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RITUAL CONTEXTS OF THE BANQUETERS WITH STRINGED INSTRUMENTS IN THE WESTERN GREEK *POLEIS*

ANGELA BELLIA

Abstract. Greek terracottas of male and female players is a valuable subject of investigation for understanding the function of music in the contexts of both production and performance. The figurines are transmitting musical meanings that the ancient observer knew how to decode. Moreover, the representations of musical instruments in coroplastics help us to reconstruct their role in the specific context of worship, and their function in different ritual performances. Among these relevant representations of musical iconography, one of the most popular subjects is the reclining male figure who supports himself on his left elbow, while holding a stringed instrument. This is the typical banqueter motif that is found in funerary and sacred contexts in southern Italy and Sicily from the Archaic period to the beginning of the Hellenistic Age. In this paper, it will be argued that the instruments depicted on the terracotta figurines found in the sanctuaries allow us to understand the status and the age of the musicians, as well as their role in ceremonies.

INTRODUCTION

Greek terracotta of male and female players is a privileged field of survey in understanding the function of music in sacred sphere. The figurines are valuable testimonies, transmitting musical meanings that the ancient observer, who possessed the same communication code as the craftsman, could immediately understand.[1] Moreover, the representations of musical instruments in coroplastics help us to reconstruct their role in the specific context of worship, and their function in the different ritual performances.

On the one hand, if the archaeological context of these particular votives allows us to explore the musical instruments related to worship and the ritual sphere,[2] on the other, it is necessary to understand the meaning of the "musical offering" evoked by the representations. Given the extraordinary presence throughout the Greek world of terracottas representing male and female musicians in sanctuaries related to the rite of passages of status, some representations appear in connection with important ritual occasions in the communities:[3] in these cases, musical performances strengthened social ties, and created the opportunity for young people to present themselves as members ready to actively enter into the society of adults.

Among these relevant representations of musical iconography, one of the more engaging is that of a reclining male figure who supports himself on his left elbow, while he holds a stringed instrument. This is the typical banqueter motif that is found in funerary and sacred contexts in southern Italy and Sicily from the Archaic period to the beginning of the Hellenistic Age. It also will be argued that the instruments depicted on these terracotta figurines found in the sanctuaries offer the opportunity to understand

[1] Lippolis 2001, 240-1; Roscino 2012, 153-4.

[2] Bellia 2009, 157-75.

[3] Bellia and Marconi 2016.

the status of both male and female musicians, as well as their age, and their specific roles in ceremonies.

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES OF BANQUETERS HOLDING THE LYRE (OR *BARBITOS*) IN THE WEST

Terracotta figurines representing banqueters holding instruments have been brought to light at a number of sites around the eastern Mediterranean,[4] such as at Lindos, Samos, Claros, and at sites in Tunisia.[5] But it is in southern Italy and Sicily that the representation of a male holding a lyre or a *barbitos*[6] was coroplastic repertoire[7] from the Archaic period to the Hellenistic Age. In these west Greek examples, a beardless, youthful banqueter is most common (Figure 1),[8] although there also are banqueter figurines representing adult men. It is worth noting that the banqueters holding the lyre are beardless, whereas the banqueters with the *barbitos* tend to be bearded (Figure 2).[9]

[4] Mollard-Besques 1954, 14 B 79, tav. X (Tespie); 20 B 115, tav. XV (Tebe); 83 C 9, tav. LVII (provenance unknown); 120 C 229, tav. LXXXV (provenance unknown); Higgins 1954, 111 nn. 349, 350, tav. 53 (Alicarnasso); Huysecom-Haxhi 2009, 139-54, T 1358, 1365, 1366 e, 1382.

[5] Blinkenberg and Kinch 1931, nn. 2345, 2350 (Lindos); Brijder and Gerhartl-Witteveen 1999, 35 n. 12 (Samos); Dewailly 2000, 343-7, fig. 1 (Claros); Cherif, Fantar and Uberti 1997, 89 n. 300, tav. XXXV (Tunisie).

[6] West 1992, 56-9.

[7] Bartoccini 1936, 152-60, 74, fig. 48, 49, 50, 54; Belli 1970, 198-9; Abruzzese Calabrese 1996, 190-1, fig. 139; Herdejürgen 1971, 6; Loiacono 1985, 342, fig. 409; Lippolis 1995, 51-3; Bencze 2010, 25-8; Barra Bagnasco 2009, 247-9; Bellia 2009, 172.

[8] Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Taranto. Inv. 20074. Bencze 2010, 25-8, fig. 4.

[9] Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Taranto. Inv. 20031. Lippolis 1995, 51, tav. VII, 2.

Figure 1. Terracotta figurine of a banqueter holding the *lyra*
(from Torelli 2011, 114, tav. 27)

Figure 2. Terracotta figurine of a banqueter holding the *barbitos*
(from Lippolis 1995, tav. VII, 2)

All the banqueters are portrayed reclining with head and torso turned frontally toward the viewer, but with the lower body shown in profile, the right knee bent and the left leg extended. Typically, a *himation* covers the left shoulder and arm and falls over the body and legs in wide, curving and oblique folds. The left hand usually presses a lyre or a *barbitos* against the left hip with outstretched hand, while the right hand holds a *phiale*, a *rhython* or a *kantharos* against the chest. Generally, the instruments are undetailed and are mostly covered by the outstretched hand of the banqueter.

The majority of the banqueter figurines with lyre or *barbitos* that have been brought to light in the Greek West come from funerary and votive contexts at Taranto.[10] Their interpretation has given rise to much discussion concerning the meaning of this theme, some of which contradict one another.[11] Interpretations range from a divine figure, and in particular Dionysus, to a deceased hero, sometimes in connection with the chthonic cults and the funerary realm.[12] Arguments in favor of Dionysus are based on the drinking vessels held by the male figure, which are related to the *symposion*. However, considering the diffusion of this class of votives and the comparisons that have been made with reliefs depicting the funerary *symposion* from the Late Classical to the Hellenistic periods,[13] most often the banqueter has been viewed as belonging to the funerary realm. According to this view, the banqueter is a heroized representation of the deceased, who takes part in a *symposion* in the afterlife.[14] This interpretation is based on the hero worship of the deceased that was in vogue in Taranto, as well as in the mother city

[10] Baldassarre 1996, 98, fig. 9.4, 101, fig. 9.26; Loiacono 1985, 344, fig. 411; Lippolis 1995, 71-2.
[11] Lippolis 1995, 51-3.
[12] Herdejürgen 1971, 172.
[13] Portale 2010, 39-78.
[14] Torelli 2011, 114.

of Sparta.[15] To these interpretations we can add that of J.-M. Dentzer,[16] who argues for an unspecified significance, given the widespread diffusion and production of this iconographic motif from the 7th to the 4th centuries B.C. He also suggests a consideration of the representation of banqueters on a case-by-case basis, keeping in mind the polysemic nature of terracottas and the differing archaeological context within which the figurines were found. In more recent studies the connection between the Tarantine banqueters and the funerary realm has been dismissed altogether, in favor of a more generalized votive interpretation, whereby male imagery belongs to the male sphere, in the same way that contemporary figurines of females are related to the female sphere.[17]

It has been also proposed[18] that the reclining banqueter holding the lyre or the *barbitos* be considered a specific votive offering that recalls the *symposion* during which, as is well known, music was a fundamental component. However, it needs to be taken into consideration that, according to literary and figurative sources,[19] the lyre (Figure 3) and *barbitos* (Figure 4) accompanied different performances because of their acoustic differences. The *barbitos* was the preferred instrument to accompany singing at banquets because its low pitch and volume were suitable for a small space. Yet the figurines holding the lyre or *barbitos* from Taranto reveal that these instruments also belong to the funerary realm,[20] where representations of banquets accompanied by music mimic the earthly pleasures of the banquet in the joys of the afterlife.[21]

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[15] Bencze 2010, 25-41.

[16] Dentzer 1982, 190-201.

[17] Lippolis 1995, 51-3.

[18] Dentzer 1982, 190-201; Iacobone 1988, 166-72; Lippolis 1995, 51-3.

[19] Bessi 1997, 145. Written sources are collected in West 1992, 57-9 n. 47.

[20] Felletti Maj 1953, 60; Bisconti 1990, 40; see also Delatte 1913, 329.

[21] For the instruments found in the burials at Taranto, see Bellia 2012b, 66-8.

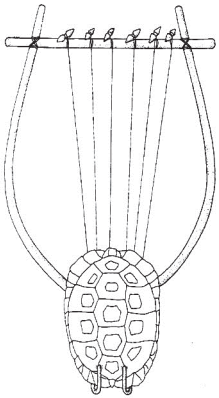

Figure 3. Drawing of a lyre (from Lepore 2010, fig. 30.33)

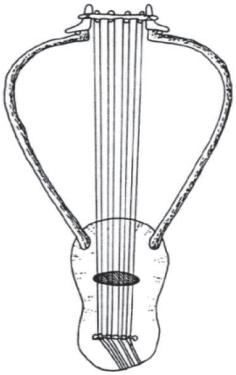

Figure 4. Drawing of a *barbitos* (from Bellia 2012b, 62, fig. 64a)

The lyre or *barbitos* seem to offer clear references to a retrospective representation of the deceased and to his socio-political role. On the one hand, the representation of these musical instruments may be a reference to elements of Greek *paideia*, but on the other, the lyre and *barbitos* may be related to the particular customs of this Italiot community of southern Italy. Thus, the terracotta figurines of banqueters holding instruments may represent the *polites*, the newly-formed citizen, or the younger man ready to enter into society. These representations appear to evoke the notion that these men are taking part in the *symposion* while displaying the "musical symbols" of their status and age. Furthermore, the stringed instruments could characterize the socio-political role of the deceased, offering praise to his *arete* and his cultural background; in fact, as is well known, musical *paideia*, particularly those involving the lyre and gymnastics, were fundamental to the education of young people.

While the lyre was an emblem of refined and aristocratic education, it was also a symbol that recalled the initiation rituals celebrated in specific sacred places where musical activities were performed. In this case, the banqueters holding this instrument are a "sema tangibile del rapporto instauratosi tra l'offerente e la divinità,"[22] established thanks to music.

THE RECLINING BANQUETERS HOLDING THE LYRE FROM THE SANCTUARY OF APHRODITE AT LOCRI

Terracotta figurines representing reclining banqueters holding a lyre that were found in the sanctuary complex at Centocamere-Marasà South in Locri[23] document a votive function as it relates to these rituals. In this Locrian sanctuary complex there were two distinct places dedicated to Aphrodite (Figure 5).[24] The first was the u-shaped stoa that remained in use from the late 7th to the middle of the 4th century B.C. The second was a late archaic, sacred building adjacent to the u-shaped stoa, which was the actual place of worship. In the u-shaped stoa there was a large central courtyard that is believed to have held ritual banquets related to ceremonies dedicated to Aphrodite (Figure 6).[25] In this sacred place the participants of the *symposion* could recline together on *klinai* that were likely to have been placed against the walls of the room. M. Barra Bagnasco underscored the fact that the size of these spaces in the stoa, the *oikoi*, facilitated the arrangement of benches for initiation banquets,[26] in which it is likely a selected part of the Locrian community took part.

[22] Iacobone 1988, 166-9.
[23] Barra Bagnasco 1977, 151-69; 1996b, 223; 1996c, 30; Bellia 2012a, 65-77.
[24] Torelli 1977, 147-57; 2011, 79-86; Barra Bagnasco 1996c, 27-8; 2009, 47.
[25] Barra Bagnasco 1996c, 27; Costabile 1996, 22.
[26] Barra Bagnasco 1996c, 27.

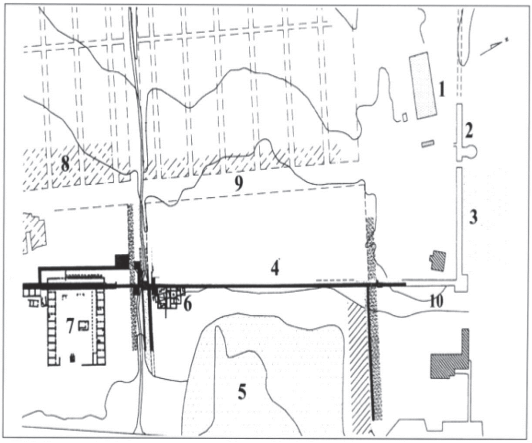

Figure 5. Locrian sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite

(from Torelli 2011, 79, fig. 46)

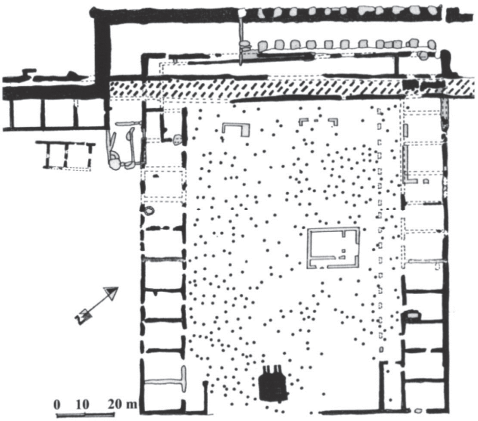

Figure 6. U-shaped stoa at Centocamere

(from Torelli 2011, 81, fig. 48)

The sacred nature of the banquets at Centocamere-Marasà South is further documented by the remains of meals and votive material from the sacrifices that date from the mid-6th to the mid-4th centuries B.C. that were found inside the 370 *bothroi* in the central courtyard.[27] The material from these *bothroi* included pottery, most likely from the banquets, the bones of dogs and various other animals (probably sacrifices dedicated to Aphrodite),[28] as well as terracotta figurines,[29] among which were many reclining banqueters holding objects for the banquet, such as the *rhython*, the *kantharos*, the *phiale*,[30] and the lyre. A fragmented male figurine from this corpus that dates to the first half of the 5th century B.C. may be singled out for its particular iconography (Figure 7).[31] The figure is shown holding a lyre by one of the two arms of the instrument, both of which are markedly curved, connected by a yoke with square ends, and are incorporated into a sounding box made from tortoise shell. The strings are depicted together in a relief, but they are not distinguishable from one another. A second noteworthy example from this corpus dating to 500-470 B.C. is very similar to a fragmentary figurine found in a Locrian domestic context,[32] where a male figure playing the lyre, an attendant to the banquet, sits in front of a reclining banqueter (Figure 8).[33]

Considering that the majority of the reclining banqueter figurines were found in a sacred context dedicated to Aphrodite, it is possible, according to M. Barra Bagnasco, to discern in this representa-

[27] Lissi Caronna 1996, 31.
[28] Torelli 1977, 149; 2011, 82.
[29] Barra Bagnasco 1996a, 181-206.
[30] Barra Bagnasco 1977, 151-69; Lissi Caronna 1996, 31; Sabbione 2005, 225-7, II.22-6; Barra Bagnasco 2009, 223-49.
[31] Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Locri. S.n.i. Barra Bagnasco 1996c, 30.
[32] Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Locri. Inv. 1971/31. Barra Bagnasco 2009, 226 n. 413.
[33] Sabbione 2005, 227, II.26.

tion a "male offerer,"[34] who is an emblem of the Locrian *polites* participating in a ritual banquet. In this case, the reclining banqueter holding the lyre could be related to some particular aspect of musical performance in this Greek *polis* that was characterized by a notable amount of musical activity within the sacred realm.[35]

At Locri, given the proximity of the port area and of the u-shaped stoa to the shrine dedicated to the goddess, the protector of sailors, it is possible that before undertaking a sea voyage, rituals and collective worships[36] were celebrated in order to protect against the dangers of navigation.[37] The solemn and sacred character of the rituals derived not only from the consecration of wine consumed during the *symposion* to propitiate the success of the enterprise,[38] but also from musical performances.[39]

In a discussion of the role played by instruments during sacred banquets, C. Calame noted that the *aulos* could be played during the consecration and the consumption of wine,[40] while the lyre was played to strengthen the ties between participants to ritual banquets[41] that also included distribution and consumption of the sacrificed animals among all attendees.[42]

[34] Barra Bagnasco 2009, 248-9.
[35] Bellia 2012a, 13-24.
[36] Lissarrague 1989, 34; Fenet 2011, 407-9.
[37] Barra Bagnasco 1996c, 28; 2009, 47.
[38] Fenet 2011, 407-9; see also Burkert 2003, 170-5.
[39] West 1992, 93-4.
[40] Calame 2010, 67.
[41] Lissarrague 1989, 34-7, 147-57; 1999, 32-5.
[42] Burkert 2003, 147-55.

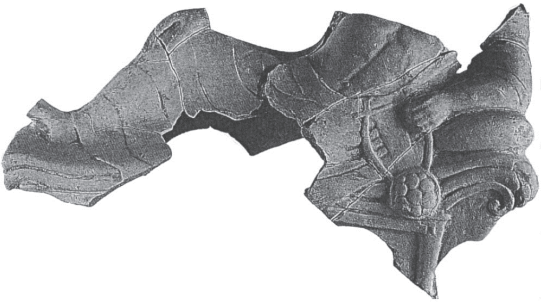

Figure 7. Reclining banqueter holding the *lyra*
(from Barra Bagnasco 1996, 30)

Figure 8. Male figure playing the lyre
and sitting in front of a reclining banqueter on the *kline*
(from Sabbione 2005, 227)

The fact that the rituals in the sanctuary of Aphrodite were also related to the wedding sphere cannot be excluded. In this case, the terracottas of reclining banqueters holding the lyre could recall the musical performances during the ritual banquets celebrated in the u-shaped stoa as an offering of the new bridegroom to the community in the days after his wedding.[43] It is probable that the reclining banqueters holding several objects, among which was the lyre, were produced to remember these occasions, as a particular *anathema*. For this reason, it is not surprising that the male figurines were also found in the area of Centocamere (Figure 9),[44] sometimes next to a female figure (Figure 10),[45] where domestic worship was related both to Aphrodite and marriage.[46] Moreover, a *pinax* representing a female *aulos* player next to a reclining banqueter (Figure 11)[47] found in same sacred area, similar to an *auletris* depicted in the same pose on a *pinax* found in the *Persephoneion*,[48] is a further figurative reference to the nuptial sphere and its related rituals. The female figures sitting next to the reclining banqueters found in funerary contexts have been interpreted as the bride of the deceased.[49] This interpretation does hold true for the female figures represented next to the banqueters found in sacred contexts in Locri, as well as in the habitation area.[50] If the figures of reclining banqueters holding objects are recalling the activities of the Locri-

[43] Barra Bagnasco 2009, 323; see also Smith 2011, 93-4.

[44] Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Locri. Inv. 1980/36. Barra Bagnasco 2009, 404 n. 365, tav. LXXII.

[45] Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Locri. Inv. 1980/57. Barra Bagnasco 2009, 414 n. 417.

[46] The statuettes are not well-preserved; see Barra Bagnasco 2009, 242-3 nn. 365, 383, 406-8, 417, tav. LXXII, LXXV, LXXVIII-LXXIX, LXXX.

[47] Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria. Inv. L 128801 / Centocamere. Barello et al. 2004-2007, 835 n. 1.

[48] Bellia 2012a, 62, fig. 19.

[49] Abruzzese Calabrese 1996, 191-2.

[50] Iacobone 1988, 169; Barra Bagnasco 1996d, 81-8.

an citizen in a sacred context, then, as we have seen, these terracotta representations evoke the wedding rituals. The marriage as an initiation was formed by a series of actions, including participation in the banquet to strengthen new ties between the families.[51] For this reason, the introduction of a new wife inside the community had a religious and civic meaning. Thus, the female musician playing the *aulos* on the *pinax* can be considered to be a young bride;[52] her representation, next to her companion, can be related to the rituals after their wedding, which served as her introduction to the other members of the community.[53]

Figure 9. Reclining banqueter holding the *lyra*

(from Barra Bagnasco 2009, 404 n. 365, tav. LXXII)

[51] Barra Bagnasco 2009, 222-3.

[52] See Bellia 2012a, 73-4, fig. 11, for a statuette of a female lyre player sitting next to the reclining banqueter found at Hipponion, subcolony of Locri.

[53] Burkert 1981, 60-1.

Figure 10. Reclining banqueter holding the *lyra*
(from Barra Bagnasco 2009, 414 n. 417)

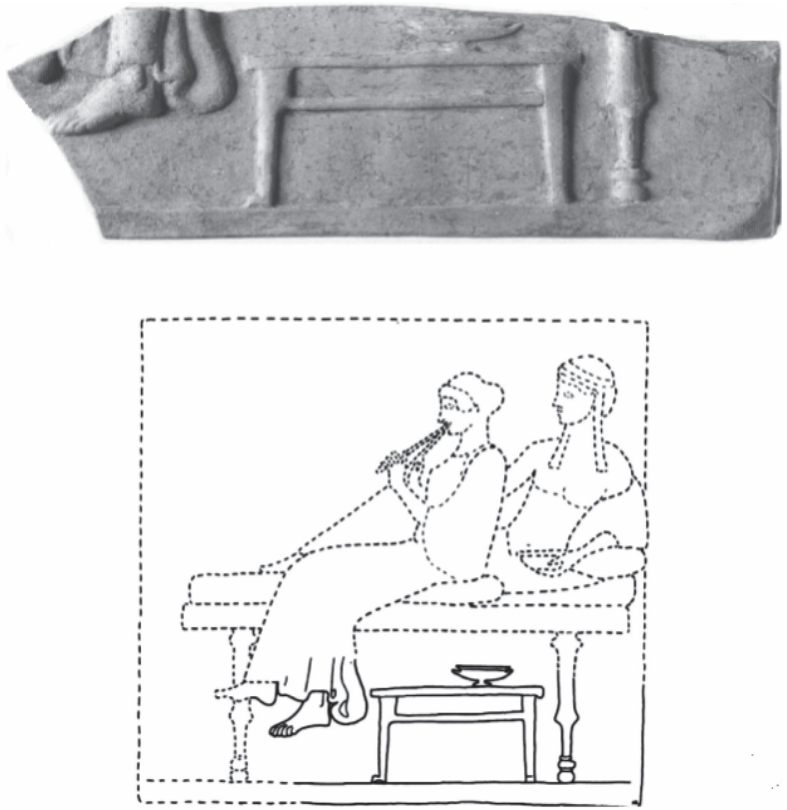

Figure 11. *Pinax* representing a female *aulos* player next to a reclining banqueter on a *kline*

(from Barello et al. 2004-2007, 835 n. 1)

THE LYRE AS AN OBJECT OF MALE EDUCATION IN SACRED CONTEXTS

The depiction of the lyre on the Locrian statuettes puts the instrument in close relationship with the male ritual sphere of the *polis* in the Greek West. The stringed instrument is an emblem recalling

music education. With poetic art, athletics and training in hunting and warrior virtues, music was an irreplaceable element to reinforce the relationship between members belonging to the same group. Moreover, the representation of the lyre is a further reference to the lively artistic and cultural activities of the Locrian *polites*, which were recorded in written sources.[54] Thus, the reclining banqueters holding the lyre could not only be an offering recalling the musical competences and the cultured and refined world of the Locrian *polites*, but could also be a specific reference to the rituals during which, it is likely, members of Locrian society underwent a change of status.[55]

Keeping this in mind, one wonders whether the role assigned to the representations of the lyre could be related to the presence of the instrument in the Locrian tombs – with other objects related to the male sphere – also concentrated around the Late Archaic to the Classical periods,[56] and lasting until the middle of the 4th century B.C. (Figure 12).[57] Furthermore, in view of the role assigned to the lyre in the Locrian male sphere, one wonders if the instruments buried in the tombs of young men and boys, who had not completed the normal cycle of human life could have been placed there as "compensation" due to the inability of the deceased to live long enough to celebrate his emergence into adulthood, and to establish his future status as a citizen in the Locrian *polis*.[58]

The process of inclusion was marked by precise rites of passage for different age groups involving males from adolescence to adulthood. Keeping this in mind, we can also understand the presence of the reclining banqueters holding the lyre at Agrigento

[54] Bellia 2012a, 14.
[55] Beschi 1991, 39-59; see also Todisco 1996, 130.
[56] Elia 2010, 405-22; Bellia 2012b, 121-38.
[57] Lepore 2010, 442, fig. 30.18, 456, fig. 30.39.
[58] Todisco 2005, 713-21; Torelli 2011, 134-5.

(Figure 13),[59] and in the sanctuary of Malophoros at Selinunte (Figure 14),[60] where it is likely that ritual banquets were celebrated.[61] Moreover, two figurines of a young seated man playing the lyre were discovered in the votive deposit of Piazza San Francesco in Catania (Figure 15).[62]

A. Pautasso[63] has underscored the fact that the Piazza San Francesco deposit had the same features as the other "international" sanctuaries in the Mediterranean during the Archaic period. These sanctuaries were dedicated to female deities, such as Hera, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Demeter, and were the locus of numerous dedications of terracotta figurines representing females holding flowers, fruits, and garlands. The goddesses in these sanctuaries had the task of regulating the entry of new generations into society, and under their protection girls gained social integration through marriage, while boys acquired the status of citizen, becoming a new member of the community. Thus, as the flowers, fruits and garlands depicted on the female figurines are symbols of the pre-nuptial status of the girls, so the depiction of the lyre on the reclining banqueters found in the sanctuaries emphasizes the two fundamental stages of the male: first, education during adolescence, and second, the affirmation as a *polites* in adulthood. Thanks to the communication codes used by the Greek coroplasts, we can understand more fully the "musical offering" of the male statuettes holding the lyre in western Greek sanctuaries.

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[59] Kekulé 1884, 19, fig. 41; Bellia 2009, 34 n. 31.
[60] Gabrici 1927, 225; Bellia 2009, 135 n. 338.
[61] Antonetti and De Vido 2006, 430.
[62] Pautasso 2014, 249, figs. 1-2.
[63] Pautasso 2014, 249-52.

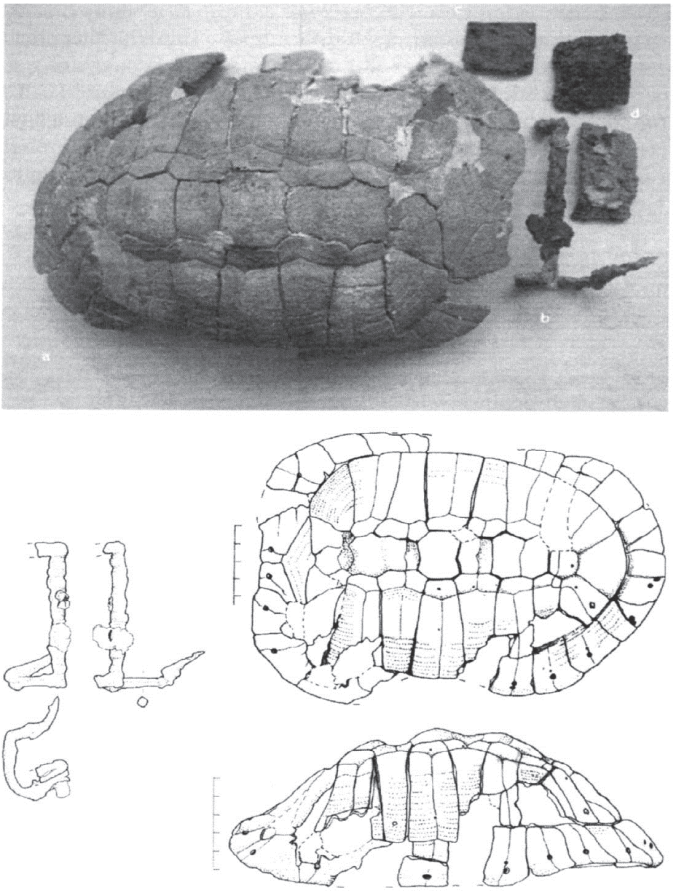

Figure 12. Tortoise shell from the tomb 730
in the Necropolis of Contrada Lucifero at Locri
(from Lepore 2010, 442, fig. 30.18; 456, fig. 30.39)

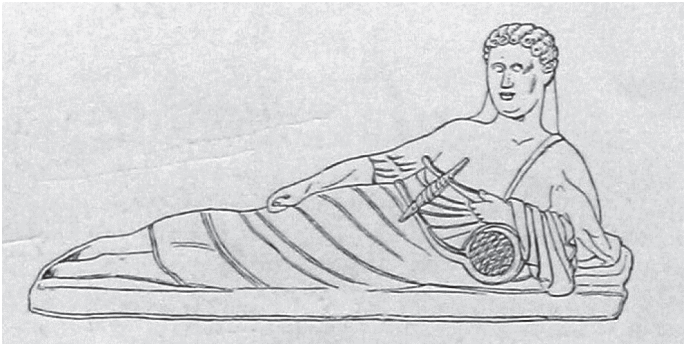

Figure 13. Reclining banqueter holding the lyre from Agrigento
(Kekulé 1884, 19, fig. 41)

Figure 14. Reclining banqueter holding the lyre
from the sanctuary of Malophoros at Selinunte
(from Gabrici 1927, 225)

Figure 15. Young man playing the lyre
from the votive deposit of Piazza San Francesco in Catania
(Pautasso 2014, 249, figs. 1-2)

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PALMYRENES ABROAD: TRADERS AND PATRONS IN ARSACID MESOPOTAMIA

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Abstract. This paper tries to investigate one of the most peculiar phenomena of mobility in the ancient world, that is, the emigration of the Palmyrene citizens who left their homeland and moved to some communities of the Arsacid Mesopotamia, creating commercial enclaves in it. We do not know almost anything about the internal organization of those, but surely there was a lower class, composed by merchants, and an higher class, composed by the so-called trade patrons or trade lords, whose duty was to help traders in their journey. The study is focused on the analysis of the evidences that shows patrons' and traders' activities within communities and institutions of Arsacid Mesopotamia. The aim is to understand the behavior pattern and the environmental conditions that enabled Palmyrenes to live and run their business far from home, and in a land ruled by Rome's archenemy.

INTRODUCTION

The famous city of Palmyra, located in an oasis in the middle of the Syrian Desert, was founded at the end of the 1st century B.C. as the meeting place of a tribal federation. Over the following three centuries, thanks to the incomes obtained from long-distance trade,

Palmyra became one of the richest and powerful cities in the ancient Near East, coming to threaten the power of the Roman Empire under the rule of Queen Zenobia in the 3rd century A.D.

Essential for the success of Palmyrene trade was the role of the traders who settled in important centers of Arsacid Mesopotamia, establishing some real commercial enclaves. Despite the scarcity of evidence concerning those communities, this article will attempt to shed some light on this crucial phenomenon which has often been overlooked by scholars.

An analysis of Palmyrene communities abroad is possible today thanks to material evidence linked to archaeological findings and, most importantly, the several so-called caravan inscriptions spread across the city. Because of the many important pieces of information contained therein, these inscriptions represent a unicum in the history of studies on ancient commerce. Their analysis is the key to understand the relationship between the inhabitants of Palmyrene communities abroad and their motherland, their interaction with the local population as well as the institutional relations between Palmyrene "trade lords" and the Parthian Empire.

PALMYRA'S COMMERCE AND POLITICAL STATUS

The earliest reference to Palmyra's commercial activity within ancient sources is provided by Appian (first half of the 2nd century A.D.), who, recounting an episode concerning Mark Anthony, taking place at the beginning of the second half of the 1st century B.C., writes:

> Palmyra, situated not far from Euphrates, to plunder it, bringing the trifling accusation against its inhabitants, that being on the frontier between the Romans and the Parthians, they had avoided taking sides between them; for, being merchants, they bring products of India and Arabia from Persia and dispose of them in the Roman territory.[1]

[1] App. *B Civ*. 5.1.9: ... Πάλμυρα πόλιν, οὐ μακρὰν οὖσαν ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου, διαρπάσαι, μικρὰ μὲν ἐπικαλῶν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι, Ῥωμαίων καὶ Παρθυαίων

This story, although considered anachronistic[2] in relation to Appian's age (that is, when Palmyra reached the peak of its commercial success), is still very important for defining Palmyra's economic and political attitude. Pliny as well, describing the Syrian city in the middle of the 1st century A.D., writes:

> … having a destiny of its own between the two mighty empires of Rome and Parthia, and at the first moment of a quarrel between them always attracting the attention of both sides.[3]

The ability to remain politically neutral was critical to the development of Palmyrene trade, which was based mainly on a route[4] linking Eastern Mediterranean cities and harbors with those of the Persian Gulf and the Western coast of India. This long and difficult route required some sort of agreement between Palmyrenes and the political authorities ruling over such lands, namely the Romans, the Parthians, and the nomadic tribes of the desert. Without such an agreement, it would have been hard for the Syrian merchants to safely complete their expeditions.

The route is most likely to have been established at the end of the 1st century B.C. However, it reached its commercial peak between the second half of the first and the first half of the 2nd century A.D., when the earnings led to a large increase in construction activity which transformed the desert's oasis into a real Hellenistic *polis.* A significant example in this regard is the construction of the agora at the end of the 1st century A.D.

A long debated topic among scholars is the political status of Palmyra during this age. As it is not my intention to delve deeper

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ὄντες ἐφόριοι, ἐς ἑκατέρους ἐπιδεξίως εἶχον ἔμποροι γὰρ ὄντες, κομίζουσι μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἢ Ἀράβια, διατίθενται δ᾽ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων… Trans. White 1913.

[2] Millar 1998, 133; Edwell 2008, 35; Seland 2015, 110-1.

[3] Plin. *HN* 5.21.88: *... privata sorte inter duo imperia summa Romanorum Parthorumque, et prima in discordia semper utrimque cura*... Trans. Rackham 1942.

[4] On this route, see Gawlikowski 1983, 1994; Meyer and Seland 2017.

into this subject, the article will only mention the main hypotheses that have been formulated by scholars. Many[5] argue that the city had been part of the Roman Empire since Tiberius' age, basing their claims on the inscriptions from that period such as some concerning Germanicus' involvement in the political and administrative life of Palmyra,[6] or the boundary marker defining the confines of the *regio Palmyrena* between A.D. 11 and 17.[7] More recent evidence has been used to confirm this assumption, showing the direct involvement of Rome in the affairs of Palmyra as well as the latter's integration in the provincial system. For instance, an inscription dated A.D. 58 quotes a tax collector, most likely working for the Roman than the local administration.[8] A milestone from Erek, not far form Palmyra, dated A.D. 75, quotes the governor of the province of Syria, M. Ulpius Traianus, and refers to the building of a road from Palmyra to the Euphrates (possibly Sura). This piece of evidence has been taken by scholars as suggesting that Palmyra's annexation happened before or near that time.[9] Worth mentioning is also the visit[10] of Palmyra made by Hadrian, who had the city change name in his honor.[11] This relevant event has also been interpreted as indicating that Palmyra was annexed to the Empire during an earlier period, with some scholars assuming that institutional changes, such as, for example, the status of *civitas*

[5] Seyrig 1932; Matthews 1984, 161-2; Millar 1993, 34-5; Young 2001, 123; Yon 2002, 1; Smith 2013, 24.

[6] *IGLS* 17.1.3; *PAT* 2754; 0259. On the three references about Germanicus in Palmyrene inscriptions, see Edwell 2008, 36-41.

[7] Seyrig 1941; contra Gnoli 2007, 188-90; Edwell 2008, 41-2.

[8] *IGLS* 17.1.536. See Millar 1993, 324; Smith 2013, 24.

[9] Seyrig 1932, 270-4; Gawlikowski 1983, 59-60; Smith 2013, 24.

[10] *IGLS* 17.1.145

[11] *IGLS* 17.1.245: "Hadrianè Palmyra" (see infra); *PAT* 0259: "Hadriana Tadmor" (*hdrn' tdmr*). See Matthews 1984, 175.

libera[12] granted by the Emperor to the city, may have happened around this time.

From my point of view, the abovementioned sources are insufficient to draw any definitive conclusions. T. Gnoli has effectively illustrated risks of adapting ancient sources to a historical reconstruction deemed to be probable, if not certain, *a priori*.[13] The present state of knowledge prevents from demonstrating beyond any doubt the exact moment or modalities of Palmyra's annexation to the Empire.

There is an important aspect that scholars often seem to forget when dealing with this issue: most of the commercial route followed by Palmyrenes was located in the Parthian territory. Since Palmyra did not pose a threat to Rome, this consideration suggests that Rome deemed more advantageous – especially during the 1st century A.D., the age of Palmyra's commercial rise – to leave Palmyra formally free than to incorporate it. Such status was indeed considered instrumental to the creation, in Mesopotamia, of the political *substratus* needed for the city's commercial success, which would have allowed Rome to benefit from the income generated by the goods reaching the Empire in terms of taxation.[14]

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[12]Seyrig 1941, 164, 171-2; Mattews 1984, 162; contra Millar 1993, 324-5; Edwell 2008, 46ff.

[13] Gnoli 2007, 185-6: "Poiché il passo di Plinio cozza violentemente contro la ricostruzione della storia di Palmira attuata da Henri Seyrig, il valore di questa dichiarazione è stato dapprima limitato come un semplice anacronismo, quindi si è attuato il tentativo di una vera e propria rimozione." Against the view of Pliny's passage as anachronistic, see also Edwell 2008, 44.

[14] See Edwell 2008, 49; Gnoli 2007, 195: "L'importante centro demico del deserto, che si era andato costruendo una propria precisa identità fondata sul commercio a lunga distanza, e che era andato crescendo tramite l'apporto di gruppi etnico-culturali disparati, entrò molto presto nella sfera di influenza romana nel Vicino Oriente. A seconda delle svariate fluttuazioni che la politica romana ha avuto in quel settore la città di Palmira ha anche ospitato funzionari romani e perfino truppe romane. La presenza di funzionari e truppe non deve

I have already noted that the institutional relations between Palmyra and the Roman Empire have been the subject of several academic studies. Unfortunately, only few of them focused on the relations – crucial for Palmyrene's commercial activity – between the Syrian city and the Arsacid state.[15]

The decentralized and feudal structure[16] of the Parthian monarchy granted great autonomy to the client kingdoms and the regional communities of multiethnic Mesopotamia. This was often a weakness for the Arsacid monarchy, as confirmed by the rebellion[17] of the Greek *polis* Seleucia on the Tigris. In some cases, however, the relations between central and local powers turned out to be beneficial to one another. An example is the "mutually satisfactory relationship"[18] between the Parthians and the Mesopotamian Jews, who enjoyed great freedom in terms of the political and economic organization of their communities. In return they always supported the monarchy in times of conflict, strengthening the Arsacid power in the Western part of the State. The most famous instance of collaboration relates to Asinaeus and Anilaeus, the Jewish brigand brothers, whose *de facto* power in central Mesopotamia was made official by Artabanus II[19] (first half of the 1st century A.D.) with the following words:

> I am granting to you the land of Babylonia as a trust to be kept free of pillage and of other abuses by your care.[20]

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però portare alla meccanica conclusione dell'inquadramento di Palmira all'interno della provincia di Siria."

[15] E.g., Gnoli 2007, 191-6; Gregoratti 2010.

[16] Plin. *HN* 6.29.122. On this matter in general, see Keall 1994; Gregoratti 2017.

[17] Tac. *Ann*. 11.9.4. See Dabrowa 1983, 84ff.; Brizzi 1995.

[18] Neusner 1976, 55. For other cases of collaboration between the King of Kings and local ruler, see Gregoratti 2017, 98-9.

[19] See Neusner 1964, 61-7; Brizzi 1995, 70-1; Rajak 1998, 314-7.

[20] Joseph. *AJ* 18.9.4: ... παρακαταθήκην δέσοι δίδωμιτὴν Βαβυλωνίαν γῆν ἀλήστευτόν τε καὶ ἀπαθῆ κακῶν ἐσομένην ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν φροντίδων... Trans. Feldman 1965.

This quote should be compared with a passage of Strabo's *Geography*, in which the author draws a situation where the lack of a strong central authority created political instability, which made it harder and more dangerous for merchants to travel along the commercial routes of Mesopotamia:

> The Scenitae are peaceful, and moderate towards travellers in the exaction of tribute, and on this account merchants avoid the land along the river and risk a journey through the desert, leaving the river on the right for approximately a three days' journey. For the chieftains (*philarchoi*) who live along the river on both sides occupy country which, though not rich in resources, is less resourceless than that of others, and are each invested with their own particular domains and exact a tribute of no moderate amount. For it is hard among so many peoples, and that too among peoples that are self-willed, for a common standard of tribute to be set that is advantageous to the merchant.[21]

This passage illustrates how one of the aims of Artabanus was to take advantage of the military power of the Jewish brothers for the purpose of restoring his dominion over Central Mesopotamia, granting the State with the large amounts of income generated by merchants, without having to spend money on patrolling the commercial routes.[22]

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[21] Strab. 16.1.27: ... οἱ Σκηνῖται τήν τε εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν μετριότητα τῆς τῶν τελῶν πράξεως, ἧς χάριν φεύγοντες τὴν παραποταμίαν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου παραβάλλονται, καταλιπόντες ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἡμερῶν σχεδόν τι τριῶν ὁδόν. οἱ γὰρ παροικοῦντες ἑκατέρωθεν τὸν ποταμὸν φύλαρχοι, χώραν οὐκ εὔπορον ἔχοντες, ἧττον δὲ ἄπορον νεμόμενοι, δυναστείαν ἕκαστος ἰδίᾳ περιβεβλημένος ἴδιον καὶ τελώνιον ἔχει, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ οὐ μέτριον. χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τοσούτοις καὶ τούτοις αὐθάδεσι κοινὸνὰ φορισθῆναι μέτρον τὸ τῷ ἐμπόρῳ λυσιτελές. Trans. Jones 1930. For a discussion of Strabo's passage and in general on the dangers for merchants traveling through Mesopotamia and Syrian Desert, see Seland 2015, 108-11.

[22] For Jew's role in Mesopotamian commerce of the 1st century A.D., see Raschke 1978, 642-3; Brizzi 1995, 72-3; Gregoratti 2015b, 52-5.

From my perspective, a similar pattern can be found in the relations between Palmyrenes and Parthians since the second half of the 1st century A.D.[23] The Syrian merchants needed protection during their journeys as well as resting points along the way. This brought the most influential members of Palmyrene communities hold political and military offices abroad in the lands ruled by the Arsacid king or his client kings.

THE PATRON'S ROLE IN MESOPOTAMIA

The leading role of Palmyra's trade lords in organizing and monitoring trade is clear from an analysis of caravan inscriptions. These testify the gratitude of long-distance traders towards their patrons for helping them in many ways, sometimes specified, sometimes not.

Studying the patron class and its involvement in the Palmyrene commerce is a very complex endeavor. Many assumptions have been made on the different roles of *synodiarchai*, *archemporoi*, and other individuals mentioned within the inscriptions as well as on whether the assistance the patrons provided was a regular liturgy, as in the Greek world, or an individual act tied to specific needs of the traders.[24] It is not the aim of this contribution to address these complex questions. Instead, its focus is on a number of specific cases offering a better understanding of the relationship between Palmyrene lords' identity and the institutional offices they held abroad.

One of the most famous patrons is Marcus Ulpius Yarhai.[25] Some inscriptions show the support he granted to the merchants coming

[23] Following inscriptions and archaeological evidences from Palmyra (development of the agora, increasing of caravan inscriptions, etc.), this seems to be the initial period of Palmyra's commercial acme. See Smith 2013, 75ff.

[24] On this matter, see Will 1957; Young 2001; Yon 2002; Seland 2014.

[25] *IGLS* 17.1.202, 248, 249, 250, [251], 255, 256, [313]; Teixidor 1984, 18-9; Yon 2002, 288; Seland 2014, 205ff. In general, on Palmyrenes in India, see Delplace 2003.

from Spasinou Charax and Scythia (i.e., India) in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. Charax was the capital of Characene, a Parthian client kingdom located in current Southern Iraq. This city was very important for long-distance trade with India because, as the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (36) testifies, its port Apologos was the destination of ships coming from Barygaza (the most important commercial hub of the Indian's Western coast) sailing through the Persian Gulf.

The inscriptions about Marcus Ulpius Yarhai are essential for the study of the Palmyrene commercial activity, as they are the only evidence that Palmyrene commercial ventures did not stop in Southern Mesopotamian cities to load oriental goods, but went so far as to their land of production.[26] Moreover, the inscriptions say that Yarhai helped in every possible way his fellow citizens – and maybe Characenian merchants[27] – living in Southern Mesopotamian communities, which suggest that he may have been one of the richest and most powerful personalities within the Palmyrene community in Charax.[28] This would imply the existence of some kind of relationship between him and the authorities of the Characene kingdom. If that were not the case, it would be hard to imagine how he could have managed to provide the kind of logistical and military support needed to ensure the success of such long expeditions.

Further evidence of the ties between Palmyrene trade lords and Mesopotamian authorities is given by the following inscription from the agora of Palmyra:

> Yarhai, son of Nebuzabad, grandson of Šammallath, son of Aqqadam, citizen of Hadrianè Palmyra, satrap of the Thilouanoi

[26] Young 2001, 128.

[27] Potts 1997, 97: "Was Honainu, a name attested at Palmyra only in one inscription, in fact a Characene entrepreneur, and not a Palmyrene at all?"

[28] Gawlikowski 1983, 65; Young 2001, 138. For a discussion on Yarhai's residence, see Yon 2002, 111.

> for the king Meherdates of Spasinou Charax. The merchants of Spasinou Charax in his honour, in the year 442 (A.D. 131), in the month of Xandios (April).[29]

The Thilouanoi were citizens of Thiloua, that is, the Aramaic version of the Greek Tylos, and the ancient name of modern Bahrain. The strategic relevance of this island for the Characene kingdom is attested by an inscription[30] found in Bahrain in 1997, which indicates the presence of a military base, and probably of a fleet ruled since the 2nd century B.C. by the "strategos of Tylos and the Islands" a Characenian officer. The discovery of this epigraph had an extraordinary importance because it allowed scholars to reevaluate the scarce evidence about Seleucid activity in the Persian Gulf and its shores. In particular, it showed the importance of a military control of those for the commercial policy of the Macedonian dynasty[31] and consequently for the Characenian kingdom.

Thanks to this epigraph, it is also possible to better define the way in which the satrap helped his fellow citizens: most likely, the naval forces under his command granted Palmyrene traders protection from pirate attacks, with the Bahrain base providing a supply spot for ships returning from India. Indeed, Bahrain is located exactly halfway from the Strait of Hormuz and the Gulf's Northern coast. The inscription is also indicative of the prestige and high level of integration reached by the Palmyrene community in Char-

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[29] *IGLS* 17.1.245: Ιαραιον Νεβο[υζαβαδ]ου τοῦ | [Σ]αλαμαλλαθου [τοῦ] Αχχαδανου | [Ἀδ]ριανὸν Παλμυρηνόν σατρά | [π]ην Θιλουανων Μεερεδατου | βασιλέως Σπασινου Χαρακος | οἱ ἐν [Σ]πασινου Χαρακι ἔνποροι | τειμῆς χάριν, ἔτους βμύ, μη[νὶ] | Ξανδικῶ. Trans. Gregoratti 2010.

[30] ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Ὑσπαοσίνου | καὶ βασιλίσσης Θαλασσίας | τὸν ναὸν Διοσκόροις Σωτῆρσι | Κη[φισό] δωρος στρατηγὸς | Τύλου καὶ τῶν νήσων | εὐχήν. "In the name of King Hyspaosines and of Queen Thalassia, Kephisodoros, strategos of Tylos and of the Islands (has dedicated) the temple, to the Dioscuri Saviours, in ex-voto." See Gatier, Lombard, and Al-Sindi 2002.

[31] E.g., Polyb. 5.54.12; Plin. *HN* 6.32.152. For a discussion of Seleucid activity in the Persian Gulf, see Salles ²1987, 98; 1994, 607-10; Kosmin 2013, 62-70.

acene, to the extent that one of its members was appointed as a high level officer of the kingdom. This, however, should not lead one to underestimate the importance for the traders' community abroad as well as for its protector of stressing their identity as Palmyrene citizens.

The satrap of Thilouanoi is not the only political office assigned to a Palmyrene citizen in Characene: one epigraph quotes an "archon of Phorat"[32] (the second most important city of the kingdom after Charax), and another mentions an "archon of Maisan" (as Characene was also called).[33] It is noteworthy that the latter figure belonged to the Abeis family, as did Yarhibol, another important Palmyrene citizen within the Charax community. Yarhibol is mentioned by an inscription[34] in which he is honoured by the Council of Palmyra as benefactor for the merchants in Charax, and particularly for conducting at his own expenses an envoy to Orodes, the king of Elymais. While we do not know whether Yarhibol had an institutional role, the inscription shows his political influence on the highest offices of the Southern Mesopotamian kingdoms.

The most likely purpose of Yarhibol's mission was to obtain political or commercial advantages for the Palmyrene community in Charax. Indeed, the kingdom of Elymais, which ruled over the current Iranian province of Khūzestān, conquered the wealthy city of Suse[35] around the middle of the 1st century A.D. This city and the region surrounding it were commercially crucial and connected from an economic – as attested by the circulation of Characenian

[32] *IGLS* 17.1.246.

[33] *IGLS* 17.1.160. Neither the archon of Phorat nor the Archon of Maisan is documented by the inscriptions, but they have been restored by scholars. However, the specific titles held by the two Palmyrenes are not fundamental for the article's purpose because, as Yon (*IGLS* 227) writes: "D'autre restitutions comme satrape ou même peut-être dynaste sont également envisageables."

[34] *IGLS* 17.1.227.

[35] Le Rider 1965, 426ff.; contra Dabrowa 2014.

coins in Susa – and cultural point of view to Characene and the Persian Gulf area.[36]

The inscription provides further details about Yarhibol's political role. It reports the acknowledgement he received from Bruttius Praesens and Julius Maior, important Roman authorities of the Syria province,[37] for his merit in helping Palmyrene communities abroad. Nevertheless, Yarhibol's voyage in Elymais should not be interpreted serving the interests of Rome, as argued by A. Smith[38] who compared it with that of the Palmyrene Alexandros,[39] sent by Germanicus to the kings of Characene and Emesa for diplomatic missions. Indeed, the Yarhibol inscription says that the Palmyrene self-financed the trip, which suggests that it was a private initiative with a "public" or "civic" goal, and for that reason he was honoured not only by merchants but also by Palmyra's city institutions. Yarhibol inscription, as well as the one quoting the satrap of Thilouanoi, highlights the double nature of the Palmyrene elite's role abroad: on the one hand, political ties can be attested with the highest authorities of Parthian and Roman States, but, on the other hand, there is a strong will to emphasize their Palmyrene identity and act towards the well-being of the community of their fellow citizens.

Despite the interesting cases discussed earlier, the most noteworthy information about Palmyrene patrons abroad are those concerning Soados.[40] While there are a few epigraphs describing his activity in Mesopotamia, the most remarkable one is probably the following:[41]

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[36] Le Rider 1959, 229-40; Raschke 1978, 817 n. 721; Potts 1999, 386.
[37] On the identification and the role of this senators, see *IGLS* 17.1.217; Smith 2013, 239 n. 69.
[38] Smith 2013, 164.
[39] Matthews 1984, 164; Teixidor 1984, 11; Gregoratti 2010, 25.
[40] See *IGLS* 17.1.127, 150; Teixidor 1984, 47ff.; Bowersock 1989, 162.
[41] *SEG* 7.135.

In the year [...]. The Council and the People (honour) Soados son of Boliades, son of Soados son of Thaimisamsos, for his piety and love of his city, and for the nobility and munificence that he has on many important occasions shown to the merchants and the caravans and the citizens at Vologesias. For these services he received testimonial letters from the divine Hadrian and from the most divine Emperor Antoninus his son, similarly in a proclamation of Publicius Marcellus and letters from him and successive consular governors. He has been honoured by decrees and statues by the council and people, by the caravans on various occasions, and by individual citizens: and now, he alone of all citizens of all time is on account of his continuous and cumulative good services honoured by his city at public expense by four statues mounted on pillars in the tetradeion of the city, and by decision of the council and people another three, at Spasinou Charax and at Vologesias and at the caravanserai of Gennaes. In addition, he founded and dedicated at Vologesias a temple of the Augusti [...] and in gratitude for his loyalty and generosity in his management of [every] position of authority (*dynasteia*) [...][42]

[42] Andrade 2012, 85-6: (1) Ἔτο[υς…] | ἡ βουλὴ [κ]αὶ ὁ δῆμος [Σοαδ]ον Βωλιαδους | τοῦ Σ[ο]αδου τοῦ Θαιμισαμσου εὐσεβῆ καὶ | φιλόπατριν καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις καιροῖς | (5) γν[η]σίως καὶ φιλοτείμως παραστάντα τοῖς | ἐ[μπόρ]οις καὶ ταῖς συνοδίαις καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ὀλογασίᾳ | πολείταις καὶ επὶ τοῦτοις [ἐπισ]τολ[ᾶ] θεοῦ | [Ἁ]δριανοῦ καὶ τοῦ θειοτάτο υα[ὐ]τοκράτορος | Ἀντωνεινοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρεθέντα | (10) ὁμοίως καὶ διατάγματι Ποβλικίου Μαρκέλλου | καὶ ἐπιστολᾷ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἑξῆς ὑπατικῶν | καὶ ψηφίσμασι καὶ ἀνδριάσι τειμηθέντα ὑπὸ | βουλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν συν- | οδιῶν καὶ τῶν καθ' ἕνα πολειτῶν καὶ νῦν τοῦτον | (15) μόνον τῶν πώποτε πολειτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς | πατρίδος διὰτὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλ[λ]ήλους | εὐποΐας τεσσάρων ἀνδριάντων ἐν τῷ | τετραδείῳ τὴς πόλεος ἐπὶ κειόνων δημοσίοις | ἀναλώμασι κατηξιωμένον καὶ ἄλλων | (20) ἀνδριάντων τριῶν ἔντε Σπασίνου Χάρακι | [κα]ὶ ἐν Ὀλ[ο]γασίᾳ καὶ ἐ[ν] Γεννάῃ καταλύματι συν- | {συν} οδιῶν ὑπὸ β[ουλ]ῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ κτίσαντα | [ἐ]ν Ὀλογα[σίᾳ ναὸν τῶν Σε]βαστῶν κ[αὶ] κ[α]θι- | [ερώ]σαν[τα…].

The inscription describes Soados as one of the most important citizens of the Palmyrene community in Vologesias,[43] a Parthian city near Babylon built in the second half of the 1st century A.D. by the King of Kings Vologases I for political and commercial purposes.[44] A second inscription[45] shows that he commanded a military force

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[καὶ (?) πίστε]ω[ς (?) κ]αὶ μεγαλοφ[ρ]οσύνης ἕ[νεκα](?) | πά[νυ (?) πάσα]ν ἐνχειρισθέντα δυναστείαν | [...] στωτο[...]ειρω|[...]ς στασι[...]. Trans. Matthews 1984.

[43] Gawlikowski 1994, 30; Yon 2002, 110; contra Gregoratti 2015a, 145-6.

[44] Koshelenko 1971, 761-5; Dabrowa 1991, 151.

[45] *IGLS* 17.1.127; Andrade 2012, 81-2: (1) [τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τέσσαρας χαλκοῦς ἕνα] τοῦτον τὸν ἐν | [ἱερῷ Ἀθην]ᾶς ἕνα δὲ 41 τὸν ἐν ἱερῷ ἄλσει ἕνα δὲ τὸν | [ἐν ἱερῷ Ἄρεο]ς καὶ ἕνα τὸν ἐν ἱερῷ Ἀταργάτειος | [τοὺς] ἐγηγερμένους παρὰ τοῖς πρώτοις | (5) τέσσαρσι ἀνδριᾶσι τοῖς ἀνεγερθεῖσι | ὑπὸ τῆς πρώτης συνοδίας Σοαδῳ Βωλιαδους | τοῦ Σοαδου τοῦ Θαιμισαμσου εὐσεβεῖ καὶ φιλο- | πατρίδι τῷ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ εὔνοιαν καὶ μεγαλο- | φροσύνην τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πολείτας παντὶ | (10) τρόπῳ κεκοσμημένῳ ἀρεταῖς καὶ μεγίσ- | ταις τειμαῖς ἀνέστησεν ἡ ἀπὸ Ὀλογασίας ἀνα- | βᾶσα συνοδία πάντων Παλμυρηνῶν, ἐπεὶ | προώρμησεν ἐπισήμως παραλαβὼν μ[ε]- | θ′ ἑαυτοῦ πολλὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἀντέστ[η] | (15) [Αβ]δαλλαθῳ Εειθηνῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ′ αὐτοῦ συναχθεῖσι ἀπὸ π.[7 letters] | δ.[7 letters] ληστη]ριοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνον ἐνεδρεύσασι ἀδικῆσαι τὴν σ[υνοδίαν] | [10 letters] προσδιέσωσεν αὐτοὺς. Διὰ τοῦτο ἀνήγειραν 42 αὐτῷ | [τοὺς ἀνδριάντας (?)] τειμῆς χάριν, συνοδιαρχούντων Μαλη Συμωνου | [12 letters] καὶ Ε]ννιβήλου Συμωνου τοῦ Βαζεκη ἔτους ενυ᾽μη[νὸς] Δαισίου. "[The four bronze statues], this [one] in the [temple of Athena], one in the sacred grove, one [in the temple of Ares], and one in the temple of Atargatis, which have been raised next to the first four statues raised by the first caravan for Soados, son of Boliades, son of Soados, son of Thaimisamsos, pious and patriotic, who has been adorned with virtues and the greatest honors because of his good-will and generosity toward his citizens in every capacity, the caravan of all Palmyrenes that came up from Vologasias raised because taking a large force with him, he advanced conspicuously and opposed [Ab]dallathos, from Eeithe, and those who had been assembled by him from [... robbers] who had been laying an ambush for much time to harm the [caravan] ... He rescued them. Because of this, they erected for him [the statues] in his honor (τειμῆς χάριν), when Males, son of Symones [... and] Hennibelos, son of Symones, son

that allowed him to defeat a dangerous gang of robbers. The locations where the merchants and the Council of Palmyra installed statues dedicated to Soados indicates that his patrolling activity stretched from the Syrian Desert to Charax, covering the whole length of the Palmyrene land route. Most importantly, the epigraphic source reports that Soados received acknowledgements from the Emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and that he founded a temple dedicated to the Augusti in Vologesias.

While the letters received from the Emperors and the provincial governors are evidence of Soados' ties with Rome, they are insufficient to define his power and activity as "au service de Rome."[46] First of all, the honours he received from the Roman authority are always linked to the assistance he provided to the caravans. Secondly, the text designates his power as *dynasteia*, a word whose exact meaning is not clear from ancient sources.[47] It seems to refer to a personal power not institutionally defined but recognized by Palmyra's civic institutions which indeed thanked Soados "for his loyalty and generosity in his management of [every] *dynasteia* ..." Furthermore, the fact that Soados exercised his power mainly in Parthian territory[48] suggests that his main concern, as in the cases analyzed above, may have rather been the wellbeing of Palmyrene traders and, *lato sensu*, of Palmyra.

Unfortunately, the scarcity of the information at our disposal does not allow for a clear definition of the nature and characteristics of the role fulfilled by Palmyrene trade lords abroad. For instance, it is impossible to know if Marcus Ulpius Yarhai played in

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of Bazekes, were synodiarchs. In the year 455, the month of Daisios." See also Gregoratti 2015a, 142; Millar 1998, 127.

[46] Yon 2002, 105.

[47] For an analysis of the term *dynasteia* in the ancient sources, see Gregoratti 2015a, 143-5.

[48] Matthews 1984, 167; Yon 2002, 110; contra Gregoratti 2015a, 145-6.

Charax the same role as Soados did in Vologesias.[49] It is also difficult to ascertain if such figures were "de représentants 'officiels' de la cité"[50] or "were simply the head of the community of Palmyrene merchants in the city, presumably appointed to that position by the merchants themselves."[51] The political offices held by Palmyrene citizens in Characene are equally hard to define basing on the available evidence.

Undeniable, however, is that they leveraged their significant economic and military power for protecting and helping their fellow citizens' caravans. How could such remarkable activity be possible inside the territory of Rome's archenemy? E. H. Seland has shown that Palmyrenes' commercial activity was beneficial to the Parthian Empire not less than it was to the Romans.[52] Therefore, it seems natural for Parthian authorities to have been interested in preserving the success of Palmyrene business.

May this kind of relationship, based on mutual interests, have led to a sort of integration of Palmyrene trade lords into the Parthian Empire? The evidence concerning Palmyrene officers in Characene suggests that this is not unrealistic. This hypothesis can help to better understand the great power held by Soados in Vologesias and the building of the temple dedicated to the Roman Emperors, that should be considered, therefore, more as a concession made to Soados than a display of Parthian weakness in that historical phase.[53] Indeed, it seems unlikely that an individual as powerful as Soados may have been able to operate in a city so economically relevant, located at the heart of Parthian Mesopotamia, without the

[49] Young 2001, 144-5; Smith (2013, 239 n. 75) follows Young's hypothesis remarking, however, that "there is no evidence to suggest it."
[50] Yon 2002, 106.
[51] Young 2001, 130.
[52] Seland 2014.
[53] Bowersock 1989, 162ff.; Gawlikowski 1994, 29-30; contra Olbrycht 1998, 138-44; Gregoratti 2015a, 146.

approval of the Great King. Moreover, within such a multiethnic and multicultural Empire, a temple dedicated to the *Augusti* would have likely represented a cultural expression like many others and, therefore, not a major problem for the King of Kings. In this sense a parallel may be drawn with the persistence of a Seleucid's cult in Dura-Europos and Seleucia on the Tigris after the Parthian conquest of Mesopotamia in the 2nd century B.C.[54]

Although Soados did not hold any institutional office, his political role in Mesopotamia can be somewhat compared to that of Yarhai, the satrap of Thilouanoi, in Characene.[55] The peculiar structure of the Parthian Empire led the Great King to grant more autonomy to many local powers (e.g., client kingdom, satrapy, Greek cities) within the borders of the Empire, receiving in return formal submission in the form of economic tributes and military loyalty. In a similar fashion, it is not far-fetched to assume that the Great King would have been willing to acknowledge Soados' *de facto* power, in the same way that Artabanus did with Asinaeus and Anilaeus. The Palmyrene lord class – described by M. Sommer as a military elite[56] – would have guaranteed the King of Kings a great source of income, protecting the caravans and giving stability to the region in the same way the Jewish brothers did. Furthermore, despite the bond between Palmyrenes and Rome, the trade lords were likely to be more loyal to the Great King than other political entities of the Parthian Empire, which rebelled often in order to increase their power and autonomy. This is because the primary aim of the Palmyrene elite's activities was to provide starting capital, leadership, and protection, in exchange for commercial revenue and prestige:[57] achieving this goal required avoiding political

[54] See P. Dura 25 (= Dura Perg. 23); Hopkins 1972, 13-24; Dirven 1999, 119-22.

[55] One of Matthews' (1984, 167) hypothesis about Soados' *dynasteia* is that it could have been a "local satrapy."

[56] Sommer 2015, 181-2.

[57] Seland 2014, 207.

turmoil in Parthia by remaining politically neutral and continuing to act *inter duo imperia*.[58]

This political feature allowed what A. M. Smith calls "multiple loyalties"[59] and appears to be connected to the strong ties between the Palmyrenes and their homeland through institutions such as kinship, tribal affiliation, and citizenship. Referring to the existing evidence with regard to the enlistment of Palmyrene citizens in the Roman army, he noted how, despite such role, they often preserved and reasserted their Palmyrene identity within a foreign context. According to the scholar, what is most surprising is that such tendency was exhibited even by the soldiers who possessed the Roman citizenship and covered important military offices.[60] This calls for the question of whether the same statement could be made, *mutatis mutandis*, for the Palmyrenes acting in the Arsacid Empire.

Unfortunately, the evidence on Palmyrene patrons having a political role in Parthia is rather scarce and limited in time and space. For sure, the political context in Parthia between the '30s and the '60s of the 2nd century A.D. – the time frame of the inscriptions analyzed – and in particular the figure of Meherdates king of Characene,[61] could help in better understanding Palmyrenes' role, but these also remain unclear for scholars who dealt with it.[62] Moreo-

[58] Gnoli 2007, 195: "Palmira rimase almeno fino al II secolo avanzato una entità formalmente autonoma… così Palmira ha a lungo sostenuto il peso e la responsabilità del commercio a lunga distanza con l'Oriente, anche nei momenti di maggiore tensione tra Roma e Ctesifonte."

[59] Smith 2013, 165ff.

[60] Smith 2013, 172.

[61] See Pennacchietti 1987; Potts 1988; Bowersock 1989.

[62] For instance, see scholars' opposite views on the political and parental relationships between Osroes I and Vologases II (Olbrycht 1998, 138-50; contra Pennacchietti 1987, 178; Potts 1988, 151) or on the philoroman status of Mesene in this period (Bowersock 1989, 162ff.; Gawlikowski 1994, 29-30; contra Oblrycht 1998, 142).

ver, the complete lack of evidences coming from Mesopotamian cities is a big vacuum that do not allow us, at the moment, a full comprehension of this peculiar feature of Parthian and Palmyrene politics.

THE PALMYRENE TRADER COMMUNITIES

Despite the importance of Palmyrene trader communities abroad for the commercial growth of Palmyra as well as for the city's wealth and power, very little is known about their members' lifestyle and inner organization. In this case too, the main evidences that are available to us are honorary inscriptions left by traders arriving from the Gulf's shores.

The earliest inscriptions are dated, respectively, A.D. 19[63] and 24.[64] In the first one, the Palmyrenes and the Greeks merchants of Seleucia – most likely the city on the Tigris – honor their patron (of the tribe Mattabol) for helping them erect Bel's temple. The second inscription reports a dedication by Palmyrene merchants in Babylon to an important member (of the tribe Komare) of their community for the same reason. These inscriptions reveal the importance for merchants abroad to affirm their Palmyrene identity. In both cases, the devotion to the most important god of Palmyra and his city sanctuary underline the communities' ties with their motherland, with the inscription from A.D. 19 stressing even further such an identity by making an ethnic distinction between Greek and Palmyrene traders. At the same time, however, what emerges from the inscription is that even though the Palmyrene community remained a separate enclave inside the Mesopotamian city, there was some sort of integration between the two merchant groups, probably because they shared the same commercial goals. Indeed, even if this is the only inscription mentioning a non-Palmyrene merchant group, it is possible that other traders settled in commercial

[63] Yon 2002, no. 24.
[64] Yon 2002, no. 16.

centres across Mesopotamia may have benefited from Palmyrene patrons' assistance and honoured them in their hometowns in a way impossible for us to verify, given that the archaeological sites of those cities remain unknown.

In one of the inscriptions concerning Soados, the trade lord is honoured:

> … because of his goodwill and generosity toward his citizens in every capacity, the caravan of all Palmyrenes that came up from Vologasias raised because taking a large force with him, he advanced conspicuously and opposed [Ab]dallathos, from Eeithe, and those who had been assembled by him from [... robbers] who had been laying in an ambush for much time to harm the [caravan] ... He rescued them.[65]

These words highlight the dangerousness of the brigands defeated by the Palmyrene lord, who had probably been plundering the caravans traveling through Vologesias for a long time, causing serious damage to the merchants and consequently to the city's economy. Despite the lack of certain evidences, it seems safe to assume that Soados would have been honoured for what he did, maybe inside the city itself, also by other merchant communities settled in Vologesias.

The pattern of behavior outlined here can also be evinced from the remains of Dura-Europos. While the city on the Euphrates River provides sufficient evidence of the local Palmyrene community, a number of questions still remain unanswered. One of them concerns the nature of the Palmyrene community in Dura:[66] it is most likely that the residents were merchants, although a clear proof of that is yet to be found. However, what we do not know is whether they were involved in the long-distance or local trade between Dura and Palmyra.[67]

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[65] See supra n. 45 for the Greek text of the inscription.

[66] Dirven 1998, 87-91; Sommer 2004, 850-2; Smith 2013, 151-60.

[67] Smith 2013, 157.

The best-known aspect of the Palmyrene community in Dura is religious life. A Durene inscription[68] from 33 B.C. testifies the erection of an *extra moenia* temple by two Palmyrene citizens (from the tribes Komare and Gaddibol), dedicated to the gods Bel and Yarhibol. This not only confirms the religious ties between Bel and Palmyrene merchants, but it also shows, as L. Dirven[69] argues, how peculiar these ties were for the communities abroad. Indeed, unlike what happened in Palmyra, where the tribal gods and their sanctuaries had an important role in the life of the community, all members of the enclaves abroad seem to have taken part in worshipping only the most "civic" between the Palmyrene cults, that is, that of the triad of Bel. This religious feature is probably due to the homogeneity of the communities abroad, due to the fact that all residents were connected directly or indirectly with trade. Another reason may be that choosing communal divinities in a foreign context strengthened their identity and bonds with their mother city.

In spite of large evidence indicating the merchants' will to underline their cultural difference from the place they lived in, there is clear proof of their integration and collaboration with the local community. The most striking evidence is undoubtedly provided by two famous reliefs from Dura's temple of Gadde, representing the Gad (Fortune) of Palmyra and that of Dura, dedicated by a Palmyrene in A.D. 159.[70]

Gad Tadmor has the typical shape of the Greek Tyche, a female God that represented the city's personification in the Hellenistic world. Despite the Greek origins, some inscriptions found in Palmyra led L. Dirven[71] to infer that the original identity of Palmyra's Gad was Astarte, a deity whose worship was associated with that

[68] *PAT* 1067.

[69] Dirven 1998, 87-91; 1999, 28-9, 63-6; see also Smith 2013, 152; Sommer 2004, 851.

[70] See Dirven 1999, 99-128; Smith 2013, 157-60.

[71] Dirven 1998, 105-7; 1999, 105-11; see also Sommer 2004, 851.

of Bel. Dura's Gad is shaped like Zeus, the chief god of the city. Interestingly, Seleucus Nikator, who founded Dura around 300 B.C., is represented behind Zeus.[72] While stressing their civic differences, these reliefs prove the willingness of Palmyrene people to integrate into the foreign city, which paved the way to mutual cooperation between local and foreign merchants.

CONCLUSION

What can be observed from an analysis of existing evidences concerning Palmyrene patrons and merchants abroad is, *mutatis mutandis*, a similar behavior. On the one hand, we see a tendency for the two groups to emphasize their civic identity against the foreign environment and a great solidarity regardless of social positioning or tribal belonging. On the other hand, we notice a desire to integrate into the local communities and cooperate with local authorities.

The patrons denoted a strong political ability to pursue their fellow citizens' interests along with those of Mesopotamian (Arsacid and Characenian) rulers, despite the fact that they remained under Roman aegis, especially in the 2nd century A.D. In the same way, Palmyrene merchants carried on their business by collaborating with their local counterparts, displaying nevertheless strong cultural and commercial ties with their motherland.

This was made possible by the peculiar nature of Palmyrene society. M. Sommer argues on the "dimorphic social pattern" and on the double nature of the trade lords' political role concluding that "the institutional framework of Palmyra thus reflects the impression of its art and architecture: apparently Greek in its means of expression, at least at first sight, but thoroughly local in its contents. Palmyra was no Greek city at all, it was a city of the Near

[72] An interesting comparison can be made with the sculptural group with Tyche, crowned by Seleucus and his son, offered by Trajan to the city of Antioch after the earthquake of A.D. 115. See Malal. *Chronog.* 11.9; Dirven 1999, 117-9.

Eastern steppe frontier with a blinding, ingeniously "borrowed" Greek façade."[73]

The words quoted must be kept in mind when analyzing Palmyrene's interaction with the foreign milieu. Such relationship was based on a "functional" pattern designed to bring mutual benefits. The two dimensions of Palmyrene identity – civic and tribal – explain why the Parthians, despite the ties between Rome and Palmyra, did not perceive Palmyrene trade lords as a threat, but granted them important political and military offices in Mesopotamia as well as allowed Soados to build a temple to the *Augusti* in Vologesias. What really mattered to them was the patrons' ability to keep Mesopotamia safe, ensuring the prosperity of traders, and consequently of the monarchy. Similarly, cultural diversity was not seen as a problem by the Mesopotamian communities; integration took place on a practice level, that is, the collaboration to achieve the main goal of every trader in every time and place: the business success.

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[73] Sommer 2005, 292ff.

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THE LANGUAGE OF HARDNESS AND SOFTNESS IN VIRGIL'S *ECL.* 10: A LEGACY OF GALLUS?

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Abstract. The analysis of three adjectives (*mollis*, *tener*, and *durus*) in Virgil's *Ecl.* 10 reveals a particular usage which differs from that in the other eclogues. In *Ecl.* 10, Virgil conforms to an elegiac usage where these adjectives acquire a literary connotation, and when attributed to a person, reflect the elegiac sensibility; such usage is unique in the whole bucolic *liber*. It gives the poem an elegiac atmosphere which may well reflect imitation of Gallus' poetry. A comparison with passages of Propertius seems to confirm that the specific occurrences and connotations of these adjectives in Virgil's *Ecl.* 10 originated in Gallus.

The aim of the present paper is the analysis of three adjectives, *mollis*, *tener,* and *durus*, in Virgil's *Ecl.* 10, in which they seem to be employed in a different way from that used in earlier Latin poetry and in the other eclogues. The fact that the dedicatee and the main character in this poem is the love elegist Cornelius Gallus, and the frequent occurrence of the language of hardness and softness in Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid's elegiac production, can suggest

that the three terms were used with an erotic sense in his poetry, and that it was Gallus who introduced this particular feature of the elegiac language and attitude.

The last eclogue is the most unusual in all of Virgil's *Bucolics*. With its dedication to a learned poet, the *inventor* of the Latin love elegy,[1] and its apparent aim to "explore" generic boundaries between bucolic and elegiac poetry,[2] the poem surely reflects features of amatory elegy, thematically (the long monologue of Gallus abandoned by his beloved and unable to escape subjection to Love) and linguistically: even more so, if we assume, as the testimony of *Serv. Dan. ad* 46 authorizes us to do,[3] that the text contains allusions, echoes, and perhaps actual quotations of Gallus' poetry. The language of the eclogue has a number of unique features, as compared to the rest of the *Bucolics*. Among these, we should surely recognize many rare and exotic words, especially geographical names and adjectives,[4] which can easily be explained as an affinity with the scholarly geography of the neoteric poets, influenced by Parthenius of Nicaea,[5] who likely also influenced Gallus, given their close relationship. Also some typically elegiac words and themes, destined to find favour in Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid (which, therefore, may have originated in Gallus) should be noted: consider, for example, *cura* and *furor* used in an erotic sense; also the intense recurrence, within the compass of a small number of

[1] So he is named in Ov. *Tr*. 4.10.53-4 and Quint. *Inst*. 10.1.93.

[2] See Conte [2]1984, 25-34.

[3] *Hi versus omnes Galli sunt, ex ipsius translati carminibus*. On this Servian affirmation, see infra n. 40.

[4] See, for example, *Sicanos* at 4; *Parnasi* and *Pindi* at 11; *Aonie Aganippe* at 12; *Menalus* and *Lycaei* at 15; *Alpinas* and *Rheni* at 47; *Parthenius* at 57; *Hebrum* at 65; *Sithonia* at 66; *Partho* and *Cydonia* at 59; *Aethiopum* at 68.

[5] See Scarcia 1987, 988. The same predilection for a learned geography is also in Euphorion (see Watson 1982, 100-1), the *auctor* of Gallus: on Gallus' relationship with the poetry of Euphorion, see Cusset and Acosta-Hughes 2012, XIV-XV; see also Weber 2016, 177-84.

verses, of the pathetic interjection *a* (46-9); the adjective *mollis*, a "technical" term definitive of elegiac poetry, and particularly the adverb *molliter*, a word which Gallus' followers favoured, are used conspicuously in *Ecl*. 10; *tener*, too, with 3 occurrences in this eclogue (out of eleven occurrences in the whole *liber*), is used with a different connotation from its usage in the rest of the collection. The same goes for its opposite *durus*, a relatively rare term in the *Bucolics*, which appears twice in *Ecl*. 10, with a psychological connotation absent from its other occurrences. Taking into consideration that *durus* is the epithet which Quintilian (*Inst*. 10.1.93) uses to characterize Gallus' style and that Ovid (*Rem*. *Am.* 765) connects it, in another sense, with Gallus' poetry (*quis poterit lecto durus discedere Gallo?*), we should rightly suspect that *durus* was a key Gallan term,[6] especially since in *Ecl*. 10 its appearance is associated, closely or otherwise, with adjectives that indicate softness, a contrast typical of Latin elegy. The investigation of this lexical and semantic sphere, therefore, is likely to give interesting results (suggestive, if not definitive).[7] We will see that the usage of the three adjectives, *mollis*, *tener*, and *durus*, connotes different shades of meaning in the other *Bucolics* as compared to *Ecl*. 10. In *Ecl.* 10,

[6] As affirmed by Ross (1975, 62), Cairns (1984), and Fabre-Serris (2013).

[7] I find very interesting the analysis of the three adjectives in Catullus. They mainly have a physical or obscene sense (*molliculus*, 16.4 and 8; *duros lumbos*, 16.11; *durius faba*, 22.21; *mollis*, 25.1; *languidior tener … sicula beta*, 67.21), referring to various subjects (*tener* is referred to *vitis*, 62.2; *manus*, 61.218; *digitis*, 63.10; *mollis* to *spica*, 19.11; *complexu matris*, 64.88; *flumine*, 67.33; *fronde*, 64.294; *lana*, 64.312 and 319; *quiete*, 63.38 and 44; *somno*, 68.5; *veste*, 65.21; *durus* to *mente*, 60.3; *sola*, 63.40), sometimes in erotic context (*mollibus medullis*, 45.16; *teneram ad virum virginem*, 61.3; *teneris papillis*, 61.105; *tenerum femur*, 69.2; *molli pede*, 6.8.70), and often in the *carmina docta*, namely, a stylistic level far from the *genus humilis* of Latin elegy and bucolic. Only *tener* at 35.1 (*Poetae tenero meo sodali*), and *mollis*, in the varied form *molliculus* at 16.4 and 8, have a metapoetic meaning, alluding to the "tenderness" of love poetry (see infra n. 20); but *molliculi versiculi* has also an obscene sense.

Virgil can be seen to have adapted his bucolic poetic vocabulary to the domain of elegy,[8] doubtless as a tribute to Gallus, and perhaps reflecting Gallus' own diction.[9] A review of the use of these three adjectives in the rest of the *Bucolics* will make clear the different use of language in *Ecl*. 10 and its specific nuances there.

Mollis

From the quantitative point of view, with the exception of *mollis*, the three adjectives we are examining are employed more often in *Ecl*. 10 than in the other poems of the *Eclogues*. In *Ecl.* 10 alone, we find 3 occurrences of *tener* and 2 of *durus*; *mollis* appears once, but this eclogue also has the only occurrence of the adverb *molliter* in Virgil, in a very particular context. The first interesting consideration we can make is that *mollis* has usually a negative implication in Latin, linked to the concepts of weakness, passivity, effeminacy,[10] but this is not the normal usage in Virgil's eclogues. In fact, *mollis* in the *Bucolics* typically connotes "soft" in a physical sense (perhaps, more delicate than *tener*): it is used as an epithet for plants (*Ecl*. 3.45), flowers (*Ecl*. 2.50, 5.38, 6.53), fruits (*Ecl*. 1.81), leaves (*Ecl*. 5.31), ears (*Ecl*. 4.28), grass (*Ecl*. 3.55), sometimes with a hint of sensuality and rest, for example, in relation to sleep (*Ecl*. 7.45) or soft surfaces to lie upon (*Ecl*. 3.55). More specifically, *mollis*

[8] I do not think that the analogies between bucolic (Virgilian) and elegiac language can be attributed to the shared interest of the two poets in the theme of love, or to the presence in Gallus' poetry of a strong pastoral element. Firstly, we have no evidence, except *Ecl*. 10, about an alleged pastoral element in Gallan elegy; and, secondly, Virgil finds the erotic theme in Theocritus and in Greek bucolic tradition: what he shares with Gallus is, in my opinion, the treatment of this topic, and in *Ecl*. 10, dedicated to that elegist, the features of the erotic discourse inevitably take inspiration from him.

[9] Cairns 1984, passim, makes a number of points which are highly supportive of the argument that *durus*/*mollis* were key to Gallus' poetic diction.

[10] Consider, for example, the pejorative sense the term has in Catullus (11.5, 25.1). On the contrast *durus*/*mollis* in Catullus and in Latin attitude, see Selden 2007, 534-7 and notes.

means "flexible," of plants (*Ecl*. 2.72), and is a traditional attribute of wool at *Ecl*. 8.64. Exceptional are the instances at *Ecl*. 9.8, in a beautiful description of hills softly sloping to a river (*qua se subducere colles* / *incipiunt mollique iugum demittere clivo*, 7-8), and *Ecl*. 7.45, in which the grass, reworking a Theocritean phrase,[11] is defined *somno mollior*.

Compared to this overview, the usage in *Ecl*. 10 is very different. The use of the adjective is interesting: when Gallus invites Lycoris to share the idyllic pleasures of country life (*hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori;* / *hic nemus; hic ipso tecum consumerer aevum*, 42-3), *mollis* is applied to meadows, and contributes in portraying the scenery of the *locus amoenus* in which the lover dreams of spending his whole life with his beloved. It is seemingly a normal use of the adjective, consistent with both its use elsewhere in the *Bucolics*,[12] where it is often an attribute of plants, flowers, or grass, and normal poetical usage, with the frequent association of *mollis* to beds or soft surfaces to lie on, and by extension to sleep.[13] Some considerations, however, make this occurrence worthy of special attention. First, the phrase *mollia prata* never appears in Latin before this

[11] See Lipka 2001, 48.

[12] In fact, Virgil will use this phrase in the *Georgics*. See *mollibus in pratis* at *G*. 2.384, and *non mollia possunt prata movere animum* at *G*. 3.520-1; cf. also Ov. *Ars Am*. 1.279: *Mollibus in pratis admugit femina tauro.*

[13] A special case can be the occurrence of *mollis* at *Ecl*. 6.53 (*ille, latus niveum molli fultus hyacintho,* / *ilice sub nigra pallentis ruminat herbas*, 53-4). Here, in the erotic context of the story of Pasiphae, the adjective, connected to the "bed" of the bull, can receive an erotic connotation from the point of view of Pasiphae. Of course, we can suspect that the phrase *molli hyacinto* is a quotation from Calvus' *Io* (see Cucchiarelli 2012 ad loc., 353), and this would be a further link of the erotic sense of *mollis* with the neoteric context in which Gallus' poetic taste formed and his love poetry was born. So his likely usage of the term in his production can be traced back to the Hellenistic elegy and to its spread in Latin poetry made by the neoteric poets.

poem,[14] and the hypothesis, proposed by W. V. Clausen,[15] that it may be the invention of Virgil himself or Gallus, seems justifiable, given the importance of *mollis* in the language of Latin elegy. The suspicion that Gallus lies behind this expression, however, comes not just from its novelty in Latin and from the fact that Virgil chooses to make Gallus himself speak the phrase, but also from the characteristic usage of the term in the elegists, as a contrast to the idea of hardness. In the verses immediately following, the idyllic setting proposed by Gallus, gives way to a bleak landscape of war and danger in which *durus* is an attribute of Mars. The frequency of the opposition between *mollis* and *durus* in later elegy[16] gives good reason to suspect that the phrase *mollia prata* in *Ecl*. 10.42 originated with Gallus.[17] Moreover, the phrase occurs in a section of the monologue which seems to show the direct influence of Gallus' poetry more particularly than the rest of the poem[18] and where this opposition has extended importance.

Another hint which reinforces the suspicion that the expression *mollia prata* is Gallus' own phrase is its verbatim repetition at Prop. 3.3.18 (*mollia sunt parvis prata terenda rotis*): as is well known, the

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[14] See *TLL*, s. v. *mollis*, 1370, 73.

[15] See Clausen 1994 ad loc.

[16] See, for example, Prop. 1.7.4-6, 2.22.11-3, 3.1.19-20, 3.7.48, 3.11.20, 3.15.14-6 and 29; Tib. 1.1.63-4, 2.6.28-30; *Corp. Tib*. 3.4.76; Ov. *Amor*. 1.4.44, 1.12.22-4, 2.1.22, 2.4.23-4, 3.4.1.

[17] Actually, the idea of softness was linked to the elegy much earlier than Gallus: think of Hermesian. fr. 7 Pow., 36, who described as μαλακός the rhythm of the pentameter. It is likely that Gallus found this characterization in the Hellenistic elegists this definition and appropriated it, inaugurating its use in the Latin elegiac vocabulary.

[18] The problem of circumscribing the lines to which *Serv. Dan*. *ad* 46 refers has led scholars to propose different hypotheses: Bardon (1949, 224) and D'Anna (1989, 43) think of 44-5 and 42-3; Luiselli (1967, 80ff.) extends the information to 50-69, and others include the whole monologue. See a bibliography in Monteleone 1979, 38-9 n. 29, and Courtney 1993, 268-9.

importance of Propertius in any attempt to reconstruct the Gallan poetry is crucial, especially where he overlaps with Vergil in the *Eclogues*.[19] In this passage, of course, the adjective *mollis* takes on a different meaning, typically elegiac, almost as a technical term, indicating the soft and voluptuous tone of elegy and even specifically the rhythm of the pentameter and thus the tender *color* of the elegiac couplet, imitating the Greek term μαλακός.[20] In this particular sense, *mollis* has programmatic significance[21] which is often used as a contrast to the hardness of war, of military life, or epic

[19] According to the method inaugurated by Skutsch 1901 and 1906 (contra Leo 1902, 14ff.; Jahn 1902, 161ff.), and followed by many scholars. Among them, see, for example, Ross 1975 and Cairns 2006.

[20] In Hermesian. fr. 7 Pow., 36 the rhythm of the pentameter is defined as μαλακός, but cf. already Catull. 16.4 and 8 (*quod sunt molliculi, parum pudicum … si sunt molliculi ac parum pudicum*: to mean "effeminate verses?") and, of course, Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.44, who refers to Vergil's own pastoral verse as *molle atque facetum* (in contradistinction to Varius' tragic/epic). Perhaps Gallus appropriated a pre-existing stylistic judgment to his love elegy. It should also be noted that *mollitia* is a concept in substance inimical to the idea of Roman *robur* (cf., e.g., Vell. Pat. 2.88: *Maecenas ... otio ac mollitiis paene ultra feminam fluens*) and often used to characterize the "hedonistic" East in contradistinction to Roman values. So not only does *mollitia* strike a metapoetic note, but it also strikes a counter-cultural note: the life of the poet-lover as opposed to the Roman soldier.

[21] See *mollem componere versum* (Prop. 1.7.19); *molles elegi* (Ov. *Pont*. 3.4.85); *mollia carmina feci* (Ov. *Tr.* 2.349). In many metaphoric uses in the elegists to describe their poetry, *mollis* is attributed to *chori* (Prop. 2.34.42), *serta* (Prop. 3.1.19), *liber* (Prop. 2.1.2), *lucus* (Prop. 4.6.71), *costum* (Prop. 4.6.5), *umbra* (Prop. 3.3.1), and of course *prata*. Sometimes these phrases are opposed to epic poetry, described as *dura* (Prop. 2.1.41, *duro versu*; 2.34.44, *dure poeta*; 3.1.20, *dura corona*), and to tragedy (Ov. *Am*. 3.1.45, *duro cothurno*). In general, on *mollis* in Latin love language, see Pichon 1966, s. v., 204ff. According to Cairns (1984, 218-9), the contrast between "hard" and "soft" in a literary sense does not seem to belong to Hellenistic poetry; it seems rather a Roman concept.

poetry,[22] as in the case of Propertius' *recusatio* at 3.3. Of course, we can not be absolutely certain that Gallus actually used the adjective *mollis*, but the presence of the same expression *mollia prata* in Virgil and Propertius, in opposition to "hardness," is at least a clue suggesting the presence of *mollis* in Gallus' own poetry. Moreover, the presence in *Ecl.* 10 of the analogous *tener* in a programmatic context (53), most likely derived from Gallus, may suggest that the first elegist had already used *tener* and *mollis* in a programmatic sense to define his genre. Propertius maybe later follows him on this path, and it is tempting to imagine that Virgil, in quoting the phrase, returned it to its literal context, that is, a description of beautiful scenery, well suiting the bucolic setting and atmosphere.

Moreover, the hypothesis that *mollis* and its lexical family were already part of Gallus' poetic vocabulary is reinforced by the presence, noteworthy in many respects, of the adverb *molliter* in *Ecl*. 10 (*o mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant / vestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores*, 33-4). It is a ἅπαξ in the entirety of Virgil's work, and this implies that it does not belong to the *usus scribendi* of the poet and may therefore descend from Gallus. The context in which *molliter* is used is particularly striking, since it is unusual in Virgil but common in elegy: Gallus' almost voluptuous yearning for his own death at the opening of his monologue. Moreover, in our evidence *molliter* appears here for the first time in a funerary context,[23] in a phrase that will become common later in burial language.[24] But it is the later usage in Ovidian elegy that is particularly interesting.

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[22] See, for example, Prop. 1.7.1-8 and 1.8.5-8 (this last passage has an almost certain Gallan source, as we will see infra). On the elegiac programmatic use of *mollis,* see Wyke 2007, 168-9; McKeown 1998, *ad Am*. 2.1.3-4; Fedeli 1980, *ad* 1.7.19.

[23] *TLL*, s. v., 1380, 83; Norden, *ad Aen*. 6.328. Of course, this can be a mere accident of survival, but at the present state of our knowledge of funerary inscriptions we have *Ecl*. 10.33 as the first occurrence of the term in this context.

[24] For its presence in inscriptions, see, for example, *CLE* 773, 1, 1192, 9.

There the phrase *molliter ossa cubent* is found three times,[25] with the implication that it may be the concluding hemistich of a Gallan pentameter,[26] adapted by Virgil to the bucolic hexameter as part of the poetic dialogue with his friend in the final eclogue. In this verse, Virgil's Gallus expresses a lugubriousness and almost pleasure at the thought of his end, which we recognize in the later elegists, and that may therefore have already been present in the *inventor* of this genre. It is possible that Virgil, with consummate skill, reproduced the characteristic *color* of Gallus' poetry.[27] If this is true, the use of the two terms *mollis* and *molliter*, standing out so conspicuously from the other eclogues, illuminate each other and assist in attributing to Gallus their singular connotations in this poem as compared to Virgil's use of *mollis* elsewere in the eclogues.

Tener

As compared to *mollis*, the use of *tener* is more uniform in the *Bucolics*; it always has a physical sense, as an attribute of plants (*Ecl*. 7.6), fruits (*Ecl*. 2.51),[28] grass (*Ecl*. 8.15), and animals (*Ecl*. 1.8 and 21, 3.103). With the meaning "young, recent," it refers to the newly created world at *Ecl*. 6.34, to lambs recently born at *Ecl*. 1.8 and 21, and 3.103, while at *Ecl*. 7.12 it takes the sense of "flexible," applied to reeds. At least two of the three occurrences of *tener* in *Ecl*. 10 differ from this picture: the use at 7 (*dum tenera attondent simae virgulta*

[25] *Am*. 1.8.108; *Her*. 7.162; *Tr*. 3.3.76. Cf. also, before Ovid, Tib. 2.4.50: *placideque **quiescas**, / Terraque securae sit super **ossa levis***.

[26] According to Barchiesi 1981, 162-3.

[27] The suspicion can be strengthened by the contorted *ordo verborum* of 33-4, unusual in the style of Virgil, but most likely peculiar to Gallus, according the well known definition of Quintilian (*Inst*. 10.1.93: *durior Gallus*). On this point, see infra n. 35.

[28] An interesting element is the presence of *mollis* (50) and *tener* (51) in *Ecl*. 2.45-55, a piece noteworthy for its Alexandrian elegance, to which the two adjectives contribute to give a languid and soft tone. For the remarkable affinities between *Ecl*. 2 and Gallus, see Gagliardi 2011.

capellae), applied to shoots grazed by goats, accords with the use elsewhere in the eclogues; however, its function here may be to anticipate the character of the verses which follow and to evoke the atmosphere of elegy, even with the stylized and conventional image of goats grazing grass. Noteworthy is the *ordo verborum*, with the interlocking word order *tenera … simae virgulta capellae*, a refinement which would surely have been well appreciated by an accomplished poet like Gallus. More significant, however, than this occurrence of *tener* are the other two, both in Gallus' monologue: the one at 53 (*certum est in silvis inter spelaea ferarum / malle pati tenerisque meos incidere amores / arboribus*, 52-4) has a prevalent literary sense in a passage which is intensely poetical and presents difficulty in interpretation:[29] the line illustrates Gallus' just proclaimed decision to "rewrite" in bucolic manner the poems he had composed *Chalcidico versu* (50-1). The illustration which follows is the image of the tender bark of young trees on which the poet wants to carve his *amores* (or *Amores*?[30]). The overall interpretation of the passage, a perennial *crux* of scholarship, is not easy, but the most plausible interpretation seems to involve an evocation of a necessary transition from actual, experienced pain (like the *sollicitus amor* of Gallus) to an externalized representation entrusted to poetry, and thus alienated from the anguished lover himself. This is the consolatory idea of poetry in which real sufferings are transformed into song and no longer inflict pain, a process which Gallus at-

[29] On these complex verses (50-4), see Gagliardi 2014 ad loc., 197-212.

[30] The hypothesis that this word can be an allusion to the title of Gallan elegiac production (see *Serv. Dan. ad* 1: *amorum suorum de Cytheride scripsit libros quattuor*) has been proposed by Skutsch (1901, 21-4), and generally accepted by scholars: see Jacoby 1905, 71-3; Conington 2007, *ad* 53, 123; Coleman [8]2001, *ad* 6, 266-7; Lipka 2001, 110; Cucchiarelli 2012, *ad* 6, 485; see contra Pohlenz 1965, 210 n. 2; on the debate *de re*, see Monteleone 1979, 48-9, with bibliography. The hypothesis is strengthened by all the occurrences of the plural *amores* in the eclogue. On the remarkable common features of these occurrences, see Gagliardi 2017.

tempts from the start of his monologue, in wanting to entrust to Arcadian singers the task of singing his *amores* (or perhaps even here *Amores*), but in which he fails. The attempt to break away from this pain (that is, from poetry like elegy, in which pain is subjectively represented and therefore not objectified) will fail even this time, and Gallus will have to admit, in the last words he utters (*omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus amori*, 69),[31] the invincibility of *Amor*. In Virgil's process of "exploring" the boundaries not only of love elegy but also of bucolic poetry, which he vainly offers to Gallus as a remedy for his pains, a significant role is played by an allusion, right at 53-4, to Callimachus' Acontius and Cydippe episode.[32] The raison d'être of this reference is not entirely clear: it may be a tribute to Gallus, who in turn possibly alluded to that episode,[33] or may have translated or imitated it,[34] or possibly, it is a direction to Gallus suggesting a more detached and objective way to write elegy. However, an allusion to Callimachus is unquestionably present, and *teneras*, attributed to the bark of trees, comes within this allusion, in a line constructed with a refined *ordo verbo-*

[31] The verse may come from a Gallan pentameter. See Grondona 1977, 26-7 and Cairns 2006, 107-8.

[32] The description of the lover alone in nature, who carves the bark of trees with the name of his beloved, obviously recalls Callim. *Aet*. fr. 73 Pf., and cf. Arist. *Ep*. 1.10. The hypothesis that Gallus could have inserted the Callimachean Acontius and Cydippe in his poetry has been discussed by Skutsch 1906, 164-5; Jacoby 1905, 58-60; Ross 1975, 71-3, 88 n. 2; Rosen and Farrell 1986, 243 n. 11, 254; Hollis 2007, 235.

[33] Ross (1975, 73, 89-91) hypothesizes that Gallus may have translated or reworked the Callimachean episode. See also Rosen and Farrell 1986, 241-54; Morgan 1995, 79ff.; Lipka 2001, 110-1.

[34] Some other passages in the eclogue seem to testify to the interest of Gallus in Callimachus and to his actual imitation of Callimachean passages. See, for example, the verses 52-61, and Rosen and Farrell 1986, passim. Lipka (2001, 110-1) thinks that Gallus may have introduced the story of Acontius in Latin poetry (although the episode is already referenced at Catull. 65).

rum using chiasmus and enjambment (*teneris meos amores ... / arboribus*): knowing the attention that Gallus himself paid to word order,[35] and given the likelihood that Gallus treated the Acontius and Cydippe episode, we might infer specific reference to Gallus in this passage. *Teneris* in particular is used with great finesse, because it assumes a double meaning, implying the concept of "softness" in a physical sense, referring to the barks of the trees still young, but also symbolically characterizing in a recognizable way the *Stimmung* of the poetry that Gallus aims to carve on the trees, his *Amores*. In this way, Virgil's procedure in this passage can be seen to be analogous to the instance of *mollis* at 42. There, by reference to the Propertian allusion at 3.3.18, the use of *mollis* can likely be traced back to Gallus, possibly with corresponding literary connotations, but Virgil gives it a concrete sense, in all probability part of Virgil's adaptation of this use to a bucolic setting. Similarly, here too, with Virgil's *tener*, we can intuit a programmatic meaning, that is, a reference to love poetry. It is not possible to determine whether this originated in Gallus or Vergil. But if Vergil is, indeed, reworking a passage of Gallus' poetry, he has taken care to present *tener* in a context which harmonizes with the bucolic setting in which he places the monologue.[36] The undertone of the adjective,

[35] His only known pentameter before the papyrus from Qaṣr Ibrîm (*uno tellures dividit amne duas*, fr. 1 Morel) showed *ad abundantiam* the care of Gallus for a refined word order. See Van Sickle 1976-1977, 327. Subsequently, the verses from Qaṣr Ibrîm confirmed this impression: think, for example, of 2-3 (*Fata mihi Caesar, tum erunt mea dulcia quom tu / maxima Romanae pars eris historiae*), with their changes between first and second person, or of the most debated 5 (*fixa legam spolieis deivitiora tueis*), "contorted to the point of the obscurity" according to Nisbet 1979, 149, in confirmation of the judgement of Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.93. On the care of Gallus for the *ordo verborum*, see Somerville 2009, 106-13.

[36] The idea that Vergil "normalizes" the metapoetic references of Gallus chimes well with Henkel 2011 and 2014 in which he seeks to demonstrate a Vergilian strategy of rendering poetic statements of his predecessors in concrete terms, or to take the point to its obverse but natural corollary: even in his pure narra-

the concept of "poetic softness," its use by the elegists, and its presence in an imitation of Callimachus promote the suspicion that *tener* was, indeed, a word originally present in Gallus (perhaps among other features of the verses in question). Such a suspicion receives not inconsiderable support from Propertius, who, in an analogous scene, depicting the lover alone with nature, uses the same word *tener* at 1.18.21 (*a quotiens teneras resonant mea verba sub umbras*), in a poem which also alludes to the Callimachus' Acontius and Cydippe episode. As elsewhere, the correspondences between Virgil and Propertius are strong indications of common Gallan models, but here the conspicuous and singular use of *tener* gives rise to strong suspicions. It is by no means impossible that Callimachus used a similar epithet in the same context.[37] If so, both Gallus and then Propertius will have translated Callimachus, but, of course, Propertius will have taken account of Gallus' treatment, perhaps citing it in turn or alluding to it. And perhaps Propertius' *tener* is a specific actual instance of a reference to Gallus' diction, given that the attribution of *tener* to *umbrae* is unusual: it seems possible that Propertius took this particular epithet from Gallus but applied it to a different word to make the quotation recognizable, while at the same time stressing his own originality with a remarkably unusual combination: this would be typical of the process of the "radicalization" of Gallus' poetry which Propertius seems to adopt frequently.[38]

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tive, Vergil intends metapoetical statements. Also important is Vergil's ability to adapt his models to his generic context: in the eclogues in particular, the presence of Theocritus does not preclude the idea that Vergil simultaneously incorporates reference to other (Latin) poetry.

[37] Acontius seems to have spoken to the trees as if they were alive in Callimachus, to judge from Aristaenetus *Ep.* 1.10.55ff.

[38] See, for example, 1.8.1-8 (which I will analyze infra), 2.1.1-2, 2.10, 2.13.11-4, 3.4. See Cairns 2006, 404-3.

Confirmation (obviously, not definitive) of my reconstruction of Virgil's procedure seems to be provided by the third, and perhaps most interesting, occurrence of *tener* in *Ecl*. 10. It appears in the so-called *propemptikòn Lycoridis* of 46-9 (*Tu procul a patria (nec sit mihi credere tantum) / Alpinas, a! dura nives et frigora Rheni / me sine sola vides. a, te ne frigora laedant! / a, tibi ne teneras glacies secet aspera plantas!*),[39] part of a group of verses which, according to *Serv. Dan. ad* 46, have been *translati* from Gallus' poetry. Leaving aside the difficulty of interpreting right what Servius here means,[40] the testimony is important in indicating that it is here, more than anywhere else in the eclogue, that one should expect Virgil to have faithfully conveyed aspects of the actual poetry of Gallus. Indeed, 46-9 are rather unusual in many respects. Conceptually they express a vision of love alien to that of Virgil, who elsewhere judges negatively an excessive submission to feelings, seeking a balance in the passions; the attitude shown in these verses is rather that of a devotion to the beloved so great as to "overcome infidelity:"[41] so the lover, although betrayed and abandoned by the woman who has fled with another, still worries for her and the risks she will run in the Alpine snows. This is an extreme manifestation of the elegiac *servitium amoris*, the complete submission of the lover to the will of his woman and his willingness to accept any treatment from her.[42] Even from a stylistic point of view, 46-9 appear different

[39] The expression *propemptikòn Lycoridis* can denote both these four verses in *Ecl*. 10 and the Gallan poem which Virgil echoes.

[40] The most important questions are the exact meaning of *translati* and the number of lines to which Servius refers. Among the studies on this point, see Bardon 1949, 223ff.; Luiselli 1967, 80ff.; Ross 1975, 88-9, 100; Kelly 1977, 17-20; Yardley 1980, 48-51; Cupaiuolo 1981, 55 n. 22; D'Anna 1989, 60ff. In any event, 46-9, which we are examining, must have been included.

[41] According to the definition of Nicastri 1984, 26.

[42] The suspicion that *servitium amoris* was already a feature of Gallan elegy, proposed by Stroh (1971, 117ff., 204-6, 219, 228-30) on the basis of these verses (see contra Lyne 1979, 121ff., who assigned this innovation to Propertius), has

from Virgil's *usus scribendi*: in his poetry are unsual the high pathos, mainly created by the close repetition of the particle *a* (which is usually used sparingly by Virgil), and the inverted *ordo verborum* (*me sine*; *te ne*; *tibi ne*) which is at the same time embellished by refined constructions such as the elaborate chiasmus at 49,[43] with *tener* opposing to *aspera* in a significant contrast between the hardness of ice and tender feet of Lycoris. The desperate and passionate tone of Latin erotic elegy is felt strongly in this short passage, where the detail of the tender feet cut by ice, representing the hardships of the *puella*, adds a touch of Alexandrian elegance.[44] Also significant is the reaction of the elegiac lover: he imagines his absent *puella* (a detail emphasized by *me sine sola*); he knows that she is with the rival, but he describes her as alone, because, in the elegiac vision, the pair of lovers embodies an indissoluble unity (which Lycoris has broken). Another interesting element is the evocation of the *propemptikòn*, a genre known to have been treated by Latin poets right at this time, under the influence of Parthenius of Nicaea,[45] whose relationship with Gallus is attested to by the dedication to the ἐρωτικὰ παθήματα. Gallus' interest in this genre is demonstrated by verses 2-5 of the Qaṣr Ibrîm papyrus, which can

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been confirmed by the verses from Qaṣr Ibrîm, in which Lycoris' *nequitia* and the epithet *domina* are mentioned. See Barchiesi 1981, 165-6; Nicastri 1984, 25-6; Conte [2]1984, 37-8; Magrini 1981, 1-14; Évrard 1984, 35; Morelli 1985, 176-7. Only Pinotti (2002, 64) does not agree with this opinion. For a general analysis of the *servitium amoris*, see McCarthy 1998.

[43] Here the chiastic order of *teneras plantas* and *glacies aspera* is intersected with the parallelism of adjective/noun, adjective/noun, producing a refined arrangement *aBbA*, that could belong to the taste of Gallus for the word order.

[44] On the Alexandrian procedure of describing something from the details to the whole, see Nicastri 1984, 130.

[45] According to Cairns (2006, 413), Parthenius brought to Rome the genre of the *propemptikòn*: the evidence is that Parthenius wrote a poem entitled προπεμτικόν (fr. 26 Lightfoot) and Cinna wrote a *Propemptikon Pollionis* (fr. 2-6 Hollis). So from these sources Gallus could adapt this genre to love elegy.

be categorized as a particular kind of *propemptikòn*. So it seems likely that he introduced this genre to Latin erotic elegy.[46] Moreover, the so-called *propemptikòn Lycoridis* of *Ecl*. 10 shows some significant differences compared to the usual treatment of the *topos* in Hellenistic poetry imitated by Roman poets. In *Ecl*. 10, Lycoris parts to a cold destination on land, which differs from Hellenistic *propemptikà*, in that they usually depict sea voyages in warm climates and seasons.[47] Thus, it is plausible to assign such an innovation to Gallus, who appears to have been an original and pioneering poet so far as our scarce information permits us to tell.

There is an accumulation, therefore, of many striking elements which suggest that the style of these verses may originate in Gallus' poetry and that they have been reworked by Virgil, probably in order to adapt elegiac couplets to the hexametric rhythm of bucolic verse. The adjective *tener* particularly stands out in this context, suggesting the specific influence of Gallus' own poetry. It brings a strong elegiac flavour, being affectionately applied to the delicate feet of the *puella*, wounded by Alpine ices.[48] Its presence is made more significant by its opposition to a term that indicates hardness, *aspera*, and by the singular occurrence of *durus* two lines earlier, at 47. There are in fact many elements that should suggest with some confidence that there is a Gallan source for this occurence of the adjective. Here, just as for *mollis,* and *tener* at 53, this hypothesis is strengthened by reference to Propertius: in this case, to a strikingly close correspondence to the text of *Ecl*. 10.46-9. At

[46] The affinity for geographical epithets (*Alpinas*, *Rheni*) may come from the teaching of Parthenius, whose inclination to learned geography is well known. See supra n. 5.

[47] See Nicastri 1984, 160-2; Fedeli 1980, 203-7.

[48] The motif of the tender feet wounded by asperities reappears in later elegists. See Prop. 1.8.7; *Corp. Tib*. 3.9.10; Ov. *Met*. 1.508-9.

1.8.1-8,[49] Propertius describes an exactly analogous scene (the departure of the beloved to cold places with a rival),[50] and employs the same image of Cynthia's tender feet on ice, also in an unusual style, showing the same anguished questions, the verbatim repetition of *sine me* and the identical use of *dura* in opposition to *tener* in relation to the *puella*.[51] The striking similarity of this Propertian passage with *Ecl*. 10.46-9 makes this one of the texts in which we can recognize the two poets' imitation of Gallus with most confidence.[52] Particularly the presence of *tener* and its antonym *durus* stands out here. These two instances increasingly suggest the likely use of the two adjectives in Gallus in an erotic context.

Moreover, the analysis of these two passages seems to confirm the "normalizing" trend in Virgil, compared to the bolder usage of Gallus (and of Propertius in his wake). We have seen that with *mollia prata* Virgil prefers to apply the phrase to the description of actual scenery, while Propertius uses the epithet in a daringly metaphorical sense (a Gallan imitation?); for *tener* at 53, Virgil employs

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[49] *Tune igitur demens, nec te mea cura moratur? / an tibi sum gelida vilior Illyria? / et tibi iam tanti, quicumque est, iste videtur / ut sine me vento quolibet ire velis? / tune audire potes vesani murmura ponti / fortis, et in dura nave iacere potes? / tu pedibus teneris positas fulcire pruinas, / tu potes insolitas, Cynthia, ferre nives?*

[50] In the Propertian poem, however, Cynthia has not departed yet, and the text is Propertius' attempt to dissuade her, an attempt destined for success in the final part of 1.8 or, for those who read in the text two different elegies, in 1.8b (on this debate, see Fedeli 1980, 202-8; Nicastri 1984, 156-7 n. 6). On the reasons for this difference of Propertius by Gallus, see Gagliardi 2012.

[51] *Tener* contributes to conspicuous word patterning (polyptoton of *tu* together with repetition of *tene*) in both *Ecl*. 10.48-9 and Prop. 1.8.1-8, reinforcing the suspicion that *tener* was a word used by Gallus in this context (together with the *tu* word-patterning: note that the exact sequence *tu… te… tibi* appears both at *Ecl*. 10.46-9 and Prop. 1.8.1-2).

[52] See, for example, the studies of Pasoli 1976, 587-91; 1977, 106 (but also Pohlenz 1965, 110); see also Monteleone 1979, 46-8 and n. 54; Fedeli 1980, 204-5; Nicastri 1984, 175-6; D'Anna 1989, 58-9; Fabre-Serris 2008, 48-84, especially 62-9; Gagliardi 2012.

the same procedure: he assigns the epithet to the bark of trees, although here he also keeps a literary connotation which perhaps originated in Gallus. Propertius, on the other hand, in repeating the adjective, enhances its conspicuousness by applying it unusually to *umbrae*. In the present instance too, Virgil seems to "normalize" the verb, preferring the more straightforward (though hard) *secet* to the unusual *fulcire* of Propertius (the latter perhaps reflecting more exactly the Gallan original, given its eccentricity).[53]

Durus

The strong impression that *mollis* and *tener* belong to Gallus' elegiac vocabulary is further enhanced by an analysis of the opposite *durus*, which often appears in contrast in the later elegists. *Durus* is a word which is not congenial to the delicate tone of Virgil's *Bucolics*. In fact, there are only 5 occurrences in the eclogues, of which 2 are in *Ecl*. 10:[54] it too always has, in the other eclogues, a physical denotation, describing the hardness of rocks (*Ecl*. 8.43) or oaks (*Ecl*. 4.30, 8.52-3).[55] On the other hand, there are two conspicuous occurrences in *Ecl.* 10, in close proximity to each other, within the complex passage at 42-9, in which the stylistic and conceptual influence of Gallan elegy seems strongest. The first point of difference from the other uses in the *Eclogues* is the application of *durus* to a deity in the psychological sense of "strong, robust" at 44,[56] or, in 47, to a person in the sense of "ruthless, cruel." This reflects a frequent usage in Latin love elegy, where *durus* is commonly attributed to the

[53] According to the judgement of Quintilian (*Inst*. 10.1.93), confirmed by the verses from Qaṣr Ibrîm, Gallus' style indulged in boldness unusual in Virgil's language. See Gagliardi 2014 ad loc., 195.

[54] The adjective is, of course, used much more frequently in the *Aeneid* (about 60 occurrences), but not in an erotic context, unlike *Ecl*. 10.

[55] More particular seems *durescere* at *Ecl*. 8.80. Here, in addition to the physical sense (the verb refers to mud), a sexual meaning has been suggested by Katz and Volk 2006.

[56] Of course, *Martis* can be a metonymy for "war."

puella who is insensitive to the prayers and sufferings of the poet in love.[57] Further, both occurrences of *durus* in *Ecl*. 10 appear more or less directly in contrast with a term for softness, namely *mollis* at 42 with *durus* at 44, and *tener* at 49 with *durus* at 47 and *asper* at 49.[58] This is a common elegiac opposition, as we have seen,[59] and therefore Virgil's treatment may well reflect a model in Gallus, to make his tribute to the dedicatee of the poem recognizable.

The first occurrence of *durus* in *Ecl*. 10.44 refers to war, personified as Mars: *nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis / tela inter media et adversos detinet hostis* (44-5). This is one of the most difficult passages of the poem on a textual and conceptual level. Its oddity comes not only from its abrupt juxtaposition with the idyllic scene described by Gallus to Lycoris when inviting her to join him in a bucolic setting, but also from the contradiction that Gallus has previously been described as alone in Arcadia *sola sub rupe* (14) but now is incongruously presented as being in a military camp in the midst of enemies. The text, as it reads, raises the question whether *duri Martis* depends on *insanus amor* or by *in armis*,[60] and the correct interpretation of the overall sense of 44-5 is problematic.[61] To overcome some of these difficulties some scholars have suggested correcting *me* to *te*, to refer the lines to Lycoris, who will be represented soon after as present in a military camp (46-9),[62] but even this

[57] See Prop. 1.1.10, 1.7.6, 1.17.16, 2.1.78, 2.22.11 and 43, 2.24.47, 4.2.23; Tib. 1.8.50, 2.6.28; Ov. *Am.* 1.9.19, 2.4.23.

[58] *Asper* can be considered as a synonym of *durus*, since this is the word chosen to contrast with Lycoris' soft feet.

[59] See supra n. 16.

[60] The prevailing opinion of scholars is that *duri Martis* depends upon *insanus amor*. See Conington 2007; Forbiger; Leo, 17; Büchner, 297; Stégen, 122-3; Conte [2]1984, 24 n. 19; Cucchiarelli 2012 ad loc., 501.

[61] See Gagliardi 2014, *ad* 44-5, 175-80.

[62] This is a proposal of Heumann, accepted by Heyne 1830 ad loc., 244; Cartault 1897, 399; D'Anna 1989, 40-6; Hollis 2007, 221-2, 237.

solution raises many doubts.[63] The discussion which arises from this complex passage may be endless (the difficulties of interpretation are, in my opinion, in large part attributable to our ignorance of a specific Gallan text that is quoted or alluded to here). Nevertheless, the lines give an instance of the attribution of *durus* to a person, which is important for the present investigation since it is absent from the other eclogues. The context is the sphere of war: the later elegists found particularly attractive this opposition between the weapons of Mars and those of Amor.[64] It is perhaps no coincidence that here *durus Mars* is juxtaposed with *insanus amor*, although the relationship between the two phrases is not clear, and it is unclear to what *amor* should be attributed (is it the passion for war or passion for Lycoris?). Similarly, the conjunction with *mollia*, which just before, at 42, characterizes the *locus amoenus* of the bucolic landscape, is frequent in the successors of Gallus. This juxtaposition can, therefore, be reasonably ascribed to Gallus. Furthermore, if Gallus too used *mollis* to define elegy, as does Propertius (3.3.18) with the same *mollia prata*, *duri Martis* might in some respect be connected with epic poetry, just like the Propertian *carminis heroi... opus* (3.3.16). If so, again Virgil will have brought the adjective back to a more concrete sphere, just as he had with *mollia prata*. But this is highly speculative and the only evidence is Prop. 3.3.18.

However, the assumption that adjectives for "hard" and "soft" were important aspects of Gallus' poetic diction appears to be confirmed by the last and most significant occurrence of *durus*, applied to Lycoris at 47.[65] The epithet is in the *propemptikòn Lycoridis* and is

[63] See Gagliardi 2014, *ad* 44-5, 177-8.

[64] Tib. 1.10, 2.1.81-2, 2.5.105-12, 2.6.15-8; Prop. 2.12, 3.5; Ov. *Am*. 1.9.

[65] The attribution of *dura* to *frigora,* as proposed by Cucchiarelli 2012, *ad* 47, 502, is not impossible (but is certainly less attractive); but the lack of any conjunction between *Alpinas* (sc. *nives*) and *dura* (sc. *frigora*) makes the proposal implausible.

used to characterize the purpose, but also the boldness of the woman, who is not afraid to face the hardships of military life, and especially the Alpine cold in order to follow her new lover.[66] The choice of the word is particularly effective in relation to the cold and frozen scenery, and the daring of Lycoris seems to reflect the harshness of the winter frost.[67] In this sense, *durus* is otherwise completely absent from Virgil's poetic vocabulary, but it reflects a distinctive and widespread use in the Latin elegists, who often so define an insensitive or hard person,[68] and especially the *puella*.[69] Again here, *durus* appears in close proximity with a term of sweetness, *teneras* at 49, emphasizing again the relationship between the two spheres, which in the context gives an unmistakably elegiac *color* to the whole passage. The likelihood that these verses closely reflect the actual diction of Gallus makes them invaluable in ascribing to Gallus the τόπος of hard and soft; here too, further confirmation comes from Propertius. Closely imitating this passage in 1.8.1-8, Propertius employs also *durus*, reinforced by *fortis*, in opposition to Cynthia's *teneris pedibus*, as in the eclogue. Interesting, however, is the shift made by Propertius in attributing *dura* to the ship on which the woman dares to embark, while for her boldness he uses *fortis*. The unusual combination of *dura* with *navis*, rather than with Cynthia, is reminiscent of *tenerae umbrae* at Prop. 1.18.21, where likewise the adjective would have made more sense related to *verba*. This perhaps sheds light on Propertius' strategy when

[66] According to Fabre-Serris (2013, 220), this is "le seul exemple que nous ayons ou *dura* qualifies une *puella* dans un contexte de souffrances endurées aux côtés d'un amant et/ou pour le séduire."

[67] For a similar relationship between human beings and landscape, see Hor. *Carm*. 1.3.9ff., and especially the frozen landscape in which Orpheus vainly sings at Verg. *G*. 4.508-9 and 517-9, a text, as is well known, linked in many ways to the figure and perhaps to the poetry of Gallus.

[68] See Prop. 1.3.14, 1.14.18, 2.25.11, 3.15.29, 3.20.3; *Corp. Tib*. 3.2.3, 3.4.92; Ov. *Am*. 1.6.62, 1.15.17, 3.4.1, 3.8.31.

[69] See supra n. 57.

referring to Gallus: he reworks and makes recognizable the model but, at the same time, is astute to stamp his originality on it, by highlighting particular words used by Gallus but associating them in striking new collocations. The frequency of *dura* to describe the insensitivity or the ruthlessness of the *puella* in all the elegists, including Propertius himself, suggests in fact that this reflects Gallus' own diction, inherited by his successors.

Other clues, related not only to *Ecl*. 10, feed the suspicion that *durus* was a key term in the Gallus' poetic lexicon. Apart from the well-known judgment of Quintilian (*Inst*. 10.1.93), who, maybe not by chance, defines Gallus' elegy with exactly this epithet,[70] Ovid (*Rem*. *am.* 765) makes an interesting combination when he uses *durus* of the reader who is not moved to read of Gallus' verses. But above all it is again Propertius, in connection with *Ecl*. 10, which supports our reconstruction, since he defines Atalanta as *dura* (whom he identifies by *Iasidos*)[71] at 1.1.10, in a description of Milanion's *servitium amoris* to win her love.[72] There are many similarities between this *exemplum* of Prop. 1.1.9-16 and *Ecl*. 10.52-60: Milanion and Gallus very much resemble each other in their attitudes and in the activities they perform (the *obsequium* to the beloved, the hunt[73]), while there is a remarkable coincidence in vocabulary with the presence in both texts of the only two occurrences of the adjective *Parthenius* throughout the pre-Augustan and Augustan poetry, an element which, given the known relationship of Gallus with the

[70] Fabre-Serris (2013, 210-1) thinks that the choice of *durus* in Quintilian could be explained just with the importance of this word in Gallan vocabulary.

[71] *Milanion nullos fugiendo, Tulle, labores / saevitiam durae contudit Iasidos* (9-10).

[72] Here we can be especially confident that *dura* was Gallus' epithet, since it etymologizes Atalanta (α-ταλαντα). See Ross 1975, 62.

[73] Actually, the hunt has a double implication in Latin elegy, because sometimes it connotes conquering the restive *puella*, but other times it connotes a remedy for an unhappy love. See Conte [2]1984, 31-4; Gagliardi 2014, *ad* 52-3, 208; *ad* 55-60, 213-27.

Greek scholar, may suggest a Gallan origin of the adjective, perhaps used to pay homage to the poet of Nicaea. Scholars have thoroughly analyzed the relationship between these two passages and have recognized in the similarities between them the near certain presence of a Gallan source,[74] noting also the differing style of these verses compared to the rest of the poem, characterized by an archaizing and artificial tone and by the frequent use of lexical, syntactic, and stylistic Grecisms, perhaps reflecting Gallus' style.[75] So, in this exact instance, the adjective *dura* appears in Propertius, with its typical elegiac connotations, applied to a ruthless girl whom the lover tries to conquer with his efforts and daring. Once again, therefore, the comparison between Propertius and *Ecl*. 10 allows us to reconstruct an aspect of Gallus' elegy, and maybe even thereby allows us to glimpse the relationship between the two poets: Virgil adapts the Gallan original to his bucolic context while paying attention to the distinctive features of love poetry, which are conspicuous in this eclogue. Propertius too, when he imitates Gallus in the same literary genre, aims to affirm his own originality, especially with the transpositions of epithets and perhaps their meanings. In this way he draws attention to his use of Gallan diction, intended to be recognized as such by his audience, and showcases his own skill in giving it new and unusual meanings.

To conclude, we can summarize the results of our investigation. We can never be definitive, due to the unfortunate loss of Gallus' poetry, which makes any reconstruction circumstantial only. However, the analysis of the adjectives for "hard" and "soft" in *Ecl*. 10 reveals a usage very different from the rest of the eclogues and a

[74] See Ross 1975, 60-70; Nicastri 1984, 19; Cairns 1986, 29-38; 1987, 377-84.

[75] Ross 1975, 61; Fedeli (1980, 61), however, attributes the elevated tone to the mythological theme of the section; the unusual style of these verses has been investigated several times by Cairns (1974, 94-8; 1986, 29-38; 1987, 377-84), who highlights the exquisitely Greek features of syntax and vocabulary.

usage which is characteristically elegiac, as demonstrated by its successful employ in the later amatory elegists. It is not difficult to find the reason for this difference in the imitation of Gallan poems by Virgil and in his desire to evoke the ambience of Gallus' poetry when he makes Gallus a character in his eclogue. To the extent that *Ecl*. 10 aims to compare bucolic and elegiac poetry, Virgil does not restrict himself only to reproducing the style and *color* of Gallan poetry, but he succeeds in adapting these features to the context and the characteristics of his own genre, perhaps softening the daring use of language which seems to characterize Gallus' style, as revealed by the couplets of the Qaṣr Ibrîm papyrus. Virgil often plays on the ambiguity and multiple meanings of *mollis*, *tener*, and *durus*, sometimes reproducing the languid tone of erotic elegy (in the case of *teneras* at 7), and in other cases to contribute to the dreamy atmosphere of the poem and to bring out certain specifically elegiac motifs (such as Gallus' pleasure in imagining his own death, with the unique *molliter*). Sometimes, where Gallus seems to have used an adjective in a metaphorical sense (if we can trust Prop. 3.3.18), Virgil brings it back to a concrete meaning and adapts it to the idealized landscape of the bucolic world (this is the case with *mollia prata* at 42, and perhaps with *tener* at 53); *dura* mantains, on the other hand, its original ambiguity between "strong, able to endure" and "cruel, merciless." Virgil even seems to preserve another feature which was present in Gallus (and became characteristic in the later Latin elegists), namely, the combination of contrasting terms of softness and hardness. Unfortunately, we are unable to establish whether Gallus employed these terms, with metapoetical connotations, as Propertius and Ovid often do. Nor is Virgil of any help in this regard, because, as we have seen, he prefers to give these adjectives a concrete meaning. Only occasionally (at 53) does Virgil give them a literary connotation, perhaps imitating Gallus. At 44-5, however, the combination of *insanus amor* and *duri Martis* seems to mirror the predilection of the

following elegists for the contrast between weapons of war and weapons of love, or between military life and lover's life.[76]

The analysis of the three adjectives and their combinations in *Ecl*. 10 seems to establish their Gallan origin with a degree of certainty, and further confirmation comes from comparison with Propertius, Gallus' most immediate follower, as shown by his frequent references to the verses from Qaṣr Ibrîm.[77] For more than a century, the consonance between *Ecl*. 10 and Propertian elegies has been seen to be a way of developing an idea of Gallus' poetry.[78] Here too, in the investigation of adjectives for "hard" and "soft," the same method proves to be useful: almost all (or at least the most important) occurrences of *mollis*, *tener*, and *durus* in *Ecl*. 10 are in fact unexpectedly and accurately reflected in key Propertian texts. We find the Gallan usage reflected in the *exemplum* of Milanion at 1.1.9-16, used programmatically to begin Propertius' elegiac work, following, but also moving beyond, Gallus; the opening words of Prop. 1.8, where the striking similarity with the *propemptikòn Lycoridis* of *Ecl*. 10.46-9 should leave no doubt about its Gallan origin; 1.18, remarkable not only for its unusual setting in nature, but also because it evokes (perhaps also imitating Gallus) a refined Callimachean model; 3.3, with its programmatic *recusatio* that is at the same time the affirmation of the peculiar elegiac sensibility. All these passages, influenced by Gallus, share with *Ecl*. 10, dedicated to him, occurrences of the adjectives we have studied: this is a strong indicator, I think, not only of their Gallan origin, but also of the importance that these epithets had in his poetry, perhaps even in a literary and metaphorical sense. Their reception by his

[76] The most obvious example is Ov. *Am*. 1.9.

[77] "It is constantly becoming clearer that of the three (sc. elegists), Propertius was the one most powerfully influenced by Gallus." See Cairns 1984, 221.

[78] It is a line of investigation started by the studies of Skutsch (1901; 1906) and followed by many scholars: among the most important ones, Tränkle 1960, Ross 1975, and Cairns 2006.

successors then reveals the impression that the work of Gallus left on the genre which he "invented." And Virgil, with the attention that he devotes to this new language in his last eclogue, shows his understanding and considerable esteem for the novelty of Gallan love elegy; for us, this is proof of the invaluable importance that this eclogue, dedicated to a friend and a poet, may have for those who try to know something of Gallus' poetry.

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PRINCIPLES OF ANCIENT DEMOCRACY AND JUDICIAL PRACTICES IN ANCIENT GEORGIA

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Abstract. Ancient Greece, and later Rome, used to be a source of information for ancient Georgia regarding the principles of judicial practices. This information was reflected in the Georgian Law. The article aims to identify those elements of Georgian judicial practices that exhibit democratic trends to varying degrees and have parallels in the ancient world. The elements in question are to be looked for in the early customary law, which survives in Georgian highlands even nowadays. This form of judicial practice allows for higher degree of direct popular participation and hence, democracy. The paper is focused on mediation, which was part of judicial culture in early times, as well as on such questions of the medieval legal system as appellation, democratically elected jury, legal acts tailored to regional needs, requirements for judges and forms of punishment.

From time immemorial, Georgia has maintained contact with the ancient world and shared experience in various fields, including the field of legal procedure. Unfortunately, notwithstanding the abundance of fascinating information about the ancient Caucasus, and Georgia itself, offered by ancient sources, we have little data

on ancient legal procedure itself.[1] Unsurprisingly, Greek and Roman authors tend to write on issues which are unusual, interesting, or new to them. Not so in the case of legal procedure: according to ancient Greek authors, legal procedure in Greece had been developing since the 9th-8th centuries B.C. In the works of Homer, we read about a law court at the lowest level of its development, but this court seems to be an already-evolved version of something even earlier.[2] Homer's epics present *basileus*, who employs the scepter (*Il.* 1.237, 18.497) as the symbol of a judge and performs judicial duties; the *basileus* also acts as a judge, when Minos, scepter in hand, puts the ghosts of the dead on trial (*Od.* 11.568-71). Along with the single-member court, Homer writes about the multi-member court, which consists of several elders. In both cases, the trial is open to the public (*Il*. 18.497-508). The presence of a multi-judge court marks a new stage in the development of legal procedure: the duty of decision-making has been transferred from the sole *basileus* to a group of reputable citizens, as depicted on the shield of Achilles. The sentences passed by the multi-judge court, as well as the ones passed by the *basileus* himself, were to be executed. Hesiod often mentions the *basileus*, as judge, in his *Works and Days* (38-9, 220-1, 248-51, 263-4, 320-4); in *Theogony*, Hesiod names eloquence and persuasiveness (81-7) as necessary characteristics of a king. A man endowed with these talents is able to eliminate conflicts. Hesiod believes that a judge must have high social status. The fact that he took part in the legal trial against his own brother proves that his insights concerning legal procedure were based on practical knowledge.[3]

Georgia most likely obtained information about the earliest principles of legal procedure first from ancient Greece and then from ancient Rome. This can be traced back in Georgian customary law,

[1] See *CA* 2010; Suny [2]1994, 16ff.

[2] See Wolff 1961, 6-33; Gagarin 1986, 26-33.

[3] See Gagarin 1974, 103ff.

especially in the mountainous regions of the country. To begin, we must highlight the parallels that transcend the scope of typological similarities, for example, the institutions of *makhvshi* in Svaneti (a mountainous region in Western Georgia) and *gaga* in Khevi (a mountainous region in Eastern Georgia).

The commission of the elected *makhvshi* expired on death and combined the responsibilities of a judge with other functions. However, when a *makhvshi* failed to fulfill his obligations, his status could be terminated. Anyone of age could run for the *makhvshi* position, but female candidates were always fewer than the male. Furthermore, several different candidates could represent the same family. A *makhvshi* had to be brave, experienced, honest, smart, and committed. As a rule, the voting procedure was carried out at a public place called *lalkhor*, *sviph*, or *sakhev*. In the beginning of the voting, someone from the community bugled to bring everyone together. Once they heard the bugle call, people would put on their best clothes and go to the appointed place, where candidates would put themselves up for a nomination. Depending on his eligibility, a potential candidate acted as the *makhvshi's* assistant. Thus, *makhvshis* were elected long before the voting procedure itself and people gathered simply to acknowledge his power. At the ceremony, orators would remind the candidate about the duties of the *makhvshi* before blessing him. For his part, the *makhvshi* asked the God to grant him the ability to perform his duties with honor. The *makhvshi's* functions included solving any issues of civil, criminal, or religious law, but he deferred to the opinion of the congress and made no decisions without its consent. The *makhvshi* was responsible for resolving disputes and preserving the peace among members of the community. *Makhvshis* were paid no salary, but were highly respected by society, and could not be arrested.[4]

[4] See Tarkhnishvili 2012, 213.

In Khevi, the *gaga* performed the same functions as Svan *makhvshi*. *Gagas* were elected governors and leaders of Khevi, responsible for almost everything in the community. They were called the masters and legislators of the people. Besides other responsibilities, they were authorized to reconcile families who were deadly enemies. *Gagas* were considered chief justices, and their authority was determined by laws and based on custom. A *gaga* supervised the judges of his community. Usually, if the crime committed was not grave, the enemies were reconciled on the authority of the elders of the village. If a feud was characterized by endless murders and blood revenges, then the proceedings would be initiated at the community level and supervised by the *gaga*, as soon as the hostile parties had gone through the ceremony called *azar* − the offering of sacrifices by deadly enemies. During the trial, the *gaga* would take the main seat, a long rock slab, and persuade the heads of the families at enmity to reconcile. Upon reaching an agreement, they would swear by their moustaches. Afterwards, at daybreak of the forthcoming festival, the messenger of the *gaga* would blow the bugle from the top of a tower and arouse the villagers from their sleep. In the morning, two lance-bearers would open the gates of the *gaga's* house and the *gaga*, dressed in his purple mantle, would step out proudly. Followed by two rows of armed, bareheaded men, he would move wordlessly to the wall around the place (about 1 ha) where deadly enemies usually reconciled. This place was surrounded by a stone wall with two gates, eastern and western. The gates were always locked, and the *gaga* kept the key. When the *gaga* had delivered his speech at the eastern gates, the gates would open and a 10-12-year-old girl with loose hair would pass a low table to him. The table held bread, salt, and water. The *gaga* would utter a prayer and deliver another speech. The heads of the warring families would repeat each of his words. Then the entire procession followed the *gaga* and stood in two rows around the counseling place. The *gaga* would take his seat again and consider

the case. On his order, the heads of the conflicting families would step forward and announce that both sides had made equal sacrifices and were willing to be reconciled. The *gaga* and eight councilors, chosen by the *gaga* himself, would discuss the case. After discussion, the *gaga* would lead everyone to the place of reconciliation and recite a tacit prayer in a hole dug specially for the case. Then the heads of both families would kneel before the *gaga*, who would break a sword into two halves, throw the pieces into the hole, and say: "Let the earth bear the sin of the blood of the brothers." Those who attended the ceremony repeated the words of the *gaga* and then the people (starting with the men) offered up their sacrifices, such as earrings, rings, and other goods. The *gaga's* messenger would also break his lance into two parts and throw them into the hole before the *gaga* approached the hole again to throw a handful of earth into it. When the hole was filled with earth, three large and three small stones were buried ontop. By the end of the ceremony, the *gaga* would go to the western gates, where two girls with braided hair[5] would meet him with abundant food and beer.[6]

So, *makhvshi* and *gaga* were endowed with the powers of a Hellenic *basileus*, but unlike the early versions of this institution in Greek culture, where the judge was necessarily of high social status (the *basileus*, or a collegial body composed of members of high social status), in Georgian customary law, the same institution was more democratic in nature. Any member of the community could become the *makhvshi* or the *gaga.* Although rare, there were even cases of women ascending to the *makhvshi* position. As for the scepter, the symbol of the judge king, it was also used in the mountainous regions of Eastern Georgia. The *gaga* of Khevi decided cases with a scepter in his hand, the scepter being the symbol of a judge.

[5] Loose hair symbolized grief, and braided hair symbolized happiness.
[6] See Tarkhnishvili 2012, 213; Nizharadze 1964, 78.

As for late antiquity in Colchis and Iberia, documentary evidence proves that Georgians had already enhanced their skills, making rhetoric an essential part of legal procedure. If we focus our intention on the sepulchers and cultural remnants discovered during the examination of the foundation of Svetitskhoveli Cathedral (2001), we will see that burial vault no. 14 stands out for the sheer multitude, diversity, and uniqueness of the utensils found in it. Among twenty-five items made of gold, silver, bronze, iron, glass, and different minerals, there are silver and gold writing accessories − three pens in a silver case, its silver cover garnished with an inscribed gold plate. The gold inkpot holder attached to the cover depicts three men and the inscription: MENAN [δρος] OMHPOC ΔHMOCΘE NH C [Menander, Homer and Demosthenes], and a plate with golden frame depicts the following: BACIΛEGↃCOϒCTAMOϒ TOϒKAIEϒΓENIOϒ [Of the King Ustamos and Eugenos].[7] Similarly, there are inscriptions of the nine muses on the back of the case.[8] Along with the styluses and inkpots found in Mtskheta, these archaeological finds provide evidence of the development of writing traditions and the standards of urban culture in the Kingdom of Kartli (Iberia). It is also important to note that no analogs of the above-mentioned adornments have ever been found. Thus, we can presume that these accessories were specially commissioned. The Georgian of that time knew of ancient thinkers, like Demosthenes, and it was the custom to portray such thinkers on personal belongings.

The fact that there was a school of rhetoric near Phasis (present-day Poti) in the 3rd-4th centuries[9] is one of crucial importance. The Greek philosopher Themistius was also educated at the school of

[7] Kaukhchishvili ([3]2009, 367-8) dated the inscriptions to 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.

[8] See *Online Catalogue of Greek Inscriptions in Georgia.* http://mrc.org.ge/Inscriptions

[9] Kaukhchishvili and Gamkrelidze 1961, 45.

rhetoric in Colchis.[10] According to Themistius, his father Eugenius, who was also a philosopher, studied in Colchis, too. In an address to a man from one of the provinces, Themistius talks about the school of rhetoric in Colchis. The man had asked the thinker to help him move from the provinces to the Capital, where he planned to acquire his education. In response, Themistius pointed to Odysseus, who was educated on Ithaca, and to Nestor, who was taught in Pylos, and he wrote that people are educated by masters, not by places. The philosopher revealed that Colchis was where he himself trained in the art of rhetoric: "I picked the fruit of rhetoric in a place much undistinguished than ours, at the end of Pontus, near Phasis, instead of serene Hellenic places." In the same oration, the philosopher notes that the wisdom and virtue of the man who trained him in eloquence instead of trick riding, lance throwing, or archery (as neighboring barbarians did) had turned that uncivilized and sullen place into a Hellenic temple of muses (*Orat.* 27.332d-333a, 333b). I. Javakhishvili comments on the data provided by this author:[11] The words of Themistius reveal that Colchis proved to be a fertile ground for Hellenic teaching... the country turned into the 'adobe of Muses.' ... Of course, a country which bore such fruit could never be so fertile due to the work of foreigners alone, diligent as they might be; the Colchis locals had to have had their own cultural achievements.[12] Themistius resorts to refined rhetoric devices (antithesis, analogy, etc.). S. Kaukhchishvili believes that it might even be unnecessary to search for the single man mentioned by Themistius. He is sure that the single man mentioned by the philosopher was his father, while F. Wilhelm thinks that, in this case, we have to deal with both a rhetoric device, and the common belief of the time that anything good in a "barbarian

[10] See *RE* 5A, 1642-80, s. v. Themistios (W. Stegemann).
[11] Javakhishvili ³1928, 253.
[12] All translations are mine.

country" had to be the work of someone Greek.[13] At the school of rhetoric in Colchis, students were trained in gymnastics and eloquence. They studied philosophy, law, myths, rudimentary history, poetry, metaphysics, physics, math, ethics, and politics. The school hosted public competitions on legal and political issues. According to some Greek sources, such competitions were usually won by Colchian participants. But what was the working language at the school of rhetoric in Colchis? We have no information about the working language or the curriculum of the School, and we know nothing about the teachers. However, we can assume that, in the beginning, students were taught in the Colchian language, but when the school of rhetoric became well-known in Hellas, to simplify the whole process for foreign students, instruction was given in Greek as well, for certain disciplines. As for locals, they were also taught in Colchian.

In the *Histories* by Agathias Scholasticus (536-82) we read about brilliant speeches of Laz orators such as Aeetes and Phartaz. It is obvious that they were firmly grounded in knowledge apparently acquired at the school of rhetoric in Colchis. The speeches delivered by these orators at Laz meetings are among other examples of top-level rhetoric. In 554, the Laz King Gubaz was assassinated by the Byzantines. In 555, the elders called together a large assembly of people who expressed many different opinions about the best course of action. The noblemen divided into two groups, one of which was led by Aeetes, an old enemy of the Byzantines and an ally of the Persians. Aeetes was opposed by Phartaz, who led the second group of noblemen. Phartaz was much respected by the Colchians. His logical and persuasive speech convinced the Colchians to side with the Byzantines. Both Aeetes and Phartaz must have appealed to the people in their native Colchian language. Phartaz was victorious, and the Byzantine emperor decided on

[13] See Kaukhchishvili and Gamkrelidze 1961, 50; Wilhelm 1929.

capital punishment for the murderers of the king. The speeches delivered by Aeetes and Phartaz are proof of the strong rhetorical training provided by the school of rhetoric in Colchis.[14] Agathias Scholasticus writes of Aeetes:

> He spoke so as if he was speaking at the people's congress. He spoke so beautifully, better than barbarians usually do; his natural flexibility helped his thoughts... So spoke Aeetes and all the people went into raptures… cried out with joy... The Laz became so excited not only because they were barbarians, but because... Aeetes's words greatly astonished them... Colchians, there was nothing strange in what happened to you, the words which were said so skillfully and effectively agitated your minds. Eloquence is something invincible, defeating almost everything, especially those who have never experienced its strength.[15]

Thus, even the great Greek historian acknowledged the rhetorical prowess of orators instructed at the school of rhetoric in Colchis. Lazika boasted of many gifted orators. Procopius of Caesarea quotes the speech of Laz ambassadors to Khusro, King of Persia. Procopius writes that the king, delighted by the eloquence of the Laz envoys, willingly promised assistance (*Bell.* 2.15.15).[16] Furthermore, in his *Epistulae* (963-4), Libanius praises Bacurius, proclaiming, "From all of your virtues, I would distinguish your love for logos and those who remain faithful to them... Of course, you were a meadow because we are amidst such flowers." Since Libanius calls Bacurius a meadow, S. Kaukhchishvili states that Libanius and his friends were indebted to Bacurius for their knowledge of and skill in rhetoric: "They picked the flowers on the meadow."[17]

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[14] Kaukhchishvili 1940, 34.
[15] See Kaukhchishvili 1936, 64-81.
[16] Kaukhchishvili 1965, 144.
[17] Kaukhchishvili and Gamkrelidze 1961, 63-4.

Since that time, Georgian legal procedure has arguably comprised a variety of traditions, including those of ancient customs. Many elements of ancient customary law are partially preserved in the mountainous regions of Georgia. First, we would like to make a point about the courts of mediation. In the early stages of social evolution, the courts of mediation were an integral part of legal culture; Greeks and Romans alike resolved disputes by means of the court of mediation. These courts were established simultaneously with other legal institutions, just as the latter had been gaining strength in its struggle against older customs of feuding and vengeance. The courts of mediation were intended to prevent the need for revenge in all cases, and to reconcile the parties involved by means of certain penalties, such as forfeiture of estate, foreseen by the customary law. Thus, reconciliation of parties was the core function of the courts of mediation.[18] The courts of mediation existed in Sparta, Georgina, Ephesus, and Lampsacus, but detailed information about such courts is available only in case of Athens. We know of *diaitetes* (arbitrators), who, like experts invited by the *praetor*, were generally guided by the principles of equity. As for the experts who took on the role of mediators, they were not restricted by rigid legal rules and could run a case on the basis of *aequitas*. As a result, all cases carried in Rome freely, without any strictly determined formula, were called *arbitria*. In both instances, the mediators were elected by mutual agreement of the parties. It was the obligation of the elected mediators to design decisions that were equitable and satisfactory to both parties. In the ancient world, arbitrage also influenced interstate relations greatly, as can be supported by the record which describes how Argos tried to settle a conflict between two of its colonies, Knossos and Tilos, in 450 B.C. Earlier examples of international arbitration seem almost fictional

[18] Roebuck 2001, 345-60; cf. Roebuck and de Loynes de Fumichon 2004.

(e.g., Sparta's mediation with regard to Salamis, between Athens and Megara).

There was a developed institution of mediation in Georgia too. In Khevsureti (a mountainous part of East Georgia), the mediation court and the local law were both called *rjuli*, and a mediator was called *rjulis katsi* (a man of *rjuli*), or *bhche*. The hearing of a case on merits was called *garjulva*, and a sentence passed was *narjulevi*. As for the parties involved in a case, they were the *merjules* (those who demand justice). In Khevsureti, cases of wounding, murder, and theft were most frequently tried by the mediation court. Usually, the men of *rjuli* confined themselves to determining the amount of *drama*,[19] or penalty to be paid by the perpetrator of a crime, provided that he presented himself and confessed to the crime. The amount of penalty depended on the severity of injuries. Sometimes cases were heard in order to identify the perpetrators. If a suspect denied committing a crime, he was made to sin and step on a grave to prove his innocence. Otherwise, he would be convicted and penalized. According to Khevsurian law, if the murderer was identified, the *rjuli* legal proceedings were not conducted at all: the amount of *drama* for murdering was commonly known and indisputable.[20] *Rjuli* was not a regular court; it gathered only when the parties were willing to reconcile. To avoid mob retaliation or acts of revenge, *shuakatsi* acted as a mediator between the parties, whose readiness to meet at the *rjuli* court was a prerequisite to reconciliation. In agreeing to go to the *rjuli* court, the aggrieved party renounced the right to vengeance, and the defendant agreed to pay the *drama* determined by the *rjuli*. The Khevsurian men of *rjuli* were chosen by the parties for each case. As a rule, they were respected, pious men well versed in the *rjuli*.[21] The number of *bches* depended on the gravity of the offence. Cases of trivial crime

[19] A kind of silver coin.

[20] Makalatia [2]1985, 78-82; cf. Makalatia [2]1984.

[21] Kekelia 1988b, 147-9.

might be tried by two men of *rjuli*, but murder cases were required to be tried by twelve judges. The *narjulevi* had to be passed unanimously; a majority agreement was insufficient. In *rjuli*, cases were heard in neutral territory, such as a grove, shore, or hill. The opposing parties would stand so as not to see or hear each other. Khevsurian judges assumed the highest responsibility. Misjudgment was considered equivalent to eternal damnation, and to secure the *bches*[22] from it, the witnesses were sworn on the icon and interrogated on oath. At the first stage, the *bches* studied a case from beginning to end and interrogated the *shuakatsis*. Then they interrogated the parties separately – the complainant first and the defendant afterwards. The head of the complainant's family, if he was more eloquent than the complainant himself, was sometimes authorized to take the place of the complainant. The men of *rjuli* would report to the parties what was said by either side as witnesses were interrogated multiple times, in order to compare all testimony given. In the case of wounding, physicians were also interrogated, since they could speak to the severity of the injury. Sentences were determined at the second stage of the *rjuli* trial, and no one but the men of *rjuli* were permitted to attend the procedure. If a defendant was proved guilty, the judges penalized him with *drama*. If both parties were to blame, the men of *rjuli* made a decision about the *gabra* (subtraction) and determined the amount of *drama* to be paid by each of the parties. The guiltier party paid the difference. If the men of *rjuli* failed to make a unanimous decision, the *rjuli* court was broke up, and new men of *rjuli* were chosen. One of the judges would announce the decision separately to each of the involved parties. There were no compulsory measures aimed at judgment execution, which completely depended upon the will of the parties. If any of the parties did not accept a decision, they could ask for their case to be reconsidered. Sometimes,

[22] Bardavelidze 1952, 623-30.

cases were tried three or four times. According to legend, *rjuli* arbitration proceedings could be carried out a maximum of nine times for the same case. When both parties accepted the decision of the *bches*, the men of *rjuli* took part in its execution. Together with the convicted offender, they brought the *drama* to the injured person, where the offender would apologize before a feast of reconciliation. If the party at fault accepted the decision, the men of *rjuli* received salary: the number of cows to be paid by the perpetrator equaled the number of sheep to be given to the men of *rjuli*. At times, the men of *rjuli* would waive their salary.[23]

A court of mediation in Svaneti, has been one of the most important elements of Georgian legal culture. A specific accusatorial procedure, the most ancient form of the legal proceedings, has been an integral part of Svan law, in which the composition of the court depended upon the decision of the parties who provided proofs. The mediators did not participate in collecting evidence; they evaluated evidence and made a decision on the case. In Svaneti, the trial had a competitive character, and all parties stood absolutely equal. In earlier period Svan folkmoots elected no judges. The mediators were *morval* and they were chosen for each case immediately by the parties. The mediators heard both civil and criminal cases for the benefits of parties if they could not be decided otherwise. As for the easiest cases, they might be tried by a folkmoot, but when one of the members of a certain community acted contrary to the interests of his community, his case would be decided by a community gathering, which passed a corresponding sentence upon the violator.[24] To sum up, the courts of mediations in Svaneti mostly arbitrated the cases of private individuals. In order to appeal to *morval*, both parties had to express their will to be reconciled by the mediation court; otherwise no hearing would

[23] Elisashvili 1988.

[24] See Nizharadze 1964, 102-5; Kekelia 1988a, 86-94.

take place. It was not easy to persuade parties to be reconciled, especially in murder cases: Svan families took it as an insult if they did not have their revenge, although they reconciled more readily when the number of victims from each family was equal. Thus, the Svans had different methods of reconciling blood enemies by means of mediation, such as intermediaries like *metskularis* and *makhvshis*, or community gatherings. To avoid misunderstanding, adversaries expressed their consent to reconcile in writing. Written consent was required as a prerequisite for further execution of the decision made by the mediators. The party that did not fulfill its obligations had to pay the forfeit agreed on by the adversaries. Parties willing to be reconciled nominated judges. The aggrieved party, or the family of the murdered person, was the first to nominate its candidates. The mediators would introduce a list of the arbitrators to the parties to confirm that all candidates were impartial. If any of the potential mediator turned out to be at enmity with any of the parties, he was disqualified. Any man of age could bear the responsibility of a judge, but in Svaneti *morval* were usually heavyweight members of the society, those whose authority guaranteed further impartiality. The *morval* were obeyed like clergymen. Since *morval* were obligated by custom to be faithful, their impartiality was above suspicion. Notwithstanding the sizeable reputation of the mediators, Svans preferred not to be nominated as *morval* who made vows of impartiality. Svans believed that breaking such a vow would bring the wrath of God down upon their families and descendants, and, since there was no guarantee that a mediator would only make fair decisions, it was difficult to find willing *morval*. When a person heard that he was to be nominated as a mediator, he would typically try to avoid such a responsibility.[25] It is commonly known that Svan customary law did not determine the exact number of mediators for certain types of cases. The existing

[25] See Nizharadze 1964.

sources reveal that the parties had to nominate at least two mediators (a mediator from each party), but no more than twenty-four. The number of *morval* varied in accordance with the severity of the case. For example, twenty-four mediators were gathered to consider murder cases. The notion of oath was one of the most important ones in Georgian customary law. Among other types of judicial evidence, it has been regarded as a primary notion. In Svaneti, the *morval,* as well as the opposing parties, had to swear an oath before the hearing. The oath sworn by the *morval* was called *tolobis pitsi* (the equality oath) and the oath sworn by the parties involved was called *ertgulebis pitsi* (the loyalty oath). Both oaths were taken at a church before an icon.[26] The *morval* vowed that they would not divulge the secret of their decision until it was announced. They also vowed to prevent their final judgment from being swayed or dictated by any one person. The trial itself began when all the *morval* were chosen. The *morval* examined the case and interrogated the parties at their own homes. When visited by the mediators, each party entertained them with all kinds of delicacies. The aggrieved person was the first to be interrogated. Then the mediators would go to the party at fault and report the status of the injured one. Sometimes the *morval* visited parties more than once. The party which contradicted any of the mentioned facts would swear an oath, and the *morval* would make a decision (*namoravi*). To keep their decision a secret, the *morval* gathered at a solitary place, at the outskirts of the village in the summer, or at a deserted house in the winter. Sometimes, it took 10-15 days to come to a decision. If the secret decision was known by others before its time, both parties had the right to back out of the agreement with impunity. If the bench found it difficult to come to a single decision, some of the *morval* were asked to consult and make a final and binding decision, since a group of fewer men had a greater chance of coming to

[26] Nizharadze 1964, 104-5.

a conclusion than did a large group. Sometimes the decisions of the mediation court were executed in writing, having foreseen all the obligations and penalties assessed for each party. The arbitral procedure reached its climax when the *morval* took the final oath and each mediator was named individually. *Bacha liljeni*, or stone-burying, was the ritual which took place when the decision of the *morval* was announced. One of the mediators would dig a hole and bury a stone in it. This ritual symbolized that the case was settled and the decision made by the *morval*, binding. *Namoravi* was typically announced at night, when the oath-taking ritual had already been performed at a church. The *morval* went to the party at fault and asked the aggrieved person to attend as well. It was the obligation of the perpetrator to entertain and atone for his wrongdoing, during the feast.

Even this brief review of mediation makes obvious the democratic nature of such courts. It defended the interests of society as a whole while protecting the interests of each party in any given case. The courts of mediation were tasked with crafting a compromise which was acceptable and fair to both parties. In both the ancient world and the mountainous parts of Georgia, legal procedures were based more on the concept of justice than on legal norms; independent courts warranted open trials.

As for the middle ages in Georgia, the Byzantine culture greatly influenced many aspects of the country, including field of law. Georgians had the opportunity to study Byzantine legal procedure deeply. The texts of ancient canonical law, the *Minor Nomocanon* and the *Great Nomocanon,* were adopted by Georgia.[27] The influence of Byzantine ecclesiastical law is tangible in the *Decree of the Church Council of Ruisi and Urbnisi* held by King David the Builder (1103). As for secular law, *King Vakhtang VI's Book of Law*[28] must be

[27] Giunashvili, Gabidzashvili, and Dolakidze 1972; Gabidzashvili et al. 1975.
[28] Dolidze 1963.

mentioned first. This collection of laws consists of six different parts: 1. *The Law of Moses*. 2. *Greek Law.* 3. *Armenian Law.* 4. *Catholicos Law.* 5. *The Law of King Giorgi.* 6. *The Law of Aghbugha.* The book also includes the *Book of Law of Vakhtang VI.* In this compilation, the provisions of Greek law come after the norms of Georgian customary law and are represented in the form of 418 preserved articles. Though the rules adopted by King Vakhtang himself prevailed over other provisions, foreign laws were also quite popular. So, during the rule of Vakhtang VI, late ancient Roman and Byzantine provisions comprised a significant portion of positive law.

Due to the social, political and legal norms, even in the context of absolute monarchy, we can see certain tendencies of democratic rule in the legal structure of feudal Georgia. In that period, there were two judicial establishments in the country: the court of the Catholicos (*sasjulo samreblo*) and the royal court (*samartali sameupeo*). The King was the Chief Justice, and he tried cases in person or by means of those "who would hear and decide fairly."[29] The *darbazi* also shared the functions of the court. The King convened the *darbazi* where legal procedures was to be carried out by professionals. As for the *saajo kari*, it was the Supreme Court run by the Mtsignobartukhutsesi-Chkondideli. It was somewhat of a court of appeal. The cases were examined by several judges: *mtsignobartukhutsesi* and two of his assistants (*satsolis mtsignobari* and *zardakhnis mtsignobari*). The charter issued by King Giorgi III in 1170 mentions the court of *samparavtmdzebneli*, but thieves were denounced by officials called *chenilis*, who tried the criminals and executed the sentences. According to the *Article 100* of *Bagrat Kouropalates' Law*, the so-called rank courts persisted, as in feudal courts,[30] where feudal lords administered justice by means of their servants. In Georgia, there were some standard requirements which a judge

[29] Javakhishvili 1928b, 81-142.
[30] Javakhishvili 1984, 170-1.

had to meet. According to the *Article III* of the *Book* of *Law of Vakhtang VI*, a judge ought to be "much punctilious, keen-witted, earnest, quiet, amiable, attentive to complaints, interested in the opinion of the complainant and others, willing to find witnesses, uncorrupted and pious."[31] *Article 215* determines the age of a judge and emphasizes that no poor man could become a judge. This restriction has much in common with the present-day requirements of modern legal procedure.

While talking about the legal procedure we must mention Athenian and Roman appeal proceedings, *ephesis* and *provocatio ad populum*, which restrained the process of passing sentences against public officials. A citizen had the right to appeal against the court judgment. Appealing against court decision, bringing a case again,[32] was common practice in Georgian legal procedure. The king, as the chief justice, presided over hearings of the disputed decisions, but could send a case to the queen (who was authorized to act as a judge for a limited range of cases and had no right to hear, say, criminal proceedings), the princes, or the Catholicos (clerical disputes). The procedure of appealing against court decisions in Georgian law resembles the appellation principle that worked at the regular courts in Rome, where disputable decisions were usually sent up.

It is worth mentioning that in Athens, to stimulate the civic fervor, a monetary reward was offered for certain public cases (*apographe*),[33] but this also could have some adverse effects. People were encouraged to become professional questmen (sycophants).[34] However, the Court of Athens developed an efficient mechanism against sycophants: if a defendant failed to receive at least 1/5 of

[31] Surguladze 2000, 107.
[32] Javakhishvili 1984, 349-53.
[33] Nadareishvili 2012, 107.
[34] See MacDowell 1986, 62-3.

votes during the trial, he would be fined 1, 000 drachmas and be partially disfranchised (*atimia*).

The questman institution in Georgian judicial proceedings was different. The *mtkhrobeli*[35] (narrator), the person who reported the words of witnesses to the aggrieved party, acted as a prosecutor. Prosecution cases were built up on the basis of information provided by a *mtkhrobeli*, who was paid a special salary. It was *mtkhrobeli's* obligation to witness at a court hearing.[36] Besides, legal perjury was also punishable. Unlike sycophants, *mtkhrobelis* took part in private-law disputes.

In Athens, court proceedings were instituted on the basis of private initiative: you had to write the text of accusation, take it to the magistrate, hand the court summons to the opposing party who would appear before the court on the day named by the magistrate and attend the preliminary examination of the case (*anakrisis*), where each party submitted the documents necessary in establishing his case. In Rome, initiation of court proceedings as well as the legal procedure as a whole was more sophisticated. The system adapted to contemporary requirements regarding enabled citizens, as complainants and defendants were to be more protected at the court.

In contrast to the Athenian court, which really was absolutely open, unbiased, and democratic, Roman legal procedure was controlled by the ruling class and often turned out to be tendentious.[37] Roman justice passed different levels of procedural development. The *legis actio* procedure, the most ancient form of dispute resolution, was very close to Athenian justice.[38] The accusatory process was the most widespread form of judicial process in feudal Geor-

[35] Javakhishvili 1984.

[36] The law excludes *mtkhrobeli's* personal attitude to the accused, which may turn out to be a prerequisite to the charges brought against the latter.

[37] See Hansen 1991, 296-321.

[38] Gardapkhadze 2012, 58.

gia. The complainant and the defendant had equal rights. Their case was initiated by parties. They gathered evidence and submitted them to the judge whose functions were to examine the case and make a decision. Oral procedure and public hearings were typical of Georgian court of that time. Beside the accusatory process, another form of legal procedure, the investigative process, was also developed in the country. In the investigative process, the state investigates a case and collects evidence, while the *sampara-vtmdzebneli* mentioned in the Charter issued by King Giorgi III in 1170 was part of their scheme. The head of the court of *sampara-vtmdzebneli (*chief *mparavtmdzebneli)* was authorized to find and condemn thieves, while the *chenilis* (officials of lower rank) detained criminals and executed sentences.

The Georgian feudal accusatory process resembles the rules of Athenian legal procedure and Roman *legis actio* procedure, where legal subjects are the principal initiators of cases. In all three societies the aggrieved party appealed to a public official (a magistrate, the king, the queen, or the prince) but, unlike Athens and Rome, Georgian legal proceedings have much in common with the praetor's court. Praetors chose candidates from the list of judges in person. In Athens the judges were elected in a very democratic manner; in Rome, people partially participated in the formation of the People's court. In feudal Georgia, the king decided which court was to decide the case. In Athens, disputing parties appeared before dikasts, judges, and took the floor themselves. The parties could also have a *synegoros*,[39] who spoke in their favor but was not regarded as a formal lawyer. It was unlawful to involve a lawyer in any trial.

The speakers recited speeches written by logographers tried to improvise, as if they were amateurs in litigation, so as not to be accused of. At the People's court in Rome, the magistrate read out

[39] See MacDowell 1986, 62-3.

the charge before the accused was given the chance to defend himself or be defended by a lawyer advocate. In contrast to the Greek system,[40] lawyers appeared at early stages of the development of Roman legal procedure. Georgian sources provide us with information about *meokhis*, protectors who also participated in litigation. I. Javakhishvili identified *meokhis* as lawyers.[41] In the period of the Roman Republic, lawyers defended their clients, free of charge. Lawyer fees were determined later, in the Roman Empire. The fact that masters spoke as attorneys in the court, enables us to draw a parallel between these masters, and the *synegoros*. When both parties had appeared, the court tried to collect evidence. This procedure was followed by the taking of oaths to gather indubitable proof. The testimony of one of the witnesses was usually ignored (*testis unus, testis nullus*). Underage and feeble-minded persons, slaves, women, and infamous (*infamis*)[42] characters had no right to testify in a trial.

The fact that one of the testimonies was not taken into consideration may be regarded as the court's attempt to avoid warped decisions. In Rome, as in Athens, cases of public prosecution were tried with the utmost care, for example, the number of witnesses who took part in such trials exceeded the number of witnesses in cases of other types. Legal perjury was sometimes punishable by death. In the 9th-14th centuries testimonies of witnesses (brought by both parties to the court) were of great significance in the legal proce-

[40] See Gagarin 1986, 61-2.

[41] See Javakhishvili 1984, 355.

[42] Notorious person who was deprived of his rights because of his infamous acts: polygamy; father's consent to a widowed daughter to get married until the period of mourning was over; matchmaking; avoiding to fulfill one's obligations; theft; robbery, etc. Such citizens were disfranchised and could not take political office. They were also deprived of voting rights, could not defend themselves before the court and were excluded from military lists. See *RE* 9.2. 1915. col. 1537-40, s.v. Infamia (Pfaff) (G. Humbert and Ch. Lecrivain).

dure. Later, the role of witnesses faded in importance. In *Vakhtang VI's Book of Law,* testimony stands fifth in the evidence list, after the oath and ordeals. *Vakhtang VI's Book of Law* was mostly based upon Georgian customary law, according to which witnesses never appeared before the court in criminal proceedings (cases which anticipated blood vengeance), except the cases of theft, borrowing, etc. However, this compilation assigns an essential role to witnesses, and in *Article 13*, it determines the ideal characteristics of witnesses to be honesty, intelligence, and piety. The same article determines the number of witnesses. One of the testimonies was ignored by Georgian legal procedure, as well.

In ancient Athens and Rome, juries, judges, and witnesses swore to speak the truth and examine the case impartially. In the Georgian legal framework, in customary law as well as state law, an oath was regarded as evidence. In Svan customary law, we can see three different forms of oath: loyalty oath, equality oath, and acquittal oath. In the mountainous parts of East Georgia, we can observe swearing on flags, swearing in public, a relative's swearing, and swearing during fencing. According to the *Law of Vakhtang VI*, the latter ritual was performed mostly in property disputes when the court completely lacked evidence. The diversity of the forms of oath as evidence points to the significance of this institution in Georgian customary law. The feeble-minded, underage, and female were also barred from taking oaths in a trial. The number of those who had to swear an oath in a certain case depended on how grievous the crime was. As much as the law of feudal Georgia implied all moral and legal norms characteristic of that social structure, some of the provisions determined a settlement between the statuses of those who had to make an oath in a case. According to the *Law of Vakhtang VI*, an oath made by two grand princes equaled the oath made by twenty princes or the oath of sixty gentlemen. Thus, the significance of the oaths made by such witnesses remained large.

It must be said that a monetary penalty was the most widespread form of punishment in Greece and Rome, but ancient legal procedure also foresaw separation from the society and capital punishment. In both societies, the cases where judges might resort to maximum sentencing, were tried by special courts. Imprisonment as a form of punishment was rarely used, but preliminary detention was also common practice in Rome. All these forms of punishment were common in Georgia, too. In ancient Georgia, convicts had to face various strange punishments: the death penalty, permanent injury, separation from society, imprisonment, execution of forfeiture (forfeiture of estate), temporary or life forfeit of civil rights, fines, damnation, and other penances. Convicts were rarely imprisoned in Georgia, too. *Articles 177* and *64* of the *Code of Vakhtang VI* deal with this form of punishment: "If a man tortures his wife and outrages her, the King as well as the Catholicos shall bind and reprimand him." *The Law of Bagrat Kourapalates* interprets the notion of deprivation of liberty (arrest) more extensively (*Articles 101-4*).

So, in the context of absolute monarchy and social, political, and legal norms characteristic of it, we can trace back the effects of democratic rule to the legal structure of feudal Georgia. Georgian kings initiated legislation, but they could not make legislative changes on their own. Amendments were considered by professionals, public officials, and representatives of the people (*khevisberis, khevistavis*).[43] Then the new laws were enacted by the *darbazi* (consultative body). The king was the Chief Justice, but he did not

[43] King Giorgi V the Brilliant first united the country in the beginning of the 14th century; at that time he gets acquainted with the processes in the mountainous parts of East Georgia (lawlessness, frequent crimes, unorganized governance) and draws up the code called *Dzeglis dadeba* for this region. Khevisberis took part in the legislative process as well as royal officials. The Code made of 46 articles aimed at law observance and establishing order. See Kapanadze 1913.

make individual decisions, except in very rare cases. The attack against Erekle II is a spectacular example of the aforementioned. The king investigated a case himself, but sent it to the *darbazi* for further consideration. Besides, within its limited jurisdiction, the Court of Representatives also functioned in Georgia.[44] Judges of this Court were elected by vote from different layers of society.

As stated above, the traditions of legal procedure which have been obvious to Georgians since antiquity, reveal multiple parallels within the principles of ancient legal procedure – parallels that transcend the scope of typological similarities.

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[44] The case of attack against King Erekle II and the institute of *kedkhudis* took place in the late feudal period, but we focus our attention on them because they seem to originate from ancient traditions. *Kedkhudis* represented different social layers (merchants, craftsmen, etc.) and were a connecting link between the state and the population. They served at Mamasakhlisis Panel of Judges. The *kedkhudies* representing high social classes took part in the legal proceedings carried out at Mdivanbegi and Melik-Mamasakhlisi Courts. They also heard minor civil cases but were not authorized to consider criminal cases.

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OVIDIAN INTERTEXTUALITY: SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON *TR.* 1 AND *MET.* 11

SIMONA MARTORANA

Abstract: Having summed up the principal issues of the *Tristia,* as well as the ways in which scholars have approached Ovid's exile works during the last few centuries, I will make a comparative analysis between *Tr*. 1.2-4 and *Met*. 11.410-748, the episode of Ceyx and Alcyone. The close intertextual connections that emerge from this analysis suggest not only that the fundamental textual source for *Tr*. 1.2-4 is indeed Ceyx' episode of the *Metamorphoses*, but also that these three poems, by sharing a common model, are interrelated, thus constituting a sort of unitary block. The aim of the paper is to show how Ovidian intertextuality may be profitably employed to shed light on Ovid's *modus operandi* in arranging his works: indeed, the poet not only draws from other authors, but, especially in this case, also predominantly takes inspiration from his previous poetry and adapts it to a new context.

INTRODUCTION

Ovid's *Tristia*, as well as other exile works such as the *Epistulae ex Ponto* and the *Ibis*, have long been neglected by Ovidian scholars. Especially from the period of Romantic criticism onwards, they have been considered the worst products of Ovidian poetry, and

for this reason their literary value has been dramatically underestimated.[1]

In the last decades, however, Ovid's exile poetry has undergone a process of revaluation: it has not simply been studied as merely a biographical document of Ovid's life after he underwent the sentence of banishment, as was previously the case, but its artistic content has also been rediscovered and appreciated.[2]

Following this new inclination, in this paper I posit the existence of a strong intertextual relationship between the three poems of *Tr*. 1 (2, 3, 4) and the myth of Ceyx and Alcyone of *Met*. 11.[3] To achieve this, after providing a brief overview of the existing scholarship on Ovid's exile works, I will make a comparative analysis of the three poems and the passage of *Met*. 11 mentioned above. The final goal is to uncover new literary aspects of *Tr*. 1.2-4, by demonstrating that these three poems share an artistically refined textual source, i.e., *Met*. 11.410-748.

I. OVID'S *TRISTIA*: AN OVERVIEW

Before they were considered in light of their artistic and literary value, Ovid's exile works had been analysed from a predominantly historical and biographical perspective, with the sole aim of shedding light on the circumstances of the poet's banishment (A.D. 8).[4] Thus, in order to investigate Ovid's exile, scholars used to look

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[1] See, e.g., La Penna 1959, LXXII: "Nelle opere dell'esilio … l'immaginazione è stagnante, il motivo querulo è monotono." For an overview on Ovid's exile poetry see Claassen 2008; Williams 2002, 233-45.

[2] See Dickinson 1973; Luck 1977; Hinds 1985, 13-32; Claassen 1986; Lechi 1993; Williams 1994; Gaertner 2007, 155-72; McGowan 2009; Ingleheart 2010.

[3] For the links between *Metamorphoses* and *Tristia* see Huskey 2006, 335-57, who examines some literary patterns recurring in both works.

[4] See, e.g., Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1926, 298-302; Fränkel 1945; Norwood 1963, 150-63; Thibault 1964; see also Green 1982, 202-20, who suggests that Ovid's exile was principally a political choice of Augustus, rather than a result of his cultural policies. Fitton Brown (1985, 18-22) even denies the reality of the exile.

more carefully at the poems that reference or hint at exile, especially at the causes of exile, as well as at the contemporary political context. More specifically, Ovid himself mentions a *carmen* (that is the *Ars Amatoria*) and an *error* (Ovid's political interest towards, or more accurately involvement in, a party hostile to the *princeps* Augustus) as largely responsible for his banishment.[5] Regarding the *Ars Amatoria*, scholars agree that this work was highly ironic and insolent towards Augustus' contemporary family policy,[6] through which the emperor attempted to encourage legal marriages and prevent adultery and concubinage.[7] However, while it may have invited the disapproval of the emperor, this work should not be considered the main cause of Ovid's exile. It was in fact published ca. A.D. 1,[8] while the banishment of Ovid occurred in A.D. 8. The seven-year separation between the publication[9] of *Ars Amatoria* and his banishment suggests that the work was not directly related

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[5] See Ov. *Tr*. 2.207: *Perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen et error.*

[6] It is important to underline that in 18-17 B.C. the *leges Iuliae* were issued, through which the *princeps* tried to increase morality and to promote as well as legitimize marriage unions, condemning adultery as crimes *tout court*: in fact, the *leges Iuliae* encouraged both marriages and procreation (see, e.g., the so-called *ius trium liberorum*, which provided families with three or more children with some facilitations). See Dalla and Lambertini 2006, 104-5; see also Barry [2]1996, 80-96.

[7] Actually, the *Ars Amatoria* is quoted many times, both in *Tristia* (see, e.g., 1.1.109ff.; 3.14.5-6; very famous is the passage of *Tr*. 2.225-34, in which Ovid states that the three books of *Ars Amatoria* did not deserve Augustus' attention, since he had to attend to more official tasks) and *Epistulae ex Ponto* (2.9.71-6), and sometimes it is defended strongly (in *Pont*. 3.3, Ovid addresses Cupid and in 50 he states that with the poem he did not intend to disturb *legitimos … toros*; Cupid himself answers that in fact *artibus et nullum crimen inesse tuis*, 70), sometimes is accused and the poet wishes for it to be burned (*Tr*. 3.14.5-6).

[8] The date of composition of *Ars Amatoria* varies between 1 B.C. and A.D. 1.

[9] In ancient Rome, especially in Ovid's times, "to publish a work" meant, generally, to circulate it among a group of friends or read it aloud in front of a small audience. See Pecere 2010.

to the sentence of exile: indeed, the emperor could have condemned the *Ars Amatoria* before. It is thus more probable that the actual reason for the banishment was Ovid's *error*, which according to scholars would have been the poet's affiliation to political parties which were hostile to Augustus.[10]

Thus, the content of the *Tristia* appears more extravagant than other Ovidian poems: the previous works of Ovid differ in their themes, genres and aims, but all them are characterized by a high degree of irony, a highly recurring theme in Ovidian poetry.[11] By contrast, Ovid's exile poetry is characterized by a more cautious and reflexive attitude due to the dramatic circumstances affecting the poet's life at that time: indeed, he presents himself as defeated and suffering. This does not mean that mythological content and literacy are entirely absent from these works; indeed, mythology is often presented in connection with Ovid's personal situation, as is the case in *Tr*. 1.1.79-92. Here several mythological characters, among them Phaeton and Icarus, are mentioned as literary transpositions of the actual condition of the poet. Ovid has dared too much and committed a mysterious *error*: like Phaeton and Icarus, who unsuccessfully attempted to fly too high, he has disastrously fallen.

This exile work also presents many literary references. In *Tr*. 1.2, for instance, we see the epic *topos* of the storm: this *topos*, which

[10] See Green 1982, 202-20: "Only a political solution to the problem is acceptable." (203); Norwood 1963, 150-63; Thibault 1964; Ingleheart 2006, 64-86; Hinds 2007, 194-220; Luisi and Berrino 2002; Luisi 2008.

[11] The most famous example is the opening of the *Amores*, where, in the first line, the poet starts with *Arma gravi numero …*, a well-known Vergilian formula that stems from the opening of the *Aeneis*. This formula makes the reader think that Ovid is also starting an epic poem. However, the poet quasi disappoints the expectations of the reader with an ironical reference to Cupid, who steals a "foot" from the line, changing the poem into an elegy (*Am*. 1.2-4): … *materia conveniente modis. / Par erat inferior versus – risisse Cupido / dicitur atque unum surrupuisse pedem.*

will be dealt with in more depth later, appears to be closely related to the Odyssean metaphor of the troubled sea-journey. This pattern often refers to Ovidian poetry itself, or to the biography of the banished poet, so that the ship tortured by rains and winds represents the poet himself and his works: this identification occurs more often in the *Tristia* than in other exile works.

As noted, the mythological universe is a constant presence in Ovid's poetry, even in his exile works, and it is this mythological content which represents the starting point of that which I wish to demonstrate within the following pages, by arguing that the initial core of *Tr*. 1.2-4 is in fact drawn from Ovid's epic poem, the *Metamorphoses*. In these three poems from *Tr*. 1, the poet adapts a mythological frame that had previously been employed – in the episode of Ceyx and Alcyone of *Met*. 11 – in a more personal, and in some ways more real, context: his earliest experiences of exile.

II. INTERTEXTUAL REFERENCES BETWEEN *MET.* 11.410-748 AND *TR*. 1.2-4

Exile is the central macro-theme of the *Tristia*, a collection of poems made up of 5 books of elegies, with the elegiac complaint of the banished poet its main expression. Beyond this leitmotiv, however, the poems of the *Tristia* are varied, and may differ from each other in terms of content, linguistic and stylistic patterns.

Of the three poems to be examined here (*Tr*. 1.2-4), *Tr*. 1.2 and 1.4 show much greater similarities, especially in respect to their themes and lexical choices: indeed, both of them are reports of violent sea storms,[12] even though *Tr*. 1.4 is much shorter than 1.2.[13] In this regard, as has been observed in some commentaries,[14] the

[12] See Della Corte 1973, 210.

[13] The fact that the poem reports something that occurred immediately after the start of the journey has led some scholars to consider *Tr*. 1.2 as the very first poem of the entire work, in chronological terms. See Della Corte 1973, 210-21 and Posch 1983, 120ff.

[14] Luck 1977, 25.

storm of 1.2 is highly artistically refined, while 1.4 appears to be more realistic and is characterized by fewer literary *topoi*. As for the contents, it is not certain whether these storms in fact occurred with the level of violence described, or whether the descriptions of them were enhanced by the poet's imagination. In any case, sea storms represent a very widespread literary *topos*:[15] the presence of this *topos* is a confirmation of what has already been noted, namely that literary references are not absent from the *Tristia*, but may co-exist with details from the actual experiences of the poet.[16]

Tr. 1.3 does not concern a sea storm, but rather Ovid's description of his last night in Rome, when he received the sentence of exile and was forced to suddenly leave the *caput mundi*.[17]

Given this frame, the next paragraph will begin to shed light on certain specific features of *Tr*. 1.2-4 (which have escaped previous analyses) by identifying a motif that runs through all three of these poems, that is the constant, continuous intertextual relationship between *Tr*. 1.2-4 and *Met*. 11.410-748, the episode of Ceyx and Alcyone.[18]

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[15] See Herescu 1932-1933, 119-37; Friedrich 1956, 77-87. On sea storms in Ovidian works, see Bate 2004, 295-310.

[16] See Lamarque 1972, 75-89; Griffin 1985, 28-34.

[17] According to some scholars, this poem would have been written before both *Tr*. 1.2 and 1.4 and, for this reason, should be placed after what appears to be *Tr*. 1.1. According to other theories, the composition of 1.3 would have occurred after 1.2 and 1.4, since these two poems seem to be closely related to each other (both describe sea storms); hence, they would have been composed in the same period of time, constituting a unitary section with respect to chronology. See, e.g., Graeber 1881; Della Corte 1973; Luck 1977.

[18] Within existing commentaries, this relationship is noted only for 1.2, and appears to have been almost entirely passed over for 1.3 and 1.4. Luck (1977) remarks in fact the presence of some intertextual connections between *Met.* 11.410ff. and *Tr*. 1.2; he observes only one correspondence between *Met*. 11 and 1.4 (47), and does not mention the intertextual links with *Tr*. 1.3 at all. On the other hand, Della Corte (1973, 220) appreciates the presence of a connection between the "episodio delle *Metamorfosi*" (*Met.* 11.410ff.) and *Tr*. 1.3, though, in

As the episode of Ceyx and Alcyone is rather long,[19] I will consider only the sections that present a more significant intertextual relationship with *Tr*. 1.2-4. Specifically, I will examine the passages concerning Ceyx' departure and his farewell to his wife, her subsequent desperate reaction (415-73), and the sea storm (474-572), while the ekphrasis on Somnus and his home (583-649) will be skipped since it is not relevant to this paper. I will, however, consider some passages of the apparition of Ceyx' ghost and the discovery of his corpse (650-748).

As for the storm of *Met*. 11.474-572,[20] it recalls previous epic models. In this respect, it is worth noting that the *topos* of sea storms is recurrent in the epic genre more than in others. In this case, the most important reference is *Aen*. 1.34-123 and 3.192-200, though other occurrences are *Od*. 5.282-381 and Ap. Rhod. *Argon*. 2.1102-12:[21] all of these are important references for *Tr*. 1.2 as well. However, among all the passages quoted, it seems that *Met*. 11 deserves the most attention as a source text, since it represents a model created by Ovid himself and recalled by the poet in one of

this particular case, the scholar mentions this occurrence very briefly. By contrast, in the commentary on *Tr*. 1.2, Della Corte draws more attention to the connections to the Ceyx and Alcyone episode of *Met*. 11.410-748.

[19] A complete version of this myth occurs first in Hes. *Cat*. 10a.83-96 and 10d (M.-W. = *PMich*) and in Apollod. *Bibl*. 1.7.4. However, the story of the alcyon is also mentioned in *Il*. 9.561-4; Eur. *IT*. 1089-93; Hyg. *Fab*. 65; Ps.-Luc. *Alc*. For a commentary of this episode in the *Metamorphoses* see Bömer 1980, 343-425; Griffin 1997, 175-270; Reed 2013, 343-71; see also Griffin 1976, 321-4; Lateiner 2013, 53-73.

[20] A similar version of storm and shipwreck is told by *Schol. ad Ar. Av*. 250.

[21] According to some scholars, the importance of such a *topos* in Latin literature is due to the many sea journeys the Romans actually experienced (Leigh 2010, 265-80).

his later works, *Tristia*; for this reason, we will speak of Ovidian intertextuality.[22]

As we will see below, this intertextual relationship may be extended to *Tr*. 1.4, which presents the same *topos* of a sea storm, and to 1.3, which shows *iuncturae* that are also similar to Ceyx' episode, though it does not report a sea storm. The sea storms of 1.2 and 1.4 are staged not as mere reports of events that occurred (given that these events have a basis in fact), but (especially concerning 1.2) are also enriched by literary patterns, presenting themselves as artistically refined, and are very likely inspired from an elaborated model, as may be the case with *Met*. 11.

On this basis, that the sea storms of *Tr*. 1.2 and 4 represent typical patterns found among many previous poetic models, it may seem difficult to state that *Met*. 11 is the only and principal textual source for these poems, since they may be linked to other typical representations of sea storms reported by other famous authors. However, in the following pages, I will show that not only *Tr*. 1.2 and 1.4, but also *Tr*. 1.3 are characterized by a close intertextual relationship with *Met*. 11.410-748. Hence, the intertextual links between *Met*. 11 and the first poems of *Tristia* would not merely concern the references to sea storms (which, once again, are highly recurring *topoi* in Latin poetry and, thus, do not *per se* demonstrate proof of a close intertextual relationship), but also other lexical and

[22] See Casali 2009, 341-54. However, the influence of other poets should not to be underestimated (since the poetic technique of classical poets was in fact based on the *aemulatio/imitatio* of previous authors. See Conte [2]1984, 35-9), though I would argue that, in the process of composition of *Tr*. 1.2, Ovid may have drawn more directly from his principle sources, being the closest model he had, easily recalled and brought to memory – namely his own epic poem. This model was the closest text source in terms of proximity of time, knowledge/memory of the poet, since it was his own work. Hence, in this case it seems worth positing the existence of an "internal intertextuality" (see, e.g., Jenny 1976, 257-81; Cappello 1998, 39-41), i.e., the occurrence of identifiable textual and literary references within the work of a same author.

thematic elements of *Tr*. 1.3: Ovid's departure from Rome, the farewell to his wife, and her consequent reaction.

Thus, by considering *Tr*. 1.2-4 as a unitary section within this work, and noting that the three poems can all be shown to have an intertextual connection with Ceyx' episode of the *Metamorphoses*, it is possible to conclude that Ovid's references to *Met*. 11 while writing *Tr*. 1.2-4 were not incidental; on the contrary, they show that the model that consistently permeates these lines of *Tristia*'s first poems is in fact *Met*. 11.410-748.

In order to demonstrate this hypothesis, I will make a comparison between certain passages of *Met*. 11.410-748 and *Tr*. 1.2-4, highlighting their similarities in terms of stylistic and linguistic patterns, as well as their themes. To this end, I propose the following three tables, which report the passages of, respectively, *Tr*. 1.2 (Tab. 1), 1.3 (Tab. 2), 1.4 (Tab. 3), on the left, and the relevant passages of *Met*. 11, on the right. In these tables, I have set the verbal repetitions, similarities in word order and analogies of syntax in bold; the more thematic similarities between the passages are underlined, demonstrating how the passages of the two works also share similar contexts and settings.

Table 1

Tr. 1.2	*Met.* 11[23]
1) Ipsa **graves** spargunt ora loquentis **aquae.** (14)	1) quippe sonant clamore viri, stridore rudentes, undarum incursu **gravis unda**, tonitribus aether. (495-6)
2) Me miserum, quanti **montes** volvuntur aquarum! Iam iam **tacturos sidera summa putes**,	2) fluctibus erigitur **caelumque aequare videtur** **pontus** et **inductas** aspergine **tangere** nubes;

[23] The lines of *Tristia* are quoted following André 1968, while the *Metamorphoses* are cited according to Tarrant 2004.

Quantae **diducto** subsidunt aequore **valles**!
Iam iam tacturas **Tartara nigra putes.** (19-22)

et modo, cum fulvas ex imo vertit harenas,
concolor est illis, **Stygia modo nigrior unda**,
sternitur interdum spumisque sonantibus albet.
ipsa quoque his agitur vicibus Trachinia puppis,
et nunc sublimis veluti de vertice **montis**
despicere in **valles** imumque **Acheronta** videtur,
nunc, ubi demissam curvum circumstetit aequor,
suspicere inferno summum de gurgite caelum. (497-506)

3) Quocumque aspicio, nihil est, nisi pontus et aer,
Fluctibus hic **tumidus**, **nubibus** ille minax.
Inter utrumque fremunt inmani murmure venti. (23-5)

3) cum mare sub noctem **tumidis** albescere coepit
fluctibus et praeceps spirare valentius eurus. (480-1)
ecce cadunt largi resolutis **nubibus** imbres,
inque fretum credas totum descendere caelum,
inque plagas caeli tumefactum ascendere pontum. (516-8)

4) Rector in incerto est **nec quid fugiatve petatve**
Invenit: ambiguis ars stupet ipsa malis,
…
Dumque loquor, vultos obruit unda meos.
Opprimet hanc animam fluctus frustraque precanti

4) ipse pavet nec se, qui sit status, ipse fatetur
scire ratis rector, **nec quid iubeatve vetetve**:
tanta mali moles tantoque potentior arte est. (492-4)
… Ceyx socerumque patremque
invocat (heu!) frustra. …
dum natat, absentem, quotiens sinit

Ore necaturas accipiemus aquas. (31-2, 34-6)	hiscere fluctus, nominat Alcyonen ipsisque immurmurat undis. (562-3, 566-7)
5) **At pia nil aliud quam me dolet exule coniunx**: Hoc unum nostri scitque gemitque mali. … O bene quod non sum mecum conscendere passus, Ne mihi mors misero bis patienda foret! (37-8, 41-2)	5) Alcyone Ceyca movet, Ceycis in ore **nulla nisi Alcyone est** et, cum desideret unam, gaudet abesse tamen ... (544-6)
6) **Nec levius** tabulae laterum feriuntur ab undis Quam grave **balistae** moenia pulsat onus. (47-8)	6) **nec levius** pulsata sonat quam ferreus olim cum laceras aries **balistave** concutit arces. (508-9)
7) Qui venit hic fluctus, fluctus supereminet omnes: Posterior nono est undecimoque prior. (49-50)	7) sic, ubi pulsarunt **noviens** latera ardua **fluctus**, vastius insurgens decimae ruit impetus undae. (529-30)
8) Est aliquid, fatoque suo ferroque cadentem **In solita** moriens ponere corpus **humo,** Et mandare suis aliqua et sperare sepulcrum Et non aequoreis piscibus esse cibum. (53-6)	8) … sed plurima nantis in ore est Alcyone coniunx: illam meminitque refertque, illius ante oculos ut agant sua corpora fluctus optat et exanimis **manibus** tumuletur **amicis.** (562-5)

The passages reported above concern the *topos* of sea storms. The first passage (1) refers to the beginning of the storm, where the poet wishes not "to waste useless words purposelessly" (*verba … frustra non proficientia*, 13) since the swollen waves (*graves … aquas*, 14) drench his face and prevent him from speaking; even the "terrible

Notus," the wind, pushes back his words and prayers (15). In *Met*. 11.495-6, the storm is raging with great violence:[24] the *iunctura gravis unda* (496) very closely recalls the *graves … aquas* of 2.14.[25]

In *Tr*. 1.2.19-22 (2) it is reported that the ship, due to high waves, at one point seems to touch the sky and overcome the mountains (19), at another appearing to sink into the underworld, to the deep Tartarus (*Tartara nigra*, 22). This is a hyperbolic literary *topos* that is also reported in *Aen*. 3.564ff., but especially in *Met.* 11.497-506,[26] where the situation is described in almost the same way. Here, we also find certain lexical similarities: see, for example, *tacturos* / *tangere*; *quanti montes* / *de vertice montis*; *valles* / *in valles* (see Tab. 1).[27]

In *Tr*. 1.2.23-5 (3), the poet reports that *pontus et aer* (23),[28] i.e., "sea and sky," are mixed together,[29] since the former is very high due to the swollen waves, the latter seems about to fall on the earth, as the clouds are so full of water (24): the distinction between them is no longer clear. A very similar description occurs in *Met.* 11.516-8, where the sky seems to *descendere*, "go down," into the sea, while the sea seems to ascend into the sky.

The fourth group (4) of quotes refers to the fact that the *rector*, i.e., the helmsman, seems to have forgotten how to drive the ship (*rector in incerto est*, 31): the nautical *ars* ("skill"), invented by men, is useless against nature (32). The relationship with *Met.* 11.492-4 is evident and, in this case, the influence of Vergilian or other previous models seems to be absent:[30] for example, see the parallel con-

[24] For the expression of 495, see *Aen*. 1.87; *undarum … unda* (496) is a polyptoton.

[25] See Griffin 1997, 208.

[26] See also *Aen*. 1.103: *... fluctusque ad sidera tollit.*

[27] Griffin 1997, 209: "Ovid also uses the *topos* at *Tr*. 1.2.19-22."

[28] See *Aen*. 3.193: *Caelum undique et undique pontus.*

[29] See *Met.* 1.15: *... utque erat et tellus illic et pontus et aer.*

[30] Neither in the commentaries of the *Tristia*, nor in those of *Metamorphoses* are the intertextual links of this passage with the epic poem of Vergil mentioned.

structions *nec quid fugiatve petatve* / *nec quid iubeatve vetetve* and the repetition of words such as *rector*, *ars*, *malis* in both passages. In this situation, Ovid reports that he is not able to pronounce a single word, as the spurts of water beat his face (*ora*, 36): this description recalls the shipwreck of *Met*. 11.566-7, specifically the moment in which Ceyx, swimming desperately to reach a piece of wood or a shore (*dum natat*), repeatedly tries to invoke the name of his wife while his mouth is inundated by sea water.[31]

This reference to Fabia (5) also occurs in 1.2.37-8 and 41-2: the poet explains that his wife suffers nothing but his exile (*nil aliud*, 37), but if only she knew of the dangers and pain Ovid were suffering during his sea journey (39-40), she would suffer far more. For this reason, the poet states to be happy to have not brought his wife with him (41-2). The relevant lines of *Met*. 11.544-6 present a rather opposite situation. In this case, Ceyx – and not his wife – has in his mouth nothing but the name of Alcyone (*nulla nisi Alcyone est*, 545: this line recalls *Tr*. 2.37), but like Ovid, he is happy that his wife is not present (*gaudet abesse*, 546) and safe, even though he still misses her support in such terrible circumstances. This motif, as with the former, is not influenced by other sources, but only by the Ovidian account of *Met*. 11.

The quotes from 6 and 7 report a metaphor that is highly recurrent for sea storms: it seems to attack the sides of the ship (*latera*) as though they were city walls.[32] The link with the two relevant passages of *Met*. 11 has also been noted by Luck,[33] who considers the mention of the ballista and the tenth *impetus* an intertextual reference to, respectively, *Met*. 11.508-9 and 529-30.

Finally, in 1.2.53-6 (8), Ovid complains of the fact that, if he had died in the shipwreck, he would not have been able to be buried *in*

[31] More widely, this invocation has been linked to the so-called *nomen in ore topos*; see Griffin 1997, 225-6.
[32] See, e.g., *Aen*. 1.104-5.
[33] Luck 1977, 30.

solita … humo (54), i.e., in his homeland: this is another way to express the importance of being buried by friendly hands *manibus … amicis* (*Met.* 11.562-5), which more generally alludes to the typical aspiration of receiving relatives' grief after death.[34]

It can be remarked that the similarities between the storms of *Tr*. 1.2 and *Met*. 11 are rather significant, both in terms of themes and lexical patterns. Thanks to this comparison, the intertextual link between *Met*. 11 and *Tr*. 1.2 appears to be very evident.

In the following Table, I will deal with the intertextual references from *Tr*. 1.3 to *Met*. 11. These passages from *Tr*. 1.3 are rather different from the previous ones, since 1.3 does not deal with sea storms, but reports another tragic moment for the banished poet, his moment of departure from Rome. Here he recalls a different situation, that of the farewell to his partner, though this is also highly typical in literature. For such a motif, Ovid could have taken into consideration many previous texts, even some of his previous works, such as the *Heroides* (the motif of the complaint of an abandoned lover, for example). However, the main textual source would appear in this case to be also *Met*. 11, an intertextual connection that reveals itself to be very significant when applied to a different situation.

Table 2

Tr. 1.3	*Met.* 11
1) Uxor amans flentem flens acrius ipsa tenebat. (17)	1) talibus Aeolidis dictis lacrimisque movetur sidereus coniunx ... (444-5)

[34] Beyond these connections with *Met*. 11, it is worth noting that in his prayer to the gods of 1.2.96-105 (*Si tamen acta deos numquam mortalia fallunt…,* 97), Ovid mentions his *error* (99), the first responsible for his banishment. This *error*, however, was in fact a mistake due to naivety (*stultaque mens*, 100), not a crime (*non scelerata*, 100). From this and other references, scholars have tried to identify the reasons for Ovid's exile; see, e.g., Luisi and Berrino 2002, 125-6.

2) Hac prece adoravi superos ego, pluribus uxor,
Singultu medio impediente sonos.
Illa etiam ante Lares passis adstrata capillis. (41-3)

2) horruit Alcyone lacrimasque emisit obortas
amplexusque dedit, tristique miserrima tandem
ore 'vale' dixit conlapsaque corpore toto est. (458-60)

3) A! Quotiens aliquo dixi properante: 'Quid urges?
Vel quo festinas ire, vel unde, vide'. (51-2)

3) at iuvenes, quaerente moras Ceyce, reducunt
ordinibus geminis ad fortia pectora remos. (461-2)

4) **Ter limen tetigi, ter sum revocatus,** et ipse
Indulgens animo pes mihi tardus erat. (55-6)

4) **ter conata loqui ter fletibus** ora rigavit,
singultuque pias interrumpente querelas. (419-20)

5) Tum vero coniux umeris abeuntis inhaerens
Miscuit haec lacrimis tristia verba meis:
'Non potes avelli: **simul hinc, simul ibimus**, inquit',
'Te sequar et coniux exulis exul ero.
Et mihi facta via est, et me capit ultima tellus:
Accedam profugae sarcina parva rati.
Te iubet e patria discedere Caesaris ira,
Me pietas: pietas haec mihi Caesar erit.' (79-86)

5) 'quod tua si flecti precibus sententia nullis,
care, potest, coniunx, nimiumque es certus eundi,
me quoque tolle **simul**. Certe iactabimur una,
nec nisi quae patiar metuam;
pariterque feremus,
quicquid erit, pariter super aequora lata feremur.' (439-43)
'... **ibimus una**!' (676)
'at certe vellem, quoniam periturus abibas,
me quoque duxisses! tecum fuit utile, tecum
ire mihi; neque enim de vitae tempore quidquam
non simul egissem, nec mors discreta fuisset.

	nunc absens perii, iactor quoque fluctibus absens, et sine me me pontus habet ...' (696-701)
6) Egredior ... Squalidus, inmissis hirta per ora comis. (89-90)	6) luridus, **exanimi similis**, sine vestibus ullis, coniugis ante torum miserae stetit; unda videtur barba viri madidisque gravis fluere unda capillis. (654-6) 'pallentem nudumque et adhuc umente capillo Infelix vidi ...' (691-2)
7) Illa dolore amens tenebris narratur obortis **Semianimis** media procubuisse domo, Utque resurrexit foedatis pulvere **turpi** **Crinibus** et gelida membra levavit humo, Se modo, **desertos** modo comploraSse **Penates**, Nomen et erepti saepe vocasse viri. (91-6)	7) ... conlapsaque corpore toto est. (460) ut nec vela videt, v**acuum** petit anxia **lectum** seque toro ponit: renovat lectusque locusque Alcyones lacrimas, et quae pars, admonet, absit. (471-3) percutit ora manu laniatque a pectore vestes pectoraque ipsa ferit; nec **crines** solvere curat: scindit ... (681-3) ora, comas, vestem lacerat tendensque trementes ad Ceyca manus ... (726-7)

In 1.3.17 (1), Fabia's reaction to the farewell of the poet is similar to the passage in *Met*. 11.444-5,[35] where Ceyx was moved by Alcyone's tears, having just realized that her husband is about to leave on a sea journey.

Tr. 1.3.41-3 (2), reports Fabia's weeping and ensuing shock (*ante Lares passis adstrata capillis*, 43) over the departure of her husband: this behaviour is similar to the reaction of Alcyone in *Met*. 11.458-60 (*lacrimasque emisit obortas*, 458), whose whole body collapses (*corpore toto*, 460).

In *Tr*. 3.51-2 (3), where the poet tries in vain to postpone his departure, aside from being affected by the elegiac *topos* of the lovers' separation,[36] these lines seem to have been influenced by *Met*. 11.461-2, particularly with regard to the moment in which Ceyx attempts to postpone his departure, expressed by the ablative absolute (*quaerente moras Ceyce*, 461).

In *Tr*. 3.55-6 (4), the same parallel construction (*ter … ter*) of *Met*. 11.419-20 appears. Furthermore, passage 3.79-86 (5) shows a very significant thematic similarity with *Met*. 11. In this passage, the poet relates how his wife Fabia tried in many ways to follow him to his exile, by demonstrating that she was willing to leave with him (*simul hinc, simul ibimus*, 81). The same theme is reported in the passages of the episode of *Met*. 11, i.e., before the departure of Ceyx (439-43), when Ceyx appears in Alcyone's dreams (in this case with an expression, *ibimus una*, 676, recalling 3.81[37]), when she regrets not having left with her husband (696-701).

Tr. 3.89-90 (6) describes the shabby and neglected attire of the poet at the moment of his departure from Rome: these lines can be compared with *Met*. 11.654 and 691-2, which report Ceyx' appari-

[35] For the *figura etymologica,* see *Pont*. 1.4.53: *Et narrare meos flenti flens ipse labores.*

[36] See Griffin 1997, 194.

[37] See *Orpheus and Eurydice* in *Met.* 11.65-6.

tion in Alcyone's dreams.[38] In this case, Ceyx looks tormented and exhausted from the shipwreck.

Finally, *Tr*. 3.91-6 (7) describe more specifically Fabia's reaction after the departure of the husband: Ovid would have taken this account from news reported to him later, while he was travelling towards Tomis.[39] Even in this case, it is possible to acknowledge certain thematic similarities with *Met*. 11: Alcyone's turmoil for Ceyx' journey (460, 471-3); her desperation following Ceyx' apparition in her dreams (681-3); and the discovery of his dead body (726-7).

Although it is not as clear as within *Tr*. 1.2, the intertextual relationship between *Tr*. 1.3 and *Met*. 410-748 has been shown to exist. Moreover, it occurs in a more subjective and, in some ways, elegiac frame, and is not only characterized by a recurring literary *topos*, as is that of the storm in *Tr*. 1.2, but rather represents a very private and personal experience for the poet. Hence, the fact that this poem also refers to Ceyx' episode is very significant, since it demonstrates that between *Tr*. 1.2-3 and *Met*. 11.410-748, a constant intertextual connection is present.

This presence continues in the following poem, *Tr*. 1.4.

Table 3

Tr. 1.4	*Met*. 11
1) **Monte** nec inferior prorae **puppique recurvae** Insilit et pictos verberat unda deos. (7-8)	1) ipsa quoque his agitur vicibus **Trachinia puppis** et nunc sublimis veluti de vertice **montis.** (502-3)

[38] This description of the *Metamorphoses* recalls other epic models: see, e.g., *Aen*. 2.268ff., where the *maestissimus Hector* ("very unfortunate Hector") appears in Aeneas' dreams. See also the apparition of Sychaeus to Dido in *Aen*. 1.353ff.

[39] Graeber (1881) on the basis of a mention of *Tr*. 1.10.9-10, argues that a ship came from Corinth and brought to the poets some news regarding the situation in Rome: from this news, Ovid would have deduced useful elements for building the elegy of 1.3, by mixing reality with literary *topoi*.

2) **Pinea** texta sonant, pulsi **stridore rudentes**, Ingemit et nostris **ipsa carina** malis. (9-10)	2) quippe sonant clamore viri, **stridore rudentes**, undarum incursu gravis unda, tonitribus aether. (495-6) vastius insurgens decimae ruit impetus undae; nec prius absistit **fessam** oppugnare **carinam**, quam velut in captae descendat moenia navis. pars igitur temptabat adhuc invadere **pinum**. (530-3)
3) ... non regit arte ratem Utque parum **validus** non proficientia **rector** Cervicis rigidae frena remittit equo, Sic, non quo voluit, sed quo rapit impetus undae. (12-5)	3) ipse pavet nec se, qui sit status, ipse fatetur scire ratis **rector**, nec quid iubeatve vetetve: tanta mali moles tantoque potentior arte est. (492-4)
4) Quod nisi mutatas emiserit Aeolus auras. (17)	4) cum semel emissi tenuerunt aequora venti, nil illis vetitum est ... (433-4)
5) Increpuit quantis viribus unda latus! (24)	5) sic, ubi pulsarunt noviens **latera** ardua fluctus, vastius insurgens decimae ruit impetus undae. (529-30)

Tr. 1.4 describes another violent sea storm, which presumably occurred in the Ionian Sea (*nos tamen Ionium*, 3), even though it must be noted once more that it is very difficult to reconstruct the actual circumstances in which the events told by Ovid in *Tristia* 1 oc-

curred. Whether *Tr*. 1.2 is a literary reworking of the episode of a storm told more synthetically in 1.4 or is exactly the opposite (i.e., 1.4 is a shorter version of 1.2), or both poems report events that really occurred; in any case, the storm in 1.4 appears to be less artistically refined than that in 1.2. This difference may simply exist due to Ovid's wish to insert a *variatio* among the poems. What is possible to say about 1.4 is that, as we shall see, its textual source is once again *Met*. 11.

In *Tr*. 1.4.7-8 (1) the motif of the wave overcoming the mountains occurs (*monte nec inferior*, 7), which is a "variation on the same theme"[40] of *Tr*. 1.2.19-22; even in this case, however, it is possible to identify an intertextual link with *Met*. 11 (see 503, *veluti de vertice montis*).[41]

The following lines, 1.4.9-10 (2), describe the attack of the waves against the ship. This motif has been already dealt with in the analysis of *Tr*. 1.2.47-50 (see above, Tab. 1.6 and 7), though another important source is *Met*. 11.530-3: for instance, the *iunctura* of *Tr*. 1.4.9 (*stridore... rudentes*) is taken from the same of *Met*. 11.495.

Tr. 1.4.12-5 (3) once again present the *topos* of the *rector* ("helmsman"), whose *ars* is not capable of steering the ship because natural forces and elements are attacking it too vigorously. It is possible to identify some thematic and lexical similarities with the occurrences of *Tr*. 1.2.31-6 and *Met*. 11.492-4 (see Tab. 1.4), for example, the repetition of the same words: *arte*, *rector*, *ratis*/*ratem*.

In 1.4.17 (4) the *emissi ... venti* ("released winds") of *Met*. 11.433, turn into the *mutatas ... auras* ("changed blows") released by Aeolus, who is also a character in Ceyx' episode, since he is Alcyone's father.[42] Finally, 1.4.24 (5) recalls the motif of *Met*. 11.529-30, where the waves "besiege" the sides (respectively, *latus*/*latera*) of the ship,

[40] See Pasquali 1968, 275-82 (the quote occurs at p. 275).

[41] See also *Od*. 3.290: κύματα … ἴσα ὄρεσσιν; 11.243.

[42] See *Met*. 11.430-2: *Neve tuum fallax animum fiducia tangat, / quod socer Hippodates tibi sit, qui carcere fortes / contineat ventos et cum uelit, aequora placet.*

even though in the epic poem the metaphor is longer and more artistically elaborated.

At this point, we have seen how 1.4 also shows certain intertextual links with *Met*. 11, even though it is less refined (in a literary sense) than 1.2. Thus, we can conclude that all these three poems of *Tristia* 1 definitely show an intertextual relationship with *Met*. 11.410-748.

CONCLUSION

Through a systemic comparison between *Tr*. 1.2-4 and *Met*. 11.410-748, we have seen that the tale of Ceyx is the very textual source of *Tristia*'s first poems. In fact, the poet refers to this episode not only in terms of the sea storms of 1.2 and 1.4, but also reemploys it for certain themes and patterns within 1.3, such as the description of the farewell to his wife Fabia.[43] This intertextual relationship has not been fully explored by previous scholars, but evidently it must be considered as a potential means of interpreting recurring lexical choices, themes and, more broadly, literary issues within both *Met*. 11 and *Tr*. 1.2-4.

Finally, it is worth noting once more that not only has *Met*. 11.410-748 been proved to be the principal model for *Tr*. 1.2-4, but also that these three poems are thus closely related – even though, as noted, the three do not all share the same main topic. As such, they may be considered as a sort of unitary block, at least as far as the literary core is concerned, i.e., the episode of Ceyx and Alcyone, from which they draw their principal patterns and expressions.

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[43] As mentioned previously, I do not intend to deny that Ovid was affected by the influence of other authors in the framing of *Tr*. 1.2-4, since Ovidian intertextuality is in fact characterized by a kind of "two-tiered" allusion (Hinds 1987, 151), which views Ovid's own works and previous sources simultaneously. In this case, however, I would argue that the influence of Ceyx' episode on *Met*. 11 was in fact more significant than other sources.

The rearranging of the content of previous writings is one of the many ways in which Ovidian intertextuality works, by recalling previously employed *topoi*, reworking and adapting them to a new context.

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TEA DULARIDZE

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The book examines ambassadorial practices and traditions in the ancient Near Eastern and the Homeric world. It consists of two main parts. The first part discusses the pre-Homeric Mediterranean and Mycenaean Ahhiyawa, whose traditions must have preserved to the Homeric times the information about the forms and functions of ambassadorial missions. The second part is completely devoted to the Homeric epics and discusses terms as well as episodes and speeches related to diplomatic activities. The analysis of these episodes will contribute to the understanding of the making of diplomacy and to the interpretation of the status and functions of characters involved in ambassadorial practices.

STATE ARRANGEMENT CONCEPT IN FICTION OF ANTIQUITY (FROM HOMER TO ARISTOPHANES)

GIORGI UGULAVA

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The book reviews forms of government as reflected in Greek literature of 8th to 5th century. It covers all important and paradigmatic authors of the period and discusses their works from two perspectives. On the one hand, it examines the extent to which the historical and political events influence their contemporary literature and studies literary references to individual

historical or political events. On the other hand, the book attempts to trace down allusions to forms of government and political organization in literary narratives. Specifically, although some authors make no direct references to particular historical persona or events, the fictional world they create contains allusions to their contemporary political and social order.

The book consists of five chapters. The first is devoted to the Homeric epics, the second discusses Hesiod, the third and fourth deal with Greek Archaic lyric poetry and classical drama respectively, while the final chapter reviews classical Greek comedy, with emphasis on Aristophanes.

INNOVATION, FORMALISM, AND AVANT-GARDE IN GRECO-ROMAN LITERATURE

RISMAG GORDEZIANI

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(in Georgian)

The book discusses the processes inherent to Greco-Roman literature from Homer until late antiquity that find similarity with the developments observed in modern Western literature.

Chapter 1 is devoted to the coexistence of the traditional and the new in the Homeric epics, which proves paradigmatic not only for the subsequent Greco-Roman, but also for the entire European literature. Homer employs tradition to propose principal novelties in several directions: a. Construction of action. Homer essentially differs from other epic writers by his new conceptualization of the unity of action. This is best manifested in his manner to render through a chain of associations the whole story of the Trojan War (the *Iliad*) and of returns (the *Odyssey*) within a narrow limit of several-day story time by intensifying certain motifs and skillfully arranging *ante-* and *post-Homerica* information. b. He shifts to the background the traditional mythopoetic conflict structure, which is based on a succession of arguments and functions, and offers his own model of epic conflict development: a conflict started upon a divine will ends in divine reconcile-

ment. c. In terms of composition, he applies the principle of symmetrical arrangement of compositional elements at the levels of microstructure (the characters' speeches), megastructure (large episodes or songs) and macrostructure (the entire poems). The dominant compositional principles of the poems are ring composition (a b c b′ a′) and parallel division (a b c... a′ b′ c′...). d. At the level of character individualization, Homer shapes the existential dimension of the characters by means of transforming the quantitative principle into qualitative, which later was recognized as a merit of his epics. e. Homer was regarded as the forefather of diverse forms of what Ausonius termed *technopaegnion.* The Homeric novelty is never unmotivated, nor is it blindly aimed at opposing the traditional; it rather serves to the development of the traditional by proposing something that is innovative in principal.

Chapter 2 discusses literary novelties introduced first by Hesiod and later by the lyric poets of the Archaic period. Hesiod obviously starts a new tradition in Greek epic poetry, different from the Homeric tradition. Hesiod's highly overt poetic *self* can be seen as a precursor of archaic lyric poetry, where the spirit of innovation is manifested with particular strength.

Apart from establishing a new genre, both declamatory and melic lyric poets were distinctly individual. In the book, the first group is represented by three names: Archilochus, distinguished by his determination to express his own position, different from others'; Solon, the author of quasi-meditative political poetry; and Hipponax, who introduced new accents into lyric poetry and opened a way for parodic pathos in literature.

Greek monodic poetry is represented by three poets, different from one another but alike in their inexhaustible zeal for innovations – Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon. The book discusses principal novelties associated with their names in terms of a shift from rhetorical to monodic lyric poetry and individual ways of articulating implications.

The hardest challenge of meeting the expectations of those who ordered choral songs for solemn, festive or mournful public occasions were allotted to choral lyric poets who were to follow tradition and at the same time be overly resourceful. They were frequently expected to produce something altogether new. This explains the markedly individual character of their works as well as their special focus on innovations. Alcman calls his choral works "new songs," while Stesichorus, who extensively employs

epic motifs in his works, essentially transforms traditional stories. An illustration to this is not only his palinode but also his principal change of traditional mythological stories. Ibycus avoids eulogic narratives of the immortal deeds of the great heroes that have traditionally been part of heroic songs. Instead, he employs the method of praeteritio to briefly refer to them and focuses on previously ignored less conspicuous episodes from their lives.

Some poetic experiments of the Late Archaic period were evidently aimed towards the absolutization of the formal dimension, as exemplified by Lasos' so-called asigmatic poetry. The pride for his contemporary heroes' valorous deeds inspires Simonides to build a bridge between the legendary past and the present, and portray as a single string of paradigms the great deeds of heroes of the mythopoetic past and of his times.

Pindar is the first to voice his innovative agenda, admitting, however, to the threats of attacks from opponents and the difficulty to produce something new after so much has already been said. His innovative spirit most powerfully manifests itself across all poetic dimensions of his epinicia: his exquisite poetic language, original prooemia, unparalleled poetic interpretation of the appeal of victory in games, etc. Among the major accomplishments of the archaic Greek lyric poetry is the metrical revolution. This very period gave birth to all presently known declamatory and melic verse meters. The powerful potential of metrical poetry brought about the development of multiple verse segments.

Chapter 3 is devoted to literary processes in the Classical period when the concepts of the traditional and the new shaped as a special dimension, broadly, in intellectual, and narrowly, in literary and artistic thought. Four directions were gradually shaped in literary practice and theory, which can conventionally be described as (a) academic, (b) comedial-parodic, (c) comedial-vituperative and (d) radically avant-gardist. The first and the third are related to the development of drama, which had two dimensions, extraliterary (theatre architecture, theatrical properties, functional differentiation and professionalization, music, etc.) and intraliterary. At the extraliterary level, Greek drama is the best example of continuous innovative initiatives from the Classical period until the end of antiquity. At the interliterary level, Aeschylus', Sophocles' and Euripides' plays "used up the limit" for novelties and the subsequent period of Greek drama proceeded

without any important innovations. As concerns comedy, it enjoyed a far longer path of innovations from Aristophanes to Menander and culminated in New Comedy.

Comedial-parodic literature produced a whole series of parodies that counterbalance Homeric epic motifs, shaping into a new literary form of anti-epic. Another novelty is the so-called gastrological poetry and its impressive scope. The heyday of the Classical period was marked by avant-gardist trends, which openly opposed traditional forms and proposed new directions. The spirit of avant-garde was especially impressive in music, incurring criticism and derision of the academic "camp" of intellectuals, even Aristophanes, a great innovator himself. Among the objectives on the avant-gardist "agenda" was to liberate music from the grips of literary text and give it an opportunity to develop on its own. As concerns Greek avant-garde poetry, it is best represented by Timotheus' surviving fragments, especially, his nomos *The Persae*, where the author substantially transforms traditional metrical segments. By opposing traditional values, looking for new word-coining principles and attempting vigorously to create a new exalted poetic language, classical Greek avant-garde compares with 20th century Futurism; on the other hand, by intensity of emotions, exaltation, a quest for more direct ways of moving the audience and the high level of expressiveness across all poetic dimensions, it is closer to modern expressionism.

Chapter 4 focuses on the Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic periods in which the powerful innovative impulse was mainly manifested in the abundance of literary genres. The most important novelty in the dramatic and quasi-dramatic genre was the formation of the New Attic Comedy, whose significance for comedy development is not merely marked by an attribute "new" in its name. It rather consists in an important transformation of public thought as the society evolved from policymakers of the classical times to the policymakers' subjects of the Hellenistic period. As a result, the playwrights' interest shifted from politically meaningful issues to the themes of everyday relevance. This in turn gave birth to a number of novelties in drama best represented in Menander's comedies: play stories no more target the "compulsory" mythical or historical persona or events, but offer endless variations of characters and events from everyday life. Thus, social drama rejects such "tools" as obscenities and limitless phantasy,

traditional laughter triggers and the grotesqueness of the objects of ridicule, and instead aims at sympathy, compassion and the eventual happy-end-driven pleasure. By portraying characters whose personal traits determine the flow of their own and other characters' actions, Menander gave rise to the drama of characters along with the drama of situations.

The main novelty of quasi-dramatic literature obviously is the new genre of idylls introduced by Theocritus. It reflects Hellenistic poets' interest in smaller forms of literature. His well-known idyll *The Syracusan Women at the Adonis Festival* is the first attempt to capture in poetry the dynamism of movement and simultaneity of events. He also is credited as the creator of bucolic or pastoral poetry. *Alexadra*, attributed to Lycophron, reflects the fadeout of classical drama.

A particularly powerful manifestation of the Hellenistic avant-garde spirit can be observed in narrative poetry. It is mainly represented by Philitas, whose works are almost completely lost, and Callimachus, whose surviving poetic fragments convey the idiosyncratic features of his poetry. He openly opposes traditional forms of narrative poetry and joins passionate debates over the future of poetry. The new poets reject the practice of praising great heroes' deeds in voluminous works and prefer smaller-size literature, later called epyllion, to render poetically less known events. The so-called traditionalists continue to adhere to the traditional principles of epic narrative. Callimachus defends his position through new forms of poetry he favours (epyllion, his etiological *Causes*) as well as through substantially revised traditional genres (iambi, hymns and epigrams).

Quest for novelties and the diversity of genres encompasses thematic epics, fables and prose writing. It gives birth to novel and the literature of Lucian, an altogether new world, somewhat isolated from other writers' works. Himself credited as an innovator, Lucian is rather critical of his contemporary public's unreserved urge to require from men of art something new and apparently distinguished. This attitude threatens to devaluate the whole set of criteria for a high quality piece of literature.

Particularly noteworthy are what later Ausonius called *technopaegnion* – various forms of acrostic, telestic, mesostic, syllable verses, alphabet verses, the so-called χαλινοί, griphoi, anagrams, palindromes and isopsephy. The surviving figure poems, Simias' *Pelekys*, *Pteryges* and *Oon*, Theocritus' *Syrinx* and Dosiadas' *Altar* / *Doric Altar* / *Jason's Altar* and Besantinus' /

Vestinus' *Altar* / *Ionic Altar* / *Altar of the Muses,* skillfully combine formalism, enigmatic poetry and various forms of *technopaegnion.*

Chapter 5 is devoted to the quest for new forms and principles in Roman literature. Starting from Livius Andronicus, the practice of simultaneous literary activities in several genres gradually gives way to monogenre practices and the Roman component increases in the literature rendered from Greek. Plautus, the first monogenre Roman comediographer, displays a high level of genre-specific mastery as he adapts Greek comedies to the Roman stage: he omits or adds scenes, combines parts from different Greek source texts, lavishly uses obscene and coarse language on the one hand and arias and duets on the other – both alien to the New Attic Comedy, and widely applies laughter-triggering scenes and tricks, unlike Menander's "gentle" humour. Terence chooses a different path to closer approach the finesse of Hellenistic playwrights, which, however, proves less appealing to the local public. On the other hand, the superiority of Greek originals over Latinized plays is increasingly noted by Roman intellectuals.

The adoption of Greek literary advancements by Roman literature in the period of Late Roman Republic went as far as the transformation of the "old" or the Hellenic into the "new" or the Latin. The brilliant poetic adaptation of Epicurean philosophy unquestionably lands Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* a place among the masterpieces of Roman literature. Thus, thanks to its all-embracing scope and the high level of refinement, the Roman adaptation of Greek literature was an unparalleled event in the history of European culture, giving a vigorous impulse to the formation of European values. A new stage in Roman reverberation of Hellenistic literature is the so-called Neoteric period. The major achievement of the neoterics is the intensely innovative character of Roman lyric poetry, thanks to which Catullus' verses can be qualified as avant-gardist by every possible criteria. He echoes Callimachus as he formulates his poetic creed: a book of poems must be of little size (*libellus*); delightful (i.e., imparting aesthetic pleasure); new (i.e., different from others); targeting trifle/smaller-scale topics (in contrast to large narrative poems); refined (i.e., structured to some rules); containing the so-called *nugae* (i.e., jokes/trifles) to be reckoned with by authors of voluminous works; ambitious (aimed to be handed down to the following generations). There are many parallels, as well as differences,

between Catullus and Callimachus' circle. The parallels, first of all, consist in his being *doctus* – a learned man. However, unlike the Alexandrians, the neoteric poets were not philologists "hardened" in lavish libraries and were inferior to the former by education. Most of the Alexandrian poets, who inspired Catullus, enjoyed close connections and material support from the rulers, and a high social stand and scholarly reputation. The neoterics, on the contrary, were young men for whom poetry was almost the only occupation and the source of pleasure as well as living. The Alexandrians were driven by a desire to find new ways in poetic art, which they saw in substantial transformation of the traditional poetry, while the neoterics aimed to introduce Alexandrian principles into Roman literature in order to develop smaller forms of poetry and concentrate on narrower themes. In the literary output of the Alexandrians, structured to Callimachus' theoretical premises, mastery frequently prevailed over poetry, while in the works of the neoterics, despite their "adherence" to the former, the intuitive principle was dominant, foregrounding the lyric and poetic dimensions as in Catullus' poems. The Alexandrians' works offer a broader scope of themes and information, while the neoterics are more interested in "fresh," "vibrant" stories that might appeal to their associates. Thus, if the Alexandrian poetry mainly targeted the intellectual elite and nobility, the neoterics aimed to satisfy the taste, curiosity and idle interest of their friends. Catullus is the first to introduce the following novelties in Roman lyric poetry started by the neoterics: 1. An influx of obscenities. 2. The idea to draw a line between the poet's personality and the moral of his works. 3. Markedly ingenuous rendering of natural or affected emotions. 4. The "capital-city-boy" style of thinking. 5. The gradation structure of collections: trifles > paradigms mainly from the traditional repertoire > argumentative/analytical epigrams. 6. Surprising combination of words and phrases from different sources: various strata of Latin, Greek borrowings, and his coinages. 7. Polymetric poems.

One of the central parts of this chapter dwells on innovations proposed by the writers of the Golden and Silver Ages. The peak of Roman literature, which is to be qualified as classical, is marked by a shift from the role of an adopter to a rival relative to Greek literature. Having established himself a worthy competitor of Theocritus thanks to his *Bucolics*, Virgil goes as far as to challenge Hesiod by his *Georgics* and even Homer by his *Aeneid,* inspiring centuries-long debates among literary scholars over the

superiority between him and Homer. At all the three stages of his literary activities, Virgil offers a sweeping array of innovations, which is exclusively typical of high classics. The spirit of novelty permeates the entire poetic structure of the *Bucolics* and manifests itself at all levels, including: 1. Geographical distribution. 2. The "classical" clarity of the collection structure. 3. Combination of different idylls under one eclogue when adapting Theocritus' idylls. 4. Portrayal of shepherds to represent humans in general. 5. Ideological aims (a new concept of Amor, return of the Golden Age, etc.). Among the main novelties of the *Georgics* are: 1. The fusion of concepts of large-size and small-size literary works. 2. Conceptual bonds between semantic elements in thematic epics. 3. Poetic propaganda of politics. The *Aeneid* is marked by an in-depth understanding of the Homeric tradition as well as by comprehensive novelties at all levels of the development of the Roman national epic poetry: 1. Virgil chooses a totally unexpected, new way to "compete" with Homer. He continues the Homeric story and chooses as the protagonist the second important hero after Hector. However, unlike Homer, he does not leave Aeneas in Troy but, like Stesichorus, assigns him the mission of moving to Italy together with his household and establishing there his Trojan lineage. 2. The *Aeneid* combines the architectonical principles of the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*. In Books 1 to 6, Aeneas' story develops against a dynamic setting, as in the *Odyssey*, while in Books 7 to 12, it is confined to a more limited area, as in the *Iliad* – the basin of the Tiber River and the future location of Rome. 3. Almost all important episodes and scenes of the *Aeneid* echo either the *Odyssey* or the *Iliad* but are transformed so as to acquire essentially different functions; Virgil's Aeneas starts a new stage of character individualization and represents a fusion of different concepts of hero. 5. Despite total determinism, Aeneas does not lose the dynamism of a dramatic character. For him, as for a hero foreordained by the gods, the opposition of two alternative elements is replaced by an opposition of the desirable and the necessary. The Homeric quantitative existential method of character individualization is replaced by Virgil's emotional functional method, which marks the transition of the ancient concept of human being to the medieval level; 6. A number of lines from different Books conveying divine annunciations, prophecies of the souls of the deceased and ekphrasis about Rome's historical mission and function refer to the predictions of events that from the poet's perspective are part of the great past, present or future. Therefore,

Virgil can be considered the poet of the past, the present and the future at the same time. All the above-mentioned, and a number of other questions related to Virgil's language and style, present him as the greatest poet of the national Roman literature, who fully exposed the powerful innovative impulse of the classical literature.

In terms of innovations, Horace deserves special mention. He is the first Roman poet to qualify himself as lyricus vates. He did not reject or neglect the traditional but developed or transformed it in the new light, giving rise to major novelties across all principal dimensions of poetic art: a. The transfer of a number of Greek poetic meters to a Latin verse, some of which were new to Roman literature. In a number of cases, he subordinated meter to a poetic mood, liberating the former from generic constraints. b. The unusual order of words and word combinations in a verse structure, which causes some tension for the reader. c. The tendency to approach and at the same time get distanced from different intellectual trends, high level of philosophical thought and statement of theses in the context of the poetic argumentation of several conceptual senses: *aurea mediocritas*, *est modus in rebus carpe diem*, etc. d. The modified poetic form of prose epistles originating from satire, which apart from being poetic, are highly analytical, especially from the perspective of poetics and comparative literature. e. The start of the depoliticization of literature.

Essentially depoliticized love elegy is to be considered the child of Roman literature and hence a novelty in the literary process. Tibullus' sincere and refined elegies are succeeded by Propertius' verses, marked by a gradual generic diffusion, and eventually by Ovid's frolic poetry, the finale of the genre. Ovid's innovations outstand by their scale and diversity not only in Greco-Roman, but in world literature. The brief life of Roman love elegy ends with his *Amores*, while his *Ars Amatoria* and *Remedia Amoris* start a new "genre" of "poetic erotology." His *Heriodes* establishes the so-called feminist trend of "poetic love epistolography." However, Ovid's innovative spirit is best revealed in his *Metamorphoses,* which he classifies with an ample term *carmen perpertuum.* Ovid's original technique employs the following controversy: the basic model underlying the closed structure of the numerous traditional stories used in the poem vs. the principles aimed at overcoming the closedness in the overall composition of the poem. If considered as an integral structure, *Metamorphoses* is an epic, but if considered as a unity of autonomous structures, it can be viewed as an

anti-epic. While in exile, Ovid pioneered autobiographic quasi-documentary poetry, which in fact gave birth to what in the 20th century was labelled as "exile literature."

The epic writers of the Silver Age aspire for overcoming matrices, which "boosted" epic output and contributed to an almost exhaustive coverage of the epic genre. The accompanying novelties are best represented in the development of conflict structure. However, the rise in historical epic poetry proved short-lived. In his *Pharsalia,* Lucanus substantially alters the sequential structure of arguments and functions, which is driven by his principally new world view. This entails a change in his attitude to the traditional models of conflict structure. In Lucanus, the opposition between qualitatively equal members is changed to an opposition of essentially unequal members: idea and reality. At the level of idea an argument with a negative function becomes void by an argument with a positive function. The situation is opposite at the level of reality. The members to the opposition swap in the qualitatively new conflict structure: at the level of idea an argument with a negative structure is related to an argument with a positive structure in the same way as at the level of idea an argument with a positive structure is related to an argument with a negative structure. Members to the opposition and functions are not distinctly shaped in Silius' annalist narrative poem *Punica.* The poet does not structure the story to the principle of epic composition but renders it chronologically, which in fact marks an end to historical or annalist epic poetry in Roman literature. Crisis symptoms are evident in traditional-mythological epic writing as well. Despite a number of novelties, neither Valerius Flaccus nor Statius proposes any important prospects for the development of mythological epos. Their efforts to adhere to the principles of firmness and heredity at the external, story level and at the same time, to overcome traditional epic norms result in an obvious tension between the external and inner structures, and as an outcome, lead Roman epic poetry to the ultimate decline. This period in Roman literature is distinguished by a high level of eclecticism in other genres as well. Two trends become especially evident: the reputation of prose writing grows vigorously and certain parity is established between the multiple genres, almost all of them represented by paradigmatic figures.

As concerns poetry, Seneca and Martialis attract particular attention. Seneca is the first Roman author equally prolific in poetry and prose writ-

ing. Both his theoretical and poetic works remarkably outstand in their response to the spirit of the age, presenting him as an avant-garde writer. Despite the centuries-long history of epigrammatic poetry in antiquity, Martialis is the first to promote and defend its generic significance. He ranks his epigrams higher than voluminous works with "traditional stuff." In fact, judging by the innovations he introduced into epigrammatic poetry and the level to which he raised it, Martialis appears as a true "classic" of the genre. The fading of interest in elevated classical writing and aspiration for the novelties proposed by the so-called applied literature becomes growingly evident in the Principate period, suggesting the ultimate decline of classical literature.

Out of the two contradictory trends in post-Principate Rome, frequently appearing in the works of the same author – the rise of the Christian Church and ideology, and the decline of the basically mimetic pagan ancient tradition – the chapter discusses the second, the so-called Greco-Roman line. Its main characteristic trait is the aspiration for the new with a look at the old, mainly from the formal and applicative perspective. It has the following directions: a. The hegemony of poetry giving way to the hegemony of prose. b. The full-scale revival of the philhellenic spirit in the times of Hadrian; literary activities of neoteric poets. c. Once again, an exercise aimed at the adaptation of the classics in the post-classical Rome with variations on the theme of Venus (Alcestis – Papyrus, Pervigilium Veneris). d. Cento – the emergence of new literature from intertextuality and literary games (Hosidius Geta). e. Theoretical and practical summing-up of the literary games of antiquity (Ausonius, the theorist of *Technopaegnion* and the author of the *Technopaegnion*).

Epilogue. Horace argued that the continual search for innovation was in what Greeks excelled most and what enabled them to create outstanding literature. In fact, the spirit of innovation served as a driving force of Greek literature from the time of Homer. In the Hellenic period, this was best evidenced in three main literary genres: epic poetry, lyric poetry and drama. The latter emerged in the history of literature with almost "biological" regularity, giving birth to a multitude of relatively minor genres and forms of literary output including heroic, didactic, genealogical or parodic poetry, tragedy, comedy, as well as poetically-coloured historical, rhetorical and philosophical prose. Until the end of the Classical period, innova-

tion played a leading role in Greek literature in terms of refining the main genres, perfecting the expression of thought and poetic creativity and developing a stance towards the concepts of human being and the meaning of life. The result was the formation of the so-called normative genres represented by writers whose literary individuality was defined not by the unity of formal features, but rather by the depth of comprehension and expression of thought, the richness of poetic language and the force of creative potential, and most importantly, by their target at the general public rather than at its specific segment, the latter being especially true of epic poets and playwrights. As early as the Classical period, normativity, sometimes aligned with traditionalism, tends to offer something new through the deviation from, and in many cases, rejection of the norm/tradition. Given the growing difficulty of excelling classical authors by the intrinsic qualities of literature, irrational in essence, innovation appeared to be primarily concerned with the reformation of formal features.

Beginning from as early as the 4th century B.C., i.e., the Late Classical period, Plato brought forth his well-known theory of ideas. He never proposed a systemic definition of the essence of the idea, which left an ample room for interpretation and led to endless debates since the beginning of antiquity. However, nobody doubts that Plato understood ideas as forms acknowledging the primacy of the "external form" or "contour." In this light, he can be considered the forefather of the concept of formalism. It is not accidental that the desire to defy traditions in the Hellenistic period was evidenced in the search for changes, which ultimately resulted in the modification of the so-called classical genres and the attempt to fully replace them.

In the beginning, Roman writing chose the path of creative recreation and adaptation of the Hellenistic literary tradition. The Hellenistic impulses and revolutionary changes introduced in the literary processes in the 1st century B.C. led to landmark achievements and the establishment of standards. This revival resounded through the end of the 1st century A.D., while the decadence of the later period defined by literary experimentation clearly marked a deviation from the norms set by the Roman classics.

Innovative attempts of Greco-Roman authors find parallels with literary movements and experiments of the modern time. This is understandable since Western culture still abounds in Greco-Roman impulses and the contemporary authors' attempts to deviate from the norm can in many cases

be interpreted as a direct or indirect attempt of distancing themselves from the Greco-Roman tradition. This explains a multitude of such features in the repertoire of Greek and Roman authors that in today's literary studies can be termed as innovation, formalism and avant-garde.