wir ihn nicht als Militär betrachten.

Es fehlen ebenfalls jedwelche Elemente einer sicheren Datierung. Das gepflegte Aussehen des Denkmals und der Buchstaben bieten keine Gründe für eine genaue Zeitbestimmung. Nur das Fehlen der Vornamen plädiert für die Herstellung der Inschrift im 3. Jh. n. Chr. Zu demselben Schluß führen auch die etwas komplizierteren Ligaturen aus der 4. und 7. Zeile. Wir sind der Meinung, daß die wahrscheinlichste Datierung in der Severenzeit, einer Blütezeit für das römische Dakien[24], anzusiedeln wäre. In jenem Zeitalter galten also die Mitglieder dieser Familie in der Gesellschaft schon als alte römische Bürger von mindestens drei Generationen.

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[17] Paki, *o.c.* (Anm. 2), S. 134 f., 310 (vgl. auch Anm. 91).

[18] I.I. Russu, *Dacia şi Pannonia Inferior în lumina diplomei militare din anul 123*, Bucureşti 1973, S. 78 f.; A. Husar, *Celţi şi germani în Dacia romană*, Cluj-Napoca 1999, S. 115–117; C.C. Petolescu, *Auxilia Daciae*, Bucureşti 2002, S. 74–76.

[19] Husar, *o.c.* (Anm. 18), S. 55 f., 180, 182 f., 185, 186 f., 190 f., 235, 237, 244 f., 251, 253, 256.

[20] Lörincz, *o.c.* (Anm. 10), S. 94.

[21] Es erscheint auch als *nomen gentile* in Gallia Narbonensis, in Hispanien und sogar in Obermoesien; alle diese Provinzen haben auch einen keltischen Hintergrund (ebenda, S. 73).

[22] P.F. Girard, *Manuel élémentaire de droit romain*, Paris [8]1929, S. 171; M. Kaser, R. Knüttel, *Römisches Privatrecht*, München [17]2003, S. 102–104, 356 f.

[23] L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba, *Individu et société en Dacie romaine. Étude de démographie historique*, Wiesbaden 2004, S. 54, 56 f.

[24] M. Macrea, *Viaţa în Dacia romană*, Bucureşti 1969, S. 78–93; C.C. Petolescu, *Scurtă istorie a Daciei romane*, Bucureşti 1995, S. 105.

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DAS RELIGIÖSE LEBEN IM ANTIKEN OSTIA

Von

ANNA TATARKIEWICZ

Prägnant für die Gesellschaft im Römischen Reich war ihr städtischer Charakter, für die römische Religion dagegen ihre lokale Erscheinungsform. Das religiöse Leben der Stadt liess sich niemals von einem rigoros bestimmten Schema leiten. Es hat selbstverständlich eine 'zentrale', öffentliche Organisation gegeben, die z. B. in der Benutzung eines gemeinschaftlichen Kultuskalenders deutlich zum Ausdruck kam, aber ihr religiöses Leben bestand auch aus religiösen Traditionen einzelner Bewohner sowie aus den verschiedenartig interpretierten Elementen des religiösen Systems Roms, die durch einzelne Personen oder organisierte Gruppen assimiliert wurden. Vorhanden waren somit zahlreiche regionale und lokale Religionssysteme. R. Meiggs hat in seiner vorzüglichen – und bisher wohl wichtigsten – Arbeit über Ostia (*Roman Ostia*, Oxford 1973) geschrieben, dass alle Phänomene des religiösen Lebens in Ostia ihre Entsprechungen in jedem beliebigen Winkel der römischen Welt zu finden sind – jedoch ohne die örtliche Spezifik. Der Versuch eben, diese Spezifik vor dem Hintergrund eines universalen Modells für das religiöse Leben aufzuspüren, ist Gegenstand der vorliegenden Arbeit. Das Thema – so wie es formuliert ist – birgt gleichzeitig Elemente der Bewegung und Dynamik in sich. Es ist keineswegs ein statischer Begriff, sondern richtet unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf seine Verbindung mit der Funktionierung und Entwicklung der Stadt sowie mit verschiedenartigen Aspekten ihrer Existenz.

Trotz einer recht intensiven Forschung zu unterschiedlichen Aspekten in der antiken Religion bleibt unser Wissen über das religiöse Leben in den Städten des Imperiums doch bescheiden. Eindeutig intensiver wurden bisher einzelne Kulte untersucht; weniger war man dagegen bemüht, das Modell des religiösen Lebens in ausgewählten Städten des Imperiums (und so ist das Ziel der vorliegenden Arbeit) zu rekonstruieren. Zu Beginn der sechzigen Jahre des vorigen Jahrhunderts veröffentlichte G. Alföldy einen Artikel über die Geschichte des religiösen Lebens in Aquincum (AArchHung XIII 1961, S. 103–124). Er unterstrich darin die Notwendigkeit, einen neuen Blick auf die Frage der Religion in

Muhlberger 1990: S. Muhlberger, *The Fifth-Century Chroniclers. Prosper, Hydatius nad the Gallic Chronicler of 452*, Leeds 1990.

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Sirago 1961: A.V. Sirago, *Galla Placidia e la trasformazione politica dell'Occidente*, Louvain 1961.

Sivan 2002: H. Sivan, *From Athanaric to Athaulf: The Shifting Horizons of "Gothicness" in Late Antiquity*, in: *«Humana sapit». Études d'antiquité tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco Ruggini*, éd. par J.-M. Carrié et R. Lizzi Testa, Leuven 2002.

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Zecchini 1993a: G. Zecchini, *Cassiodoro e le fonti dei Getica di Giordane*, in: idem, *Ricerche di storiografia latina tardoantica*, Roma 1993, pp. 193–209.

Infolgedessen bildet dieses epigraphischen Denkmal ein gutes Vorbild für das provinzial-römische Leben in Dakien. In der römischen Siedlung aus Gherla treffen wir eine unprivilegierte, gemeinlichen Rechtsstatus aber ziemlich reiche Familie an, deren keltische Herkunft weder ihrer römischen Staatsbürgerschaft noch ihrer römischen Lebensart widersprechen. Ihre Mitglieder drücken sich lateinisch aus, tragen römische Namen und errichten ein Grabdenkmal *more Romano*. Die Inschrift bekräftigt nochmals die gute Romanisierung dieses Gebietes aus dem römischen Dakien.

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Dans le premier chapitre a été présentée l'histoire de l'analyse rhétorique de la Bible, et surtout du Nouveau Testament[2]. Nous avons souligné que l'analyse rhétorique de ces textes doit être bien justifiée théoriquement, parce qu'on ne peut pas nier qu'en fait il y a une différence entre une épître et un discours rhétorique. Dans l'antiquité greco-romaine l'épistolographie et la rhétorique existaient comme deux domaines tout différents, seulement dans les traités rhétoriques tardifs on peut plus souvent trouver les questions épistolographiques, mais en tant qu'un problème marginal (Iulius Victor, *Ars rhetorica* 27, IV s. ap. J.-C.). On peut observer que les problèmes épistolographiques dans les traités rhétoriques apparaissaient surtout dans le contexte du style (*elocutio*). Donc il faut dire que seulement l'*elocutio* liait immédiatement l'art épistolaire à l'art rhétorique et les autres ressemblences étaient purement fonctionelles et résultaient de l'universalité des phénomènes du langage[3]. Alors la méthode rhétorique, qui se concentre sur l'analyse de l'*elocutio* du texte, semble être bien justifiée comme le point de départ dans l'éxègese des épîtres de Saint Paul. Nous avons constaté que le style très spécifique de Paul, qui toujours était problématique pour les chercheurs[4], présente, comme le supposait R. Meynet, les caractéristiques du style oral, inspiré par les éléments de la rhétorique sémite, qu'on peut trouver dans les textes de l'Ancien Testament. La thèse est confirmée par les données que nous avons sur l'éducation de Paul, qui se réalisait principalement à Jérusalem. A la fois on peut exclure que Paul a été profondément éduqué dans le domaine de la théorie rhétorique greco-romaine[5].

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[2] Voir: D.F. Watson, A.J. Hauser, *Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible. A Comprehensive Bibliography with Notes on History and Method*, Leiden 1994; G.A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism*, Chapel Hill 1984; W. Wuellner, *Where Is Rhetorical Criticism Taking Us?*, CBQ XLIX 1987, pp. 448–463; J.D. Hester Amador, *Academic Constraints in Rhetorical Criticism of the New Testament. An Introduction to a Rhetoric of Power*, Sheffield 1999 (JSNTSup 174); J. Muilenburg, *Form Criticism and Beyond*, JBL LXXXVIII 1969, pp. 1–18; H.D. Betz, *The Literary Composition and Function of Paul's Letter to the Galatians*, NTS XXI 1975, pp. 353–379; J. Classen, *Rhetorical Criticism of the New Testament*, Tübingen 2000.

[3] J.T. Reed, *The Epistle*, dans: *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.–A.D. 400*, ed. by S.E. Porter, Leiden–New York–Köln 1997, pp. 171–193; idem, *Using Ancient Rhetorical Categories to Interpret Paul's Letters: A Question of Genre*, dans: *Rhetoric and the New Testament. Essays from the 1992 Heidelberg Conference*, ed. by S.E. Porter and T.H. Olbricht, Sheffield 1993 (JSNTSup 90), pp. 292–324; S.E. Porter, *Paul As a Epistolographer and Rhetorician?*, dans: *The Rhetorical Interpretation of Scripture. Essays from the 1996 Malibu Conference*, ed. by S.E. Porter and D.L. Stamps, Sheffield 1999 (JSNTSup 180), pp. 222–248; S.E. Porter, *Paul of Tarsus and His Letters*, dans: *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.–A.D. 400*, ed. by S.E. Porter, Leiden–New York–Köln 1997, pp. 533–585.

[4] Par exemple E. Norden critiquait le style de Paul comme «obscur et non grec»: E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa. Vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, Leipizig–Berlin 1898, vol. II, p. 499.

[5] R.D. Anderson Jr, *Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Paul*, Kampen 1996 (CBET 17); J. Classen, *St Paul's Epistles and Ancient Greek and Roman Rhetoric*, dans: *Rhetoric...* (n. 3), pp. 265–291.

leur fonction dans *1 Cor.*[11] Il s'est révélé qu'ils peuvent marquer la macrostructure, comme les figures rhétoriques marquaient la microstructure du texte.

Il nous semble que présentée ici la méthode rhétorique de l'analyse des épîtres de Paul est justifiée théoriquement et peut permettre à mieux comprendre beaucoup de fragments du Nouveau Testament. Il reste à confirmer son utilité par les analyses suivantes des textes de Saint Paul.

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ABRÉVIATIONS

CBQ: Catholic Biblical Quarterly
EvQ: Evangelical Quarterly
JBL: Journal of Biblical Literature
JSNTSup: Journal of Studies of New Testament – Supplement
JSOT: Journal of Studies of Old Testament
NovT: Novum Testamentum
NTS: New Testament Studies

[11] Voir: L.L. Belleville, *Continuity or Discontinuity: A Fresh Look at 1 Corinthians in the Light of First-Century Epistolary Forms and Conventions*, EvQ LIX 1987, pp. 15–37; P. Arzt, *The "Epistolary Introductory Thanksgiving" in the Papyri and in Paul*, NovT XXXVI 1994, pp. 29–46; G.J. Bahr, *Paul and Letter Writing in the First Century*, CBQ XXVIII 1966, pp. 465–477; J.T. Sanders, *The Transition from Opening Epistolary Thanksgiving to Body in the Letters of the Pauline Corpus*, JBL LXXXI 1962, pp. 348–362; P. Schubert, *Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgivings*, Berlin 1939; J.L. White, *Introductory Formulae in the Body of the Pauline Letter*, JBL XC 1971, pp. 91–97; W.G. Doty, *Letters in Primitive Christianity*, Philadelphia 1973.

Steinmetz sich bemüht hat, ein verhältnismäßig schönes Aussehen zu erreichen. Es gibt wenige, aber komplexe Ligaturen: in der 4. Zeile am Ende des Namens Crispina sind die Buchstaben *I* + *N* + *A* gebunden, und am Ende der 7. Zeile gibt es im Wort *parentes* eine aus *A* + *R* gebildete Ligatur, während gleich danach sich *E* + *N* in derselben Lage befinden.

Der Konservierungszustand dieses Denkmals ist sehr gut, obwohl die Inschrift im allgemeinen sichtbare Erosionsspuren zeigt. Nur am Ende der 9. Zeile verhindert ein Riß die Lesung eines Namens. Weil nach dem Gentiliz *Ael(ius)* die Buchstaben *CO*... erscheinen, ist es anzunehmen, dass diese den Beinamen eines der Widmer verstecken muss. Auf der Steinfläche können einige Buchstabenspuren bemerkt werden: zwei vertikale Hasten nach *O*, dann die Spur eines unteren Bogens eines *S*, zum Schluss sehr schwache Spuren anderer vertikalen Hasten. Gerade am Ende der Zeile erscheint ein ziemlich sichtbares *S*. Also fängt der Name mit *CO* an, umfasst in der Mitte ein *S* und endet auch mit *S*. Wenn wir den verfügbaren Raum in Betracht ziehen, scheint die wahrscheinlichste Lösung *Co[n]s[iu]s* zu sein[10]. In der letzten Zeile müssen die eindeutigen Buchstaben *MAR* die Eigenschaft dieses letzten Widmers (genauso wie das Wort *parentes* aus den Zeilen 7–8) ausdrücken. Wir sind der Meinung, dass sie zu *mar(itus)* ergänzt werden sollen; den Terminus gab es damals, und bedeutete vor allem „Gatte", „verheiratet", aber er wird auch im Sinne von „Bräutigam" oder „Verlobter" verwendet[11].

Infolgedessen lautet die Lesung des ganzen Textes wie folgt (vgl. auch Abb. 2):

D(IS) M(ANIBUS)
AELIA SECUNDI-
NA VIX(IT) AN(NIS) XIIII
ET AELIA CRISPINA
VIX(IT) AN(NIS) IIII
AELI(I) SECUNDUS
ET DECCIA PAREN-
TES FIL(IIS) PIENTISS(IMIS)
ET AEL(IUS) CO[N]S[IU]S
MAR(ITUS).

Den unterirdischen Göttern. Aelia Secundina hat 14 Jahre gelebt und Aelia Crispina hat 4 Jahre gelebt. Aelii Secundus und Deccia, die Eltern, den frömmsten Töchtern, und Aelius Consius (?), Gatte (haben das Denkmal errichtet).

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[10] B. Lörincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, II, Wien 1999, S. 73 (*cognomen* in Noricum; es entspricht sowohl dem verfügbaren Raum als auch den noch sichtbaren Zeichen auf dem Stein). Andere mögliche Varianten (Colinus, Colisus, Condus, Congus, Congius, Connius, Copinus, Copirus, Coporus, Coraius, Coralus, Coranus, Cordus, Corsius u. s. w.) kommen selten und nur in den westlichen Provinzen vor – vgl. ebenda, S. 69, 72, 74–79.

[11] L. Quicherat, A. Daveluy, *Dictionnaire latin-français*, Paris 1884, S. 693; E. Benoist, H. Goelzer, *Nouveau dictionnaire latin-français*, Paris [9]1922, S. 887.

9. γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνα [καὶ ἔγ]γονοι αὐτῶν πάντες, μη-
10. δενὸς δὲ ἑτέρου ἔχοντ[ος τὴν] ἐξουσίαν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
11. πυρίᾳ κηδευθῆναι. τὴν [δὲ] βοριακὴν πυρίαν ἐγγόνοι[ς]
12. τοῦ Εὐτύχους πᾶσιν τοῦ προγεγραμένου· τὴν δὲ πρὸ
13. τοῦ ἡρώου πυρίαν θρέ[μα]σιν καὶ οἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ βούλων-
14. ται. εἰ δέ τις παρὰ τὰ προγεγραμένα ποιήσει, ὑπεύθυ-
15. νος ἔσται τῷ τῆς τυμβωρυχείας ἐνκλήματι καὶ εἰς
16. τὸ ταμῖον Χ βφ΄ καὶ τῇ Πα[λ]κεανῶν κατοικίᾳ Χ φ΄.
17. ἔτι ἐβουλήθην κηδευθῆναι Αἰλ. Εὐτυχίδα τὴν μητέραν ἐν τῇ μέσῃ πυρίᾳ.
18. τούτου ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη ἰς τὸ ἐν Ὑπαίποις ἀρχεῖον.

Cet hérôon avec son péribole et les arbres qui entourent l'hérôon, a été construit par G. Octavius Eutychès d'Ephèse, avec Munatius Dionysius, fils de Paulinus d'Hypaipa. À condition que soient ensevelis, dans le sarcophage du milieu, Eutychès, sa femme, ses enfants et quiconque il voudra de son vivant. Qu'il ne soit permis à personne d'autre d'être enseveli dans le sarcophage du milieu. – Dans le sarcophage du midi, seront ensevelis Dionysius ci-dessus mentionné, sa femme, ses enfants et tous leurs descendants, personne d'autre n'ayant le droit d'être enseveli dans ce sarcophage. – Que le sarcophage du nord (revienne) à tous les descendants d'Eutychès ci-dessus mentionné. – Que le sarcophage (situé) devant l'hérôon (revienne) aux enfants recueillis et à ceux qu'eux-mêmes voudront. – Si quelqu'un contrevient aux (dispositions) précédentes, qu'il soit inculpé de viol de tombeau et qu'il paie au fisc imperial 2500 deniers et 500 au village de Palkéanoi. – De plus, j'ai voulu (souhaité) que ma mère Aelia Eutychis fût enterrée dans le sarcophage du milieu. – Copie de ces (dispositions) a été déposée aux archives de Hypaipa.

Il s'agit d'un grand tombeau de famille dans le sens le plus large du terme. Il est composé d'un soubassement assez haut, en forme de podium sur lequel on a placé trois sarcophages, les plus importants, un quatrième, destiné aux enfants recueillis (*thremmata*) se trouvant devant l'hérôon comme moins important.

Les indications les plus précises concernant les sarcophages et leurs dispositions dans l'hérôon ainsi que la répartition des places en eux, est définie avec une grande précision. Il est évident que pour les propriétaires du monument, ce qui importe avant tout, ce sont les sarcophages.

Dans le sarcophage du milieu, le plus important[2], devaient être ensevelis seulement G. Octavius Eutychès d'Ephèse, et sa plus proche famille, c'est-à-dire sa femme, ses enfants, sa mère.

Dans le sarcophage du nord devaient être ensevelis tous les descendants de G. Octavius Eutychès. Ainsi deux sarcophages lui appartenaient.

Dans le sarcophage du midi devaient être ensevelis Munatius Dionysius d'Hypaipa, sa femme, leurs enfants et tous leurs descendants. Il semble être propriétaire d'un seul sarcophage.

Dans le quatrième sarcophage, situé devant l'hérôon, devaient être ensevelis les enfants recueillis et ceux qu'eux-mêmes voudront. S'agit-il seulement des enfants recueillis de G. Octavius Eutychès d'Ephèse ou bien aussi de ceux de

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[2] Cf. Kubińska, *Les monuments*... (n. 1), p.50.

by Ovid in an ironical context of common mutability and exhortations for vegetarianism. The story of Cipus, a hero rewarded by the Senate for his rejection of power, is obviously an allusion to the year 27 BC, when Octavian rejected formally all his powers over Rome, and, as a result, was granted by the Senate with the title Augustus. Cipus, an authentic figure from Roman history, is granted with so much land that he could plough from sunrise to sunset. This is perhaps an allusion to the fact that Augustus, although formally rejected his powers, received in practice all the power over the Roman Empire from east to west. In a separate paragraph I discuss a series of apotheoses of heroes, of which we find four in the whole work. These are the apotheoses of Hercules, Aeneas, Romulus and Julius Cesar. All these heroes play an important role in the Augustan propaganda as forecasting the princeps' own apotheosis. According to Ovid, they became gods not because of their contributions, but because of the protection of their divine ancestors. This may be a malicious allusion to the apotheosis of Caesar by the vote of the Senate, which should have prepared the apotheosis of Augustus.

In my interpretation of last passages of the *Metamorphoses*, where the author puts his stamp, *sphragis*, I use a theory of metamorphosis suggested by F. Harzer[4] who distinguishes between metaphorical and metonymical metamorphosis. The distinction is based on the criterion of identity. In a metaphorical metamorphosis, as with Lycaon or Daphne, the heroes, by changing themselves, get a new identity, so we have to do with a narrative metaphor. Metonymical metamorphosis, on the other side, is connected with the loss of identity, as in case of Acteon who changes into a deer, not into *the* deer. I treat the end of the *Metamorphoses* as presenting the two last changes in the work. If so, the difference in the field of identity becomes obvious: *caput augustum* instead of *Augustus* on the one side, *indelebile nomen* on the other, *absens* against *vivam*. Augustus belongs to the past, his merits are doubtless. This is why he should become a star, but for the future he will be *absens*, there is no justification for him. The poet asserts the contrary: his name belongs to the future and will be imperishable: "nomenque erit indelebile nostrum", he will live forever: "perque omnia saecula [...] vivam". The future of Rome belongs no more to Augustus but to Ovid who personifies both literature and art in general.

Without doubt, Ovid demonstrated in the *Metamorphoses* his attitude towards Augustus and his programme, an attitude expressed in many allusions and mentions. These I try to present and discuss in my dissertation. What still remains is the question of interpretation of the whole poem in this aspect. Were the *Metamorphoses* an act of resistance against the ideology of the principate? First of all, one should remember that Ovid, being a beneficiary of the new order, had

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[4] F. Harzer, *Erzählte Verwandlung, Eine Poetik epicher Metamorphosen (Ovid, Kafka, Ransmayr)*, Tübingen 2000.

war nur eine zusätzliche Quelle des Wassers für die Werkstätten. Das am meisten benutzte Brennmaterial war Holz. Am besten zu diesen Zwecken geeignet war das harte Laubholz. Die Beschaffung dieses Materials brachte mindestens am Anfang keine Probleme mit sich.

Meine Untersuchungen der römischen Keramikwerkstätten umfassten die Gebäude, die sich auf dem Gebiet der Werkstätten befanden, die technischen Anlagen, die mit der Produktion der Keramik verbunden waren, und die Plätze, wo man die notwendigen Rohstoffe und die fertigen Produkte aufbewahrte. Die Gebäude, die zu den Keramikwerkstätten gehörten, findet man relativ selten. Die entdeckten Überreste wurden am meisten als Werkstätten angesprochen, seltener als Trockenhallen (nur bei Ziegeleien und großen Töpfereien). Die Lager und andere Gebäude gehören zu den Ausnahmen. Die Konstruktion der Wirtschaftgebäude war immer leicht mit Streifenfundamenten oder Gründungssohlen- Basen für Pfosten, mit den Ständer-, Lehm-, Fachwerk- oder Holzwänden. Solche Bauweise entspricht den anderen Wirtschaftgebäuden in den Provinzen Germania Superior und Inferior. Die Ausstattung der Gebäude muss auf Grund von den griechischen Vasenmalereien und ethnografischen Untersuchungen rekonstruiert werden, weil die archäologischen Funde aus diesem Gebiet mit einigen Ausnahmen fehlen.

Die am meisten entdeckten Anlage der römischen Keramikwerkstätten sind Öfen. Die Keramiköfen aus dem Gebiet von Germania Superior und Inferior unterscheiden sich nicht im Allgemeinen von solchen Öfen aus anderen Provinzen. Die Grubenbrandöfen (2 identifiziert) und die liegenden Öfen (7 identifiziert, die Interpretation wurde aber in 5 Fällen diskutiert) gehören zu den Ausnahmen. Die meisten Öfen gehören zu den sog. stehenden Öfen. Der Schürkanal der Öfen soll laut der Lehrbücher der Windrichtung entsprechend gebaut werden. Diese Regel bestätigte sich nur in 60% Fällen. Auch andere Regel, die breite und lange Schürkanäle mit der oxidierenden Brennatmosphäre und kurze mit der reduzierenden verbindet, wurde eben so oft bestätigt wie verneint. So wie erwartet sind über 2/3 Feuerräume rund, oval oder birnenförmig (Kategorie I), in der Gruppe von den Ziegelöfen (98 Öfen) überragen die rechteckigen Feuerräume (Kategorie II – 82). Die Substruktionen der Lochtennen wurden in 8 Typen geteilt. Am meisten in Germanien kommt der Typus e mit der Mittelzunge vor (64,3%), seltener Typus g mit dem Mittelkanal und seitlichen Zügen (20,8%). Diese Verhältnisse ändern sich, wenn wir die Brennraumformen in Acht nehmen: der Anteil des Typus e bei den runden, ovalen oder birnenförmigen Öfen (Kat. I) beträgt 75,16 %, des Typus g 9,3% und bei den rechteckigen (Kat. II): entsprechend: 44,8% und 41,44%. So großer Anteil des Typus e unterscheidet Germanien von den gallischen Provinzen, wo der Anteil der Typen e und b mit dem zentralen Stützpfeiler zirka 36,5% beträgt. Innerhalb der 3 Jahrhunderte reduziert sich die Mannigfaltigkeit der Ofentypen in Geramanien. Die „Ausnahmeformen“ sind oft mit der römischen Armee

général peut être attribué à la *coercitio*, qui était sans doute la base du pouvoir du préfet de la ville dans la résolution de la plupart des affaires pénales.

Il résulte des sources mentionnées que les pouvoirs romains s'efforçaient de contrôler tous les groupes sociaux. Le préfet de la ville essayait de contrôler surtout les couches inférieures de la société, qui constituaient un danger potentiel pour l'ordre public. Ces actions étaient le résultat du travail opérationnel des «agents secrets» (*curiosi*), et les informations acquises étaient conservées dans les fichiers des personnes suspectes.

Nous pouvons constater qu'au cours du I[er] siècle ap. J.-C., la préfecture urbaine y compris les cohortes urbaines y subordonnées, se trouvaient en concurrence avec les offices et les tribunaux républicains (surtout les édiles, *tresviri capitales*, *quaestiones perpetuae*), mais aussi avec ceux impériaux (préfets du prétoire, préfets des vigiles)[8]. À cette époque-là, les principes administratfs de l'empire étaient seulement à l'étape de la formation. Les interventions directes de l'empereur dans les questions urbaines étaient encore fréquentes. Les pouvours policiers étaient, sinon complètement, au moins, assez bien formés, par contre la juridiction du préfet de la ville, surtout celle qui concernait les élites de l'État naissait seulement.

Un changement décisif dans ce domaine a eu lieu au II[e] siècle ap. J.-C., sous le règne de l'empereur Hadrien, à la suite de plusieurs réformes dont le cours exact est difficile à suivre parce que les sources montrent ces transformations en fragments. En fait, nous observons quatre processus dont les résultats sont visibles dans les réformes de Septime Sévère et dans l'activité écrite des juristes romains, sourtout chez Ulpien et chez Paulus. Nous pouvons citer ici le développement des compétences juridiques dans les catégories des affaires aussi bien pénales que civiles. Le processus de développement ci-dessus a été clos par l'attribution d'une compétence générale dans les affaires pénales. Se plaçait à la deuxième position, la limitation du rôle des organes du pouvoir républicain et la reprise de leurs fonctions par la préfecture urbaine. Il s'agit ici surtout de l'édilité et des *quaestiones perpetuae*. La troisième question concerne la délimitation terrtoriale des compétences de différents offices qui se superposaient jusqu'alors (la fonction de préfet de la ville et celle de préfet du prétoire). Enfin, la subordinnation directe ou indirecte au préfet de la ville des fonctionnaires inférieurs aussi bien républicains (*tresviri capitales*, *magistri vicorum*)[9], que ceux impériaux (les préfet des vigiles[10], *curatores regionum*[11]).

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[8] Cf. S. Ruciński, *Le rôle du préfet des vigiles dans le maintien de l'ordre public dans la Rome impériale*, Eos XC 2003, pp. 261–274.

[9] Ibidem, pp. 268–272 et 274.

[10] Ibidem, p. 274.

[11] Cf. S. Ruciński, *Position des curatores regionum dans la hiérarchie administrative de la ville de Rome*, Eos XCI 2004, pp. 108–119.

munis d'un puissant dispositif militaire et administratif et de vastes compétences qui permettaient de réaliser rapidement et efficacement les tâches confiées.

L'un de ces organes était le préfet de la ville (*praefectus urbi*)[1]. Cet office appartenait à l'une des fonctions les plus prestigieuses dans l'Empire Romain. Ses racines rémontent aux anciens temps de la Rome royale et aux débuts de la République, où le préfet de la ville était le substitut et le représentant du roi absent, plus tard, du consul ou du dictateur. La fonction d'un caractère semblable, à savoir celle de *praefectus urbi feriarum Latinarum causa* était une relique de cet office-là. C'est seulement au moment de la fin des guerres civiles qu'Auguste a réformé la préfecture de la ville nominant les premiers préfets: M. Valerius Messala Corvinus et T. Statilius Taurus. Leur office avait pour mission de substituer l'Empereur absent à Rome. Ce n'est que dans le cas du troisième préfet L. Calpurnius Piso Pontifex que nous pouvons parler de la constitution d'une préfecture fixe. Cette dernière réforme, que nous pouvons déduire uniquement de sources, devait changer le caractère du fonctionnement de l'office[2]. À partir de ce moment-là, sa tâche principale consistait dans la protection de la ville de Rome contre les forces subversives ainsi que dans l'espionnage et le contrôle des éléments suspects (*custodia urbis*)[3].

L'étendue chronologique définie dans le titre du présent article inclut l'époque du Haut-Empire, d'Auguste à Dioclétien. Faire appel à la personnalité d'Auguste

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[1] Voir B. Borghesi, *Praefecti Urbis Romae*, dans: idem, *Oeuvres completes*, vol. IX, Paris 1879, pp. 255–395; Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, vol. II, Leipzig [3]1887, pp. 1059–1069; P.-E. Vigneaux, *Essai sur l'histoire de la praefectura urbis à Rome*, Paris 1896; R. Cagnat, s.v. *Praefectus urbi*, dans: *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, éd. Ch. Daremberg, M.E. Saglio, vol. IV 1, Paris 1896, pp. 619–622; G. Tomassetti, *Note sui prefetti di Roma*, dans: *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica*, diretto D. Camparetti, Firenze 1890, vol. III, fasc. 1, coll. 40–66; fasc. 3, coll. 480–548; M. Brancher, *La juridiction civile du «Praefectus Urbi»*, Paris 1909; E. Sachers, s.v. *Prafectus urbi*, *RE* XXII 2, (1954), coll. 2502–2534; G. Vitucci, *Ricerche sulla Praefectura Urbi in età imperiale (sec. I–III)*, Roma 1956; A. Chastagnol, *La Préfecture Urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire*, Paris 1960; idem, *Les Fastes de la Préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire*, Paris 1962 (Études Prosopographiques II); idem, *Le fonctionnement de la préfecture urbaine*, dans: *La Rome Impériale. Démographie et logistique. Actes de la table ronde (Rome, 25 mars 1994)*, Rome 1997 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 230), pp. 111–119; F. De Martino, *Storia delle costituzione romana*, vol. IV 1, Napoli [2]1974, pp. 641–647; D. Mantovani, *Sulla competenza penale del praefectus urbi attraverso il liber singularis di Ulpiano*, dans: *Idee vecchie e nuove sul diritto criminale romano*, a cura di A. Burdese, Padova 1988, pp. 171–223; L. Solidoro Maruotti, *Aspetti della 'giurisdizione civile' del «praefectus urbi» nell'età severiana*, Labeo XXXIX 1993, pp. 174–233; A. Daguet-Gagey, *I grandi servizi pubblici a Roma*, dans: *Roma imperiale. Una metropoli antica*, a cura di E. Lo Cascio, Roma 2000, pp. 73–77.

[2] Cf. S. Ruciński, *Geneza cesarskiej prefektury miejskiej* (*La genèse de la préfecture impériale de la Ville*), Eos LXXXV 1998, pp. 91–105; idem, *Trois préfets de la Ville de l'empereur Domitien*, Eos XC 2003, pp. 83–85.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* VI 11, 2; Cass. Dio LII 21, 1 suiv.; Ulp. (*l. s. de off. praef. urbi*), *Dig.* I 12, 1; cf. Stat. *Silv.* I 4, 15 suiv.; Sen. *Ep.* 83, 14; Iuv. XIII 157; Vell. II 98, 1; Ios. *AI* XVIII 169.

tive Anzahl von Stadtgebieten enthüllt, die man mit Ostia vergleichen könnte. Die Topographien der römischen Städte sind uns lediglich im unterbrochenen Verlauf bekannt. Archäologische Untersuchungen konzentrierten sich in vielen Zentren auf große Objekte und ignorierten einfach die Inhalte der Konstruktion, die uns das Bild der Kontinuität in der Entwicklung des städtischen Gebietes liefern könnten. Gleichzeitig sind wir gewöhnt, über die Stadt als ein autonom funktionierendes Gebiet zu denken; deshalb haben wir es mit der Differenzierung zwischen dem religiösen, politischen, ökonomischen und Handelsgebiet usw. zu tun. Auch dann, wenn es im Falle der antiken Stadt schwierig ist, zwischen der Spezialisierung der Gebiete zu unterscheiden.

Ostia spielt archäologisch eine außerordentliche Rolle, insbesondere im Vergleich mit anderen archäologischen Standorten (z. B. mit Pompeji oder Herculanum). Verschiedenartige Denkmäler sind im besseren Zustand in Herculanum bzw. Pompeji erhalten geblieben, aber die weitere Entwicklung wurde durch den tragischen Vulkanausbruch unterbrochen. Im Falle Ostias war das jedoch ganz anders – geschildert wird an diesem Beispiel eine stufenweise erfolgende, komplette Entwicklung, von den Anfängen des republikanischen *castrum* bis hin zum allmählichen und endgültigen Verlassen dieses Ortes gegen Ende der antiken Zeit. Auf dem Raum von mehr als 30 Hektar sind Fragmente der Häuser, das Theater, Speicher, Badehäuser, Tempel- und Straßenruinen erhalten geblieben. Wenn aber die Vesuv-Städte unter einer dicken Schicht des Vulkanstaubes begraben lagen, war Ostia der Aktivität der Bewohner aus der Umgebung ausgesetzt, die die Stadt als einen Steinbruch, einen Fundort für wertvollen Baustoff sowie eine Fundgrube für zahlreiche Kunstschätze betrachtete.

Es ist schier unmöglich, über das religiöse Leben zu schreiben, wenn man die Geschichte und den Charakter der Stadt außer Acht lässt. Es ist notwendig, einen Abriß der Geschichte der Stadt Ostia darzulegen und besonders jene Ereignisse und Erscheinungsformen in Erinnerung zu rufen, die einen entscheidenden Einfluss auf das religiöse Leben in Ostia haben konnten.

Eine wesentliche Bedeutung für den Verlauf und die Ergebnisse der Forschung hat der Charakter des uns zur Verfügung stehenden Quellenmaterials, vor allem jedoch die deutliche Dominanz von zwei Quellenformen – der epigraphischen und archäologischen Quellen. Die grundlegende Schwierigkeit für den Historiker ist der Umstand, dass es an einem modernen Korpus von Ostia-Inschriften mangelt. Ein separates Problem stellen Inschriften dar, die gar nicht veröffentlicht worden sind. 1802 erschien ein für die älteste „wissenschaftliche" Arbeit gehaltenes Buch über antikes Ostia. Es ist das Werk eines päpstlichen Gesandten, das die Aufmerksamkeit der Wissenschaftler in aller Welt auf eine Stadt gerichtet hat, die seither mit Pompeji verglichen werden (und in dessen Schatten leben) sollte.

In der Forschung zur Geschichte der Stadt Ostia kommt dem Buch von R. Meiggs (s. o.) eine besondere – nahezu bahnbrechende – Bedeutung zu. Es

autre difficulté pour les potentiels lecteurs, surtout pas trop expérimentés, était la technique de *scriptio continua,* qui alors était utilisée dans l'écriture. On peut donc dire qu'alors les destinataires habituellement connaissaient les textes littéraires par les oreilles, pas par les yeux. C'est aussi vrai que l'existence du texte écrit, particulièrement dans le cas de l'épître, qui transmettait une doctrine religieuse, n'a pas pu remplacer totalement le modèle de la communication orale, où la présence de l'auteur se réalisait indirectement et symboliquement par la personne d'un envoyé, qui lisait l'épître devant l'audience, et qui probablement participait aussi dans la composition du texte. L'écriture n'a pas substitué l'oralité, mais ils toujours restaient en relation.

Nous croyons qu'on peut donc supposer qu'un auteur qui voulait être communicatif et persuasif devait aider son audience à comprendre son message. Notre présupposition est que la compréhension d'un texte est conditionnée par la compréhension de sa structure littéraire, autrement dit par la *dispositio*. On peut dire que la structure est la porte du sens. C'est aussi pourquoi l'identification des éléments constitutifs d'un texte – des unités rhétoriques, et ensuite l'analyse de ses relations mutuelles doit être toujours la première étape de l'interprétation. L'analyse rhétorique a été définie ici comme la méthode de l'analyse du texte qui permet de découvrir les principes de l'organisation de la structure (*dispositio*) d'un discours.

La détermination du début et de la fin de l'unité rhétorique est possible grâce à l'observation des marques structurelles utilisées par l'auteur, notamment si un texte n'est pas la narration. Il y a deux genres de ces marques – intérieures et extérieures. Dans les textes contemporains on utilise les marques extérieures, qui permettent ou plutôt aident à voir la structure: chapitres, paragraphes, alinéas, titres, sous-titres, etc. Il faut avoir conscience du fait que l'auteur en utilisant les moyens visuels de ce sorte non seulement organise un texte, mais aussi exerce l'influence sur la réception et la compréhension d'un lecteur. En analysant les textes anciens, y compris les textes de la Bible, il faut se souvenir du fait que dans ce cas la situation est tout à fait différente, parce qu'ils sont le plus souvent dépourvus de ces marques. Cela suffira à rappeler que la division des livres bibliques en chapitres, utilisée de nos jours, a été faite dans le 13ème siècle par Etienne Langton de Paris. On peut ajouter que, comme nous avons déjà remarqué, les textes du Nouveau Testament, qui sont parvenus aux destinataires originaux, ont été écrit par *scriptio continua* – sans les espaces entre des mots, la ponctuation, les signes diacritiques, les sous-titres ou les alinéas. On peut sans doute présupposer que les auteurs du Nouveau Testament voulaient être communicatifs aux destinataires de leur message et utilisaient les marques de composition, qui étaient intérieures au texte – c'est-à-dire linguistiques. Nous pouvons les discerner en analysant l'*elocutio* des textes. L'efficacité de la transmission pouvait être assurée par les moyens stylistiques, par exemple les répétitions des sons réalisées aux niveaux différents, qui formaient les figures

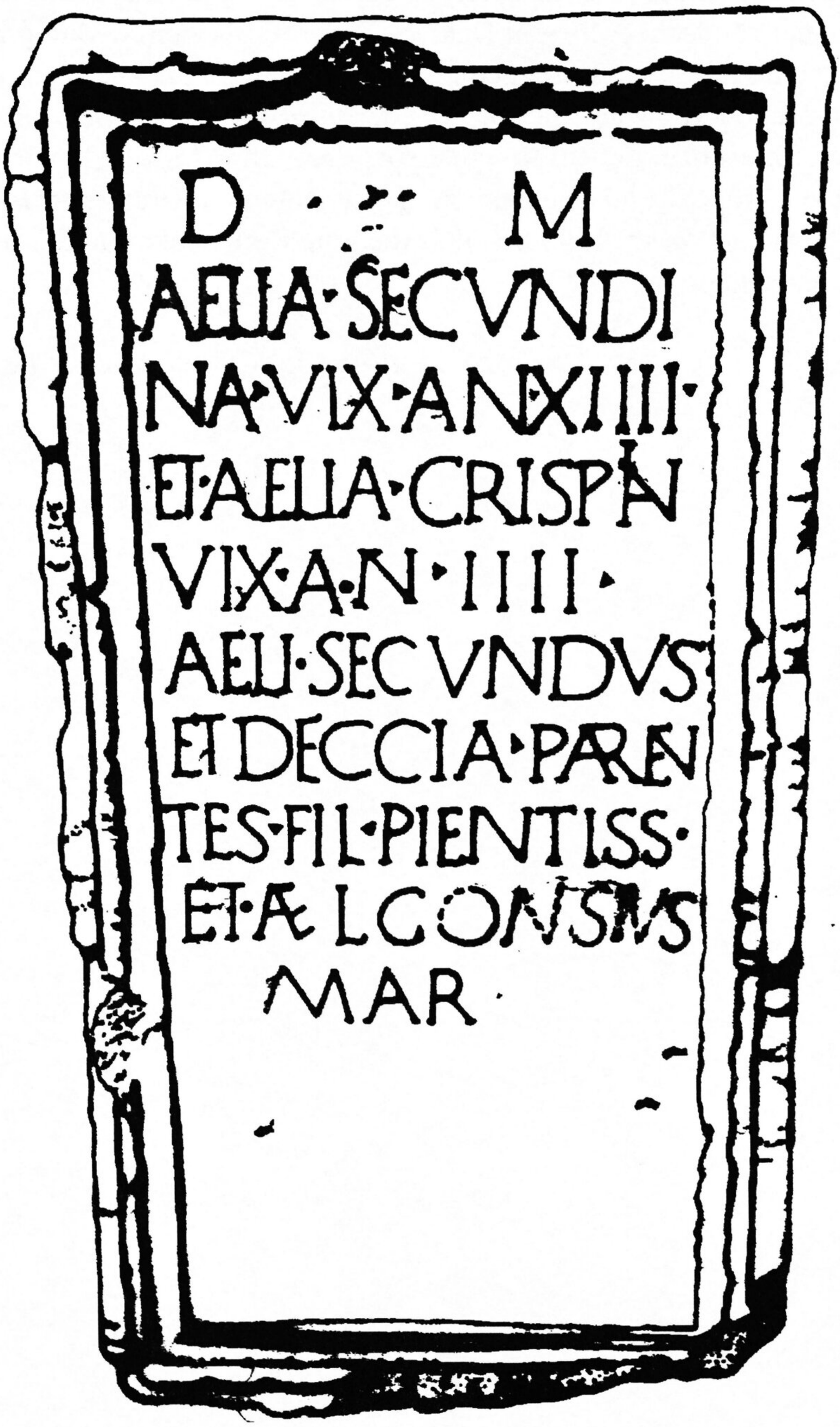


Abb. 2. Die Inschrift der Familie Aelia aus Gherla

the cultural context of literature which in turn invites to treat its political aspects as much more important than simply a treatment of concrete institutions. In the Roman literature of the Augustan period these new perspectives are formulated above all by studies of K. Galinsky[2] and P. Zanker[3]. This new interpretative context means that the question which Otis posed in the first sentence of his article: "Was Ovid an Augustan?", did not lose any of its relevance, but also received a brand new sense. In such circumstances, I regard this dissertation as my own contribution to the discussion.

In Chapter 1, I briefly introduce Augustan ideology, illustrating what, in my opinion, are its most important elements. Discussing this question one should remember that Augustan propaganda embraced all fields of social life. Confirmation of the new model of the state required a complete programme based on ideals such as peace or freedom that were guaranteed by the princeps.

The new social order was based on the thorough religious reform involving not only the return to the traditional Roman pantheon, but also an emphasis on new deities or new aspects of old gods, such as Apollo and Mars. This was meant as a step leading to the divine worship of the princeps himself. This is shown clearly by the temple that Augustus built to Apollo next to his house on the Palatine, connecting both buildings with a special platform. Literature took a very important place in Augustan propaganda. There is so called "Augustan" literature which, beginning with Vergil's *Georgics*, expresses official ideals; to this group the works of Vergil and Horace belong. There is also so called "Un-Augustan" or even "Anti-Augustan" literature, which distances itself from the official programme. It is worth remarking that this distinction remains strongly connected to the change of generations, of which we can single out three in the whole Augustan period. First, there was the generation of Horace and Vergil, the poets affected by the civil wars. Second, there was the generation of Tibullus and Propertius, the authors whose historical experience centred on the battle of Actium. Finally, there came the youngest generation of Ovid, the poet who enjoyed the benefits of peace.

In Chapter 2, I give a short presentation of the *Metamorphoses* in the light of Ovid's poetics. I also discuss the question of literary genre of the poem and the way in which Ovid uses myth as a literary material with its denotative and connotative character.

In Chapter 3, I discuss Ovidian myths of Books I–IX as an allegorical commentary on Rome, dealing especially with such episodes as the myth of the four ages of mankind, the Lycaon story, the *concilium deorum* scene, the story of Apollo and Daphne, Jupiter and Io, and the tale of Phaeton.

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[2] K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture. An Interpretative Introduction*, Princeton 1996.

[3] P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München 1987.

verbunden. Die Öfen wurden mit den Kuppeln oder mit den Ziegeln und Platten abgedeckt. Die Bauweise und zum Bau benutzten Materialien stimmen mit den Standards dieser Zeit überein.

Die im Bereich der Keramikwerkstätten entdeckte Gruben dienten verschiedenen Zwecken. Sie wurden als Lager für Rohstoffe und als Platz für ihre Bearbeitung: Alterung, Einweichen, Schlämmen oder Kneten benutzt. Sehr selten dienten die Gruben als Werkstätten, wo man die Töpfe formte. Ich kenne aus dem Gebiet des römischen Germaniens nur drei solche Beispiele. Die meisten Keramiköfen wurden aus den Arbeitsgruben bedient. Dort lagerte man manchmal zusätzlich das Brennmaterial. Viele Gruben dienten als Mühldepots. Der Erhaltungszustand dieser Anlagen ist schlecht. Bis zu unserer Zeit blieben am meisten nur diese, die man im Altertum befestigte. Auch in der Literatur werden sie oft vernachlässigt, und doch spielten sie eine wichtige Rolle bei dem Fertigungsablauf.

Obwohl sich die Keramikproduktion in der römischen Zeit in Germanien rasch entwickelte, obwohl große Officinae entstanden und viele Töpfereien und Ziegeleien entdeckt wurden, wissen wir relativ wenig über ihre Ausstattung, weniger als über die Ausstattung der griechischen Werkstätten, wo der Mangel am archäologischen Material von den Bildquellen ausgeglichen wurde. Ich versuchte die erhaltenen Werkzeuge zu untersuchen, indem ich sie in Gruppen dem Zweck und dem Platz im Produktionsablauf entsprechend teilte. Die Töpfe, die man im römischen Germanien herstellte, wurden am meisten auf der Töpferscheibe gedreht, seltener in Formschüsseln. In relativ wenigen Fällen wurden sie aus freier Hand geknetet. Bei der Produktion von Lampen, Terrakotten und Baukeramik benutzte man verschiedene Formen. Man verwendete verschiedene Dekorationsarten. Bei ihrer Herstellung musste man sich oft entsprechender Werkzeuge bedienen, worauf nicht nur die erhaltnen Dekorationen deuten, aber auch wenige erhaltene Werkzeuge, solche wie Applikeformen, Ornamentierrädchen, Stempel, Glasurmühlen, Glätter. Von den beim Trocknen und Brennen behilflichen Werkzeugen sind am meisten verschiedene Ständer, Lappen, Lehmklumpen erhalten geblieben, die dafür sorgen sollten, dass die Töpfe nicht zusammenkleben oder umstürzen. Im Bereich der Keramikwerkstätten fand man auch viele Werkzeuge, deren Bestimmung nicht eindeutig ist. Sie könnten bei verschiedenen Arbeiten benutzt werden, sowohl in den Töpfereien oder Ziegeleien, als auch in den anderen Produktionsbereichen und auch im Haushalt. Zu dieser Kategorie der Werkzeuge gehören Messer, Spachteln, Metallstäbe, Schaufeln, Äxte, Hacken usw.

Die Produktionstechnik der Keramik im römischen Germanien unterschied sich nicht von der Technologie, die in anderen Gebieten des Römischen Reiches verwendet wurde. Die einzigen Unterschiede wurden vor allem von den Eigenschaften der Rohstoffe und den Sachkenntnissen der Handwerker verursacht. Die Art und Weise und Qualität der Rohstoffzubereitung, des Formens von den Produkten, der Dekorationsweise und des Brennverfahrens

Dans le texte on est surtout frappé par l'absence d'un terme employé d'habitude dans de très nombreuses épitaphes grecques d'Ephèse gravées sur des plaques ou sur des sarcophages, c'est-à-dire ζῶσιν. Il nous semble qu'on aurait pu le faire graver, si les copropriétaires l'avaient jugé nécessaire. La question paraît être ailleurs. Ils n'étaient pas de la même ville. Bien que G. Octavius Eutychès soit Ephésien le formulaire du texte n'est pas celui d'Ephèse, sa ville natale, où dans les inscriptions funéraires on distingue le plus souvent scrupuleusement parmi les ayants-droit au tombeau ceux qui sont en vie et ceux qui sont morts en mettant dans les textes funéraires là où il fallait des termes: ζῶσιν, ζῇ. Pour les habitants d'Hypaipa cette distinction ne semble pas être si importante. Nous pouvons supposer que Munatius Dionysius d'Hypaipa préferait faire inscrire sur la pierre le formulaire qui correspondait à la tradition locale d'Hypaipa et non à celle d'Ephèse. G. Octavius Eutychès l'approuvait. Nous laissons cet avis au jugement de nos lecteurs.

Probablement, à peine le tombeau fut-il terminé qu'on a gravé l'épitaphe pour indiquer et affirmer le droit de propriété de G. Octavius Eutychès et Munatius Dionysius sur leur monument sépulcral. Les dispositions gravées sur la pierre conformément aux conventions entre deux propriétaires du monument funéraire avaient valeur juridique.

Il nous semble qu'au moment de la rédaction de l'inscription en question, dans l'hérôon aurait pu être ensevelie seulement la mère de G. Octavius Eutychès, Aelia Eutychis et personne d'autre. La mention concernant la volonté de G. Octavius Eutychès de voir sa mère enterrée dans le même sarcophage que lui, c'est-à-dire dans celui du milieu, est gravée presque à la fin de l'épitaphe à la ligne 17, donc l'avant-dernière. Il paraît qu'une telle place dans le texte peut être expliquée seulement par la décision soudainement prise par le fils dans des circonstances extraordinaires, inconnues pour nous.

Probablement les deux hommes ont pris soin de s'assurer le monument sépulcral aussi tôt que possible. Le texte reflète non seulement une préoccupation constante avant de s'assurer le tombeau, mais aussi nous donne une idée de la famille que chacun de deux hommes voulait avoir. Une famille modeste où il n'y avait pas d'affranchis, mentionnés pourtant dans les épitaphes d'Ephèse, mais où il y avait des enfants recueillis, *thremmata*, qui sont mentionnés très rarement dans les textes funéraires d'Ephèse[8].

L'inscription en question évoque cet important problème social en Asie Mineure. De nombreuses épitaphes montrent bien leur position dans les familles, qui n'est pas toujours la même. D'habitude les *thremmata* occupent dans les

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[8] Pour *thremmata* à Ephèse cf. encore *Die Inschriften*... (n. 1), Tl. VII 1, n° 3491. Pour *thremmata* cf. ibidem, Tl. VII 1, n° 3230, 3287A; Tl. VII 2, n° 3713. Pour *threptoi* cf. ibidem, Tl. VI, n° 2255; Tl. VII 1, n° 3225, 3332, Tl. VII 2, n° 3866.

Ovid uses these episodes as a vehicle to express his own opinion on the Augustan programme and especially its elements such as the idea of the Golden Age of Augustus and his association with gods, visual propaganda and his attachment to oriental cults. It is undoubtedly Jupiter who dominates all the stories mentioned above. From the very beginning he appears to symbolize Augustus himself. In the story of the four ages the god organizes the world by determining the seasons, like Octavian he beats his Giant enemies, presides over the celestial Senate and intervenes when the world is in danger. Ovid renders ridiculous the association of Apollo and Augustus on the Palatine, saying that the greatest gods live on the right and left side. This is an obvious allusion to the neighbourhood of Apollo's temple and the house of Augustus on the Palatine.

One of crucial areas for the interpretation of the *Metamorphoses* is the myth of Arachne at the beginning of Book VI. This is a story of an artistic competition between the goddess Minerva, the personification of an artist who conveys official themes in a classical manner, and Arachne who symbolizes free expression of art. Although Arachne loses at the end, Ovid seems to use her story to predict a final triumph of art above politics and ideology. This prediction, as we will see, is repeated at the end of the work, where the poet declares his own immortality.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the way in which Ovid presents the story of Aeneas in Books XIII and XIV of the *Metamorphoses*, the way which differs completely from the corresponding story in the *Aeneid* of Vergil. First, Ovid does not give any account of the Trojan war and mentions only the fall of Troy. At the same time he puts battle scenes in Book XII, describing in epic manner the battle between drunken Lapits and Centaurs. The main point of the landing of Aeneas on Delos is not a prayer or prophecy but a dinner, and the description of the pest on Crete is replaced by that of a crater. Such composition means that Ovid transforms all these dramatic events into a sympotic anecdote. The description of Aeneas' travel to Italy has nothing of Vergil's dramatic peregrination, but seems to be a story of a travelling tourist, a story whose most important objective is to mention all the interesting places. Also, the Ovidian account of the meeting between Aeneas and Sybil is completely devoid of sacral dimension and his description of the hero's descent to the underworld is not dramatic at all, a sharp contrast to the version of Vergil.

Chapter 5 concerns the persons and episodes from Roman history that Ovid presents in Book XV. First, I discuss the tale of the meeting between Numa and Pythagoras, particularly the speech of the philosopher, which explains the question of mutability, the main subject of the whole poem. Alongside its philosophical aspects, the speech also contains political elements: Pythagoras enumerates, as examples of mutability and temporariness, the great centres of civilization which eventually collapsed. At the same time Pythagoras reminds us of a prophecy of Helenus who predicted the rise of eternal Rome. This prophecy which expresses one of the most important elements of the Augustan programme is put

ist ein vorzügliches Studium über die Forschungsarbeit (archäologische Ausgrabungen), zur Stadtplanimetrie; es ist zugleich eine hervorragende Abhandlung über die Gesellschaft. Die Arbeit wurde vor mehr als dreißig Jahren geschrieben – aber immer noch ist sie die beste Monographie zur Geschichte dieser Stadt.

Dem sich ständig entwickelnden Hafen war zu verdanken, dass nach Ostia Kaufleute und Handwerker aus entlegenen Teilen des Imperiums kamen. Als der Hafen vergrößert wurde, errichtete man in der Stadt gewaltige *horrea*, Handelsagenturen, staatliche Behörden zur Kontrolle der Versorgung. Mit neuen Ankömmlingen, die entweder nur für die Entladung des Schiffes gekommen waren oder jenen, die sich länger in der Stadt aufhielten, gelangten nach Ostia neue Religionen und Konfessionen aus den entlegensten Ecken des Imperiums.

Einer der ältesten und zugleich beständigsten Kulte in Ostia war der Vulcanus-Kult. Von seiner Bedeutung zeugt die Tatsache, dass dem Priester dieses Kultes die Kontrolle über alle Tempel in der Stadt anvertraut wurde. Aus der republikanischen Zeit kommt die Zeremonie zu Ehre der Dioskuren Kastor und Pollux. Sie wurden für Schutzpatronen der Seefahrt (die Konstellation der Zwillinge diente den Seefahrern als Orientierungspunkt) und dann daher auch des Handels gehalten. Es verwundert somit nicht die Popularität dieses Kultes in einer Hafenstadt. Die Zeugnisse für den Kult der kapitolinischen Trias: Iupiter, Iuno und Minerva reichen ebenfalls in die republikanische – obwohl spätere – Zeit. Zu Beginn des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. wurde in der Stadt der Roma und dem Augustus ein Tempel erbaut. Spätere Symbole für die kaiserliche Familie zeigen, wie sich die Präsenz des Kaisers (seines Kultes) in der Stadt manifestierte. Archäologische Arbeiten haben bestätigt, dass in der Stadt Ostia ebenfalls der Kult der Gottheiten Venus, Cäres, Bona Dea, Silvanus, Herkules, Apollon, Apis, Neptun, Nemesis, Saturn, Victoria und Mars vorhanden war. Die wachsende Bedeutung Ostias wurde im 2. Jh. von einer Explosion der orientalischen Kulte begleitet. Ihre Anwesenheit in Ostia ist vermutlich – dabei ist es die einfachste Erklärung dieses Phänomens – auf den kosmopolitischen Charakter der Bevölkerung sowie auf die Tatsache zurückzuführen, dass Ostia ein „Tor Roms“ war. Der Kybele- und Attiskult entwickelte sich in der Stadt nach 20 v. Chr. Verbreitet war auch der Mithra-, Serapis- und Isiskult. Gefunden wurden auch Zeugnisse für den Kult des Iupiter von Heliopolis, des Jupiter Sabazius, des Thrakischen Reiter und der Aphrodite von Aphrodisias.

Meine Arbeit habe ich in sechs Kapitel eingeteilt. Im ersten Kapitel habe ich den Versuch unternommen zu bestimmen, was religiöses Leben bedeutet und wie es zum Ausdruck kommen kann. Im zweiten Kapitel (*Der Tempel im Stadtraum*) war ich bemüht aufzuzeigen, was den heiligen Raum ausmacht, welche außerreligiöse Voraussetzungen und Faktoren einen Einfluss auf seine Gestalt genommen haben und welche Bedeutung er für die Bewohner darstellt (Selbstaufwertung, Selbstidentifizierung, Stolz, „lokaler Patriotismus“). Zu ergründen war es, ob und wie sich der Hafencharakter der Stadt Ostia auf

die erfolgte Stiftung auf ein starkes geistiges Engagement, machmal eine Vision zurückzuführen war; es war eine Antwort auf den Versuch, mit Gott in Kontakt zu kommen, mit ihm in einen „intimen" Kontakt zu treten.

Die Stadteliten, die die lokalen Religionssysteme überwachten und den Göttern sowie der kaiserlichen Familie huldigten, hatten sich zur Aufgabe gemacht, die Verantwortung für die Gemeinschaft zu übernehmen, die von ihnen als Beamte, Priester oder „Wohltäter" angeführt wurde (Kapitel 5: *Zwischen Politik und Religion*). Manche Mitglieder der Elitenkreise in Ostia wussten allzu gut, wie sie aus dem religiösen Leben Kapital für ihre politische Karriere schlagen konnten. Infolge all dieser Beziehungen waren Religion und Politik mit der Zeit untrennbar verquickt. Euergetismus wurde zu Pflicht und Privileg für die wohlhabendsten Bewohner, die städtische Funktionen innehatten; Hauptziel dieser Aktivität war jedoch die Machtausübung. Denn die Stadteliten übten Kontrolle aus und entschieden über die Form der heimischen Religion. Die Verstrickung von weltlichen und religiösen Karrieren kann man deutlich am Beispiel von P. Lucilius Gamala sehen. Er war zuerst Aedil im Vulcanuskult, dann Dekurion kraft des Dekurionendekretes, Vulcanus-Pontifex und schliesslich Duovir. Auch Poplikola war ein sehr aktiver Politiker. Laut der in Porta Marina gefundenen Inschrift wurde er mehrmals in wichtige Ämter der Stadt gewählt. Seine engagierte Beteiligung an verschiedenen städtischen, lokalen Angelegenheiten ist ein Indiz dafür, dass seine Aktivität für die Gesellschaft ihm viel Freude bereitet hat.

Das gesamte politisch-rechtliche System in Rom funktionierte innerhalb eines „Netzes" von religiösen Zeremonien und Regelungen. Deshalb wichtig erscheint der Versuch, die Frage zu beantworten, wie in der Kaiserzeit von den Stadtbewohnern die Herrscherfamilie gesehen wurde und wie sich dies auf den urbanen Raum Ostias auswirkte (Kapitel 6: *Kaiserkult in Ostia*). Der Kaiser und seine Familie haben auf unterschiedlichste Art ihre Gegenwart im sakralen Raum der Stadt unterstrichen. Sie selbst waren an der Errichtung dieses Raumes auch maßgeblich beteiligt. Auch in Ostia – indem man ganze Ensembles von Tempeln, Altären, Portiken errichtete – unterordnete man den Raum der Kaiserfamilie, die so zum „Bezugspunkt für die gesamte Gesellschaft und zum regelnden Faktor ihres Funktionierens" wurde. Die Huldigung des Herrschers in Verbindung mit dem alten religiösen Ritual bot der Gemeinschaft und den einzelnen Menschen die Möglichkeit, sich „persönlich" für das Wohl des Staates zu engagieren und mitzuwirken.

Aus meinen Untersuchungen habe ich den Judaismus und das Christentum in Ostia ausgeklammert. Die Problematik verlangt einer separaten Monographie – nicht nur wegen des umfangreichen Materials, sondern auch vor allem wegen des Charakters beider Religionen, des unterschiedlichen Charakters der Quellen sowie der Notwendigkeit, eine andere Methodologie zu erstellen.

Meine Arbeit bedeutet erst den Anfang in diesem Forschungsbereich. Das Wissen über Pantheon, Eschatologie, Mythen, Strukturen und grundlegende

Nous ne disposons pas de beaucoup d'informations sur le développement des compétences de la préfecture urbaine après la mort de Septime Sévère. À cette époque-là, tout particulièrement après l'assassinat de l'empereur Sévère Alexandre, où les structures de l'État romain se sont effendrées momentanément et le besoin de les réorganiser a apparu, la préfecture urbaine, d'un côté, a sauvegardé les anciennes compétences et de l'autre côté, elle en a acquis de nouvelles. Cette première thèse est appuyée par les sources, sur la base desquelles nous faisons la reconstruction de ses pouvoirs sous les Sévères, conservées dans les codifications du Bas-Empire. Elles avaient tout le temps la valeur de la loi en vigueur. Malheureusement, il est impossible de suivre les réformes introduites dans ce domaine-là au cours du III^e^ siècle ap. J.-C. à cause d'une lacune dans les sources. Elle peut être comblée seulement par des informations incertaines sur le fond et sur les dates incluses dans *Historia Augusta* et par des connaissances générales sur les modifications administratives de l'époque. Cette période-là est une période des expérimentations parce qu'au moins trois fois, au lieu d'un préfet, c'est son substitut qui était nommé parmi les chevaliers, deux fois, l'office était confié à des hommes qui n'étaient pas consuls, mais représentaient leurs substituts en vertu de l'*adlectio inter consulares* et des *ornamenta consularia*. C'est sûrement une période du développement des pouvoirs juridiques de la préfecture, surtout dans le cadre d'appel, y compris en tant qu'organe tranchant *vice sacra*. C'était pourtant des réformes qui corrigeaient ou complétaient les décisions antérieures. Cet état des choses a perduré jusqu'aux vastes réformes introduites par Constantin le Grand.

Ce n'était pas uniquement les tâches d'un préfet qui décidaient d'un haut rang de cet office. Le fait que le préfet résidait et agissait à Rome d'où son pouvoir rayonnait sur les territoires dépendants avait de l'importance. C'est pourquoi cette fonction prenait de la signification particulière et était confiée aux personnes issues de l'élite du pouvoir. Le fait que Rome était la résidence de l'empereur n'était pas à négliger. Les personnes à qui cet office était confié devaient jouir de la confiance du souverain. La préfecture était donc confiée à des hommes sûrs, d'habitude à des ex-consuls qui occupaient antérieurement de hauts postes d'État, le plus souvent d'une importance militaire. La préfecture était parfois exercée ensemble avec le second consulat. Avec le temps, surtout à partir du II^e^ siècle ap. J.-C., la préfecture urbaine devenait une sorte de distinction attribuée aux personnes en récompense de leur long et fidèle service.

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römischen Städten zu erstellen. Er rief dazu auf, Sakralinschriften zu nutzen und verwies dabei darauf, dies in Verbindung mit einer Analyse der sozialen Struktur der Stadt und deren politischen Geschichte zu tun. Erst eine derartige Forschung sollte es dazu bringen, dass ein Bild des religiösen Lebens entstehen würde; es würde uns erlauben, die Entwicklung einzelner Kulte in Zeit und Raum, ihren Zusammenhang mit der Rolle, Geschichte und dem Status der Stadt zu verfolgen und „religiöse Präferenzen" unterschiedlicher Gesellschaftsgruppen einer Analyse zu unterziehen.

Das Problem des religiösen Lebens in Ostia fand bisher in Form einer separaten Monographie in der modernen Geschichtsschreibung keine Widerspiegelung. Obwohl in der Literatur zu römischen Religionen und antiken Kulten recht häufig der Begriff „das religiöse Leben" erscheint, ist er eine Schöpfung der modernen Terminologie und findet keine Entsprechung in antiken Quellen. Und obwohl er auch im allgemeinen benutzt wird, ist es schwierig von einer eindeutigen Definition zu sprechen. Unter den Forschern gibt es auch keine Einstimmigkeit in bezug auf die Bestimmung des Begriffs „römische Religion". Die Religion als geistige Dimension zu betrachten, die oft von anderen Gebieten des Alltagslebens getrennt ist, ist mit der Kultur des Christentums eng verbunden. Im antiken Rom dagegen hat es keine Unterscheidung zwischen der „göttlichen" und „anderen" Welt gegeben. Sie bildeten eine untrennbare und sich gegenseitig durchdringende Einheit – sie berührten auch diverse Formen des Alltaglebens. Die Römer genossen den Ruf eines Volkes, das in seiner Frömmigkeit andere Völker weitaus überragte. Fromm zu sein bedeutete für einen Römer, dass er alle Riten, die von der Tradition überliefert worden waren, befolgte. Die römische *pietas* – die Frömmigkeit, bedeutete, dass der Römer bereit war, den Göttern das abzugeben, was Eigentum des Gottes war. Dank diesem Pflichtgefühl konnten der Staat und seine Götter eine Einheit bilden. Persönliche Pläne oder das Gefühl bzw. der Mangel am Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit zur Gottheit hatten schließlich keine entscheidende Bedeutung. Die auf diese Art verstandene Frömmigkeit war für jeden Bürger Pflicht. Für die Menschen der Antike bedeutete *religio* die Ausübung eines Kultes, und das größte Vergnügen bereitete dem Bürger die Teilnahme an Feierlichkeiten, an einem Festmahl am Tempel, an Einweihungen in Mysterien sowie an geheimnisvollen Ritualen.

Ostia wurde im 4. Jh. n. Chr. von den Bewohnern endgültig verlassen und das Stadtgebiet seither nie wieder aufs Neue aufgebaut. Umso wertvoller sind archäologische Funde und epigraphische Zeugnisse aus der Zeit, als die Stadt noch ein lebendiges und bedeutsames Zentrum war. Sie bieten uns – wie es scheint – große Möglichkeiten für die Analyse einzelner Religionen und Kulte in der Stadt, ihre Verteilung auf einzelne Stadtteile sowie ihre Beliebtheit unter den Vertretern aller Gesellschaftsschichten.

Die Forschung zu religiösen Zentren in den römischen Städten ist keine einfache Angelegenheit. Die Ausgrabungen haben bis jetzt keine repräsenta-

Töpfer bei der Arbeit darstellen, stammen meines Wissens aus Pompeji aus den Häusern von Insula V und VI und enthalten sehr wenige Einzelheiten. Sie konnten also nur als Vergleichsmaterial zu den archäologischen Quellen verwendet werden. Auch als Vergleichs- und Ergänzungsmaterial vor allem im Bereich der Ausstattung der Werkstätten wurden griechische Malereien auf den Tontafeln und Vasen benutzt. Eine einzigartige Quelle ist ein in Nijmegen gefundenes Töpferofenmodell aus Terrakotta, das in die 2. Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. datiert wurde.

Die literarischen Quellen brachten zu meinen Untersuchungen unvergleichbar weniger Informationen. Von den literarischen Werken stammten die meisten Daten aus dem Werk von Vitruvius *De architectura libri decem*. Außerdem wurde das Thema mehrmals von Plinius dem Älteren in der *Historia naturalis* berührt. Bei einigen anderen Autoren können wir nur akzidentelle Notizen dazu finden. Ich benutzte auch epigraphische Quellen in in meiner Arbeit, vor allem verschiedene Inschriften, die auf den keramischen Produkten erhalten blieben, aber auch die wenigen Steininschriften, die mit der Keramikproduktion verbundene Menschen erwähnten.

Zwei Faktoren beeinflussten und beeinflussen praktisch bis heute die Entscheidung über den Standort der keramischen Werkstätten. Hier nennt man den Zugang zu den Rohstoffen und die Nähe der Absatzmärkte, oder die Möglichkeit die fertigen Produkte günstig zu transportieren. Dass man die Produktion ohne Rohstoffe von entsprechender Qualität trotz der großen Investitionen und der großen Nachfrage nach den Produkten nicht führen kann, überzeugte man sich in Germanien unter anderen in Sinzig, wo man zweimal versuchte, die Produktion von Terra Sigillata aufzunehmen, und zweimal darauf verzichten musste. Der Grundrohstoff für die Herstellung von Keramik ist Lehm, der in Germanien sehr häufig vorkommt. Die römischen Handwerker benutzten verschiedene Lehme, wenn es um die Zusammensetzung, Plastizität und Ursprung geht. Sie konten sie aber ausgezeichnet verwerten. Der Rohstoff wurde immer zweckentsprechend aufbereitet und infolge dessen wurden oft seine physik-chemischen Eigenschaften im hohem Grade geändert. Sogar die nicht vielen in Germanien entdeckten römischen Lehmgruben lassen feststellen, dass man sie so wie heutzutage wegen der Abbauweise in zwei Gruppen teilen kann: die quantitativ dominierende Gruppe der Tagebaugruben und sehr selten vorkommende Stollengruben. Am meisten bezogen die Keramikwerkstätten Wasser aus den Brunnen. Seltener wurden natürliche Wasserläufe: Flüsse, Bäche benutzt, wenn sie sich in der Nähe befanden (bis zum 50 m, sehr selten bis 100 m entfernt). Wenige Handwerker entschieden sich Wasserleitungen zu bauen, am meisten betraf es größere oder mehrere naheliegenden Werkstätten. Solche Wasserleitungen versorgten auch sehr oft Wohnsiedlungen der Töpfer. Die Benutzung der öffentlichen Wasserleitungen wurde höchstwahrscheinlich von der Genehmigung des lokalen Magistrats abhängig, wenn wir in Acht nehmen, wie viel Wasser die Töpfereien verbrauchten. Das Sammeln von Regenwasser

Struktur sich an gegebene Formen halten musste, deshalb sah sie in allen Provinzen gleich aus, und war mindestens in einem gewissen Grade von den kaiserlichen Verordnungen bestimmt.

Die Mehrheit der Handwerker, die in Germanien arbeiteten und die wir vom Namen kennen, war keltischer Abstammung. Die namentlich erwähnten waren höchstwahrscheinlich die Besitzer der Werkstätten, und nicht die einfachen Töpfer oder Ziegler. Von den archäologischen Quellen, und auch von Mangel an diesen Quellen lässt sich der niedrige Gesellschaftsrang der Handwerker, die sich mit der Keramikproduktion beschäftigen, ablesen. Sie hinterließen keine Weih-, Ehren- oder Grabinschriften, in denen ihr Beruf erwähnt wurde. Ich kenne keine Zeugnisse aus Germanien, die darauf deuten würden, dass sie irgendwelche Fachvereine gründeten. Ihre niedrige Gesellschaftsposition trug vielleicht auch dazu bei, dass sie mit ihren Betrieben immer an Stadtrand laut wahrscheinlich der Stadtverwaltungsverordnung hinausgedrungen wurden, was der öffentlichen Meinung entsprach. Doch war der Rang der germanischen und gallischen Töpfer doch höher als der italischen, weil sie im Gegenteil zu denen frei waren. Auch der Rang der in Militärwerkstätten arbeitender Handwerker war nicht besonders hoch. Von vielen Militärinschriften wurden sehr wenige von den Handwerkern gestiftet, sowohl wenn es um Weih-, als auch um Ehren- und Grabinschriften geht. Wahrscheinlich verfügten sie nicht über größeres Kapitalien. Der Hauptsold war niedrig, es blieb nur die Möglichkeit etwas „schwarz“ bei der Produktion für Zivilisten zu verdienen, was bei den ständigen Kontrollen in Ziegeleien, und wahrscheinlich auch in den von der Armee abhängigen Töpfereien ziemlich schwer war (zumindest für einfache Handwerker) und kein größeres Einkommen brachte. Bestimmt höher in der Gesellschaftshierarchie standen die Besitzer der mittelgroßen und großen Werkstätten.

Zu den privaten Werkstätten gehören alle kleine Werkstätten (hier ist auch Pacht möglich, was die ägyptischen Papyri natürlich für römisches Ägypten bezeugen) und die Werkstätten, die sich bei den Villen befanden. Wir kennen auch einige große private Ziegeleien. Schwerer fällt es heute die Eigentumsverhältnisse von den großen Töpfereien zu bestimmen. Wir sind heute nicht im Stande eindeutig festzustellen, ob es ein zu einem Besitzer gehörender Betrieb war, oder ob es eine Töpfergemeinschaft war, so wie höchstwahrscheinlich bei den großen Terra-Sigillata-Manufakturen, oder viele Einzelwerkstätten, die sehr nah nebeneinander lagen, aber unabhängig arbeiteten. Auch römische Armee besaß in Germanien viele eigene Werkstätten, vor allem Ziegeleien. Offen bleibt die Frage nach den Verbindungen zwischen Armee und den in dem Militärgebiet agierenden Werkstätten. Auch rätselhaft sind die Verbindungen zwischen der römischen Armee und den großen Produktionszentren in Rheinzabern, Sinzig oder Frankfurt-Nied.

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waren auch von der Keramikart, die in der Werkstatt hergestellt wurde und in einiger Maßen auch von der Größe und Ausstattung der Werkstatt abhängig. Römische Technik erschien in den germanischen Provinzen mit den Römern, mit den Kunden, deren Geschmack sich von dem einheimischen, von der La Tene-Tradition geprägten Geschmack unterschied. Es kamen neue Gefäßtypen, mit anderen Formen, Ornamenten, und was dahinter steckt, auch mit anderen Sachkenntnissen der Handwerker. Das fortschreitende Urbanisieren und der Bau von den Limesbefestigungen verursachte die Entstehung von sehr vielen neuen Ziegeleien, deren Produkte sich den römischen Normen anpassen mussten. Die Baumaterialien wurden nach römischer Art produziert, natürlich berücksichtigte man die klimatischen Unterschiede zwischen der Mittelmeerzone und Provinzen hinter den Alpen. Die Technik, die Römer mit sich nach Germanien nach seiner Eroberung brachten, war so hoch entwickelt, dass sie sich in der Zeit der römischen Herrschaft auf diesem Gebiet nicht änderte, sogar in der Umbruchszeit des 2. Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts. Ende des 3., Anfangs des 4. Jahrhunderts ändern sich deutlich die Verteilung der römischen Keramikwerkstätten und die Formen und Ornamente von den Gefäßen, aber nicht das Produktionsverfahren.

In Germanien arbeiteten Werkstätten von verschiedener Größe, von verschiedener Arbeitsorganisation und verschiedenen Eigentumsverhältnissen. Am meisten wurden kleine Werkstätten mit einem oder zwei Öfen entdeckt, das waren höchstwahrscheinlich Familienunternehmen. Sie überragen in kleinen Siedlungen. Daneben arbeiteten auch kleine Werkstätten bei den römischen Villen, die am meisten für eigenen Bedarf produzierten. Von dieser Regel gibt es aber einige Ausnahmen: wir kennen auch in den Villen platzierte Werkstätten, die auf die Massenproduktion ausgerichtet wurden. In Germanien finden wir auch mittelgroße und große Produktionszentren, in den verschiedene Arten von Keramik in großen Mengen hergestellt wurden.

Die meisten Betriebe produzierten bestimmte Erzeugnisse. Die deutlichste Abgrenzung gab es zwischen Töpfereien und Ziegeleien, die von den technischen Unterschieden im Produktionsverfahren beider Keramiktypen verursacht wurde.

In den meisten Werkstätten beschäftigte sich jeder Handwerker mit allen Produktionsetappen. Solche Arbeitsorganisation finden wir vor allem in kleinen Werkstätten, wo der Handwerker mit seiner Familie, eventuell mit einigen Hilfskräften arbeitete. In den großen Manufakturen kommt die Spezialisierung der Handwerker zum Ausdruck: Getrennt organisierte man die Gewinnung der Rohstoffe, ihre Vorbereitung, Formen und Brennen. Die von der Manufaktur getrennte Gruppe der Kaufleute lieferte die Waren auch außerhalb der Provinz. Die Arbeitsorganisation in den zur römischen Armee gehörenden Werkstätten sah so wie in den privaten aus. Die unbedingt zu haltenden Normen erlaubten keine größeren Unterschiede. Wir haben dagegen genauere Informationen als bei den privaten Betrieben zum Thema Organisationsstruktur der Werkstätten der Armee, ihrer Aufsicht und Verwaltung. Das geht daraus hervor, dass diese

die Architektur ausgewirkt hat (Tempel für Gottheiten, die Erfolg im Handel, Sicherheit auf dem Meer oder Wohlstand sichern sollten, waren längs des Flusses und in der Hafennähe untergebracht). Denn es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass die öffentlichen Gebäude einen Teil der Stadtlandschaft und einen wesentlichen Faktor im städtischen Status und der Identifizierung darstellten. Statuen, Kultgegenstände und Stiftungstafeln „stützen das Gedächtnis" und verleihen Sicherheit (auch den Kultusgemeinschaften) im Bereich der individuellen, eigenen Tradition. Gegenstände und Räumlichkeiten, ebenso wie Raum schaffen im Verlauf der jahrelangen „Nutzung" ihre eigene Geschichte. Solche „konstante" Bezugspunkte im städtischen Raum waren und sind Tempel sowie der sakrale Raum im weiten Sinne des Wortes. Rituale, Opfergaben, Prozessionen und Feierlichkeiten sind dann Elemente, die die Gesellschaft zusammenschweißen. Denn eben sie bestimmten das menschliche Verhalten, dieses „äußerliche", „öffentliche", das zur Schau gestellt wurde.

Das dritte Kapitel (*Der Rhythmus des religiösen Lebens*) hebt die Bedeutung des Sommerfestzyklus hervor, der mit Getreidelieferung im Hafen und dann mit Verwahrung der landwirtschaftlichen Produkte verbunden waren. Die Lage Ostias an der Küste, gleich in der Nähe der Tibermündung hatte gewiss eine große strategische Bedeutung. Sie entschied bestimmt auch über den Charakter der Religion in dieser Stadt, indem sie dazu führte, dass ihre Bewohner eine besondere Vorliebe für Götter hatten, die Schutzgottheiten für Handel bzw. Seefahrt waren. Deshalb bin ich bemüht die Frage zu beantworten, wie der Jahreskalender ausgesehen mag, ebenso wie das Zeitdiagramm für Feierlichkeiten, Opfern usw., die den Lebensrhythmus der Stadt bestimmten. Dies war auf die Selbstdarstellung, den Bedarf, den eigenen Status zu festigen, zurückzuführen und war zugleich eine Antwort auf die Ansprüche einer konkreten Gruppe (z. B. einer Vereinigung), die eine Art „Eliteklub" darstellte, der für externe Beobachter gesperrt war. Dank den Festen waren die gegenseitigen Beziehungen zwischen Mensch und Gott nicht nur für ausgewählte Menschen bestimmt. Der einfache Mensch durfte die Gottheit auch in privaten Angelegenheiten und für sich selbst bitten. Wichtig ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Antwort auf die Frage, wie sich im städtischen Umfeld in den Tempeln und während der Feierlichkeiten die normalen Menschen „zurecht gefunden" haben (Kapitel 4: *Die Stifter*). Die einen – obwohl sie nicht der sog. Elite angehörten – waren in das Religionsleben engagiert, um das Selbstbild günstiger erscheinen zu lassen und den eigenen Status im Bekanntenkreis bzw. in der eigenen Berufsgruppe zu verbessern. Durch dargebotene Gaben (Inschriften, Kleinstatuen, Reliefs u. ä.) betonten sie ihre Teilnahme an der Aktivität der Gruppe sowie am Dienst der Gottheit. Es wäre natürlich ein Fehler und eine Ungerechtigkeit, wenn alle „Stifter" der Tatsache verdächtigt würden, die Religion „politisch zu benutzen" und alle äußerlichen Anzeichen des Religiösen als Propagandaakt zu verwenden. Es ist auch so vorgekommen (besonders bei den sog. Mysterien- und „Orientreligionen"), dass

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Matthew Wright, *Euripides' Escape Tragedies: A Study of Helen, Andromeda, and Iphigenia among the Taurians*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, VIII + 433 pp.

Matthew Wright's [= W.] newly published study is aimed at a coherent analysis of the three Euripidean tragedies known to constitute somewhat of a crux within the modern classical scholarship. Praised as (to quote the backslip) "the first major study of three late (and much maligned) plays of Euripides", it offers "a fresh reading of the plays" advertised as of importance not only for the actual Euripidean scholarship, but also for our knowledge of tragedy in general. Indeed, celebrated as the three tragedies are for their inventiveness or formal resolutions, they all belong to the *eis agathon* type, a sort of tragedy that prefers what may be defined as 'happy' ending. It is precisely because of this very characteristic that, in spite of Aristotle's high regard for the form of *anagnorisis* employed in the *Iphigenia among the Taurians,* the drama was criticized by the great Renaissance scholar, Francesco Robortello – according to this latter a happy ending was a device unworthy of tragic poetry. The influence of the Renaissance criticism on the modern understanding of tragedy, frequently undervalued as it is (one would think of the three unities projected onto the ancient theory by Castelvetro's commentary), forced the twentieth century critics into massive difficulties when attempting to discuss both the *Helen* and the *Iphigenia among the Taurians* – as a result, the dramas were frequently classified under rather misleading names such as *melodrama*, *comic drama*, *comedy of ideas*, etc. Clearly, the apparently happy resolution of the plot made the major part of Euripides' scholars uneasy, leading them to suggest the decline of tragedy, or, for that matter, a decline within the compositional abilities of Euripides. Yet, strikingly, there appear to be two ways of avoiding the problem raised by the alleged distortion of the 'tragic model': one is to construct escape-tragedy as a separate genre within the tragical *genos*, the other, to argue that neither *Helen* nor *Iphigenia* does end happily (which, obviously, would effectively cancel any doubt about genre classification)[1].

The solution chosen by W. is to argue in favour of a genre within the tragic genre. Yet, in order to support this claim, he enters into a lengthy discussion of the notion of 'the tragic', a discussion that would benefit, one could say, from his getting acquainted with some of the Renaissance and modern theoretical writings – a common enough oversight bound to force an academic into prolonged consideration of the difference of the concept of 'the tragic' in antiquity as juxtaposed with the contemporary understanding of the term (heavily influenced by the Renaissance theory as the latter is). This is not to say that W.'s viewpoint is wrong, for it certainly is not: it is rather that forty pages may well seem an excessive amount of space to argue this particular point, given that the author nimbly sidesteps some major theoretical works on the nature of the tragic written in the course of the twentieth century[2].

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[1] I am rather surprised that Masaracchia's study (E. Masaracchia, *Iphigenia Taurica: un dramma a lieto fine,* QUCC XVIII 1984, pp. 111–123), being of considerable importance for the subject discussed in his book, was not included in W.'s reading list (certainly, this is not the only important work missing from the latter).

[2] Max Scheler's contribution to the problem is not even mentioned in the discussion! Still, one could probably make allowances – W. is arguing a point that goes against the views of Conacher, Kitto and other giants of Classical scholarship.

2) La période du développement des pouvoirs juridiques (d'Hadrien à Septime Sévère);
3) La période de la stabilisation de l'office (de Caracalla à Dioclétien).

Les activités du préfet de la ville, dans le cadre du maintien de l'ordre public, rentraient dans les compétences de base de ce fonctionnaire. Elles étaient remplies aussi tout au long de l'Empire. Nous pouvons supposer que c'était le préfet de la ville qui ressentissait le plus le poids lié à la réalisation de ces fonctions. Elles embrassaient tout le territoire de la Rome antique sur lequel elles se concentraient. Des groupes potentiellement dangeureux se trouvaient sous un contrôle administratif particulier (par exemple: esclaves, affranchis, acteurs, mais aussi chrétiens et autres). Il faudrait souligner que dans les compétences et les intérêts du préfet de la ville, des services qui lui étaient subordonnés (y compris les cohortes urbaines à raison de 2000 soldats, et depuis Septime Sévère 6000 soldats)[6] et de ses fonctionnaires se trouvait le maintien de l'ordre public dans tous ses aspects – à partir de la prévention, à travers la poursuite, la capturation et le jugement des malfaiteurs, jusqu'à l'exécution de la peine.

En même temps, apparaissent les premiers témoignages d'après lesquels, le préfet de la ville serait chargé aussi de la juridiction. Ils sont pourtant rares et difficiles à interpréter de manière claire. Au début du principat, le préfet de la ville exerçait la juridiction envers les *humiliores* (le groupe d'hommes du bas de l'échelle sociale), en vertu de sa coercition (*coercitio*), mais sa libérté d'agir était limitée. Avec le temps, la législation impériale a commencé d'intervenir dans les questions de la définition de la peine pour les *humiliores*, ne laissant pas le juge en décider. Par contre les *honestiores* (le groupe d'élite) étaient initialement subordonnés à la juridiction des *quaestiones perpetuae*, toujours en fonction, et occasionnellement au sénat ou à l'empereur. Pourtant, déjà au cours du I^er^ siècle après J.-C., le préfet de la ville exerçait, dans certaines questions, certainement en vertu des décisions impériales, la juridiction envers les personnes appartenant aux états privilégiés. Il faut mentionner ici surtout les affaires de falsification des testaments et des monnaies et les *causae pecuniariae* liées à ces dernières. Il est possible que le préfet de la ville punissait aussi les crimes contre l'empereur, c'est-à-dire les complots et les attentats et les hautes trahisons. L'état des sources ne permet pas de donner une réponse univoque à la question de savoir si la juridiction du préfet de la ville avait un caractère général depuis Néron, comme l'a remarqué Th. Mommsen[7]. Bien que cette interprétation soit possible, il faut admettre qu'aux I^er^ et II^e^ siècles ap. J.-C., nos sources parlent de l'activité du préfet de la ville qu'il exerçait seulement dans certaines limites. Le caractère

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[6] Cf. H. Freis, *Die Cohortes Urbanae*, Köln–Graz 1967 (Epigraphische Studien 2).

[7] Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* (n. 1), vol. II 2, pp. 958–969 et 1065 suiv.; idem, *Römisches Strafrecht*, Leipzig 1899, pp. 271–273.

Tatsachen zu Glaubenssystemen sowie zu zahlreichen Kulten in Ostia ist zu bescheiden und wird sich uns wahrscheinlich niemals öffnen. Das ruft bei uns Überlegungen hervor, inwieweit wir im Stande sind, das religiöse Leben in dieser Stadt zu verstehen und zu ergründen.

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no reason to criticize it. His poetry, graceful and full of charm, would have been unable to come into existence in a Rome rent by the civil wars. He did not live in the times of the Roman republic to be a republican, he did not experience the civil wars to be grateful like Vergil, nor was he a victim of proscriptions to be resentful. He seems simply to observe the world and to describe it not from the point of view of a prophet or a politically engaged citizen, but from the perspective of a poet, a judge of style. Style is precisely that which most interests Ovid. He reminds us of the idea of the Golden Age to show how inadequate this term is to denote the present, despite of its all peace and prosperity. He compares the Palatine to a divine residence to point out that only Augustus is a real god there and the rest remains *plebs deorum*.

Ovid cleverly avoids literalistic approach, which allows him to present even such non poetic subject like politics with his characteristic flair. Beauty, not only in its aesthetic sense, but also the ever-changing beauty of the world and human beings, remains his main subject. He tries to show in what way *amor et ira*, love and hate, determinate behaviour of gods and how virtue, fidelity and piety, *virtus, fides et pietas* are present in peoples' life. He presents Augustus in the same way as a changing and vivid personality, a Roman citizen and a god on earth at the same time.

Such a perspective requires distance, rising above the reality, a special kind of transcendence and that is because, in my opinion, the *Metamorphoses* could provoke the disapproval of the princeps who punished Ovid not because of what he was against, but because of what he failed to stand for.

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the *Andromeda* alone – at east the *Andromeda* as we know it – gives a promise of starlit glory, of the two principal personages being actually transferred onto the celestial vault. Why would Euripides have all three kinds of immortality written into the three plays presented during a single festival? This is an interesting question, yet one never effectively addressed in the book – despite its proclaimed interest in the religious issues.

Concerning W.'s central argument, i.e. the elements of Gorgias' thought that possibly influenced Euripides: the claim is certainly reasonable and gains reasonable support from the actual analysis of both the *Helen* and the *Iphigenia*. Unfortunately, what W. insists on is viewing Euripides as systematic thinker, the term routinely employed to denote somebody who did actually construct *a philosophical system*, complete with ontology, epistemology, physics and ethics: to prove that this latter was actually the case with Euripides seems however an impossible task, given (a) the very nature of his works, (b) the fragmentary survival of these. Symptomatically, no such proof can be found in the discussed work, a fact which tends to render the adjective, to say the least, inconsiderate. Indeed, while it seems perfectly justified to view the dramatist as somebody with lively interest in the contemporary philosophical agenda or as one particularly preoccupied with the level of compatibility between spoken world and its designate (indeed, there is nothing to stop us from regarding Euripides as a philosopher in his own right), to equate this lively interest with the systematic thought along the lines of Aristotle or Plato (this in fact would be a natural consequence of W.'s assertion) can justifiably be regarded as a major overstatement, and thus tend to undermine the otherwise perfectly acceptable arguments concerning the Gorgianic character of the *Helen*. Additionally, one may note, there seems to be considerable lack of precision in W.'s argument: was Euripides influenced by Gorgias or was his thought, at least to some extent, developed independently, even if on what one may call Gorgianic foundations? In other words: did Euripides simply follow Gorgias or did he start with Gorgianic thought to end up with his own conception of knowledge / language? The recent book of Conacher, even if it denies the possibility of estimating the level of Euripides' debt to the sophistic movement, demonstrated sufficiently his preoccupation with what constituted the very essence of contemporary philosophical enquiries[3]: is it really necessary to regard the dramatist as systematic thinker in order to view his two dramas as deeply philosophical in tone? And speaking of this latter term: I would be more careful than W. is in stating that definition of tone in the dramatic work is a matter of pure subjectivity, even though I do acknowledge that certain subjective factor may lie behind Burnett's interpretation of the *Helen*[4].

While speaking of the philosophical issues at stake in the *Helen* or *Iphigenia*: according to W., the tragedies deal with the delusiveness of human knowledge, illustrating Euripides' profound anxiety where this latter is concerned. In other words, they intend to demonstrate – through the disjunction of word and reality, reflection and object – the fundamental elusiveness or impossibility of cognition. I am not saying that such a reading of the respective plays is wrong – but I would welcome at least an attempt to put the *Helen* and the *Iphigenia* into a wider perspective: certainly, the two were not the only plays of the kind in Euripidean corpus: one can certainly think of the *Hippolytus* or the *Heracles* as providing possible material for comparison or general background (yet another example that comes easily into the mind is the late *Bacchae*). Another question that needs to be asked concerns possible parallels with Sophocles: the idea of human debility, of the limitations of the human knowledge lies – among others – at the heart of the *Oedipus Rex*. Should not the consideration of these and related issues be incorporated into the work? If we consider Euripides as a philosopher-dramatist (which is what W. does), one is essentially justified in searching for ideological parallels in his other works – once we tribute him with thought-system,

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[3] D.J. Conacher, *Euripides and the Sophists*, London 1998.

[4] A. Pippin Burnett, *Euripides' Helen: A Comedy of Ideas*, CPh LV 1960, pp. 151–160. There are interesting remarks on Burnett's (mis)use of quotations in W.'s work.

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DIE PRODUKTION DER KERAMIK IN DEN RÖMISCHEN PROVINZEN GERMANIA SUPERIOR UND GERMANIA INFERIOR IN DER FRÜHEN KAISERZEIT*

Von

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Das Thema meiner Dissertation umfasst die Produktion der Keramik *sensu stricto*, also deren technische und soziale Bedingungen. Meine Aufgabe war es nicht, noch eine Typologie der keramischen Erzeugnisse zusammenzusetzen, sondern die Rohstoffe, Anlagen, Werkzeuge und Technologie der Produktion zu recherchieren und zu versuchen, die Frage zu beantworten, was diese Quellen über Fachleute, die dabei arbeiteten, zu sagen haben.

Ich begrenzte mich auf zwei germanische Provinzen des Römischen Reiches. Es waren Grenzprovinzen, deutlich vom Militär geprägt. Römische Zivilisation wurde hier vor allem von Legionen eingeführt, die Handwerker folgten die Armee, oft stellten sie ihre Produkte für sie her. Die römische Produktionsweise und ihre Entwicklung war hier ebenso besser zu identifizieren, weil man hier früher nur die La Tene-Keramik produzierte.

Meine Dissertation umfasst chronologisch die Zeit von der römischen Eroberung bis Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts, als sich die Keramikproduktion in diesen Provinzen infolge allgemeinen politischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Änderungen auch stark veränderte.

Die meisten von mir untersuchten Quellen sind die archäologischen Quellen. Dazu gehören die Überreste der römischen Produktionsanlagen: Lehmgruben, Werkstätten, Werkzeuge, die bei der Produktion verwendet wurden und auch die Produkte selbst, die viele Informationen über Produktionsweise nach den entsprechenden physikalisch-chemischen Untersuchungen bringen können.

Ich kenne keine Bildquellen aus dem Gebiet Germaniens, die römischen Töpfereien oder Ziegeleien darstellen. Die einzigen römischen Malereien, die

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* Die Zusammenfassung der Thesen meiner Dissertation, die dem Historischen Institut der Universität Wrocław im Dezember 2004 vorgelegt wurde. Der Doktorvater meiner Arbeit war Dr. habil. Juliusz Ziomecki.

Clearly, classification of the 'escape-tragedy' is still far from the main point of W.'s argument: his chief aim is to argue in favour of thematic trilogy of what may be termed counterfactual tragedies, a trilogy composed of *Helen*, *Andromeda* and *Iphigenia among the Taurians*. In order to support his claim, the author invokes the features common to all three: the exotic setting (Egypt, Scythia and Ethiopia respectively), the unexpected starting point (Helen was not in Troy, Iphigenia was not killed), the notion of constraint and seclusion that are imposed on the principal character, and the highly unusual attitude toward the existing, literary or not, versions of respective myths. Yet, interesting as these are, one may still remain doubtful where their conclusiveness is concerned: the exotic setting is certainly an interesting feature, yet one is left to wonder whether its introduction should be seen as motivated solely by philosophical exigencies (according to W., geographic foreignness is essential in constructing the contrasts of speech vs. reality, and, moreover, looks back to the contemporary discussions concerning the shape and nature of the *oikoumene*). The spatial setting does certainly gain considerable importance in the Euripidean tragedies – still, the exotic is neither limited to the hypothetical trilogy (one could invoke the case of the *Phaethon*) nor indispensable for the creation of the barbaric vs. civilized contrast (one may compare e.g. the *Iphigenia at Aulis*).

The geography of the three plays, locating each of the heroines within a distant, fabled land of surprising natural and social characteristics (ritual manslaughter in Tauris, snow-born rivers in Egypt, sea monster in Ethiopia) may be regarded as providing the audience with sort of never-never land, a setting untainted by any political, social or religious biases. A land far remote from the 'tragic' Argos, from the monster-infested Thebes, or – for the effect – from the perfect, democratic Athens. The reference to the Nile (or rather its mysterious sources) opening the *Helen*, may, simultaneously, be regarded as something more and something less than Euripides expressing his opinion within the framework of the current debate (indeed, can the character's words be taken to express the author's opinion?): it is establishing of distance, the crucial step in stressing the strangeness and the unusual character of the locale, the Nile being the only river viewed as born not of Zeus' rain, the only one to draw its life from the mountain snow – the reference is to both the Nile and Egypt, one denoting the wonders and the foreignness of the other. Moreover, it should be noted, Egypt was associated with Helen (phantom or not) since the *Odyssey*, hence it would be hard to assess how surprising is this opening phrase to the audience.

Next, the counterfactual nature of the respective plays is somewhat complicated by the loss of the *Andromeda* – would it be counterfactual, could it still present the *eis agathon* resolution? Or should one think it was not counterfactual: but then, what about the main line of the argument? What happens if one of the three plays would actually eschew counterfactuality and follow the well established pattern of myth? A question like this does not even emerge in the analysis, though one could imagine its possible impact on the discussion. For W., the chief attraction of the play seems to lie first in its setting, and then, strikingly, in the disjunction between appearances and reality, as attested in the surviving words of Perseus, who compares chained heroine to a statue (fr. 125 Jouan–van Looy) – yet, one could rightly say, the fatal example of the *Hippolytus* should probably teach us to do better than infer the possible meaning of a whole play from a single sentence. Once again, W.'s instinct may well be right: after all, the iconographic evidence suggests considerable differences in the Sophoclean and Euripidean treatment of the Andromeda myth. Yet, there is hardly more than an instinct to go on, as the scholar forgoes an option that could possibly offer quite a nice pendant to his argument: given that the tentative reconstructions of the play allow for a possibility of Cepheus' going back on his original promise to wed Andromeda to her saviour (or was Perseus her saviour? – perhaps, like Helen and Iphigenia, she had something to say in the matter of her own rescue), some debate on the nature of promises could very well fit into its scheme. And this is an element which could well have been employed to further the argument concerning the importance of word / reality disjunction theme within the hypothetical 'escape' trilogy. Clearly, we would still be left with the promise of catasterism: while the other plays present us either with cult aitiologies or actual promises of immortal blessedness,

we need to see some continuity in his work. And yet, W. prefers to built his theory on the 412 trilogy alone...[5].

What is possibly most troubling about W.'s book, however, is his constant skirting of the problems related to the reconstruction of the *Andromeda*: an argument for a thematic trilogy is valid only where there are three plays to draw upon, even should they be as heavily maimed as the *Alexander* and *Palamedes* that were successfully employed for Scodel's reconstruction of the 'Trojan trilogy'. Where W. hypothetizes that the escape trilogy would have "an odd, quasi-hypnotic quality" to the audience, he makes a silent assumption that the structure of the *Andromeda* very closely mirrored that of both the *Helen* and *Iphigenia among the Taurians*. Furthermore, W. never resolves (neither would he be able to) the issue of the extent to which the *Andromeda* would be penetrated by the philosophical considerations, and to what extent its plot would be influenced by those latter. Now, for an author so keen to criticize subjectivity of Burnett's interpretation of the *Helen* (pp. 228–233), this is surprising indeed.

Before I conclude, I shall refer, briefly, to the formal deficiencies of the text: a closer look at the index reveals considerable lapses in its composition – thus, it lacks the names of several ancient authors as well as modern scholars whose works are effectively mentioned in the body of the book. Bibliography displays the same carelessness, the most striking case being the confusion of Patricia Rosenmeyer with the Aeschylus' scholar, Thomas (neither being listed in the index, though). The quotation index lists only the references to the three discussed plays, while several other sources happen to be quoted in the text (I shall limit myself to the case of the *Cyclops*, a play of particular importance as W. suggests that this may be the very satyric piece that accompanied the trilogy)[6].

To summarize: the book presents its reader with several worthwhile and interesting ideas (I, for one, found the metamythology part absolutely fascinating), sadly undermined by methodological meandering of the author. And while one can easily claim that the repertoire of questions stemming from an attempt to analyze a play is necessarily shaped by an interpreter's individual preferences, it cannot be denied that contradictions, indifference to terminology and simplifications are bound to reflect on the overall quality of argument. Indeed, it was said that an interpretation of a literary work can be considered coherent only when it accounts for all the features of the work in question[7]: sadly, this is not the case with this book.

Regardless of its possible and often manifest merits where the actual reading of the two plays (the *Andromeda* is mentioned only rarely, remaining virtually absent from the crucial 'Tragedy of Ideas' chapter) is concerned, W.'s book remains, at least where his arguments are concerned, a disappointment. If the three plays did indeed form a trilogy and if one accepts W.'s subsequent suggestion that this trilogy was thematically or ideologically connected, the ultimate and thereby coherent interpretation is disabled by the loss of *Andromeda*[8]; if they did not, one would better refrain from explaining the *Helen* through the contents of the *Iphigenia*. In a way, there is no

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[5] Similar doubt may be raised with respect to the discussion of Euripides' apparent preoccupation with the sea as a source of potential menace – even though a reference to the *Hippolytus* would seem particularly adapt within the context (the obvious reference would be C.P. Segal, *The Tragedy of Hippolytus: the Waters of Ocean and the Untouched Meadow*, HSCPh LXX 1965, pp. 117–169), W. refrains from alluding to plays other than the analyzed trilogy (pp. 205–218). More importantly, one may point out that his analysis of the trilogy lacks conclusive explanation of the wave endangering the progress of Orestes' escape in the *IT*.

[6] Clearly, this could have been taken to imply that at least an outline of the play, just for comparison's sake, would be introduced into the work: yet, W. seems to neglect the possible parallels in their entirety.

[7] The opinion is of Kovacs, formulated in his essay on the *Medea* (D. Kovacs, *Zeus in Euripides' Medea*, AJPh CXIV 1993, pp. 45–70).

escape from the *aporia* – not unless Time and sands of Oxyrhynchus preserved something that would bestow light on the final resolution of the third escape tragedy, not unless more of the *Andromeda* escapes destruction.

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Mirosław Kocur, *We władzy teatru. Aktorzy i widzowie w antycznym Rzymie* (*The Reign of Theatre: Actors and Spectators in Ancient Rome*). Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2005, 559 pp.

This monograph appeals to two sets of readers, those who are interested in ancient theatre and those with interests in ancient every-day life. It is impossible in a short review to do justice to the range of ideas and perspectives on offer here, every chapter repays careful reading. "Totus mundus agit histrionem" repeats Kocur [= K.] at the beginning of his introduction and makes this famous sentence Shakespeare used for the Globe theatre a motto of his own book. The focus of this volume is, as its title suggests, the concept of *theatrum mundi* in Rome. The book is divided into nine chapters.

The first chapter *Rzym jako teatr* (*Rome as Theatre*) is devoted to the nature of theatricality of Roman political and private life. K. explores complexities of the relationship between politics and spectacle. He sees Roman triumphs as a genuine street theatre. According to the author orators made in fact artistic performances to achieve their own civic and political goals. Also in private life Romans were playing theatre. Home rituals like *salutatio* or funerals, in which imagines can be compared to theatrical masks, are perfect examples of Roman theatricality. One should not forget that even the most important part of the City, Forum Romanum, was a stage both for "dramatic performances" of politicians (K. gives a vivid example of the events of the year 45 BC with two main "actors", Mark Antony and Julius Caesar, and one "prop", the crown) and real spectacles (comedies of Plautus). At the end of this interesting chapter he demonstrates the most memorable picture of Nero, who crossed the boundary between art and life and who made Rome and Roman Empire a real stage.

Chapter 2, *Teatr śmierci* (*Theatre of Death*), looks at the attitudes to death as a spectacle. K. explains the theatrical violence of ancient Romans as a reflection of traditional rites, customs and sacrifices (esp. *devotio*). In this part of the book he shows the most spectacular and popular (but at the same time most controversial) performances in ancient Rome: gladiators' combats, *venationes* and naval battles staged in the theatre. Treating death as a spectacle, especially in the case of public executions is very typical of Roman society which is the reason why K. devotes most of this chapter to the theatricality of *damnatio ad bestias*.

In the third chapter *Igrzyska* (*Ludi*) K. enlists all known *ludi* (*publici*, *Romani*, *plebei*, *Apollinares*, *Megalenses*, *Florales*, *Ceriales*, *victoriae Sullanae*, *victoriae Caesaris*, *saeculares*, *privati*) explaining their origins, character, ideology and, of course, programme of the games.

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[8] Symptomatically, the situation is somewhat different with the already invoked 'Trojan trilogy' (*Alexander–Palamedes–Troades*, cf. R. Scodel, *The Trojan Trilogy of Euripides*, Göttingen 1980): first, we do actually know that the three formed a trilogy, second, the plot of both lost plays is attested in later sources, third: the surviving fragments are capable of giving us the idea of the actual enactment or at least potential ideological focus of the play. Still, it must be noted that Scodel's reconstruction of the trilogy remains largely hypothetical, and the author takes particular care to formulate her conclusion in such a manner as not to compromise the methodological premises on which they are drawn.

Surprising title *Teatr jako Rzym* (*Theatre as Rome*) of chapter 4 does not tell much about the contents of this part of the book. It deals with the origins of the first *Roman* theatres: temporary stage constructions, theatre of Pompey and of Marcellus and with important aspects of meta-theatrical life: social order and hierarchy of seats in the audience, claques, riots, forms of applause.

Chapter 5 *Dramat* (*Drama*) concentrates on the matters of drama in Rome, particularly of professional performances. At the beginning K. gives a list of main ancient sources on the subject and explains useful terminology (*histrio*, *artifex*, *scaenicus*, *thymelici*, *grex* and so on). He surveys the existing views on origins of the Roman theatre. K. gives also the traditional classification of the Roman drama: *tragoedia*, *praetexta*, *palliata*, *togata*, *tabernaria*, presenting even unknown or doubtful genres like *trabeata* and *convivium poetarum ac philosophorum*. Next section of this chapter entitled *Rzemiosło* (*Craft*) deals with the background of the art of acting. K. presents all aspects of this complex matter: schools and teachers of acting, theatrical gesture, voice training. He discusses the role of masks, costume and props on the stage. The third and the last section of chapter 5 continues the examination of ancient performance. Especially interesting are K.'s opinions on team acting and companies of actors. But above all this section is devoted to such problems as existence of chorus, differences between *diverbium* and *canticum,* instruments and art of declamation.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 demonstrate in a very similar way three kinds of performances typical for Roman society: *atellana*, mime and pantomime. In each chapter K. presents the history of the genres, their actors, craft and particular character of performances. The chapters' very richness in facts, examples and ideas is highly impressive. It is very difficult to present in this review a careful account of the textual and archaeological evidence, based upon a great range of publications.

In chapter 9 *Status aktora* (*Actor Status*), the book's final chapter, K. reflects on the problem of the social status of actors. The spectrum of topics undertaken here is immense. The author presents the history of the attitude to performers from the times of early Republic to the late antiquity. He has to confront several controversial problems: low legal status of actor and legal limitations of their maltreatment, *infamia* and restrictions against *nobiles* who appeared on stage and admiration for "stars". He devotes much space to present the special status of actresses and slave-actors. The last part of this chapter is addressed to the question of how high were actors' salaries and what was the real material situation of performers.

The range of references in this copious book is impressively wide, general index and an index of ancient sources make the volume easy to use. The chapters are well illustrated with 101 photographs.

This is a solid and attractively presented volume, a book which is entertaining, stimulating and full of interesting insights, written by someone with obviously excellent training in the theatrical practice. Those with a serious interest in the field will want it on their shelves. K. writes clearly and succinctly, making the book quick and easy read. In fact this clarity would recommend it for students[1].

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[1] It is worth emphasizing that K.'s knowledge of theatre is not only theoretical (he is currently Associate Professor at the Institute of Cultural Studies, University of Wrocław), but stems also from his practical experience as a theatre director (as early as the 1970s he participated in many workshops at Jerzy Grotowski's Laboratory Theatre). He co-operated with a number of Polish and international theatre companies, directing among others Kafka's *The Metamorphosis*, Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*, Goethe's *Faust* and Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. He directed also some Greek and Roman dramas (Aristophanes' *Birds*, Euripides' *Baccchae* and *Phoenician Women*, Sophocles' *Antigone*, Plautus' *Asinaria*, Seneca's *Phaedra*). The book under review is a sequel to his earlier book on the theatre of ancient Greece (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2001).

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Marcus Valerius Martialis, *Epigrammaton liber decimus / Das zehnte Epigrammbuch*, Text, Übersetzung, Interpretationen. Mit einer Einleitung, Martial-Bibliographie und einem rezeptionsgeschichtlichen Anhang hrsg. von Gregor Damschen und Andreas Heil, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2004 (Studien zur klassischen Philologie 148), XVI, 507 pp.

The book under review, belonging to a class of philological commentaries, refers to the tenth book of Martial's *Epigrammata*. It follows into the long tradition of similar publications, which contain the comments on the following books: I (I. Flach, Tübingen 1881; M. Citroni, Firenze 1975; P. Howell, London 1980), II (C.A. Williams, Oxford 2004), III (R.G. George, Oxford 1994, unpublished Ph.D. diss.), V (P. Howell, Warminster 1995; A. Canobbio, Como 2002), VI (F. Grewing, Göttingen 1997), VII (G. Galán Vioque, Leiden 2002), VIII (C. Schöffel, Stuttgart 2002), IX (H. Kontogianni, Leeds 1996; C. Henriksén Uppsala 1998–1999), XI (N.M. Kay, London 1985); XII (M.N.R. Bowie, Oxford 1988, unpublished Ph.D. diss.), XIII (T.J. Leary, London 2001), XIV (T.J. Leary, London 1996). It is clearly visible that up to now no commentary on two Books of Martial's *Epigrams* (IV and X) has existed in relevant scientific literature. Thus, the publication under review bridges the gap in modern research on Martial's literary output.

The reviewed publication is exceptional due to the important and fundamental fact that this commentary on the tenth book of Martial's *Epigrams* is not the work of one scholar, as it is the case with all the other commentaries cited above, but it has been prepared by a research group of twenty nine (mainly young) classical philologists from Germany (a full list of contributors is given in ch. VII: *Verzeichnis der Autoren*, pp. 491–494). The book was edited by G. Damschen [= D.] and A. Heil [= H.], who in the preface (*Vorwort*, pp. XV–XVI) explain why the book under review appeared in 2004. There were two reasons for its creation. Firstly, the Roman epigrammatist Marcus Valerius Martialis died in AD 104, thus in 2004 1900 years passed since his death. Secondly, in that year Professor Michael von Albrecht of the University of Heidelberg celebrated his 70th birthday. Thus, it comes as no surprise that the short dedication "Michael von Albrecht praeceptori humanissimo" opens the book which was prepared by his disciples and friends and was published in the series "Studien zur klassischen Philologie", founded and edited by M. von Albrecht himself.

After a short section of instructions for the reader (I: *Hinweise für den Leser*, p. 1) there is an introduction (ch. II: *Einleitung*: *Das zehnte Epigrammbuch*, pp. 3–33), written by H., in which the date of Book X of Martial's *Epigrams*, its contents, composition, metrics and the basic questions concerning the textual tradition and criticism are carefully discussed. It is expanded by bibliographical references to all the issues dealt with in the introduction.

The main part of the reviewed book contains useful comments on one hundred and four epigrams of Martial's Book X (ch. III: *Das zehnte Epigrammbuch – Texte, Übersetzung, Interpretationen*, pp. 35–368). Each heading is composed according to the same model: after the number of Martial's epigram the following elements appear in succession: Martial's Latin text (with the *apparatus criticus*, where necessary), the German word-by-word translation accompanied by a modern title, comments signed with the name of the contributor, and bibliographical references.

In overall, the German translations successfully render the contents and the spirit of the Latin originals. Their modern titles, usually given in German, but sometimes in Latin (43, 46, 52, 57, 59 f., 69 ff.), Greek (68, 90), and even in English (1, 24, 40, 71), allow for an easy insight into the form and particular types of Martial's epigrams.

The comments are usually valuable and orderly given. It is impossible to discuss all the commentaries at some length in one short review, thus I decided to restrict my remarks to two Martial's epigrams: X 35 and X 38. The former is commented on by Uwe Fröhlich, the latter by H. Both epigrams concern a similar theme and both involve a Roman woman-poet Sulpicia the

Younger (also called Sulpicia Minor or Sulpicilla), who wrote her verse during the reign of the emperor Domitian. Unfortunately, her poetical output has been only fragmentarily preserved. Her life and poetry remains unknown to us. It is, however, obvious that the Roman epigrammatist from Bilbilis made the acquaintance of Sulpicia and her husband Calenus, thus Martial's two epigrams present valuable and direct evidence of her life, character and works. Let us turn now to the comments on X 35 and X 38. Fröhlich gives a good description of epigram 35. The Roman nymph Egeria and the king Numa are intentionally mentioned in it. It suggests that Sulpicia referred to the love of Egeria and Numa in her amatory verses, presenting herself as the second Egeria, connected with the Roman Muses (cf. my own remarks in Meander LVIII 2003, pp. 59–72). However, Fröhlich (p. 148) refers to the two-verse fragment by Sulpicia as a "frivole[s] Bruchstück" ("si me cadurci restitutis fasciis / nudam Caleno concubantem proferat"), although this is not as simple as that[1].

According to Fröhlich, "*Satura Sulpiciae* ist ein spätantiker Rückblick auf die Gewaltherrschaft Domitians" (p. 148). He refers to Fuchs's controversial (and, in my opinion, highly conjectural) paper of 1968[2], ignoring some new and more insightful publications, e.g. a book by Giordano Rampioni (1982) or two excellent presentations by D. Kuijper[3]. In fact, the issue of the authorship of the *Satura Sulpiciae* is an ambiguous question. Some researchers (including H.E. Butler, G. Thiele, A. Ballanti, Kuijper, M. Ferrari) believe that this poem, traditionally called *Sulpiciae conquestio* or *Sulpicia's Satire on the Expelling of the Philosophers*, was written by Sulpicia herself, others suggest (in my opinion, unconvincingly) that it is the work of a Latin poetess of the fourth or fifth century AD who put into Sulpicia's mouth words which were aimed at the emperor Domitian (thus W. Kroll, N. Terzaghi, I. Lana, Fuchs, G. Ballaira, Giordano-Rampioni)[4]. These two contrasting opinions were formulated as early as the Renaissance[5]. In his two epigrams (X 35, 38) Martial presents our poetess as a faithful wife of some unknown Calenus and at the same time as the author of amatory verses. It is evident why he does not inform us that Sulpicia is the author of the satire in question. The first edition of Book X appeared at the end of the reign of Domitian, the second one in AD 97. It should be stressed that the *Sulpiciae conquestio* as a poetical 'protest song' critical of two Domitian's edicts expelling philosophers (first from Rome, afterwards from Italy) became popular and well known in the Roman literary circles of the fifth century AD, at the time when philosophers were also being exiled from Rome by the emperor Valentinian III (425–455).

In my remarks I only refer to the most controversial problems. Although my position differs partially from those of Fröhlich and H., it should be emphasized that I believe their comments are in general reliable, clear and carefully elaborated.

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[1] The question have been dealt with by the present reviewer in a number of papers; see e.g. *Dwuwiersz Sulpicji Młodszej*, Collectanea Philologica V 2003, pp. 91–105; *Wulgaryzm w twórczości Sulpicji Młodszej?*, in: I. Mikołajczyk (ed.), *Sapere aude. Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana Profesorowi dr. hab. Marianowi Szarmachowi z okazji 65. rocznicy urodzin*, Toruń 2004, pp. 131–140; *Distich of Sulpicia Minor*, Živa Antika LIV 2004, pp. 83–96.

[2] H. Fuchs, *Das Klagelied der Sulpicia über die Gewaltherrschaft des Kaisers Domitian*, in: M. Sieber (ed.), *Discordia Concors. Festschrift für Edgar Bonjour*, Basel– Stuttgart 1968, pp. 31–47.

[3] See A. Giordano Rampioni, *Sulpiciae conquestio (Ep. Bob. 37)*, Bologna 1982; D. Kuijper, *De Fabella van Sulpicia*, Leuven 1961; idem, *Tertius Cato – Trabe Prolapsus*, Mnemosyne XVIII 1965, pp. 155–180.

[4] Some scholars (e.g. C.G. Boot, R. Peiper, F. Bücheler) even believed that the *Sulpiciae conquestio* is a Renaissance forgery.

[5] Namely at the end of the fifteenth century, when two independent *editiones principes* were prepared in Italy. G. Merula's edition (1498) treated Sulpicia as the author of the satire, whereas T. Ugoleto (1499) included the *Sulpiciae conquestio* in the poetical works by Ausonius. This opinion has long been rejected.

The reception of Martial's epigrams from Book X is reviewed by the two editors (ch. IV: *Rezeption des zehnten Epigrammbuches*, pp. 369–395). However, it refers only to the English and German literary works from the twelfth to the twentieth century (e.g. in B. Brecht), and also to the poems written in Latin. Also the reception in music (pp. 379, 389) and in paintings (p. 376) is included. The possible sources, similarities and parallels are listed in ch. V (*Quellen des zehnten Epigrammbuches*, pp. 397–399). These are followed by an extensive and comprehensive bibliography, which is one of the most valuable parts of the reviewed book (ch. VI: *Martial-Bibliographie mit Indizes*, pp. 401–490). The bibliography, excellently compiled by D., contains a full list of existing editions, commentaries, translations (into German, English, French, Italian and Spanish)[6], printed and electronic bibliographies, scholarship on Martial listed according to family names of the authors from A to Z (*Forschungsliteratur*, pp. 407–456). Omissions are extremely rare, e.g. H. Szelest, *Marcjalis o swojej twórczości* [*Martial on His Own Poetry*], Meander IX 1954, pp. 230–247. Indexes to Martial's bibliography document papers referring to Martial's succeeding epigrams of the tenth book, as well as to the systematic themes (1. Martial's life and works; 2. Date; 3. Composition; 4. Language and style; 5. Literary self-criticism; 6. Ethics; 7. Humour; 8. Sexuality; 9. Client and patron; 10. The emperor Domitian; 11. Readers and addressees, 12. Sources, prototypes, historical parallels; 13. Textual tradition; 14. Reception). The book is annexed by a practical register of proper names (ch. VIII: *Namenregister*, pp. 495–507).

Finally, it is worth noting that the book under review is prepared and edited with enormous care. This feature is undoubtedly typical of all the publications which appeared in the series "Studien zur klassischen Philologie", edited by Professor Michael von Albrecht, but such precision and accuracy must be emphasized in my review.

Summing up, one can say without exaggeration that the commentary on Book X of Martial's epigrams, arranged and edited by two competent scholars – Gregor Damschen and Andreas Heil, will become a very useful and valuable aid in the future research on the literary output of Martial, as well as that of other authors, e.g. Sulpicia the Younger.

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Wolfgang Hübner, *Raum, Zeit und soziales Rollenspiel der vier Kardinalpunkte in der antiken Katarchenhoroskopie*, München: K.G. Saur, 2003 (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 194), 335 pp.

Uncommon as it may appear, the research on the ancient astrological lore remains one of the most fascinating and mind-stimulating endeavours open to a classical scholar. The very vastness of the study involved, the intricate tradition of the lore, the problems of transmission – all these contribute to the appeal of ancient astrology. The 'canonical' writs of Antiquity, the works of Nechepso and Petosiris, were lost and may be only reconstructed from later quotations; the works that do survive tend to present a problem in their own right: the presentation of Manilius, sometimes the only source for various doctrines that penetrated into the later astrology, varies from that of Vettius Valens, the latter from the consciously 'scientific' approach of Claudius Ptolemy, from the manual-like treatise of Paulus, of the rhetorically spiced *Mathesis* of Firmicus – indeed, it may well seem that each of the

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[6] It is a pity that translations into other languages have been omitted. One may cite the following translations into Polish: M. Antonowicz (1759), J.E. Minasowicz (1766), J. Czubek (1908) and S. Kołodziejczyk (1971).

surviving astrological works remains a product of a mentality in one or other respect differing from those of others. As for the fragments of various lost works surviving in so many later opera, these seem positively riddled with problems of dating, authorship, and provenience.

The name of Wolfgang Hübner [= H.] is of particular importance to those endeavouring to walk this not so well-trod path: for long have his works been of immense help to the students of the astrological lore, not to mention those attempting a closer look at Manilius' *Astronomica*. His most recent book, devoted to the study of the four *cardines*, carries no less weight than the earlier *Die Eigenschaften der Tierkreiszeichen in der Antike* (Stuttgart 1982): it is an encyclopedic work analyzing the meaning and possible connotations of the four cardinal solar houses (Ascendent, Medium Caeli, Descendent, and Imum Caeli), a task made all the more commendable by the prominence that the respective four enjoy within the frames of catarchoscopy, where the investigation of *cardines* alone was often considered sufficient for the prognosis.

The book is particularly well organized: a brief introduction concerning the sources is followed by detailed analyses of the various matters which could be investigated by a recourse to the four *kentra*, while the *Zusammenfassung* gives the constants of the emerging pattern. The text is followed by an extensive list of sources and by an impressive number of schemas illustrating the distribution of possible meaning within the circle of diurnal rotation (not less than 106). The fact that many of the final remarks may be intuitively anticipated by a careful reader of ancient texts should not count as a failing: the work provides a coherent argument for the generalization, while having the additional (and possibly crucial) merit of highlighting the divergences and seeking an explanation for the manifest divergences from what appears to have been a paradigm. Indeed, it is the analyses that make the book so valuable: it is the manner in which the author seeks to recover the original tradition from the often confused transmitted text that turns the massive Part II into a major scholarly achievement. Then, one should note that much more than a simple account of the *cardines* doctrine is comprised within H.'s work, for the author takes into considerations several astrological patterns that might have been substituted for the cross-arrangement of the *kentra*.

Clearly, the work is far from what one may call an enjoyable or easy read: to the contrary, with its frequent tables and somewhat dry stylistics it needs both time and certain amount of quiet to be truly appreciated. And while the location of all the necessary schemas at the end of the book certainly saves the author from repetitions, the constant need to keep an eye on both the text and the schema may leave a less patient reader uncomfortable. There are occasional slips, possibly the most striking of them being the reference to the meaning attached to the sixth solar house within Moses' pregnancy doctrine: "Der Autor [...] gibt diesem Ort sogar einen eigenen Namen: ἰατρῶν σφάκτης, 'Schlächter der Ärzte'"(p. 187), where the Greek original runs actually παρὰ τῶν δοκιμωτέρων μάλιστα ἰατρῶν σφάκτης ὀνομάζεται (quoted on p. 131 and duly translated there as "wird von den besonders angeseheneren Ärzten 'Schlächter' genannt"!). Similarly, one may be slightly troubled by H. explanation of the meaning attached to the four *cardines* within the illness theme (pp. 184–191): his solution is to draw analogies with the offering or travel investigation, while I would probably emphasize the parallels with the *katarchai* of judicial process (the opposition of accuser and defendant may be seen as equivalent of that between the patient and his illness or between the doctor and the illness)[1], while the possibility of locating either the patient or

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[1] Another similarity may be drawn between the discussed attribution and that of the slave's flight; certainly, the opposition is between the illness and the doctor (or the patient) rather than between the doctor and the patient. The location of the patient under the MC in the doctor-originating query, criticized by H. because of the patient's obvious debility, may be explained by a necessity to persuade a patient of the rightness of the recommended treatment (one may invoke Galen's comments on the need of rhetorical proficiency in a medicine man, discussed e.g. by M. Vegetti, *L'immagine del medico e lo statuto epistemologico della medicina in Galeno*, *ANRW* II 37, 2 [1994], pp. 1672–1686).

the *medicus* under the ascendant seems to me redolent of much similar liberty in the *katarche* of mercantile transaction (where the choice between the buyer and the seller is rightly interpreted as reflecting the complications related to the person of querent). Finally, one point calls for an explicit correction: on p. 242 (ch. II 40) H. explains the meaning of the eighth solar house as if it were an *apoklima*: the eighth house is very obviously an *epanaphora*, a fact bound to affect the respective argument.

All of these do hardly detract from the overall worth of the volume; neither do some minor editorial mistakes or occasional confusions concerning the schemas (my feeling is that N. 37 on p. 124 should actually be N. 34). Indeed, in its elucidation of the complex intricacies characterizing the development and the transmission of the astrological lore, as well as in providing a welcome help to those not so well-versed in the ancient divinatory techniques, H.'s work proves an interesting and valuable addition to the already existing *Fachliteratur*.

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Andrew Carriker, *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea*, Leiden: Brill, 2003 (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 67), XIV, 358 pp., ISBN 90-04-13132-9.

In the third century AD Caesarea Maritima achieved the position of one of the most important culture centres in the Roman East. The cosmopolitan climate of the administrative hub of Palestine, together with economic prosperity, enhanced new cultural and religious initiatives. Therefore, when in 232 Origen, who had been expelled from Alexandria, arrived at Caesarea he had an opportunity to take up his activities there. With the bishop's support he established a philosophical school. Origen made it available not only to Christian pupils but also, and perhaps even more, to pagans who loved philosophy and were searching for truth. To achieve his aim he had to get appropriate literature, both Christian and non-Christian. These were the origins of the library which developed half century later. Both Pamphilus and Eusebius continued Origen's well-known project of editing, gathering and commenting on the biblical and theological texts. The book collection was dispersed during the Arabian conquest in the seventh century.

Andrew Carriker [= C.] in his book made the first consistent attempt to estimate the content of the library in Caesarea on the basis of the information from Eusebius' own works. Hitherto the general opinion, based on a passage of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (VI 6, 1), was that the number of volumes was nearly 30 000 rolls and codices[1]. The greatest achievement of the author lies in calling this belief into question and working hard to prove that it is false.

The book consists of nine chapters and contains an abundant bibliography and index. The initial chapters inform us about the backgrounds (chs. 1–2). The author presents Caesarea and speaks about Origen's life and activity in this city. After this historical introduction there follows the discussion of some methodological problems. C. is searching for an answer to the question: how on the basis of one's works can we check whether one used sources at first hand or indirectly

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[1] See K. Honselmann, *Bibliothekwesen*, *LThK* II (1958), coll. 416–418, and C. Wendel, *Bibliothek*, *RAC* II (1954), coll. 231–274, especially 247. C. does not comment on these articles, although the latter is listed in his bibliography. Neither does he discuss modern opinions about the size of the library.

(ch. 2: *Eusebius' Use of Sources*, pp. 37–74)? He rejects the method of comparing the texts which Eusebius quotes with their modern editions on the ground of the fact that this method ignores the process of manuscript transmission. He argues that compilation, popular in antiquity, makes it impossible to establish correctly the transmission of the specific quotation. In the author's opinion "Eusebius names the author and work from which he quotes, and he often quotes at such great length, that one can reasonably conclude that Eusebius possessed a copy of the work, shorter quotations are, naturally, more problematic" (p. 45). So the method of research is: "I have had to rely on an examination of Eusebius' use of sources, at what length he quotes them, what passages he cities, how he could have obtained the works, and what sort of intermediaries would have been available to him" (p. 47).

In following chapters (chs. 3–8) C. systematically presents sources which, as can be surmised on the testimony of Eusebius' own works, could be available to him: these are divided into six categories, namely *Philosophical Works* (ch. 3, pp. 75–130), *Works of Poetry and Oratory* (ch. 4, pp. 131–138), *Historical Works* (ch. 5, pp. 139–154), *Jewish Literature* (ch. 6, pp. 155–178), *Christian Literature and Documents* (ch. 7, pp. 179–278), *Contemporary Documents* (ch. 8, pp. 279–298).

Chapters on the sources (chs. 3–8) have a similar structure. All authors mentioned by Eusebius are now presented in the alphabetical order. After the name there follow the work's title, the place where it is quoted by Eusebius, an attempt to decide whether the Church historian used this work at first hand or indirectly. Through applying this method we can obtain short characteristics of a few hundreds famous personalities of ancient cultural life. Informative advantages are amplified by an abundant bibliography of the most recent works concerning every author (the majority of scholarly works referred to have been written in the last twenty years). This is highly valuable particularly in case of less popular figures on whom Eusebius is often our only authority.

At the end (ch. 9, *Summary List of the Contents of Eusebius' Library*, pp. 299–315) the author puts forward a register of all works which, as he believes, could be found in the library in Caesarea: to 288 certain titles he adds nearly 200 works which were cited by Origen. (The question arises whether after the plundering of the library in 249/250 these works were recovered or acquired again by Pamphilus and his pupil a few dozen years later. The author thinks, however, that considering the great respect for their Master, both Pamphilus and Eusebius undertook this task and fulfilled it successfully). The whole number of titles possibly exceeded 400. So taking into account an immense number of copies (some works were copied as both rolls and codices), the fact that one title usually occupied several rolls and that there had to be some works unattested in sources (school classics, correspondence, synodal documents), C. makes a final estimate of the size of the Caesarea library as 5 000 rolls and codices (p. 32).

In a full-scale book such as this, with its great amount of information, certain inaccuracies are a natural thing. For example, the author omitted a fragment from Euripides, quoted in the *Chronicle* (Helm 37b: d), giving only a quotation from the *Phoenician Women* (521) in *Praep. evang.* VI 6, 2 (pp. 135–137). More importantly, he completely excludes Palaephatus, a peripatetic philosopher, the author of Περὶ ἀπιστῶν (*De incredibilibus*). Eusebius cities him seven times in the second part of his *Chronicle*, the *Canones*: Helm 50b: d, 52b: d, 53b: g, 55b: h, 56b: f, 57b: d, 62b: h. Another omitted writer is the Athenian historian Philochorus, the author of the Ἀττικά, who is cited three times in the *Canones*: Helm 49b: g, 49b: l, 58b: g. It seems that the author underestimated the value of the *Chronicle*, which is known only in Latin (Jerome's) and Armenian translations.

Considering its erudition and precision (apart from a few exceptions mentioned above), the reviewed book is not only an attempt to reconstruct the size of the library, but above all an excellent study of the literary circulation at the turn of the third and fourth centuries. It is a guide which anyone dealing with the field of this little-known and interesting literature can reliably use.

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Lech A. Tyszkiewicz, *Hunowie w Europie. Ich wpływ na Cesarstwo Wschodnie i Zachodnie oraz na ludy barbarzyńskie* [*The Huns in Europe. Their Influence on the Eastern and Western Roman Empire and on the Barbarian Peoples*, English summary on pp. 188–190], Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2004, 200 pp. (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis 2695).

The migration of peoples, which began in mid-seventies of the fourth century, contributed to the destruction of political law and order in the Mediterranean and consequently initiated a new order which would underlie the mediaeval world. It was the activity of the Huns which catalyzed the process of transformation. It is their relations with both the Western and Eastern Roman Empire as well as with the barbarians that the book is devoted to. The subject has already been present in the works of both foreign and, less frequently, Polish scholars. The book by L.A. Tyszkiewicz [= T.] gives another analysis of the existing sources concerning the history of the Huns and also makes an attempt at an overall presentation of these matters.

The book has eight chapters. Chapter One: *Hunowie w drodze do Europy* (*The Huns on Their Way to Europe*, pp. 11–32) has been devoted to the origin of the Huns and an attempt to reconstruct their migration to Europe. Chapter Two: *Przybycie Hunów do Europy i początki nowej historii* (*The Huns' Arrival in Europe and the Beginning of the New History*, pp. 33–56) collects and analyzes the sources related to the Huns' coming to Europe. In Chapter Three: *Charakterystyka Hunów w historiografii rzymskiej i bizantyńskiej* (*Characteristics of the Huns in the Roman and Byzantine Historiography*, pp. 57–78) the author confronts the sources characterizing the Huns, and, consequently, reconstructs their image present in the mentality of the Romans and of barbarian tribes at that time. Chapter Four: *Pierwsze działania polityczne Hunów po przybyciu do wschodniej Europy* (*The Huns' First Political Actions after the Arrival in Eastern Europe*, pp. 79–100) attempts to present the relations between the Huns and the Goths until the battle of Adrianople in 378. In Chapter Five: *Udział Hunów w walkach z wrogami Cesarstwa Rzymskiego do czasów panowania Teodozjusza II (408–450)* (*The Huns' Participation in the Struggle against the Roman Empire's Enemies until the Reign of Theodosius II*, pp. 101–109), the author characterizes the relations between the Huns and the Romans from the battle of Adrianople until the early thirties of the fifth century. The title of the chapter is therefore not wholly adequate to its content. Chapter Six: *Hunowie w konfrontacji politycznej i wojskowej z Cesarstwem Wschodnim do połowy V wieku* (*The Huns in Political and Military Confrontation with the Eastern Roman Empire until Mid-fifth Century,* pp. 110–140) presents the Hunnic–Byzantine relations during the reign of Theodosius II. Chapter Seven: *Polityka imperialna Attyli a jego wyprawy na zachód w połowie V wieku* (*Attila's Imperial Policy and His Expeditions to the West in Mid-fifth Century*, pp. 141–160) presents Attila's confrontation with the Western Roman Empire in the early fifties of the fifth century. Finally Chapter Eight: *Upadek imperium Hunów po śmierci Attyli i jego następstwa* (*The Fall of the Hunnic Empire after Attila's Death and Its Consequences*, pp. 161–174) shows the process of the collapse of Attila's empire.

The book is supplemented by an introduction (pp. 7–10), conclusion (pp. 175–180), bibliography (pp. 181–187), English summary (pp. 188–190) and two indexes: of personal names (pp. 191–196) and of geographical names (pp. 197–200).

T. has made a careful restudy and reassessment of the existing materials, sources and secondary literature. As a result he has written an important book which makes a significant contribution to the discussion of the Huns' history and their influence on the fate of the Roman Empire.

Let me take this opportunity to make a few remarks dealing with some rather minor issues. First, the author when referring to his sources does not always cite them in their most recent editions; such is, for example, the case with the frequently cited Priscus and Olympiodorus. These historians

are now available in a new edition, supplied with a good commentary, by R.C. Blockley[1]. Another thing, more important in my opinion, is the question the book's intended readership. The subject undertaken by T. could have been interesting to a rather wide audience. However, a great number of Greek and Latin quotations in original languages, with no translation to follow, makes the work addressed mostly, if not solely, to late antiquity experts. This is even more surprising as the quotations serve in most cases just to illustrate the author's conclusions. Still, they do not facilitate understanding the problems discussed in the book to a non-expert reader. I do realize that the book is an academic work, but most of the quotations could have been replaced with periphrases or Polish translations without any harm to its academic nature. It should be recalled that many of the sources used in the book, such as Ammianus Marcellinus[2], Zosimus[3], Olympiodorus[4], part of Priscus[5], Jordanes[6] and Paul the Deacon[7], are available in good Polish translations.

The author clearly finds it difficult to specify Count Marcellinus' provenance. Once he calls him "a historian of the Latin West" (p. 144), at another time "an eastern source" (p. 137). In fact Count Marcellinus is claimed to have spent his whole life in the East, and though he wrote in Latin, he concentrated mainly on the Eastern part of the Empire. P. Janiszewski justly recognizes him as an "Eastern (Greek) chronograph, writing in Latin" [8].

Moreover, not all interpretations of the sources put forward by T. seem convincing enough. For instance, I do not find it justified to present the discussion on the political system of the Byzantine Empire and the empire of the Huns, held at Attila's court between Priscus and a Greek renegade from Viminacium, as an evidence of considering the latter as the alternative to the Empire (pp. 133–135). The context of the statement of the Greek living among the Huns indicates solely that his critical judgement of the Empire served to justify his stay among the barbarians[9].

Presenting his opinions the author happens to be inconsistent and does not argue them persuasively. Such is the case, for example, with the question of Athenais-Eudocia's, the wife of Theodosius II, and of Pulcheria's, his sister, influence on the Emperor. On the one hand, on p. 8 the author states that they had a negative effect on the fate of the Eastern Roman Empire. On the other hand, on p. 112 he writes that it is unknown what their influence on Theodosius II was. And finally on p. 120 he claims that Theodosius II used to be submissive in the face of the Huns (which is estimated as a negative trait) undoubtedly also under those ladies' influence. What seems to be characteristic, T. does not justify his opinion in any of those cases, nor does he refer to the literature on which he has based his statements. The author's inconsistency certainly reflects the

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[1] *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*. Text, translation and historiographical notes by R.C. Blockley, vol. II, Liverpool 1983. Vol. 1 (published in 1981) contains important articles on these authors and their works.

[2] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Dzieje rzymskie*, vol. I–II, translated by I. Lewandowski, Warszawa 2002.

[3] Zosimos, *Nowa historia*, translated by H. Cichocka, introduction, bibliography and commentary by E. Wipszycka, Warszawa 1993.

[4] Translated by O. Jurewicz, in: Focjusz, *Biblioteka*, vol. I, Warszawa 1986.

[5] J. Kuranc, *Wyprawa poselstwa wschodnio-rzymskiego na dwór króla Attyli*, Meander XII 1957, pp. 20–36.

[6] E. Zwolski, *Kasjodor i Jordanes. Historia Gocka czyli scytyjska Europa*, Lublin 1984.

[7] Paweł Diakon, *Historia rzymska. Historia Longobardów*, translation, introduction and commentary by I. Lewandowski, Warszawa 1995.

[8] P. Janiszewski, *Historiografia późnego antyku (koniec III – połowa VII w.)*, in: *Vademecum historyka starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu. Źródłoznawstwo czasów późnego antyku*, ed. by E. Wipszycka, Warszawa 1999, p. 207. For more information on Count Marcellinus and his work see B. Croke, *Count Marcellinus and his Chronicle*, Oxford 2001.

[9] Priscus 11, 2, ed. R.C. Blockley.

inconsistency of the sources which do not allow unambiguous opinion on the influence of the Emperor's wife and sister on his reign and policy towards the Huns, a question which seems to be particularly interesting for the author. Expressing his opinions he also leaves behind the marriage between Theodosius II and Eudocia and the character of Theodosius' relations with Pulcheria[10]. It is also unclear to me why the author when considering Eudocia and Pulcheria's influence on the imperial policy assumes it to have had unwelcome consequences for the Empire.

I believe it is exaggerated to claim that the East was subordinated to the Huns by tributary relation (p. 116). Such a claim suggests that the Eastern Empire was subordinated to the Huns. The fact that the Huns were paid an annual tribute by Constantinople in order to assure non-violent relations with them does not attest to any form of subordination. One should keep in mind that buying peace was a traditional tool of Roman foreign policy, less expensive than military operations[11].

The author did not avoid a few mistakes. The name of Theodosius II's wife was Eudocia, not Eudoxia (pp. 8, 112, 120, 134). Valentinian (Valentinian III) mentioned on p. 106 was not the brother of Galla Placidia, but her son. Neither is it right to qualify Bonifatius, *comes Africae* (or *comes domesticorum et Africae*), as an usurper (p. 107), as he did not declare himself Emperor[12]. A similar mistake is made in the case of Gainas, *magister utriusque militiae* during the reign of Arcadius[13]. It is also not proper to qualify the bagauds as external enemies of the Empire, as it is done on p. 108. It obviously seems to be a slip of the pen, which is probably a result of a somewhat careless proof-reading of the end of Chapter Five. The name of Attila's secretary, for whom the ruler aimed to find a wife at the court in Constantinople, was Constantius[14], not Constantiolus (pp. 134, 136). Justa Grata Honoria was not Valentinian III's half-sister (p. 142) – they were both children of Constantius II and Galla Placidia[15].

The above comments concern just minor issues and by no means diminish the value of the reviewed book which gives the fullest account of the relations between the Huns and the Roman Empire in Polish specialist literature and fits well into the international discussion on the subject.

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[10] On the marriage between Theodosius II and Eudocia, and on Theodosius' relationship with Pulcheria see M.J. Borowski, *Pulcheria, Empress of Byzantium: An Investigation of the Political and Religious Aspects of Her Reign (414–453 A.D.)*, Ann Arbor 1977; C. Holum, *Theodosian Empress: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 1982.

[11] See J. Iluk, *Trybuty i „donativa" cesarzy rzymskich wypłacane plemionom barbarzyńskim w V i w VI wieku*, Eos LXXIII 1985, pp. 331–347.

[12] On the term "usurpation" see S. Elbern, *Usupationen im spätrömischen Reich*, Bonn 1984, pp. 1–7; M.J. Leszka, *Uzurpacje w cesarstwie bizantyńskim w okresie od IV do połowy IX wieku*, Łódź 1999, p. 3. On Bonifatius' activity see M. Pawlak, *Działalność Bonifacjusza w Afryce do roku 429 w świetle listów Augustyna*, in: *Z antycznego świata: Religio – Cultus – Homines,* Toruń 2000, pp. 207–216; idem, *Rywalizacja o stanowisko naczelnego wodza (magister utriusque militiae) w zachodniej części Imperium Romanum w latach 425-430 a inwazja Wandalów na Afrykę*, Meander LV 2000, pp. 239–254.

[13] J.R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. I: *A.D. 260–395*, Cambridge 1971, pp. 379 f. (henceforth *PLRE*). On Gainas see G. Albert, *Goten in Konstantinopel. Untersuchungen zur oströmischen Geschichte um das Jahr 400 n. Chr.*, Paderborn 1984; J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops. Army, Church, and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom*, Oxford 1991, passim.

[14] Priscus 11, 2; 14; 15, 2, ed. R.C. Blockley. On Constantius see *PLRE* vol. II: *A.D. 395–527*, Cambridge 1980, p. 441.

[15] Ibidem, pp. 568 f.

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A KONFERENCJA NAUKOWA: *VIOLENCE AND AGGRESSION IN THE ANCIENT WORLD*

Czwartek, 15 września 2005 r.

O godzinie 9.00 dr hab. Stanisław Śnieżewski, prezes Koła Krakowskiego PTF, powitał zebranych, a zwłaszcza gości honorowych – JM Rektora UJ prof. dr hab. Karol Musioła, przedstawiciela Prezydenta Miasta Krakowa, Dyrektora Wydziału Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego Urzędu Miejskiego, pana Stanisława Dziedzica, Dziekan Wydziału Filologicznego UJ prof. dr hab. Marcelę Świątkowską, gości zagranicznych oraz Prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF prof. dr hab. Jerzego Stykę.

JM Rektor prof. dr hab. Karol Musioł zwracając się do uczestników konferencji, podkreślił, iż przemoc i agresja stoją w absolutnej opozycji do wartości propagowanych przez edukację, a zwłaszcza kształcenie uniwersyteckie. Szczególnie dobrze uwidacznia się to w słowach, które stanowią motto Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego – *PLUS RATIO QUAM VIS*. Rozszerzanie edukacji zazwyczaj skutkuje ograniczeniem brutalności i przemocy w życiu, toteż wszyscy powinniśmy współdziałać w tak rozumianej walce przeciw agresji.

Następnie głos zabrał Prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF prof. dr hab. Jerzy Styka, który oficjalnie otworzył obrady. W sesji przedpołudniowej, której przewodniczył prof. dr hab. Jerzy Axer, wygłoszono i przedyskutowano trzy referaty naukowe:

1. Wolfgang Speyer (Salzburg): *Gewalt und Frühes Weltbild. Zum Verständnis des grausamen Tötens im Altertum*. W dyskusji udział wzięli: Jarmila Bednaříková, Tomasz Polański, Peter Hibst, Jerzy Styka.
2. Eugen Kreuz (Wiedeń): *Gab es in der Antike Terrorismus?* W dyskusji udział wzięli: Jarmila Bednaříková, Jerzy Styka, Jerzy Danielewicz, Krystyna Bartol, Stanisław Stabryła, Michał Rzepiela.

3. Jarmila Bednaříková (Brno): *Public and Violence in the Tax-Collection in the Later Roman State*. W dyskusji udział wzięli: Jerzy Styka, Alexander Arweiler, Jerzy Axer, Stanisław Stabryła.

Przewodnictwo sesji popołudniowej objął prof. dr Wolfgang Speyer. Podczas tej sesji wygłoszono cztery referaty naukowe:

1. Jerzy Axer (Warszawa): *Cicero's Defence Speeches in de vi Trials*. W dyskusji głos zabrali: Wolfgang Speyer, Jarmila Bednaříková, Stanisław Stabryła, Elżbieta Wesołowska.
2. Stanisław Stabryła (Kraków): *P. Clodius Pulcher: A Politician or a Terrorist?* W dyskusji udział wzięli: Tomasz Polański, Elżbieta Wesołowska, Wolfgang Speyer, Jerzy Axer.
3. Alexander Arweiler (Münster): *Widerstand und Selbstbeherrschung. Zum literarischen Umgang mit Aggression bei Catull, Properz und Tibull*. W dyskusji uczestniczyli: Jerzy Danielewicz, Peter Hibst, Wolfgang Speyer.
4. Peter Hibst (Bochum): *Furor – ira – pietas: Untersuchungen zur Funktion des Gewaltsmotivs in der Thebais des Statius*. W dyskusji udział wzięli: Wolfgang Speyer, Krystyna Bartol, Jerzy Styka, Alexander Arweiler.

Pierwszy dzień konferencji zakończyło przygotowane przez studentów filologii klasycznej z Krakowa przedstawienie *Agamemnona* Ajschylosa. Dramat wystawiono po grecku.

Piątek, 16 września 2005 r.

Obrady toczyły się pod przewodnictwem dra Alexandra Arweilera. W sesji przedpołudniowej wygłoszono pięć referatów naukowych:

1. Robert Zaborowski (Warszawa): *Le meilleur des Achéens contre l'homme aux mille tours – deux niveaux de la violence chez Homère*. W dyskusji udział wzięli: Stanisław Stabryła, Joanna Janik, Jerzy Styka, Teodozja Wikarjak.
2. Jerzy Danielewicz (Poznań): *Verbal Abuse and Satire in Early Greek Iambus*. W dyskusji uczestniczyli: Wolfgang Speyer, Krystyna Bartol, Tomasz Mojsik, Jarmila Bednaříková, Tomasz Polański.
3. Joanna Komorowska (Kraków): *The Tide of Violence: Euripides' Phoenician Women*. W dyskusji uczestniczyli: Tomasz Polański, Mariusz Zagórski.
4. Krzysztof Bielawski (Kraków): *The Theology of Violence in Greek Tragedy*. W dyskusji głos zabrali: Wolfgang Speyer, Jarmila Bednaříková, Jan Kucharski, Stanisław Stabryła, Jan Gordziałkowski, Jerzy Danielewicz, Joanna Rybowska.
5. Artur Pacewicz (Wrocław): *The Causes of Violence in Plato*. Do dyskusji włączyli się: Jan Kucharski, Alexander Arweiler.

Popołudnie wypełniła sesja sprawozdawczo-wyborcza Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego (zob. niżej, cz. B).

Sobota, 17 września 2005 r.

Przewodnictwo sesji, która rozpoczęła się o godz. 9.30 i w której wygłoszono trzy referaty naukowe, objął Jerzy Danielewicz.

1. Tomasz Polański (Kraków): *The Boukoloi Uprising, Or How the Greek Intellectuals Falsified Oriental History*. W dyskusji udział wzięli: Joanna Janik, Jarmila Bednaříková, Krystyna Bartol, Jakub Pigoń, Wolfgang Speyer, Adam Łukaszewicz, Jan Gordziałkowski, Jerzy Danielewicz.
2. Adam Łukaszewicz (Warszawa): *Violence in Alexandria*. W dyskusji uczestniczyli: Jerzy Danielewicz, Tomasz Polański, Jan Gordziałkowski.
3. Sonja Schreiner (Wiedeń): *Präsentationstechniken von Gewalt, Aggression und Grausamkeit im Supplementum Lucani des Thomas May (1640). Mit vergleichenden Betrachtungen zu „A Continuation of the Subject of Lucan's Historical Poem Till the Death of Iulius Caesar"*. W dyskusji głos zabrali: Peter Hibst, Elżbieta Wesołowska, Jakub Pigoń, Anna Brzózka.

Po zamknięciu dyskusji prof. Danielewicz poprosił o zabranie głosu prof. Stanisława Stabryłę, który dokonał podsumowania konferencji: podkreślając wysoki poziom referatów oraz towarzyszącej im dyskusji, prof. Stabryła wyraził nadzieję, że rychła publikacja materiałów konferencji nie pozostanie niezauważona.

Przewodniczący sesji prof. Danielewicz podziękował prof. Jerzemu Styce, ustępującemu Prezesowi Zarządu Głównego PTF, i złożył gratulacje jego następcy, prof. Kazimierzowi Korusowi.

Następnie w imieniu gospodarzy dr hab. Stanisław Śnieżewski podziękował za udział w konferencji i potwierdził zamiar szybkiej publikacji wygłoszonych referatów w osobnym tomie Classica Cracoviensia.

Po uroczystym łacińskim podziękowaniu wygłoszonym przez prof. Kazimierza Korusa, dr hab. Stanisław Śnieżewski oficjalnie zamknął obrady konferencji.

Protokołowała dr Joanna Janik

B

SPRAWOZDANIE Z SESJI SPRAWOZDAWCZO-WYBORCZEJ WALNEGO ZGROMADZENIA POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO

KRAKÓW, 16 WRZEŚNIA 2005

1. Obrady sesji otworzył Prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF, prof. Jerzy Styka. Zebrani chwilą ciszy uczcili pamięć członków Towarzystwa zmarłych w latach 2003–2005.

2. Po zweryfikowaniu listy obecności prof. Styka przedstawił zebranym program posiedzenia.

   Na sali znajdowało się 58 osób – delegaci kół terenowych PTF oraz członkowie PTF.
3. W celu przeprowadzenia wyborów komisji statutowej uczestnicy posiedzenia wyłonili ze swojego grona komisję skrutacyjną, w skład której weszli: mgr Wiesława Hajda, dr Anna Maria Wasyl, dr Tomasz Sapota oraz dr Michał Bzinkowski.
4. Prof. Styka rozpoczął zgłaszanie kandydatów do Komisji Statutowej; zgłoszono następujące osoby: prof. Joanna Rostropowicz, dr Anna Ryś, dr Joanna Janik.
5. W głosowaniu tajnym zebrani poparli wymienione kandydatury: prof. Rostropowicz – 54 głosy za, dr Ryś – 52 głosy za, dr Janik – 55 głosów za.

I. Część sprawozdawcza

6. Sprawozdanie z działalności Zarządu Głównego przedstawiła dr Joanna Janik, sekretarz ZG PTF.

Sprawozdanie z działalności Zarządu Głównego
Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego
za okres 22.09.2003–14.09.2005

a) Funkcję Prezesa Honorowego Towarzystwa sprawowała prof. dr hab. Maria Cytowska.

W wymienionym okresie Zarząd Główny działał w następującym składzie: prezes: prof. dr hab. Jerzy Styka; wiceprezesi: prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartol, prof. dr hab. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion, prof. dr hab. Marian Szarmach; skarbnik: dr Aleksandra Klęczar; sekretarz: dr Joanna Janik; członkowie ZG: prof. dr hab. Jerzy Axer, dr hab. Tadeusz Aleksandrowicz, dr Grażyna Czetwertyńska, prof. dr hab. Sylweter Dworacki, prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Głombiowski, prof. dr hab. Henryk Podbielski, ks. prof. dr hab. Augustyn Eckmann, dr Krzysztof T. Witczak, prof. dr hab. Krzyszof Narecki;
Sąd Polubowny: prof. dr hab. Jerzy Danielewicz, prof. dr hab. Ludwika Rychlewska, prof. dr hab. Hanna Szelest, prof. dr hab. Romuald Turasiewicz, prof. dr hab. Andrzej Wójcik. Komisja Rewizyjna: prof. dr hab. Ireneusz Mikołajczyk, prof. dr hab. Janina Ławińska-Tyszkowska, prof. dr hab. Robert Chodkowski, dr Hubert Wolanin, mgr Hubert Kaczmarski; redaktor „Eos": dr hab. Jakub Pigoń; kanclerz: dr Robert A. Sucharski; prezesi kół terenowych: Białystok – mgr Tomasz Mojsik, Gdańsk – dr Bogdan Burliga, dr Anna Ryś, Katowice – dr Tomasz Sapota, Kraków – dr hab. Stanisław

Śnieżewski, Lublin – ks. prof. dr hab. Remigiusz Popowski, Łódź – dr Joanna Rybowska, Opole – prof. dr hab. Joanna Rostropowicz, Poznań – dr Teodozja Wikarjak, Rzeszów – mgr Dorota Rudzińska, Szczecin – prof. dr hab. Piotr Urbański, Toruń – prof. dr hab. Włodzimierz Appel, Warszawa – prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański, Wrocław – prof. dr hab. Lucyna Stankiewicz. Księgowa ZG: mgr Joanna Korus.

b) *W okresie sprawozdawczym do 14.09.2005, poza posiedzeniem kończącym poprzednią kadencję 17.09.2003, odbyły się trzy posiedzenia Zarządu: 7.02.2004, 15.09.2004 oraz 12.03.2005; wszystkie zebrania miały miejsce w Warszawie. Głównym tematem pierwszego posiedzenia był projekt powołania Oficyny Wydawniczej EOS; po dyskusji i wyrażeniu aprobaty dla tego pomysłu postanowiono powrócić do tej sprawy po zasięgnięciu opinii prawnej. Projekt umowy oficyny Zarząd Główny przedstawił do ewentualnej korekty w jednej z krakowskich kancelarii prawnych. Wersję skorygowaną przedyskutowano w trakcie posiedzenia 15 września: ponieważ zachodziła uzasadniona obawa, iż załatwienie formalnej rejestracji spółki zajmie większą część pozostałej kadencji obecnego Zarządu, postanowiono odsunąć wcielenie w życie projektu aż do wyborów nowego zarządu. Posiedzenie 12 marca 2005 poświęcono przede wszystkim projektowi wpisania PTF na listę Organizacji Pożytku Publicznego. Brak wymaganego kworum nie pozwolił podjąć żadnej formalnej decyzji, odsunięto zatem podjęcie postanowienia w tej kwestii do następnego posiedzenia. W trakcie wszystkich wymienionych zebrań dyskutowano nad sytuacją języków klasycznych i kultury antycznej w zreformowanym liceum. Zarządowi udało się uzyskać decyzję o przesunięciu języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej do III grupy przedmiotów obowiązkowych maturalnych do wyboru, niestety wcielenie jej w życie zajęło kilka miesięcy nieustannych interwencji w MENiS.*

c) *Pierwsze miesiące pracy zarządu w nowej kadencji wypełniły starania o uaktualnienie danych PTF w Krajowym Rejestrze Stowarzyszeń: należało zarejestrować zmiany w Statucie oraz zmiany personalne w składzie Zarządu Głównego. Proces ten okazał się dość długotrwałym, początkowo nasze wnioski oczekiwały na rozpatrzenie ponad trzy miesiące, potem zaś kilkakrotnie odsyłano wnioski wymagając kolejnych poprawek i uzupełnień; ostatecznie wszystkie zmiany zostały zarejestrowane 13 sierpnia 2004.*

d) *W ramach współpracy międzynarodowej obecny Zarząd starał się podtrzymywać kontakt z FIEC oraz EUROCLASSICA; obie organizacje stawiają sobie za cel propagowanie nauk klasycznych i dbanie o ciągłość nauczania języków i kultury antycznej. Szczególnie EUROCLASSICA nastawiona jest na obronę klasycznego wykształcenia w programach współczesnych szkół średnich i wyższych. Na prośbę konferencji uniwersyteckich nauczycieli języków klasycznych we Francji (APLEAS) przesłaliśmy tej organizacji informacje o programie nauczania języków klasycznych w szkołach średnich i na uni-*

wersytetach (opierając się na programie UJ). Dane te spotkały się z zainteresowaniem uczestników kongresu, który odbył się wiosną 2005 r.

7. Następnym punktem programu było przedstawienie sprawozdań kół terenowych PTF. Prof. Ireneusz Mikołajczyk zgłosił wniosek, by sprawozdania kół złożyć do prezydium, rezygnując z ich odczytywania. Za wnioskiem opowiedziało się 57 osób przy 1 głosie przeciw.
8. Prof. Kazimierz Korus, przewodniczący Komitetu Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego, przedstawił zebranym sprawozdanie z działalności Komitetu.

Sprawozdanie z XXII i XXIII Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego, lata 2003–2005

W okresie sprawozdawczym Komitet Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego przeprowadził zmiany w zakresie regulaminu olimpiady. Ogólnie mówiąc, uległ zmianie zestaw lektur, system oceniania i w związku z tym podstaw nadawania tytułów finalisty i laureata. Regulamin został wydany i rozprowadzony do szkół. Zainteresowanie olimpiadą nieco spadło, w zależności od okręgu o około 10–12%, co nauczyciele przypisują niekorzystnej sytuacji łaciny w nowej maturze. Dla przykładu, w tegorocznej olimpiadzie wzięło udział 726 uczniów ze 137 szkół (przed dwoma laty 818 uczniów ze 150 szkół). Do etapu drugiego zakwalifikowało się 284 uczniów, a do części ustnej II etapu przystąpiło 141. Do etapu centralnego zakwalifikowało się 55 uczniów, a z tej grupy do eliminacji ustnych przeszło 15 osób. Zwyciężył Jakub Zbrzeźny z XI LO w Warszawie.

Wprawdzie uczniowie wyjeżdżający do Arpino na międzynarodowy konkurs zyskali wysokie oceny członków komisji, to jednak nie znaleźli się wśród nagrodzonych laureatów; w roku ubiegłym wyróżnienie otrzymała Natalia Jureczko z I LO w Krakowie. Komitet wyraża podziękowanie ubiegłorocznemu opiekunowi grupy, panu mgr. Tomaszowi Dreikopelowi z I LO im. A. Mickiewicza w Olsztynie, oraz tegorocznej opiekunce grupy, pani dr Agnieszce Maciąg, nauczycielce I LO im. B. Nowodworskiego w Krakowie.

9. Sprawozdanie redakcji EOS przedstawił dr hab. Jakub Pigoń.

Sprawozdanie redakcji „Eos" (wrzesień 2003 – wrzesień 2005)

W okresie sprawozdawczym nastąpiła zmiana składu redakcji „Eos". Na miejsce ustępujących prof. prof. Sylwestra Dworackiego (dotychczasowego redaktora naczelnego) i Leszka Mrozewicza z Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu Zarząd Główny PTF powołał we wrześniu 2003 r. dra Jakuba Pigonia (jako redaktora naczelnego) oraz dra hab. Krzysztofa Nawotkę z Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego. Członkami redakcji nadal pozostają prof. prof. Jerzy

Axer i Małgorzata Borowska z Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, którzy sprawują pieczę nad publikacjami z zakresu neolatynistyki, neohellenistyki oraz tradycji klasycznej w Polsce i Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej. Ponadto w lutym 2004 r. Zarząd Główny PTF podjął decyzję o restytuowaniu kolegium redakcyjnego „Eos". W jego skład weszli prof. prof. Sylwester Dworacki, Zofia Głombiowska, Leszek Mrozewicz, Henryk Podbielski, Jerzy Styka, Marian Szarmach oraz zmarły w styczniu 2005 r. Romuald Turasiewicz. Funkcję sekretarza redakcji pełni, poczynając od rocznika XCI 2004, dr Sławomir Torbus.

Rocznik CX 2003 został przygotowany jeszcze przez redakcję poznańską. W dwóch zeszytach zamieszczono łącznie 20 artykułów i not, jeden artykuł wspomnieniowy (poświęcony zmarłemu w lutym 2000 r. prof. Mieczysławowi Brożkowi), jedno streszczenie pracy doktorskiej, 28 recenzji i 3 sprawozdania naukowe.

Rocznik CXI 2004, przygotowany już przez redakcję wrocławską, obejmuje dwa zeszyty, z których pierwszy ukazał się na przełomie czerwca i lipca 2005 r., a drugi jest w druku i ukaże się na przełomie września i października. Zeszyt pierwszy otwiera łacińskojęzyczne podziękowanie dla ustępujących redaktorów, zeszyt drugi – również łacińskojęzyczny nekrolog prof. Turasiewicza. Zamieszczono łącznie 19 artykułów, dwie noty, trzy streszczenia prac doktorskich lub habilitacyjnych oraz 15 recenzji. Ich autorami są przedstawiciele różnych ośrodków naukowych w Polsce (m.in. Poznania, Wrocławia, Krakowa, Katowic, Warszawy), a także dwóch ośrodków zagranicznych (Trewiru i Bochum). Wśród artykułów i not zdecydowanie przeważa tematyka historyczno-archeologiczna (15 prac); literaturze i metryce greckiej poświęcono 5 prac, łacińskiej literaturze starożytnej dwie, łacińskiej literaturze średniowiecznej i późniejszej również dwie. Wprawdzie tradycją „Eos" jest nieograniczanie się do problematyki ściśle filologicznej i podejmowanie zagadnień odnoszących się do różnych dziedzin wiedzy o starożytności, ale ta dysproporcja w liczbie publikacji filologicznych i historyczno-archeologicznych – zamieszczanych przecież na łamach organu Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego – może niepokoić. Z drugiej strony pewien optymizm budzi fakt, że spośród autorów wartościowych prac zamieszczonych w roczniku XCI 2004 dużą część stanowią doktoranci oraz młodzi doktorzy.

Pierwszy zeszyt rocznika CXII 2005 zostanie oddany do druku w październiku 2005 r. Opóźnienie cyklu produkcyjnego związane jest m.in. z niewielką ilością nadsyłanych do publikacji materiałów. Fakt ten powinien niepokoić znacznie bardziej od wspomnianej dysproporcji, gdyż poważnie zagraża on dalszemu ukazywaniu się pisma w dotychczasowym rytmie i objętości (dwa zeszyty, 32 arkusze rocznie). Redakcja apeluje do członków Towarzystwa o współpracę z „Eos".

10. Prowadzący posiedzenie Prezes PTF otworzył dyskusję nad sprawozdaniami. Prof. Marian Szarmach przekazał prośbę dr Władysławy Jamróz do sekretarzy kół terenowych o dostarczenie list szkół mających w programie język łaciński.

11. Prof. Elżbieta Wesołowska postawiła wniosek, by jednocześnie głosować przyjęcie wszystkich sprawozdań. Wniosek ten przyjęto jednogłośnie.
W kolejnym głosowaniu zebrani jednogłośnie przyjęli sprawozdania z działalności Zarządu Głównego, Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego oraz redakcji „Eos" i kół terenowych.
12. Następnie zgromadzeni wysłuchali sprawozdania finansowego Zarządu Głównego, które odczytała mgr Aleksandra Klęczar, skarbnik ZG PTF.

Sytuacja finansowa Zarządu Głównego Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego
stan na 31.07.2005 r.

Rachunek zysków i strat za okres od 01.01.2005 do 31.07.2005

Przychody ogółem, w tym:		**8721**
	sprzedaż „Eos"	4300
	przychody operacji finansowych	991
	składki członkowskie, w tym:	3430
	Łódź	420
	Poznań	450
	Warszawa	1300
	Opole	110
	Gdańsk	340
	Lublin	490
	Białystok	90
	Toruń	230
Koszty ogółem w tym:		**30119**
	Zarząd Główny	5530
	„Diodor Sycylijski"	17400
	„Stylistyki greckie"	
	„Antyk w Polsce"	7150
	„Eos"	
	koszty finansowe	40
Wynik finansowy		**-21398**

Stan konta bankowego na 31.07.2005 r.

bieżący rachunek bankowy	34811
konto dewizowe EUR	1035
konto dewizowe USD	147
lokaty	51692
Razem środki pieniężne	**87684**

Przeznaczenie środków pieniężnych:

„Diodor Sycylijski”	37600
„Stylistyki greckie”	7500
„Antyk w Polsce”	
„Eos 2005”	20400
„Eos 2004”	6402
Razem granty	71902
Środki do dyspozycji Zarządu Głównego	**15782**

Kraków, 14.09.2005 r.

Projekty badawcze realizowane przez PTF

Diodor Sycylijski
Kierownik projektu: prof. dr hab. Sylwester Dworacki

	2003 rok	2004 rok	2005 rok	2006 rok	Razem
kwota grantu	30 000	78 000	30 000	12 000	150 000
koszty pośrednie	5 000	13 000	5 000	2 000	25 000

Ostatnie dwie wielkie stylistyki greckie
Kierownik projektu: prof. dr hab. Henryk Podbielski

	2004 rok	2005 rok	2006 rok	Razem
kwota grantu	30 000	14 500	14 500	59 000
koszty pośrednie	3 500	3 500	3 500	10 500

Antyk w Polsce
Kierownik projektu: dr Zdzisław Piszczek

	2003 rok	2004 rok	2005 rok	Razem
kwota grantu	22 200	8 900	8 900	40 000
koszty pośrednie	4 000	1 750	1 750	7 500

Eos

	2004 rok	2005 rok
kwota grantu	26 500	20 400

13. Ze sprawozdaniem Komisji Rewizyjnej zapoznał zebranych jej przewodniczący, prof. Ireneusz Mikołajczyk.

Komisja Rewizyjna w składzie: prof. dr hab. Ireneusz Mikołajczyk – przewodniczący, prof. dr hab. Janina Ławińska-Tyszkowska i dr hab. Hubert Wolanin – członkowie, po przeprowadzeniu wyrywkowej kontroli ksiąg kasowych nie stwierdziła uchybień w zapisach dokumentacji finansowej. Jednocześnie Komisja Rewizyjna z satysfakcją odnotowała fakt zrealizowania zaleceń Komisji sformułowanych w protokole z dnia 18 września 2003. Zalecenia dotyczyły konieczności dokonywania merytorycznego opisu faktur, pozwalającego na ocenę celowości przeprowadzanych operacji finansowych.

Komisja wysoko oceniła starania i wysiłki Zarządu Głównego, w tym Prezesa, prof. dr hab. Jerzego Styki, podejmowane dla zachowania dobrej kondycji finansowej Towarzystwa oraz realizowania jego statutowych celów. Za ten trud składamy Prezesowi i Zarządowi Głównemu PTF serdeczne podziękowania. Po wnikliwej analizie i ocenie działalności Zarządu Głównego Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego w mijającej kadencji Komisja Rewizyjna stawia wniosek o udzielenie absolutorium ustępującemu Zarządowi, wyrażając jednocześnie podziękowanie za jego aktywną i efektywną pracę.

Następnie prof. Mikołajczyk postawił wniosek o udzielenie ustępującemu zarządowi PTF absolutorium. W głosowaniu nie brali udziału członkowie ZG PTF i wchodzący w skład ZG przewodniczący kół terenowych.
Absolutorium uchwalono przy 39 głosach za.

14. Prof. Kazimierz Korus przedstawił wniosek dotyczący przyznania prof. Wandzie Popiak nagrody Towarzystwa w uznaniu jej długoletniej pracy na rzecz Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego. Wniosek (przyznanie nagrody w wysokości 2000 zł) przyjęto przez aklamację.

II. Część wyborcza

1. Po udzieleniu absolutorium ustępującemu zarządowi zebrani dokonali wyboru Komisji-Matki; zgłoszono i przegłosowano następujące kandydatury: prof. Elżbieta Wesołowska (56 głosów za), dr Agnieszka Dziuba (55 głosów za), dr Barbara Hartleb-Kropidło (52 głosy za), dr Antoni Bobrowski (54 głosy za).
2. Komisja skrutacyjna pozostała w niezmienionym składzie.
3. Wybór nowego Prezesa Zarządu Głównego: kandydatem zgłoszonym przez ustępującego prezesa został prof. Kazimierz Korus; innych kandydatur nie zgłoszono.
   W głosowaniu tajnym nad kandydaturą prof. Korusa wzięły udział 58 osób, z tego: 53 głosy za, 5 – przeciw.
   Nowym prezesem Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego został wybrany prof. Kazimierz Korus.
   Prof. Korus wygłosił krótkie przemówienie i podziękował prof. Styce.

Prof. Wesołowska również zwróciła się z podziękowaniem do ustępującego prezesa.

4. Nowo wybrany prezes PTF korzystając z prawa przyznanego mu przez Statut PTF zgłosił następujących kandydatów:

do Zarządu Głównego: prof. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion, prof. Krystyna Bartol, prof. Jerzy Styka, prof. Marian Szarmach, mgr Aleksandra Klęczar, dr hab. Hubert Wolanin, prof. Jerzy Axer, dr hab. Tadeusz Aleksandrowicz, mgr Grażyna Czetwertyńska, prof. Krzysztof Głombiowski, prof. Henryk Podbielski, prof. Augustyn Eckmann, dr Krzysztof T. Witczak, prof. Sylwester Dworacki, prof. Krzysztof Narecki,

do Komisji Rewizyjnej: prof. Ireneusz Mikołajczyk, prof. Janina Ławińska-Tyszkowska, prof. Robert Chodkowski, dr Agnieszka Wojtylak-Heszen, mgr Hubert Kaczmarski,

do Sądu Polubownego w miejsce śp. prof. Romualda Turasiewicza – prof. Juliusz Domański.

Kandydaci nieobecni na sesji sprawozdawczo-wyborczej wyrazili pisemną zgodę na zgłoszenie ich kandydatur.

Z sali nie zgłoszono żadnych dodatkowych nazwisk.

5. W dwóch kolejnych turach głosowania tajnego wzięło udział 58 osób.

Wszystkie głosy były ważne.

Wyniki głosowania na poszczególne kandydatury:

do Zarządu Głównego:

	za	przeciw
prof. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion	54	4
prof. Krystyna Bartol	54	4
prof. Jerzy Styka	57	1
prof. Marian Szarmach	53	5
mgr Aleksandra Klęczar	53	5
dr hab. Hubert Wolanin	56	4
prof. Jerzy Axer	55	3
dr hab. Tadeusz Aleksandrowicz	57	1
mgr Grażyna Czetwertyńska	53	5
prof. Krzysztof Głombiowski	52	6
prof. Henryk Podbielski	55	3
prof. Augustyn Eckmann	54	4
dr Krzysztof T. Witczak	52	6
prof. Sylwester Dworacki	57	1
prof. Krzysztof Narecki	53	5

do Komisji Rewizyjnej:

	za	przeciw
prof. Ireneusz Mikołajczyk	55	3
prof. Janina Ławińska-Tyszkowska	50	8
prof. Robert Chodkowski	55	3
dr Agnieszka Wojtylak – Heszen	53	5
mgr Hubert Kaczmarski	54	4

do Sądu Polubownego (uzupełnienie składu):
prof. Juliusz Domański 54 głosy za 0 – przeciw

6. Nowy Zarząd ukonstytuował się w następującym składzie:
wiceprezesi: prof. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion, prof. Krystyna Bartol, prof. Jerzy Styka;
skarbnik: mgr Aleksandra Klęczar;
sekretarz: dr hab. Hubert Wolanin;
członkowie Zarządu Głównego: prof. Jerzy Axer, dr hab. Tadeusz Aleksandrowicz, mgr Grażyna Czetwertyńska, prof. Krzysztof Głombiowski, prof. Henryk Podbielski, prof. Augustyn Eckmann, dr Krzysztof T. Witczak, prof. Sylwester Dworacki, prof. Krzysztof Narecki, prof. Marian Szarmach – Przewodniczący Komisji Nagród i Wyróżnień;
Komisja Rewizyjna: przewodniczący – prof. Ireneusz Mikołajczyk, członkowie – prof. Janina Ławińska-Tyszkowska, prof. Robert Chodkowski, dr Agnieszka Wojtylak-Heszen, mgr Hubert Kaczmarski.
7. Prof. Kazimierz Korus przedstawił plany działania Zarządu na najbliższą przyszłość i poinformował zebranych, że kanclerzem Towarzystwa zamierza mianować dr Joannę Janik.
8. W imieniu i z upoważnienia Komisji Statutowej propozycje zmian w statucie PTF dotyczące wydłużenia kadencji władz do czterech lat przedstawiła dr Joanna Janik :
Pierwsza postulowana zmiana dotyczyła paragrafu 19 Statutu.
Brzmienie dotychczasowe: „Walne Zgromadzenie sprawozdawczo-wyborcze odbywa się raz na dwa lata".
Brzmienie proponowane: „Walne Zgromadzenie sprawozdawczo-wyborcze odbywa się raz na cztery lata".
Druga zmiana dotyczyła paragrafu 33.
Brzmienie dotychczasowe: „Wszyscy członkowie Komisji Rewizyjnej wybierani są na okres dwu lat".
Brzmienie proponowane: „Wszyscy członkowie Komisji Rewizyjnej wybierani są na okres czterech lat".

Trzecia zmiana dotyczyła paragrafu 41.
Brzmienie dotychczasowe: „Zarząd koła wybierany jest na okres dwóch lat przez Walne Zebranie Koła w głosowaniu tajnym".
Brzmienie proponowane: „Zarząd koła wybierany jest na okres czterech lat przez Walne Zebranie Koła w głosowaniu tajnym".
Czwarta zmiana dotyczyła paragrafu 42.
Brzmienie dotychczasowe: „Zarząd koła składa co dwa lata sprawozdanie ze swych czynności oraz z czynności koła Zarządowi Głównemu PTF".
Brzmienie proponowane: „Zarząd koła składa co roku sprawozdanie ze swych czynności oraz z czynności koła Zarządowi Głównemu PTF".
W głosowaniu wniosek został poparty jednogłośnie.
Mgr Lech Bobiatyński zapytał, co z obecnie działającymi zarządami kół, czy mają wydłużyć kadencję do 4 lat.
W odpowiedzi prof. Styka i prof. Korus wyjaśnili, że obecnie działające zarządy powinny zakończyć kadencję zgodnie z jeszcze obowiązującym Statutem, a dłuższa kadencja dotyczyć będzie nowych władz koła.

9. Kolejny punkt programu przewidywał wybór nowego przewodniczącego Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego.
Za przyjęciem kandydatury prof. Mariana Szarmacha, zgłoszonej przez prof. Kazimierza Korusa, głosowało 49 osób.
10. Propozycja uchwalenia składki członkowskiej w dwóch wysokościach: podstawowa 10 zł, oraz 40 zł w połączeniu z prenumeratą „Eos" została poparta jednogłośnie.
11. Prof. Kazimierz Korus poprosił o zabranie głosu prof. Stykę; zapoznał on zebranych z projektem nowego rozporządzenia ministra edukacji usuwającym język łaciński i kulturę antyczna z grupy III przedmiotów materialnych obowiązkowych do wyboru. Prof. Styka wezwał do upoważnienia Zarządu Głównego do przesłania ministrowi w imieniu Walnego Zgromadzenia PTF apelu broniącego pozycji łaciny jako przedmiotu maturalnego.
W dyskusji padło kilka propozycji rozmaitych działań:

– prof. Joanna Rostropowicz zaproponowała akcję zbierania podpisów,
– mgr Lech Bobiatyński przypominając o udanej inicjatywie konkursu wiedzy o antyku dla młodzieży, zachęcał do propagowania tego pomysłu, który tak dobrze sprawdził się w województwie mazowieckim,
– mgr Iwona Domańska opowiedziała o udziale filologów klasycznych w Festiwalu Nauki organizowanym w Lublinie,
– dr Teodozja Wikarjak zaapelowała o wszelką pomoc dla nauczycieli borykających się z trudną sytuacją w szkołach,
– prof. Kazimierz Korus zaproponował stworzenie Komisji do Spraw Metodyki,
– dr Joanna Rybowska przypomniała o roli sesji dydaktycznych, które dawniej były stałym elementem zjazdów PTF,

– mgr Romana Lipońska popierając organizowanie sesji dydaktycznych podkreśliła, że konsekwencją ograniczania łaciny w szkołach średnich będzie jej ograniczenie na uczelniach.
Upoważnienie Zarządu Głównego do interwencji w MENiS uchwalono jednogłośnie.
Wniosek o utworzenie Komisji do Spraw Metodyki Nauczania nie uzyskał wymaganej większości: 25 głosów za, 7 przeciw, 21 wstrzymujących się.
W dalszej dyskusji prof. Styka zwrócił uwagę na niemożliwość bezpośredniej pomocy finansowej ze strony Towarzystwa; jednocześnie przypomniał o możliwości ubiegania się o fundusze unijne. Organizowanie sesji dydaktycznych nie może być obowiązkiem dla organizatorów każdej konferencji, nie będącej Walnym Zjazdem.
Wniosek o organizowanie sesji dydaktycznych na walnych zjazdach PTF, a przy innych zjazdach w miarę możliwości uchwalono jednogłośnie.

12. Zakończenie sesji sprawozdawczo-wyborczej.

Protokołowała dr Joanna Janik

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SPRAWOZDANIA KÓŁ TERENOWYCH POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO ZA OKRES 22.09.2003–14.09.2005

1. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA BIAŁOSTOCKIEGO

Koło liczy 10 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym pracami koła kierował Zarząd w składzie: prezes – mgr Tomasz Mojsik, wiceprezes – mgr Leonarda Szumiel, skarbnik – mgr Urszula Tylicka, sekretarz – mgr Alina Pawłowska, członkowie Zarządu – dr Joanna Usakiewicz, mgr Magdalena Wojciechowska.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 8 spotkań.

1. Zebranie sprawozdawcze po XCIX Walnym Zjeździe PTF w Lublinie (20.11.2003).
2. Zebranie sprawozdawcze po Setnym Jubileuszowym Zjeździe PTF w Warszawie (19.10.2004).
3. Mgr Tomasz Mojsik: *Tłumaczenia „Iliady" na język polski* (1.03.2005).
4. Mgr Urszula Tylicka, mgr Małgorzata Urwanowicz: *Sprawozdanie z udziału w II Warsztatach Neolatynistycznych: „Rei poeticae Horatiana nec non aliorum praecepta", Łódź, 16–18.07.2005 r.* (28.06.2005).
5. Mgr Anna Serwicka-Kapała przedstawiła wyniki prac nad polsko-łacińsko-angielskim *Leksykonem diagnoz medycznych* (pod red. J. Zaniewskiego), w którego przygotowywaniu brała udział. (28.06.2005)

Pozostałe spotkania dotyczyły bieżących spraw Koła i pozycji łaciny w szkolnictwie średnim i wyższym.

Koło wraz z Sekcją Historii Starożytnej Studenckiego Koła Naukowego Historyków przy Instytucie Historii Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku co roku przygotowuje Dni Kultury Antycznej w ramach Tygodnia Nauk Humanistycznych. Do stałych punktów programu Dni Kultury Antycznej należą:

– przegląd Studenckich Teatrów Antycznych (m.in. teatry z Gdańska, Torunia, Olsztyna),
– referaty wygłaszane przez zaproszonych gości:
– Dr Jacek Bonarek, *Bitwa pod Mantzikert – przełom w dziejach Bizancjum?* (10.05.2005).

2. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA GDAŃSKIEGO

Koło Gdańskie liczy 37 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym do dnia 22.04.2005 r. trwała kadencja Zarządu w składzie: prezes – dr Bogdan Burliga,

wiceprezes – dr Beata Cygan, sekretarz – dr Ewa Milkamanowicz, skarbnik – mgr Aleksandra Hołomej. Na zebraniu Koła w dniu 22.04.2005 r. udzielono absolutorium ustępującemu Zarządowi i wybrano nowy Zarząd w składzie: prezes – dr Anna Ryś, wiceprezes – mgr Agnieszka Witczak, sekretarz – mgr Bartłomiej Siek, skarbnik – mgr Aleksandra Hołomej. W skład Komisji Rewizyjnej weszli dr Ewelina Marciniak, mgr Jan Krzemiński, mgr Jacek Pokrzywnicki. Na zebraniu 13.05.2005 r. na członków Zarządu wybrano prof. dr. hab. Krzysztofa Głombiowskiego i dr Annę Marchewkę.

W roku 2004 zmarła zasłużona dla Koła Gdańskiego mgr Barbara Mossakowska.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się sześć spotkań poświęconych przedstawieniu referatów przygotowanych przez pracowników Katedry Filologii Klasycznej Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, innych uczelni wyższych, doktorantów, a także studentów filologii klasycznej. Wygłoszono następujące odczyty:

1. Dr Ewelina Marciniak: *Nauczanie historii starożytnej w systemie IB* (4.12.2003).
2. Adriana Wacewicz (studentka II roku fil. klas.): *Romanizacja Brytanii* (14.03.2004).
3. Dr Przemysław Nehring (UMK Toruń): *Najwcześniejsza chrześcijańska opozycja wobec dziewictwa w świetle „De virginitate" (rozdz. V-VII) św. Ambrożego* (18.05.2004).
4. Dr Ewelina Marciniak: *Współczesne Indie w oczach historyka starożytności. Wspomnienia z podróży* (25.06.2004).
5. Mgr Bartłomiej Siek: *Septymiusz Sewer w „Historii Rzymskiej" Kasjusza Diona Kokcejana* (22.04.2005).
6. Mgr Tytus K. Mikołajczak: *Główne problemy badań nad religią irańską okresu Achemenidów na przykładzie panowania Dariusza I* (17.06.2005).

Dodatkowo zorganizowano 17.06.2005 r. spotkanie nauczycieli łaciny ze szkół Trójmiasta w związku z planowanym powołaniem Komisji Dydaktycznej.

Członkowie Koła uczestniczyli w ogólnopolskich zjazdach PTF: Lublin 2003, Warszawa 2004. Koło Gdańskie wspiera organizowanie corocznego Przeglądu Teatrów Studenckich.

3. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA KATOWICKIEGO

Koło liczy 38 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym Koło działało pod kierunkiem zarządu w składzie: prezes – dr Tomasz Sapota, wiceprezes – mgr Halina Zemanek, skarbnik – mgr Janina Wolsza, sekretarz – mgr Stefania Sobczak, członkowie Zarządu – mgr Elżbieta Błyskal, dr Przemysław Marciniak, Komisja Rewizyjna – mgr Piotr Wietrzykowski, dr hab. Tadeusz Aleksandrowicz, mgr Elżbieta Matykiewicz.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbywały się zebrania członków Koła, na których omawiano bieżącą działalność Koła, dyskutowano o aktualnej sytuacji łaciny w szkole i w uczelniach oraz wygłoszono następujące referaty:

1. Dr hab. Robert Zawadzki: *Eurypides i Achilles Tatios – wątki wspólne.*
2. Dr Przemysław Marciniak: *Święci szaleńcy, święci głupcy, święte transwestytki – wizja świętości w Bizancjum.*
3. Mgr Jan Kucharski: *Decorum sceniczne w tragedii attyckiej.*
4. Dr hab. Tadeusz Aleksandrowicz: *Marek Terencjusz Warron w kulturze rzymskiej i europejskiej.*
5. Dr hab. prof. UŚ Piotr Wilczek: *Pisarze łacińscy w dawnej Polsce – rekonesans.*
6. Dr Hubert Wolanin: *Jak Grecy tworzyli gramatykę.*
7. Mgr Patrycja Matusiak: *Znaczenie roku 146 p.n.e. dla cywilizacji śródziemnomorskiej.*
8. Mgr Sylwia Lajbik: *Labirynt kreteński – historia i mit.*
9. Mgr Marzena Tofilska: *Czego pozbawia nas prywatna mitologia Herberta?*
10. Mgr Anna Szczepaniak: *Natura enopliosów w świetle struktury (i prehistorii) heksametru daktylicznego.*
11. Prof. dr hab. Piotr Urbański: *Czy istnieje literatura polsko-łacińska oraz komu i do czego bywa potrzebna?*
12. Dr Piotr Grotowski: *Geneza wizerunku i kultu świętego wojownika w Bizancjum.*

Odbywały się także zebrania „dyskusyjne" i sprawozdawczo-informacyjne, na których przedstawiono sprawozdanie ze Zjazdu w Lublinie oraz omawiano działalność członków Koła na terenie szkół i uczelni. W szkołach organizowano spotkania z kulturą antyczną, spektakle teatralne, wieczory poezji, konkursy (np. w Świętochłowicach w II LO odbył się wojewódzki konkurs antyczno-łaciński, w Sosnowcu w II LO im E. Plater wojewódzki turniej językowy).

Nauczyciele w szkołach przygotowywali uczniów do olimpiady przedmiotowej, opracowywali materiały pomocnicze do nauki języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej (np. zbiory sentencji, tekstów i ćwiczeń).

W Śląskiej Akademii Medycznej został wydany podręcznik do nauki języka łacińskiego. Jest to nowoczesny, dwuczęściowy podręcznik do nauki łacińskiej terminologii medycznej opracowany przez lektorów ŚAM Annę i Stanisława Kołodziejów.

Członkowie Koła uczestniczyli również w konferencjach i spotkaniach poświęconych tematyce antycznej.

Odbywały się również zebrania zarządu, na których dyskutowano nad sposobami ożywienia działalności Koła, omawiano plan pracy i bieżącą działalność.

Koło nasze skupia filologów klasycznych i historyków, nauczycieli, lektorów i pracowników naukowych, integruje ludzi zainteresowanych kulturą antyczną.

4. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA KRAKOWSKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym pracami Koła kierował Zarząd w składzie: prezes – dr hab. Stanisław Śnieżewski, wiceprezes – prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Korus, sekretarz – dr hab. Dariusz Brodka, skarbnik – dr Agnieszka Wojtylak-Heszen, członkowie Zarządu – dr hab. Hubert Wolanin, dr Antoni Bobrowski, dr Krzysztof Pawłowski. Komisja Rewizyjna: mgr Wiesława Hajda, dr Edmund Polaszek, mgr Ewa Greber.

W ubiegłych dwóch latach członkowie Krakowskiego Koła PTF spotkali się na 8 posiedzeniach, podczas których wygłoszono i przedyskutowano następujące referaty naukowe:

1. Dr Aleksandra Klęczar: *Życie intelektualne diaspory aleksandryjskiej w III–I p.n.e.* (17.12.2003).
2. Prof. dr hab. Stanisław Stabryła: *Rewokacje klasyczne w poezji K.I. Gałczyńskiego* (27.01.2004).
3. Dr Michał Bzinkowski: *Motyw towarzyszy Odysa w poezji Jorgosa Seferisa* (2.03.2004).
4. Dr Gościwit Malinowski (Uniwersytet Wrocławski): *Agatarchides z Knidos. Ze studiów nad aleksandryjską historiografią* (21.04.2004).
5. Mgr Agnieszka Maciąg: *Romulus w „Fasti" Owidiusza* (16.06.2004).
6. Prof. dr hab. Stanisław Stabryła: *Autorzy wczesnochrześcijańscy o modlitwie* (30.11.2004).
7. Prof. dr hab. Stanisław Stabryła: *Rzym pogański i Rzym chrześcijański w „Peristephanon" Prudencjusza* (26.04.2004).
8. Dr Michał Bzinkowski: *Opis świata w „Iliadzie" i „Odysei". W poszukiwaniu genezy Homerowej kosmologii* (14.06.2004).

Członkowie Krakowskiego Koła PTF zajmowali się, jak co roku, organizacją Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego na szczeblu szkolnym i okręgowym.

5. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA LUBELSKIEGO

Koło liczy 60 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd stanowili: prezes – ks. prof. dr hab. Remigiusz Popowski, wiceprezes – dr Agnieszka Dziuba, członek Zarządu ds. kontaktu z nauczycielami – mgr Helena Błazińska, sekretarz – mgr Katarzyna Kulig, skarbnik – mgr Agata Łuka. W skład Komisji Rewizyjnej wchodzili: przewodniczący – prof. dr hab. Robert Chodkowski, członkowie – dr Małgorzata Górska i dr Marian Babiński

26.05.2004 r. odbyły się wybory Zarządu Koła Lubelskiego, w wyniku których ukonstytuował się nowy Zarząd w składzie: przewodniczący – ks. prof. dr hab. Remigiusz Popowski, zastępca przewodniczącego – ks. mgr Marek Cieśluk, członek zarządu ds. kontaktu z nauczycielami – mgr Helena Błazińska, sekretarz – mgr Katarzyna Kulig, skarbnik – mgr Agata Łuka; w skład Komisji Rewizyjnej

weszli: przewodniczący – prof. dr hab. Robert Chodkowski, członkowie – dr Małgorzata Górska i dr Marian Babiński.

W okresie sprawozdawczym Koło prowadziło działalność statutową w następujących formach:

I. Działalność naukowa.

Koło zorganizowało następujące spotkania z odczytami naukowymi:

1. Dr Małgorzata Siwicka: *Energeia i pathos – filozofia a gramatyka* (30.10.2003).
2. Dr Agnieszka Dziuba: *Czy „Historia rzymska" Paterkulusa jest historią?* (27.11. 2003).
3. Mgr Jolanta Kropp: *Wybrane zagadnienia z dydaktyki języka łacińskiego* (18.12.2003).
4. Ks. prof. dr hab. Remigiusz Popowski: *Stoickie podłoże „Obrazów" Filostrata Starszego* (22.01.2004).
5. S. dr Jadwiga Kalinowska OSB (Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski): *Pisarze i poeci antyczni w spuściźnie piśmienniczej Stanisława Hozjusza* (26.02.2004).
6. Dr Marek Krajewski (Uniwersytet Wrocławski): *Dżentelmen Periplektomenus z komedii Plauta „Żołnierz samochwał". Uwaga językoznawcza na marginesie charakterystyki postaci (Plaut. Mil. 632)* (25.03.2004).
7. Refleksja nad przebiegiem XXII Ogólnopolskiej Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego oraz Wybory Zarządu Lubelskiego Koła PTF (13.05.2004).
8. Ks. prof. dr hab. Remigiusz Popowski: *Nazwy miejsc świętych w starożytnej Grecji* (27.10.2004).
9. Mgr Helena Błazińska: *Nowa Matura 2005* (24.11.2004).
10. Dr hab. Krzysztof Narecki: *Historia filologii klasycznej na Katolickim Uniwersytecie Lubelskim* (16.12.2004).
11. Prof. dr hab. Bożena Iwaszkiewicz-Wronikowska: *Grób św. Piotra – status quaestionis* (23.02.2005).
12. Prof. dr hab. Henryk Podbielski: *Starość i starcy w poematach Homera* (17.03.2005).
13. Dr Lech Trzcionkowski: *Symbola orfików. Papirus z Gurob (PGurob 1) i nowe tabliczki z Enteli (?, kolekcja prywatna) i Feraj (Muzeum Archeologiczne w Volos)* (13.04.2005).
14. Ks. prof. dr hab. Remigiusz Popowski: *Podłoże filozoficzne późnoantycznych opisów dzieł sztuki* (15.06.2005).

II. Współpraca z nauczycielami języka łacińskiego:

Mgr Helena Błazińska, członek Zarządu, pracuje od kwietnia 2001 r. jako ekspert MENiS ds. awansu zawodowego nauczycieli. Jako przedstawiciel Zarządu pozostaje w stałym kontakcie z władzami Kuratorium Oświaty oraz z nauczycielami języka łacińskiego na terenie województwa lubelskiego. W kwietniu

2003 r. została mianowana ekspertem ds. środków dydaktycznych w zakresie języka łacińskiego i języka greckiego oraz kultury antycznej. Omawia kwestie metodyczne, sprawy metody szkolnictwa oraz przepisy prawne dotyczące pracy nauczycieli.

III. Patronat nad Olimpiadą Języka Łacińskiego:

Organizowanie i realizowanie I i II etapu Olimpiady w Województwie Lubelskim w r. 2003, 2004, 2005. Główny organizator: mgr Helena Błazińska.

Miejsce ks. prof. dra hab. Henryka Wójtowicza w Ogólnopolskim Komitecie Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego zajęła dr Agnieszka Dziuba.

IV. Uczestnictwo w sympozjach:

Coroczny udział członków Koła w Zjazdach PTF.

Coroczny udział w obradach Sekcji Filologicznej przy Komisji Episkopatu ds. Nauki Katolickiej, skupiającej filologów klasycznych uczących w wyższych seminariach duchownych w Polsce.

Coroczny udział w obradach Sekcji Patrystycznej przy Komisji Episkopatu Polski ds. Nauki Katolickiej.

V. Udział w zebraniach Zarządu Głównego PTF:

Przewodniczący i przedstawiciele Zarządu Koła brali udział w zebraniach Zarządu Głównego w Lublinie i Warszawie.

VI. Prace redakcyjne:

Koło Lubelskie uczestniczy w opracowywaniu biogramów dla 2. tomu biogramów zasłużonych dla szerzenia kultury antycznej. W imieniu Koła kontakty ze współautorami prowadzi dr Agnieszka Dziuba.

W sierpniu 2005 została wydana drukiem książka pokonferencyjna zawierająca referaty wygłoszone podczas XCIX Walnego Zgromadzenia Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego, które odbyło się we wrześniu 2003 r. w Lublinie.

6. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA ŁÓDZKIEGO

Koło Łódzkie liczy 52 członków. Zarząd Koła pracuje w następującym składzie: prezes – dr Joanna Rybowska, wiceprezes – prof. dr hab. Jadwiga Czerwińska, sekretarze – dr Joanna Sowa, mgr Joanna Mirzejewska, skarbnik – mgr Tamara Roszak, członkowie – prof. dr hab. Ignacy Ryszard Danka (przewodniczący Sekcji Indoeuropejskiej), mgr Teresa Macjon (przewodnicząca Sekcji Dydaktycznej).

Cz. I: 1.10.2003–30.09.2004

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 9 zebrań Koła, na których wygłoszono 6 odczytów oraz 3 sprawozdania.

1. Sprawozdanie z XCIX Walnego Zgromadzenia PTF w Lublinie oraz sprawy dydaktyczne i administracyjne (2.10.2003).
2. Prof. Antonio Orazio Bologna (Rzym): *Początki dramatu greckiego* (odczyt w jęz. łacińskim; 23.10.2003).

3. Prof. Antonio Orazio Bologna (Rzym): *Dyskolos Menandra* (odczyt w jęz. włoskim; 24.10.2003).
4. Mgr Adriana Grzelak: *Człowiek złotego wieku, czyli helleński ideał życia szczęśliwego* (20.11.2003).
5. Dr Hanna Zalewska-Jura: *O zaginionych dramatach satyrowych Ajschylosa* (11.12.2003).
6. Koncert kolęd w jęz. łacińskim (16.01.2004).
7. Zebranie organizacyjno-wyborcze (26.02.2004):
– sprawozdanie z I i II etapu XXII Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego,
– sprawozdanie z Konkursu Recytatorskiego Poezji Owidiusza,
– sprawy dydaktyczne,
– wybory Zarządu Koła (skład Zarządu po wyborach nie uległ zmianie).
8. Dr Hanna Brendel (Poznań): *Architektura i rzeźba antyku* (25.03.2004).
9. Mgr Marta Czapińska: *Platońska epanodos – rozwój koncepcji* (17.06.2004).
10. W dniach 22–23.04.2004 w ramach IV Festiwalu Nauki, Techniki i Sztuki – Łódź 2004 Katedra Filologii Klasycznej UŁ oraz Koło Łódzkie PTF zorganizowały następujące imprezy kulturalne:
– Biesiada Owidiańska,
– spektakl *De Alexandri iudicio* (w jęz. łacińskim),
– spektakl *Ośla komedia* (na podstawie *Oślej komedii* Plauta),
– spektakl *Elektra* (na podstawie *Elektry* Eurypidesa),
– *Petrarcae carmina Latine et Italice*,
– 2 odczyty popularno-naukowe: prof. dr hab. I.R. Danka, *Polska jako „mała ojczyzna" wobec „wielkiej ojczyzny" – Europy*; prof. dr hab. J. Czerwińska, *Postacie kobiece u Eurypidesa.*

Koło Łódzkie PTF było również współorganizatorem sesji na cześć prof. dr hab. Anny Marii Komornickiej, połączonej z wręczeniem Jej zeszytu Łódzkiego Towarzystwa Naukowego *Sylwetki łódzkich uczonych*; sesja odbyła się 21.05.2004 r. w KFK UŁ.

Koło Łódzkie PTF patronowało nauce łaciny żywej prowadzonej przez prof. dra hab. Zbigniewa Danka. Członkowie naszego Koła uczestniczyli też w pracach związanych z przygotowaniem Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego.

W okresie sprawozdawczym aktywnie działały również Sekcja Indoeuropejska i Sekcja Dydaktyczna KŁ PTF.

Sprawozdanie Sekcji Indoeuropejskiej Koła Łódzkiego PTF

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 8 zebrań Sekcji Indoeuropejskiej KŁ PTF. W ramach Sekcji prowadzone były lekcje rekonstruowanego prajęzyka indoeuropejskiego (naukę prowadzili: dr Józef Macjon, prof. dr hab. Ignacy Ryszard Danka) oraz przedstawiono następujące odczyty naukowe:

1. Mgr Ewa Mianowska: *O kulcie ognia u ludów indoeuropejskich* (18.10.2003).
2. Dr Stanisław Jurkin: *Polacy w obwodzie irkuckim na przełomie wieku XIX i XX* (22.11.2003).
3. Dr Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak: *Co kryją linearne tabliczki w Tebach* (13.12.2003).
4. Dr Anna Maciejewska: *O antycznych nazwach instrumentów muzycznych* (17.01.2004).
5. Mgr Kamila Przybylska: *Owidiusz a polityka cesarza Augusta*;
   Prof. dr hab. Ignacy Ryszard Danka: *Ablativus w indoeuropejskim* (21.02.2004).
6. Prof. dr hab. Jan Sosnowski: *Imiona staroruskie* (17.04.2004).
7. Magdalena Ostrowska: *Podział języków słowiańskich*;
   Dr Janusz Kupczun: *Trudna koncepcja metajęzyka* (22.05.2004).
8. Mgr Lidia Dobrowolska: *Ludy wobec imperium Aleksandra Macedońskiego* (19.06.2005).

Sekcja Indoeuropejska KŁ PTF była ponadto współorganizatorem sesji popularno- naukowej z okazji 25 Marca – Święta Narodowego Grecji (która odbyła się 27.03.2004 w KFK UŁ) oraz dwóch konferencji naukowych: *Philologorum Polonorum Colloquium Glottologicum* (24.06.2004) i *Europa przez tysiąclecia – języki, rasy, kultury, wierzenia* (25–26.06.2004). Wygłoszono na nich następujące odczyty:

<u>25 Marca – Święto Narodowe Grecji:</u>

– Ignacy Ryszard Danka: Περί την ομοιότητα των Ελληνικών και Ινδικών θεών,
– Wanda Amarantidou: *Józef Dunin Borkowski* – ένας μεγάλος ξέχασμένος Φιλέλληνας ποιητής,
– Aleksandra Długosz: *Twórczość w języku włoskim Dionisiosa Solomosa – greckiego poety narodowego*,
– Dominika Jabłońska: *Greckie zabytki w Konstantynopolu (Stambule)*.

<u>Philologorum Polonorum Colloquium Glottologicum:</u>

– Marek Krajewski: *Akcent a struktura sylaby w języku łacińskim*,
– Małgorzata Górska: *Walencja łacińskich czasowników niemotywowanych*,
– Lesja Myslovska: *Frazeologizmy języka łacińskiego*,
– Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak: *O pochodzeniu łacińskich przysłówków zakończonych na -iter*,
– Małgorzata Siwicka: *Diateza czasownika w starożytnej filozofii i gramatyce*,
– Hubert Wolanin: *Ptosis (przypadek) w starożytnym językoznawstwie greckim*,
– Gościwit Malinowski: *Grupy spółgłoskowe pph, kkh, tth w języku greckim*,

– Robert Sucharski: *Uwagi nad czasownikiem tebańskim*,
– Dominika Śmigiel: *Dialekt grico*,
– Anna Maciejewska: *Starogreckie i łacińskie nazwy instrumentów strunowych i ich współczesne kontynuanty*,
– Agata Łuka: *Czy język węgierski jest rzeczywiście językiem ugrofińskim?*

Europa przez tysiąclecia – języki, rasy, kultury, wierzenia:

25.06.2004:

– Witold Mańczak: *Lat. deus et divus*,
– Paola Biavaschi: *Lingua e cultura nel codice Teodosiano*,
– Fred C. Wouhuizen: *Linguistic Relations between Crete and Anatolia and their Relevance for the Earliest Indo-Europeans in Crete*,
– Lothar Willms: *u-na-ka-si = wanax: Minoan substrate in Greek?*
– Jerneja Kavčič: *De differentiis, quae inter linguam Graecam antiquam et modernam sunt*,
– Vaclav Blažek: *Seeking the Traces of the Indo-European Homeland*,
– Peter Kitson: *Indo-European: Parts of an Onomasticon and of Origin*,
– Jaan Puhvel: *Oldest „Hand" in Indo-European*,
– Jean Haudry: *Pensée, parole, action*,
– Beata Spieralska: *Des exemples de la synesthesie dans les langues indo-européennes*,
– Marius Tiberiu Alexianu: *La terminologie agricole de la branche européenne des langues indo-européennes.*

26.06.2004:

– Rościsław Pazuchin: *Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas and his „Minerva": Between the „ontological grammar" of the Middle Age and the „logical grammar" of the Enlightenment Epoch*,
– Bojka Bacharova, Marin Bacharov: *Tożsamości kulturowe a region – doświadczenia bałkańskie*,
– Giulio M. Facchetti: *Le cosidette „bilingui figurate" in etrusco: il caso degli specchi*,
– Tamara Roszak: *Mutamenti fonetici nell'ambito della lingua umbra*,
– Andrzej Kowalski: *Antropologiczne problemy rekonstrukcji kultury „Nostratyjczyków"*,
– Wanda Amarantidou: *Polskojęzyczne opracowania literatury nowogreckiej*,
– Ołesja Hodzenko: *Humanizm odradzania się Rodzimej Wiary*,
– Stanisław Potrzebowski: *Znaczenie 129 hymnu X Mandali Rygwedy dla odrodzenia Rodzimej Wiary*,
– Siergiej Szarypkin: *Mycenaean Dual Reconsidered*,
– Mikołaj Szymański: *Gregorian Calendar – Othodox Indigation*,
– Ignacy Ryszard Danka: *Quae nationis indicia (signa) sint*,

– Piotr Stalmaszczyk: *Two Thousand Years of Language Contacts in the British Isles.*

Sekcja Dydaktyczna Koła Łódzkiego PTF zorganizowała Konkurs Recytatorski Poezji Owidiusza dla uczniów szkół średnich. Przystąpiło do niego 11 szkół. Konkurs odbywał się w dwóch etapach. W I etapie uczniowie byli zobowiązani do recytacji wybranych fragmentów *Metamorfoz*; w etapie II prezentowali określone regulaminem fragmenty w dystychu elegijnym. Laureaci konkursu wzięli udział w Biesiadzie Owidiańskiej, zorganizowanej w ramach IV Festiwalu Nauki, Techniki i Sztuki – Łódź 2004. Członkinie Sekcji Dydaktycznej były też współorganizatorkami większości zaprezentowanych na Festiwalu imprez kulturalnych (wymienionych wyżej).

Cz. II: 1.10.2004–30.09.2005

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 9 zebrań Koła, na których wygłoszono 6 odczytów oraz 4 sprawozdania.

1. Sprawozdanie z Setnego Jubileuszowego Zjazdu PTF w Warszawie oraz sprawy dydaktyczne (14.10.2004).
2. Dr Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak: *Falajkos czy Statyllios Flakkos? Głos w sprawie autorstwa epigramatu AP VI 193* (25.11.2004).
3. Mgr Ewa K. Organiściak: *Klasycyzm w polskiej poezji barokowej* (16.12.2004).
4. Koncert kolęd w języku łacińskim (20.01.2005).
5. Dr Joanna Rybowska: *Izydora z Sewilli „Księgi początków albo badań nad pochodzeniem i pokrewieństwem wyrazów"* (24.02.2005).
6. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska (Poznań): *Antyczne poczucie czasu* (28.04.2005).
7. Prof. dr hab. Włodzimierz Lengauer (Warszawa): *Maska Dionizosa* (20.05.2005).
8. Zebranie sprawozdawcze (9.06.2005):

– sprawozdanie z XXIII Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego,
– sprawozdanie z Konkursu Recytatorskiego Bajek Fedrusa,
– sprawozdanie z II Międzyszkolnego Konkursu Sentencji Łacińsko-Angielskich.

9. Anna i Jacek Wrzesińscy (Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy): *Ostrów Lednicki w państwie Piastów* (23.06.2005).

Koło Łódzkie PTF było również współorganizatorem konferencji naukowej *Irracjonalność w racjonalnej kulturze antycznej i odniesienia do niej w późniejszej myśli europejskiej*, która odbyła się w dniach 21 i 22 października 2004 r. Wygłoszono na niej następujące odczyty naukowe:

21.10.2004:

– Prof. Orazio Antonio Bologna: *Quid novi Litteris Renatis Poloni poesi Latinae attulerint*,

– Prof. Zbigniew Danek: *Platońska koncepcja poznania immanentnego, czyli epistemologia pozytywna Listu VII*,
– Dr Anna Pawlak: *„Fajdros" Platona, czyli między mitem a rzeczywistością, między ziemią a niebem*,
– Dr Joanna Sowa: *Uczucie jako droga do poznania w filozofii przyjaźni Arystotelesa*,
– Dr Małgorzata Siwicka: *Antropologia Marka Aureliusza a stoicki racjonalizm*,
– Dr Ewa Osek: *Irracjonalność w racjonalnym procesie poznania Boga i świata według Ojców Kappadockich*,
– Prof. Ulana Holovatch: *Racional'nyj i irracional'nyj aspekt filosofii*,
– Prof. Robert Zawadzki: *Racjonalne i nieracjonalne zasady poezji u Arystotelesa i Horacego*,
– Dr Antoni Bobrowski: *Racjonalizacja tradycji mitologicznej w „Dzienniku wojny trojańskiej" Diktysa z Krety*,
– Mgr Adriana Grzelak: *Czy dobro najwyższe Lukrecjusza ma charakter racjonalny?*
– Mgr Marta Czapińska: *Cykl odnawiania się świata, czyli platoński rok kosmiczny u Cycerona*,
– Mgr Małgorzata Budzowska: *Aspekty etyczne aktu zemsty w twórczości Eurypidesa: Medea, Fedra, Hekabe.*

22.10.2004:

– Prof. Jadwiga Czerwińska: *„Hercules Furens" – Eurypidejska przypowieść o ludzkim szaleństwie*,
– Prof. Nina I. Ishuchuk-Fadeeva: *Bezumije tragedii i tragedija bezumija (Evripid, Shakespeare, Chekhov, Stoppard)*,
– Dr Galina Szelogurowa: *Trzy oblicza szaleństwa w dramaturgii światowej („Herakles" Eurypidesa, „Hamlet" Szekspira, „Car Iksion" Annienskiego)*,
– Dr Hanna Zalewska-Jura: *Gatunek satyrowy jako instrument polityczny Pizystratydów*,
– Dr Joanna Rybowska: *Obłaskawianie Mocy, czyli racjonalizm Greków w irracjonalnym stosunku człowieka do bogów*,
– Prof. Barbara Olaszek: *Żywioł wody w dramatach A. Czechowa. Problemy przekazu teatralnego*,
– Prof. Andrey Grivenko: *Irrational Motives in Alfred Tennyson's Lyrics*,
– Mgr Joanna Warońska: *Mity greckie a literatura popularnonaukowa.*

19.04.2005 w ramach V Festiwalu Nauki, Techniki i Sztuki – Łódź 2005, Katedra Filologii Klasycznej UŁ oraz Koło Łódzkie PTF zorganizowały następujące imprezy kulturalne:

– przedstawienie *Misa pełna złota* (na podstawie komedii Plauta),
– przedstawienie *Helena in Aegypto* (w języku łacińskim),
– prolog tragedii Eurypidesa *Alkestis*,

– prezentacja laureatów i finalistów Konkursu Recytatorskiego Bajek Fedrusa oraz Konkursu Sentencji Łacińsko-Angielskich.

Koło Łódzkie PTF patronowało nauce łaciny żywej, którą prowadził prof. dr hab. Zbigniew Danek. Członkowie naszego Koła uczestniczyli też w pracach związanych z przygotowaniem Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego.

W okresie sprawozdawczym aktywnie działały również Sekcja Indoeuropejska i Sekcja Dydaktyczna KŁ PTF.

Sprawozdanie Sekcji Indoeuropejskiej Koła Łódzkiego PTF

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 10 zebrań Sekcji Indoeuropejskiej KŁ PTF, na których wygłoszono 14 odczytów:

1. Prof. dr hab. Rafał Leszczyński: *Karaimowie* (23.10.2004).
2. Prof. dr Piotr Stalmaszczyk: *Elementy celtyckie w irlandzkiej odmianie języka angielskiego* (20.11.2004).
3. Prof. dr hab. Rafał Leszczyński: *Wpływ greckiej koncepcji logosu na wczesną myśl chrześcijańską* (18.12.2004).
4. Mgr Tomasz Skarzewski: *Panowanie Nerona w przekazie Swetoniusza*, Janusz Berner: *Średniowieczny świat Wikingów* (22.01.2005).
5. Dr Georgij Minczew: *Solarne kulty trackie* (19.02.2005).
6. Dr Wanda Amarantidou: *Święto narodowe Grecji – w przeddzień Wielkiej Nocy Święta* (12.03.2005).
7. Dr Bogusław Ryczko: *El flamenco como fenomeno interdisciplinar: aspectos musicales, plasticos y linguisticos* (19.03.2005).
8. Dr Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak: *O języku (językach) Belgów i Germanów* (23.04.2005).
9. Prof. dr hab. Ignacy Ryszard Danka: *O poezji w rekonstruowanym języku indoeuropejskim*,
   Katarzyna Chiżyńska: *Problematyka badań interdyscyplinarnych Zespołu Naukowo-Badawczego MKJ*,
   Małgorzata Rządkiewicz: *Z dziejów Katedry Filologii Klasycznej UŁ* (21.05.2005).
10. Prof. dr hab. Siergiej Szarypkin: *Platońska legenda o Atlantydzie w świetle antycznych źródeł historycznych* (18.06.2005).
    dr Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak: *Nazwy borsuka w językach indoeuropejskich* (18.06.2005).

W ramach Sekcji prowadzone były też lekcje rekonstruowanego prajęzyka indoeuropejskiego (naukę prowadzili: dr Józef Macjon, prof. dr hab. Ignacy Ryszard Danka).

Sekcja Dydaktyczna Koła Łódzkiego PTF zorganizowała Konkurs Recytatorski Bajek Fedrusa dla uczniów szkół średnich. Przystąpiło do niego 6 szkół z województw łódzkiego i świętokrzyskiego. Konkurs odbywał się w dwóch etapach.

W I etapie uczniowie mieli do zaprezentowania 2 bajki, a w etapie II 1 bajkę z zakresu określonego regulaminem. Laureaci konkursu przedstawili bajki Fedrusa w czasie V Festiwalu Nauki, Techniki i Sztuki – Łódź 2005. Członkinie Sekcji Dydaktycznej były też współorganizatorkami większości zaprezentowanych na Festiwalu imprez kulturalnych (wymienionych wyżej).

Pod patronatem Koła Łódzkiego PTF i przy aktywnej współpracy członkiń Sekcji Dydaktycznej został również zorganizowany II Międzyszkolny Konkurs Sentencji Łacińsko-Angielskich.

7. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA OPOLSKIEGO

Opolskie Koło PTF liczy obecnie 11 członków. Zarząd działa w następującym składzie: przewodnicząca – prof. dr hab. Joanna Rostropowicz; sekretarz – dr Beata Gaj; skarbnik – mgr Anna Rozmus; Komisja Rewizyjna: dr Gabriela Wcisło (przewodnicząca); mgr Małgorzata Mysona (sekretarz).

Ostatnie walne zebranie Koła odbyło się 11.02.2004 roku w Katedrze Cywilizacji Śródziemnomorskiej Instytutu Historii Uniwersytetu Opolskiego. W posiedzeniu wzięli udział wszyscy aktualni członkowie. Zgodnie z obowiązującym statutem dokonano rozliczeń i podsumowania pracy Zarządu za ostatnią kadencję i przystąpiono do wyboru zarządu na następny trzyletni okres. Omówiono także aktualną sytuację Stowarzyszenia, czasopisma naukowego „Eos" oraz rangi języków klasycznych w szkołach średnich i uczelniach wyższych polskich i zagranicznych na podstawie informacji z Posiedzenia Zarządu Głównego, które odbyło się 7.02.2004 r. w Ośrodku Badań nad Kulturą Antyczną OBTA w Warszawie.

Inne zebrania Opolskiego Koła poświęcone były:

- wprowadzeniu w Uniwersytecie Opolskim nowej specjalności i studiów podyplomowych o nazwie Kultura Śródziemnomorska;
- omówieniu tekstów nowołacińskich badanych przez dr Beatę Gaj podczas wyjazdu do Lwowa (październik 2003);
- zagadnieniom badawczym aktualnie realizowanym przez członków Koła (Salwian z Marsylii, magia w okresie II sofistyki, dorobek archeologa klasycznego ks. J. Wilperta, inspiracje retoryczne w śląskich tekstach nowołacińskich);
- przygotowaniom do XIV i XV Opolskich Dni Kultury Antycznej (które odbyły się w dniach 26.04–30.04.2004 oraz 25.04.–29.04.2005 (w programie Dni znalazły się zarówno konkursy mitologiczne dla uczniów i studentów, jak i wykłady Ireny Wyczółkowskiej „Mój antyk" oraz członków studenckiego Koła Miłośników Antyku, wystawa „Starożytność a współczesność", dyskusja na temat roli mediów w kreowaniu świata antycznego połączona z projekcją filmu, spektakl przygotowany przez studentów historii UO pt. „Odyseja Komiczna 2004, czyli Saga o Odysie Laertessonie", recytacja po-

ezji Horacego w wykonaniu uczniów liceum). Warto dodać, że Opolskie Dni Kultury Antycznej cieszą się co roku znacznym zainteresowaniem mediów i lokalnego środowiska.

Koło Opolskie PTF jest czynnie zaangażowane na rzecz propagowania kultury antycznej na terenie rodzimej uczelni i miasta: przyczyniło się między innymi do wprowadzenia przedmiotu język łaciński z elementami kultury antycznej dla kierunku język biznesu na Wydziale Filologicznym Uniwersytetu Opolskiego. Godne uwagi są także działania Koła na rzecz zachowania dziedzictwa materialnego inspirowanego kulturą antyczną, np. zakończone sukcesem w 2003 r. starania o zrekonstruowanie popiersia tzw. Opolskiej Junony (kopii rzymskiego posągu z Villi Ludovisi, wykonanej z cementu jako symbol rozwijającego się tutaj przemysłu, wyróżnionej w 1867 r. na światowej wystawie w Paryżu).

8. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA POZNAŃSKIEGO

Zarząd Koła działał w składzie: prezes – dr Teodozja Wikarjak, zastępca – prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska, skarbnik – mgr Ewa Nowak, sekretarz – mgr Dorota Antkiewicz; Komisja Rewizyjna: prof. dr hab. Jerzy Danielewicz, prof. dr hab. Sylwester Dworacki, prof. dr. hab. Ewa Skwara, mgr Romana Lipońska.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się piętnaście zebrań naukowych, na których referaty wygłosili:

1. Prof. dr hab. Ewa Skwara: *Literatura antyczna na scenie operowej. Metamorfozy Orfeusza* (28.10.2003).
2. Prof. dr hab. Piotr Bering: *Recepcja antyku w kulturze staropolskiej w świetle rękopisów kórnickich* (18.11.2003).
3. Prof. dr hab. Joanna Rostropowicz: *Polityka i gwiazdy (czyli o „Fenomenach" Aratosa z Soloj)* (20.01.2004).
4. Mgr Romana Lipońska: *Antyczne wiersze Kazimierza Wierzyńskiego* (17.02.2004).
5. Prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartol: *Antyk w malarstwie prerafaelitów* (16.03.2004).
6. Prof. dr hab. Jerzy Danielewicz: *Początki greckiego epigramu literackiego* (20.04.2004).
7. Mgr Ewa Nowak: *Postać czarodziejki w epice starogreckiej i średniowiecznej* (18.05.2004).
8. Dr Radosław Piętka: *Antyczna cywilizacja jako wzorzec i anty-wzorzec kulturowy* (15.06.2004).
9. Prof. dr hab. Ewa Skwara: *Błędy młodości, czyli o nieobyczajnych postępkach młodzieńców w palliacie* (16.11.2004).
10. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska: *Słowiańskie Safony* (21.12.2004).
11. Dr Sławomira Brud: *Autor „Retoryki ad Herennium" o peryferiach perswazji* (15.02.2005).

12. Dr Tomasz Sapota (Uniwersytet Śląski): *Uczta w „Satyrach" Juwenalisa* (15.03.2005).
13. Prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Korus (UJ): *Grecy o szczęściu* (19.04.2005).
14. Prof. dr hab. Sylwester Dworacki: *Nowatorstwo i tradycja w „Opowieści Etiopskiej" Heliodora* (17.05.2005).
15. Prof. dr hab. Jadwiga Czerwińska (Uniwersytet Łódzki): *„Hercules furens" – Eurypidejska przypowieść o ludzkim szaleństwie* (21.06.2005).

9. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA TORUŃSKIEGO

Koło liczy obecnie 23 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Koła pracował w składzie: przewodniczący – prof. dr hab. Włodzimierz Appel, wiceprzewodniczący – dr hab. Danuta Musiał, sekretarz i skarbnik – dr Alicja Brusewicz.

Członkowie Koła spotkali się na wykładzie prof. dr hab. Mariana Szarmacha: *Żywot Herodesa Atticusa Filostrata*.

Koło boryka się obecnie z pewnymi trudnościami organizacyjnymi, które przyczyniły się do znikomej działalności Koła.

10. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA WARSZAWSKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym od 19.10.2002 do 2611.2004 Zarząd Koła Warszawskiego PTF działał w następującym składzie: prezes – prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański; wiceprezes – prof. dr hab. Mikołaj Szymański; sekretarz – mgr Lech Bobiatyński; skarbnik – dr Magdalena Popiołek; przewodnicząca Sekcji Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku – mgr Maria Poszepczyńska; członkowie Zarządu – prof. dr hab. Barbara Milewska-Waźbińska, prof. dr hab. Adam Łukaszewicz, dr Joanna Ziabicka, mgr Dorota Sutkowska; Komisja Rewizyjna – mgr Ludmiła Bogdanowicz, mgr Anna Osipowicz, mgr Agnieszka Stachowicz-Garstka.

Od 26.11.2004 do chwili obecnej Zarząd Koła Warszawskiego PTF działał w następującym składzie: prezes – prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański; wiceprezes – prof. dr hab. Mikołaj Szymański; sekretarz: mgr Lech Bobiatyński; skarbnik: dr Magdalena Popiołek; Sekcja Dydaktyczna – dr Jerzy Mańkowski (przewodniczący), mgr Maria Poszepczyńska; przewodnicząca Sekcji Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku – mgr Maria Poszepczyńska; członkowie Zarządu – prof. dr hab. Barbara Milewska-Waźbińska, prof. dr hab. Adam Łukaszewicz; Komisja Rewizyjna – mgr Ludmiła Bogdanowicz, mgr Anna Osipowicz, mgr Agnieszka Stachowicz-Garstka.

I. Udział Koła w Zjazdach PTF:

1. 17–20.09.2003: Koło Warszawskie brało udział w IC Walnym Zjeździe PTF w Lublinie na temat: Humanitas grecka i rzymska u źródeł kultury europejskiej. Referentem z Koła Warszawskiego był prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański:

De Platonis paideia deque Ciceronis humanitate. Z Koła Warszawskiego uczestniczyło w zjeździe poza prof. J. Domańskim 15 osób (prof. J. Axer; mgr L. Bobiatyński; prof. M. Borowska; mgr Drewniewska-Idziak; mgr A. Górska; mgr H. Karczmarski; mgr G. Kania; mgr M. Mikuła; prof. B. Milewska-Waźbińska; prof. W. Popiak; mgr M. Poszepczyńska; dr R. Sucharski; prof. M. Szymański; mgr Z. Zejglic; mgr H. Żuberek.

2. W dniach 16–18.09.2004 r. Koło Warszawskie PTF we współpracy Instytutem Filologii Klasycznej UW i Ośrodkiem Badań nad Tradycją Antyczną w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej UW zorganizowało ogólnopolski Setny Jubileuszowy Zjazd PTF w Warszawie z udziałem gości zagranicznych. Uczestników Zjazdu, który odbył się pod patronatem Prezydenta M. St. Warszawy, podjęto koktajlem w Ratuszu. Wydawnictwo Felberg S.A. ufundowało prelegentom upominki w postaci książki H. Cieszkowskiej i K. Kreyser *Wizytówki Warszawy*. W czasie Zjazdu odbył się pokaz filmów R. Kreysera z wprowadzeniem p. dr K. Kreyser oraz rozstrzygnięcie Konkursu na przekład utworu Owidiusza. Nagrody – serię przekładów z „Biblioteki Antycznej" – ufundowało Wydawnictwo Prószyński i S-ka.

II. Posiedzenia naukowe:

1. Prof. dr hab. Barbara Milewska-Waźbińska: *Z problematyki recepcji Owidiusza w XVII w.*
   Prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański: *Charakterystyka XCIX Walnego Zjazdu PTF w Lublinie (17–20.IX)* (24.10.2003).
2. Prof. dr hab. Adam Łukaszewicz: *Autograf Kleopatry*.
   Wspomnienia o mgr Helenie Gesztoft i mgr Antoninie Włodarskiej (19.12.2003).
3. Prof. dr hab. Jerzy Miziołek: *Aulos, syringa, kithara. Dwa dzieła z tematami owidiańskimi w zbiorach Zamku Królewskiego w Warszawie* (5.03.2004).
4. Dr Aleksander Wolicki: *Jak zabić kochanka żony, kiedy się jest dobrym obywatelem? Cudzołóstwo i retoryka w pierwszej mowie Lizjasza* (19.03.2004).
5. Dr Joerg Schulte: *Tradycja Platońska w „Foricoeniach" Jana Kochanowskiego* (2.04.2004).
6. Dr Beata Spieralska: *Arystoteles o zmyśle dotyku* (7.05.2004).
7. Dr Krystyna Kreyser: *Wyspa Syren w Odysei Homera*.
   Pokaz filmu R. Kreysera z dziejów PTF.
   Wyłonienie kandydatów na Setny Jubileuszowy Zjazd PTF w Warszawie 16–18.09.2004 (11.06.2004).
8. Prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański: *Z tekstologicznej problematyki „Enchiridionu" Erazma. Kilka uwag wydawcy*.
   Mgr L. Bobiatyński: *Sprawozdanie z Setnego Jubileuszowego Zjazdu PTF (Owidiusz – poezja, recepcja, legenda) zorganizowanego w dniach 16–18.09.2004 w Warszawie* (22.10.2004).

9. Jan Kwapisz (student V r.): *Idylla 15.77 Theokryta – polityczny żart?* Zebranie sprawozdawczo-wyborcze (26.11.2004).
10. Dr Katarzyna Marciniak: *Cyceron pod Termopilami* (17.12.2004).
11. Prof. dr hab. Andrzej Mencwel: *Do czego jest nam potrzebna kultura klasyczna?* (28.01.2005).
12. Prof. dr hab. Helena Cichocka: *Dionizjusz z Halikarnasu a retoryka (De oratoribus antiquis)* (25.02.2005).
13. Dr Roman Krzywy: *Arysteja w epice historycznej Samuela Twardowskiego i Wacława Potockiego wobec tradycji konwencji* (18.03.2005).
14. Dr Grażyna Czetwertyńska: *Podstawy prawne i zasady nauczania kultury klasycznej i języka łacińskiego w szkole.*
    Dyr. mgr Grażyna Kania: *Czego możemy nauczyć na lekcjach języka łacińskiego?* (15.04.2005).
15. Dr Wojciech Michera: *„Similitudo mater est falsitatis". O feminizacji zła* (22.04.2005).
16. Prof. dr hab. Barbara Skarga: *Antyk i filozofia* (20.05.2005).
17. Prof. dr hab. Małgorzata Borowska: *„Julian Odstępca" – dramat Nikosa Kazantzakisa* (10.06.2005).

III. Inne imprezy:

A. 21.11.2003

Konferencja naukowa wraz z przekazaniem przez rodzinę Muzeum Uniwersytetu Warszawskiemu złotego medalu „Cultori di Roma" wręczonego prof. Kazimierzowi Kumanieckiemu. Konferencję otworzył J. M. Rektor Piotr Węgleński. Referaty wygłosili:

1. Prof. dr hab. Jerzy Axer: *Naukowy testament K. Kumanieckiego, czyli po co Cycero?*
2. Prof. dr hab. Oktawiusz Jurewicz: *Profesor K. Kumaniecki – filolog i humanista.*
3. Prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański: *Prof. K. Kumaniecki a filozofia starożytna.*
4. Dr Władysław Pokrywka: *Pamięć o Prof. K. Kumanieckim w środowisku starachowickim.*

Konferencji towarzyszyła wystawa publikacji prof. K. F. Kumanieckiego oraz związanych z nim zdjęć (m.in. R. Kreysera).

B. 21.05.2005: Stulecie urodzin prof. K. Kumanieckiego

Z powodów organizacyjnych w trzy dni po właściwej dacie, czyli po 18 maja, Koło Warszawskie uczciło stulecie urodzin profesora Kazimierza Kumanieckiego, swojego wieloletniego prezesa, a także wieloletniego prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF. Zorganizowana wespół z dyrekcją IFK UW uroczystość miała – obok naukowego – charakter przede wszystkim wspomnieniowy. Z przewidzianych w programie naukowym dwu referatów, które miały dotyczyć mniej spektakularnych i mniej znanych dziedzin badań profesora Kumanieckiego,

a mianowicie jego prac dotyczących Hezjoda i jego idei widzenia kultury klasycznej w szerokim kontekście starożytnej kultury śródziemnomorskiej, z powodu choroby prof. Henryka Podbielskiego z KUL-u, który miał mówić o aktualności prac profesora Kumanieckiego o Hezjodzie, udało się zrealizować tylko ten drugi referat. Wygłosił go prof. Maciej Popko z Instytutu Orientalistycznego UW. Referat poprzedziło zagajenie prezesa Koła Warszawskiego, skupiające się przede wszystkim na cechach osobowych Jubilata, po nim zaś obecni wysłuchali nagranej na taśmie w roku 1970 jego wypowiedzi na temat własnej drogi życiowej i nieprzemijającej wartości dziedzictwa kultury klasycznej. Odśpiewany też został hymn Polski Podziemnej, którego autorem (słowa) był Kazimierz Kumaniecki. Następnym punktem wspomnieniowego programu była odczytana przez absolwentkę filologii klasycznej i warszawską aktorkę Katarzynę Żytomirską opowieść prof. Anny Sadurskiej o słynnej fajce profesora Kumanieckiego. Wspomnieniami o Jubilacie podzielili się też dr Barbara Brzuska oraz ks. prof. Marek Starowieyski z IFK UW. Uroczystość zakończyło połączone ze skromnym poczęstunkiem obejrzenie przez uczestników wystawy zdjęć z różnych faz życia i działalności profesora Kazimierza Kumanieckiego wraz z przeglądem zdjęć z uroczystości przekazania Muzeum UW medalu *CULTORI ROMAE*.

IV. Zebrania Zarządu Koła Warszawskiego:

1. W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 18 zebrań Zarządu Koła Warszawskiego, wiele z nich było poświęconych organizacji C Zjazdu w Warszawie. Członkowie Zarządu odbyli również wiele innych spotkań i wykonali wiele prac związanych z C Zjazdem.
2. Zarząd Koła Warszawskiego podjął starania o wydrukowanie materiałów z Konferencji owidiańskiej. Obecnie prace są finalizowane do korekty autorskiej.
3. Przewodniczący Sekcji Popularyzacji dr Jerzy Mańkowski w porozumieniu z dr K. Kreyser rozesłał do poszczególnych kół PTF anons o kasecie z dziejów PTF; po zgłoszeniu się chętnych przygotowano odpowiednią liczbę kopii wraz z informacją na ich temat.

V. Kursy języka greckiego i łacińskiego prowadzone w ramach Sekcji Popularyzacji:

W roku akademickim 2004/2005 prace sekcji popularyzacji skupiały się na prowadzeniu kursów języków klasycznych. Zajęcia odbywające się raz w tygodni prowadzili studenci filologii klasycznej. Warto zaznaczyć, że druga grupa łacińska zerowa została utworzona ze względu na ogromne zainteresowanie chętnych. W 9 kursach uczestniczyło ok. 80 osób. Nabór na kursy odbywa się w październiku. Informacja o kursach oraz artykuł na temat kursów zostały zamieszczone w *Gazecie Wyborczej*.

1. Łacina zerowa: p. Janusz Cukras
2. Łacina zerowa: p. Agnieszka Wocial
3. Łacina średnia: p. Łukasz Dawid

4. Łacina zaawansowana: p. Jan Kwapisz
5. Łacina zaawansowana: p. Katarzyna Ceynowa
6. Łacina bardzo zaawansowana: p. Katarzyna Chmura
7. Greka zerowa: p. Paulina Piotrowska
8. Greka średnia: p. Anna Kuraś
9. Greka zaawansowana: p. mgr Jan Kozłowski

VI. Frekwencja i rozwój Koła:

W zebraniach uczestniczy przeciętnie od 18 do 30 członków (ok. 5–20 gości). Przyjęto 5 członków, skreślono 3. Koło liczy obecnie 140 członków.

Organizacja Konkursu Kultury Klasycznej (KKK) dla gimnazjalistów.

Za zgodą Zarządu i Koła Warszawskiego oraz w porozumieniu z Prezesem ZG PTF w roku 2003/2004 podjęto prace nad przygotowaniem regulaminu Konkursu Kultury Klasycznej dla gimnazjalistów, który ma zachęcić młodzież gimnazjalną do zajęcia się kulturą antyczną i językiem łacińskim. Mgr M. Malisiewicz, organizator Konkursu filozoficznego dla gimnazjalistów i inicjator KKK, wraz z sekretarzem Koła Warszawskiego mgr L. Bobiatyńskim przygotowali Regulamin KKK, dyskutowany następnie przez Komisję KKK w składzie: dyr. mgr G. Kania, przewodnicząca, mgr M. Malisiewicz, dr J. Mańkowski, dr B. Spieralska, dyr. mgr A.U. Korab, mgr L. Bobiatyński (2003/2004).

Mazowiecki Kurator Oświaty zarządzeniem Nr 1244 i 1245 z dnia 30.08.2005 zlecił Kołu Warszawskiemu PTF organizację i przeprowadzenie w r. szk. 2005/2006 konkursu interdyscyplinarnego dla uczniów gimnazjów Województwa Mazowieckiego pod nazwą Konkurs Kultury Klasycznej i powołał Wojewódzką Komisję Kultury Klasycznej w składzie: mgr Grażyna Kania – przewodnicząca; mgr Lech Bobiatyński – sekretarz; członkowie: dr Beata Spieralska; dr Aleksander Lisowki; dr Jerzy Mańkowski; dr Tomasz Pawlikowski; mgr Urszula Korab; mgr Joanna Cichocka; mgr Marek Malisiewicz. Materiały i warunki KKK zostały rozesłane do szkół Województwa Mazowieckiego. Znajdują się na stronie internetowej IFK UW.

11. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA WROCŁAWSKIEGO

Koło liczy 66 członków. Zarząd działał w składzie: przewodnicząca – prof. dr hab. Lucyna Stankiewicz, wiceprzewodniczący – dr Józef Mantke, sekretarz – dr Marek Krajewski, skarbnik – mgr Sławomir Torbus, członkowie Zarządu – mgr Maria Kulewska, dr Krzysztof Morta, prof. dr hab. Ludwika Rychlewska, prof. dr hab. Teresa Szostek; członkowie Komisji Rewizyjnej – dr Danuta Łowicka (przewodnicząca), dr Jan Kamieniecki, mgr Zofia Myśliwcowa; przewodnicząca Komisji Dydaktycznej – mgr Ewa Pobiedzińska.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 12 zebrań Koła (średnia frekwencja: 29 osób):

1. Zebranie sprawozdawczo-wyborcze (26.11.2003).
2. Mgr Agnieszka Kotlińska: *Tańcząc Homera. Poematy epickie w interpretacji mimów.*
3. Dr Barbara Hartleb-Kropidło: *„Carbasina molochina ampelina...". Teatr Cecycliusza Stacjusza* .
4. Prof. dr hab. Ewa Skwara: *Metamorfozy Orfeusza. Literatura antyczna na operowej scenie.*
5. Mgr Dominika Śmigiel: *„Calabria dikimu". Włoski język grecki.*
6. Mgr Hanna Urbańska: *W poszukiwaniu motywów indyjskich w polskiej bajce ludowej.*
7. Prof. dr hab. Tadeusz Kotula: *Problemy z historią najnowszą w Cesarstwie Rzymskim.*
8. Prof. dr hab. Ludwika Rychlewska: *Prof. Jerzy Kowalski – twórca nauki wrocławskiej.*
9. Prof. dr hab. Marek Winiarczyk: *Problem autorstwa pism Diogenesa z Synopy.*
10. Prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Nawotka: *Seleukos I, Apollo i Milet.*
11. Prof. dr hab. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion: *Strabon o siedmiu cudach świata.*
12. Dr Karol Zieliński: *Czy Memnon miał za daleko pod Troję? Polemika z M.L. Westem („Iliad and Aethiopis", CQ 53 (2003), s. 1–14).*

Koło prowadzi ożywioną działalność popularyzatorską. W okresie sprawozdawczym wygłaszano wykłady popularno-naukowe i udzielano wywiadów w mediach. Członkowie Koła propagowali antyk w lokalnych massmediach (głównie w „Trójce" – regionalnej telewizji wrocławskiej – oraz w Polskim Radiu Wrocław). Oto działalność popularyzatorska Koła w ujęciu chronologicznym:

– 20.10.2003 dr Mateusz Żmudziński: wykład pt. „Cuda świata starożytnego" (Biblioteka Pedagogiczna we Wrocławiu).
– 12.11.2003 prof. dr hab. Joanna Sachse: wykład pt. „*Bhagawadgita* – klucz do interpretacji *Mahabharaty*" (Legnica, Dni Kultury Indyjskiej).
– 21.11.2003 prof. dr hab. Lucyna Stankiewicz i prof. dr hab. Wiesław Suder: wywiad na temat polskiego tłumaczenia dzieł Cezara (*Corpus Caesarianum*), dokonanego przez W. Nowosielską i E. Konika (Polskie Radio Wrocław).
– 2.12.2003 dr Mateusz Żmudziński: wykład dla młodzieży gimnazjalnej pt. „Ze świata starożytnego" (Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna nr 57 we Wrocławiu).
– 16.03.2004 dr Marek Krajewski: wykład pt. „Z recepcji antyku w poezji polskiej" (IX LO im. J. Słowackiego we Wrocławiu).
– 21.04.2004 dr Marek Krajewski: wykład pt. „Mitologia grecka. Między religią a literaturą" (wykład dla nauczycieli języka polskiego zorganizowany pod egidą Wrocławskiego Centrum Doskonalenia Nauczycieli).

- 15.05.2004 dr Gościwit Malinowski: wykład pt. „Geneza alfabetu" (Koło Naukowe Językoznawców-Studentów Filologii Polskiej).
- 3.06.2004 prof. dr hab. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion: współudział w prelekcji pt. „Fundamenty zjednoczonej Europy. Miejsce judaizmu, hellenizmu i chrześcijaństwa" (Duszpasterstwo Akademickie „Maciejówka" we Wrocławiu).
- 9.04.2004 prof. dr hab. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion: „Safona" – referat inaugurujący III Międzynarodową Interdyscyplinarną Konferencję „Zrozumieć płeć".
- 18.10.2004 prof. dr hab. Lucyna Stankiewicz: wykład dla studentów Kolegium Nauczycielskiego im. Grzegorza Piramowicza we Wrocławiu pt. „Recepcja mitu Orfeusza w literaturze XX wieku. Utwory Rainera Marii Rilkego".
- 20.10.2004 dr Gościwit Malinowski: wywiad na temat studiów filologii klasycznej (Polskie Radio Wrocław).
- 17.11.2004 prof. dr hab. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion: wykład dla studentów białoruskich, rosyjskich i ukraińskich pt. „Grecja i Rzym – kolebki europejskiej kultury i tożsamości" (Dom Spotkań im. Angelusa Silesiusa).
- 19.11.2004 dr Marek Krajewski: wykład pt. „Słowa i rzeczy" (IX LO im. J. Słowackiego we Wrocławiu).
- 28.02.2005 prof. dr hab. Lucyna Stankiewicz: wykład dla studentów Kolegium Nauczycielskiego im. Grzegorza Piramowicza we Wrocławiu pt. „Publiusz Owidiusz Nazon, poeta z Sulmony".
- 10.03.2005 prof. dr hab. Janina Ławińska-Tyszkowska: wykład dla studentów Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego pt. „Filostratos o sporcie. Między ideałem a rzeczywistością".
- 14.03.2005 prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Nawotka: wykład dla studentów Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu pt. „Aleksander Macedoński".
- 20.03.2005 dr Marek Krajewski: wykład pt. „Czy łacina już umarła?" (Społeczne Gimnazjum i Liceum w Wołowie).
- 24.03.2005 prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Nawotka: wykład pt. „Aleksander Macedoński" (Klub Muzyki i Literatury we Wrocławiu).
- 20.04.2005 prof. dr hab. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion: wywiad na temat znaczenia badań nad Strabonem (Polskie Radio Wrocław).
- 25.04.2005 dr Sławomir Torbus: wykład pt. „Retoryka wczoraj" (Salon Myśli, Wroclaw).
- 8.05.2005 prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Nawotka: wykład dla studentów Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego pt. „Aleksander Macedoński".
- 9.05.2005 dr Sławomir Torbus: wykład pt. „Retoryka dziś" (Salon Myśli, Wrocław).
- 10.05.2005 prof. dr hab. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion: wykład pt. „Życie

codzienne starożytnego Greka" (Zespół Szkół im. Józefa Chełmońskiego w Kuklówce).
- 17.05.2005 prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Nawotka: wykład dla studentów Wydziału Humanistycznego Akademii Bydgoskiej pt. „Aleksander Macedoński".
- 11.05.2005 prof. dr hab. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion: wykład dla młodzieży gimnazjalnej pt. „Narodziny teatru w starożytnej Grecji" (Zespół Szkół w Jaktorowie).
- 11.05.2005 dr Marek Krajewski: wykład pt. „Z leksyki porównawczej języków indoeuropejskich" (Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Koło Naukowe Studentów Filologii Angielskiej „Linguistic Investigations").

Ożywioną działalność prowadziła w okresie sprawozdawczym Komisja Dydaktyczna Koła. Z inicjatywy mgr Małgorzaty Górny oraz mgr Ewy Pobiedzińskiej, pod egidą Komisji Dydaktycznej Koła oraz pod opieką naukową Instytutu Filologii Klasycznej i Kultury Antycznej Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, zorganizowano w IV LO im. Stefana Żeromskiego we Wrocławiu oraz w Prywatnym Liceum SS. Urszulanek we Wrocławiu sześć seminariów metodycznych dla nauczycieli i lektorów języka łacińskiego. Podczas konferencji omawiano problemy nauczania języka łacińskiego w szkołach średnich (pytania maturalne z języka łacińskiego i miejsce łaciny w zreformowanym systemie oświaty w świetle dokumentacji MEN) oraz prezentowano relacje z konferencji metodycznych i seminariów itp. W ramach konferencji metodycznych mgr Stanisław Wilczyński oraz mgr Anna Jaworska przeprowadzili po jednej lekcji pokazowej z uczennicami wrocławskiego Prywatnego Żeńskiego Liceum Ogólnokształcącego Sióstr Urszulanek. Podczas wspomnianych konferencji wygłoszono następujące referaty:

1. Dr Jakub Pigoń: *Hymn św. Ambrożego „Ad galli cantum"*.
2. Mgr Stanisław Wilczyński: *Introitus, czyli jak przeprowadzam wstępną lekcję języka łacińskiego w klasie I.*
3. Mgr Beata Machalska: *Inskrypcje wrocławskie nowożytne I.*
4. Mgr Anna Jaworska, mgr Ewa Pobiedzińska, mgr Stanisław Wilczyński: *Kilka informacji o projekcie podręcznika języka łacińskiego do 3-letniego liceum.*
5. Mgr Beata Machalska: *Inskrypcje wrocławskie nowożytne II.*
6. Prof. dr hab. Lucyna Stankiewicz: *Iter satiricum (Hor. Sat. I 5).*
7. Mgr Beata Machalska: *Inskrypcje wrocławskie nowożytne III.*
8. Mgr Bożena Dziedzic: *Jak wprowadzam wybrany materiał gramatyczny.*
9. Mgr Ewa Pobiedzińska, mgr Stanisław Wilczyński: *Dwugłos w sprawie „Pieśni do Leukonoe" Horacego.*
10. Dr Jakub Pigoń: *Łaciński dativus.*
11. Mgr Aleksandra Krajczyk, mgr Dorota Kubica: *Podręcznik języka łacińskiego – kurs jednoroczny.*
12. Mgr Anna Jaworska: *Sprawozdanie ze zjazdu PTF w Warszawie.*

13. Dr Marek Krajewski: *Przydatność językoznawstwa na lekcjach języka łacińskiego.*
14. Mgr Ewa Pobiedzińska, mgr Stanisław Wilczyński: *Dwugłos w sprawie pieśni I 14 Horacego („O navis referent...").*

Koło, podobnie jak w latach ubiegłych, współorganizowało eliminacje okręgowe Ogólnopolskiej Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego. W skład Komitetu Okręgowego wchodzili: mgr Izabela Barnat, dr Barbara Hartleb-Kropidło, dr Władysława Jamróz (sekretarz), mgr Aleksandra Krajczyk, mgr Maria Kulewska, mgr Maria Oboron, prof. dr hab. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion (przewodnicząca). W pracach Komitetu Głównego Ogólnopolskiej Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego brała udział dr Władysława Jamróz.

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   - E. Norden, *Aus altrömischen Priesterbüchern*, Lund–Leipzig 1939, pp. 144 f. / Norden, *o.c.* (n. 7), pp. 144 f. (not 144–145).
   - H. Erbse, *Beiträge zum Pindartext*, Hermes LXXXVIII 1960, pp. 23–33 (not, if possible, 23 ff.).
   - E. Badian, *The Early Historians*, in: T.A. Dorey (ed.), *Latin Historians*, London 1966, pp. 1–38.
   - C. Koch, *Vesta*, *RE* VIII A, 2 (1958), col. 1732, 25–28 (not 25–8).

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