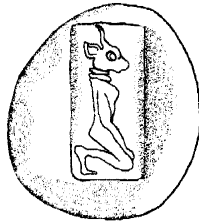


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CONTENTS

PYGMALIONISMUS. ÜBER NARZISSMUS, GENDER UND KUNST THOMAS EMMRICH	4
THE BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS IN THE OLD GEORGIAN TRANSLATIONS OF THE <i>HEXAEMERON</i> OF BASIL OF CAESAREA MAGDA MTCHEDLIDZE	54
THE CITIES OF THE GREEK EAST AFTER THE FIRST MITHRIDATIC WAR. ASPECTS OF SULLA'S FINANCIAL POLICY SIMONE RENDINA	74
ANATOMICAL EX-VOTOS AS A REFLECTION OF "RELIGIOUS ROMANIZATION"? REAPPRAISING A CENTRAL ITALIAN PRACTICE LUCA RICCI	93
PUBLISHING HOUSE "LOGOS" CATALOGUE 2019-2020	117

PYGMALIONISMUS. ÜBER NARZISSMUS, GENDER UND KUNST

THOMAS EMMRICH

Abstract. On the basis of Ovid's story of Pygmalion in the tenth book of the *Metamorphoses*, the contribution at hand aims to demonstrate that the production of art cannot be traced back to a pure, ideal or august source: to a divine inspiration, for example, as postulated since Homer's *Iliad* by the motif of the invocations of the muses; or to the autonomous creative subject of the modern aesthetics of the genius and aestheticism. Ovid, with his figure of the paradigmatic and tradition forming artist, illustrates that, on the contrary, art is based on something inferior and abject, namely on a narcissist misalliance of the artist towards his work, which, in the case of Pygmalion, grows into an incestuous structure of desire. Since Pygmalion's narcissism is related to a, or rather his, *simulacrum* of the ideal woman, it is furthermore important to reconstruct the distortions pertaining to gender policies that can be connected to the creation of art.

1. EINLEITUNG: DER MYTHOS VON PYGMALION. KULT VS. KUNST

In die Primärüberlieferung sind keine Zeugnisse des Pygmalionmythos vor Ovids Bearbeitung in den *Metamorphosen* (10.243-297) eingegangen.¹ Sekundär tradiert finden sich lediglich kurze Erwähnungen einer Version des hellenistischen Dichters Philostephanos bei den christlichen Autoren

¹ Vgl. Rosati 2016, 56: "Prima di Ovidio non ci sono tracce della storia di Pigmalione."

Clemens von Alexandria und Arnobius dem Älteren. Deren Beschäftigung mit Pygmalion ist allerdings nicht motiviert etwa durch ein mythographisches Interesse oder die Agenda, pagane Bildungsbestände zu bewahren und in das neue, christliche kulturelle Paradigma einzuspeisen. Die Rezeption ist getragen von einem religionspolitischen Kalkül: Sowohl Clemens als auch Arnobius war es darum zu tun, den verderblichen Einfluss der heidnischen Idolatrie zu veranschaulichen. Die Figur des Pygmalion war mithin ein willkommenes Mittel für religionspropagandistische Zwecke.

Bei Clemens heißt es im *Protrepticus* im 2. Jh. n. Chr. lakonisch: Οὕτως ὁ Κύπριος ὁ Πυγμαλίῳν ἐκεῖνος ἐλεφαντίνου ἠράσθη ἀγάλματος· τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης ἦν, καὶ γυμνὴ ἦν· νικᾶται ὁ Κύπριος τῷ σχήματι καὶ συνέρχεται τῷ ἀγάλματι· καὶ τοῦτο Φιλοστέφανος ἰστορεῖ (4.57.3): "So verliebte sich jener Pygmalion von Kypros in eine elfenbeinerne Statue; die Statue war ein Bild der Aphrodite und war nackt. Der Kyprier wird von der schönen Form überwältigt und umarmt die Statue, und das erzählt Philostephanos."²

Etwas detaillierter ist dasjenige, was Arnobius in *Adversus Nationes* um 300 n. Chr. zu berichten weiß. Wie Clemens rekurriert er auf Philostephanos und macht damit die hellenistische Vorlage transparent, die gleichfalls Ovid zur Verfügung gestanden haben dürfte. Im Gegensatz zu Clemens skizziert Arnobius ein regelrechtes Pathogramm von Pygmalion und beschreibt dessen erotische Aktivitäten ausführlicher, gewiss ohne dabei allzu pikante Einzelheiten preiszugeben:

Philostephanus in Cypriacis auctor est, Pygmalionem regem Cypri simulacrum Veneris quod sanctitatis apud Cyprios et religionis habebatur antiquae, adamasse ut feminam, mente anima lumine rationis iudicioque caecatis solitumque dementem, tamquam si uxoria res esset, sublevato in lectulum numine copularier amplexibus atque ore resque alias agere libidinis vacuae imaginatione frustrabiles (6.22).

Philostephanos in den *cyprischen Zuständen* ist Bürge, daß Pygmalion, König von Cyprien, das Bildniß der Venus, welches die Cyprier für ein

² Das Original folgt der Ausgabe von Marcovich 1995. Die Übersetzung stammt von Stählin 1934.

altberühmtes Heiligthum hielten, wie ein Weib, an Gemüth, Seele, Verstand und Urteilskraft erblindet, geliebt; daß er alberner Gewohnheit zufolge, als sey es eine Frau gleichsam, in's Bett gehoben, das Bildniß mit Umarmungen und Püffen sich zugesellt und noch andere vergebliche Dinge nichtiger Lust zu vollbringen sich eingebildet habe.³

Schwerlich ist in diesem Passus auszumachen, was Arnobius' Referat von Philostephanos' Darstellung und was Invektive des christlichen Autors ist. Festgehalten werden darf jedoch, dass sowohl vor als auch nach Ovid Pygmalion als eine abnorme Gestalt erscheint, die sich an einer heiligen Venusstatue vergeht: "The traditional Pygmalion myth, like every other story involving sex with a statue (*agalmatophilia*), was one of perversion and violation of the divine,"⁴ so Rachel Bruzzone.

Präsentiert Clemens lediglich einen kurzen Abriss des Plots, findet bei Arnobius eine dezidierte Pathologisierung von Pygmalion statt: *adamasse ut feminam, mente anima lumine rationis iudicioque caecatis solitumque dementem* (6.22): Alles, was in einem Menschen von Wahnsinn befallen sein kann, affektivische wie dianoetische Instanzen, häuft Arnobius zu einem psychopathologischen Ausnahmezustand an. Um das Sakrileg ästhetisch diskursivierbar zu machen, bedurfte es einer Reihe von Modifikationen an der hellenistischen Fassung: Philostephanos' König wird in Ovids *Metamorphosen* einerseits zu einer Künstlerfigur transformiert – nicht zu einem Bildhauer im herkömmlichen Sinne, zu dem die Rezeption Pygmalion fälschlicherweise machte, da er sein *simulacrum* (vgl. 10.280)⁵ nicht aus einem massiven Steinblock schlägt, wie dies Bildhauer zu tun pflegen, sondern aus Elfenbein fertigt, was

³ Das Original folgt der Ausgabe von Fragu 2010. Die Übersetzung stammt von von Besnard 1842. Zu den antiken und spätantiken Zeugnissen des Pygmalionmythos vgl. z. B. Müller 1988.

⁴ Bruzzone 2012, 65. Zum Motiv der Agalmatophilie in der antiken Literatur vgl. Bruzzone 2012, 67-71. Ferner Scobie und Taylor 1975. Zur Fetischisierung von Puppen, an deren mythologischem Ursprung Pygmalions Skulptur steht, vgl. Smith 2013, hier insbesondere das Kapitel zu Ovids Pygmalion und dessen Rezeption (31-66).

⁵ Verwendet wird hier wie im Folgenden die Ausgabe von Tarrant 2004. Die Übersetzung stammt hier wie im Folgenden von von Albrecht 2006.

aufgrund des limitierten natürlichen Vorkommens des Materials nur dadurch möglich ist, dass Einzelteile frankensteinesk zusammengefügt werden.⁶ Aus dem Stoßzahn eines noch so gewaltigen Elefanten lässt sich höchstens eine Statuette schnitzen; die Schilderungen in den *Metamorphosen* legen indes nahe, dass Pygmalions künstlich erschaffene Frau mehr als nur ein Figürchen ist. Andererseits ist das von Ovids Pygmalion gefertigte *opus* (vgl. 10.249) keine Venusstatue. Es wird als *puella* (vgl. 10.280) bezeichnet und damit von jeglicher Sakralität

⁶ In der Forschung ist oftmals irrigerweise davon ausgegangen worden, dass es sich bei Pygmalions *opus* (10.249) um eine Marmorstatue handelt, vgl. exemplarisch Solodow 1988, 2: "This is Pygmalion, who at the end succeeds in converting *marble* into the living flesh of a woman." Bei der Kursivierung handelt es sich um meine Hervorhebung. Zum Elfenbein sowie zu dessen Verarbeitungsweise in der Antike vgl. Lapatin 2001, insbesondere 1-21. Weiterhin Salzmann-Mitchell 2008, 308: "When working the ivory, the artist does not uncover a complete body that was already inside the stone as a unity (with its perfections and imperfections), but rather carefully chooses different pieces of ivory and organizes them to his own taste and for his own pleasure. Pygmalion's maiden is thus a sort of female Frankenstein, but pretty, an android constructed out of pieces, not a whole." Motivische und strukturelle Korrespondenzen zwischen den Erzählungen von Pygmalion und Frankensteins Monster untersucht Anthony Stephens und interpretiert dabei Shelleys *Frankenstein or The Modern Prometheus* (1818) als eine moderne Kontrafaktur der antiken Pygmalionsage: "Wenn im Folgenden der *Frankenstein*-Roman als eine Umwandlung des Pygmalion-Mythos ins Zerstörerische gelesen wird, so beansprucht diese Lektüre nicht mehr als nur eine Schneise durch den dichten Wald dieses Romantexts zu schlagen. Wohlgemerkt: *Frankenstein* ist nicht etwa eine parodistische Nachahmung des Pygmalion-Mythos, sondern Mary Shelleys Text negiert konsequent die Prämissen der antiken Vorlage. Die Macht des Erotischen ist hier gebrochen. Schöpfer und Geschöpf sind gegen Ende des Werkes in gleichem Maße von Rache und Zerstörungswut besessen. Keine lebensbejahende Macht ... interveniert, um den tragischen Knoten zu lösen. ... Während der antike Mythos in der Zelebrierung des Lebens gipfelt, liegt der wahre Horror des *Frankenstein*-Romans in einem öden Solipsismus, der nicht zufälligerweise sich das Eismeer des Nordpols als letzte Szenerie erwählt." Stephens 1997, 532. Ferner Emmrich 2020, 440-495.

enthoben.⁷ Lothar Spahlinger ist daher beizupflichten, wenn er vermerkt, „daß Ovid eine allgemein geläufige Sagenversion von aller Indezenz und Verfänglichkeit gereinigt hat. Denn von dem lästerlichen Beiklang der Erzählung bei Philostephanos ist bei ihm nichts mehr zu erkennen.“⁸ Dass Ovids Neufassung⁹ – zumindest etwas – dezenter ist als Philostephanos' Hypotext, basiert auf der Entbindung von Pygmalions Liebesobjekt von dem ursprünglichen religiösen Kontext. Dieser ist zwar nicht gänzlich suspendiert, da Pygmalion seine *vota* (10.278) auf einem der Venus gewidmeten Fest vorträgt: *'si, di, dare cuncta potestis, / sit coniunx, opto', non ausus 'eburnea virgo' / dicere Pygmalion 'similis mea' dixit 'eburnae.' / sensit, ut ipsa suis aderat Venus aurea festis, / vota quid illa velint* (10.274-278): „Ihr Götter, könnt ihr alles gewähren, so soll meine Gattin – er wagte nicht zu sagen: ›das elfenbeinerne Mädchen sein‹; darum sprach er nur: ›dem Mädchen aus Elfenbein gleichen!‹ Venus, die Goldene, erriet – war sie doch selbst bei ihrem Fest zugegen –, was mit diesem Wunsch gemeint war.“ Das *simulacrum* (vgl. 10.280) ist weder ein Abbild der Göttin noch gehört es zu dem Inventar des Venuskultes. Ovids Dezenz und Diskretion resultiert damit, so Heinrich Dörrie, aus einer strikten Trennung der beiden Bereiche: „Denn nun ragt von dieser sexuellen Emotion nichts mehr in die sakrale Sphäre hinein.“¹⁰

⁷ Bruzzone sieht demgegenüber in dem Material „Elfenbein“ ein Indiz dafür, dass es sich bei der *puella* (vgl. 10.280) durchaus um eine Götterstatue, zumindest um eine Statue, die über eine sakrale Aura verfügt, handelt: „The material itself, in fact, indicates that the statue in Ovid is a divinity just as the statue in the original tale was. Ivory was used almost exclusively in image of gods, and the few known ivory statues of mortals seem to represent an attempt to associate the human subject with the divine.“ Bruzzone 2012, 70; hierzu ferner 71. Zudem Lapatin 2001, insbesondere 96-133.

⁸ Spahlinger 1996, 54.

⁹ Im Hinblick auf Ovids Bearbeitung des Pygmalionmythos spricht Galinsky von einem „totally new character.“ Galinsky 1975, 30.

¹⁰ Dörrie 1974, 28. Hierzu gleichfalls Elsner 2007, 121f.

Von ihrem "lästerlichen Beiklang"¹¹ ist Ovids Version der Pygmalionsage jedoch nur insofern befreit, als sie nicht als blasphemisch bzw. als Sakrileg zu gelten hat. Spahlingers pauschalisierende Diagnose von dem "offensichtliche[n] Bemühen des Dichters, alle Züge von Perversion in der Vorlage beiseitezulassen,"¹² ist indes fragwürdig. Gewiss, Ovid löst das *simulacrum* (vgl. 10.280) aus seiner religiösen Einbettung und kennzeichnet Pygmalions *amor* (vgl. 10.249) nicht explizit als pathologisch wie etwa Arnobius. Nichtsdestotrotz lässt er keinen Zweifel daran, dass Pygmalions Begehren ein *hand*greifliches erotisches und zudem narzisstisches ist,¹³ kein selbstloses, sentimentalisches oder vergeistigtes, als welches u. a. Spahlinger es verstanden wissen möchte.¹⁴

¹¹ Spahlinger 1996, 54.

¹² Spahlinger 1996, 54.

¹³ Hierzu exemplarisch Janan 1988, 124: "But Pygmalion also suffers an appropriate fate for his artistic narcissism." Zudem Leach 1974, 124f.

¹⁴ Spahlinger (1996, 52) unterstreicht in seinen Ausführungen die "bescheidene Frömmigkeit des Künstlers," nämlich die Teilnahme Pygmalions am Fest der Venus, die durch ihren Beistand am Ende der Erzählung den *amor* (vgl. 10.249) des Künstlers sowie seine Ehe zweifelsohne legitimiert: *coniugio, quod fecit, adest dea* (10.295): "Der Ehe, die sie gestiftet, steht die Göttin bei." Es soll, wenn nicht entgegengehalten, so doch zumindest hinzugefügt werden, dass es der Darstellung der *Metamorphosen* hin und wieder an Konsistenz mangelt. Wie unzuverlässig u. a. Auskünfte der narrativen Instanzen sind, zeigt z. B. die moralische Beurteilung von Cinyras, Myrrhas Vater. Dieser wird als *pius* attribuiert: *pius ille memorque est / moris* (10.354-355): "Denn dein Vater ist fromm und treu und hat das Sittengesetz nicht vergessen," obwohl er, ohne Skrupel, eine Liebschaft eingeht, während seine "gesetzliche Ehefrau": *legitima ... coniuge* (10.437) am jährlichen Ceresfest teilnimmt. Zum unzuverlässigen Erzählen bei Ovid exemplarisch Graf 1994; Horstmann 2014. Allgemein zur narratologischen Architektur der *Metamorphosen* Solodow 1988, insbesondere 9-74. In ähnlicher Weise wie Spahlinger idealisiert und verklärt Michel Manson (1982, 113) Pygmalions Begehren und Kunstschaffen: "Pygmalion réalise, au centre de cet univers, un certain idéal humain de l'amour orienté vers le mariage, de la *pietas* et de l'art élevé à son plus haut niveau. Il se maintient à égale distance des conduites anormales ou extrêmes." Eine radikale Gegenmeinung zu Spahlingers und Mansons letztlich humanistisch fundierter Lektüre vertritt z. B. Leach 1974, 124: "At this point ivory has indeed become the stuff of false

Ferner liegt der Fokus der Darstellung weder auf der Herstellung der Elfenbeinstatue noch auf der Metamorphose oder dem, was sich nach dieser zuträgt, sondern auf Pygmalions Liebeswerben und Liebeshandlungen: "Ovid does little to ease his reader's discomfort with *agalmathophilia* when he focuses the majority of the text (*Met.* 10.250-69) on the sculptor's patently transgressive seduction of the unresponsive statue rather than the more palatable moments after she comes to life," konstatiert Bruzzone.¹⁵

dreams. As he touches and pokes at his statue, Pygmalion feels guilty for his boldness, and in his confusion woos his lady with presents like a pastoral swain: simple shells and stones at first, then rings, clothes, necklace and earrings. The very gesture, which indeed makes a *meretrix* of the ivory lady, indicates that Pygmalion has lost all sense of the self-sufficiency of his art." Franz Bömer nimmt demgegenüber in seinem Kommentar zu Ovids Pygmalionsage eine vermittelnde Position ein, der sich, wie an obiger Stelle im Haupttext angedeutet, der vorliegende Beitrag zumindest im Hinblick auf die Beurteilung von Pygmalions *amor* (vgl. 10.249) anschließt. Zwar betont Bömer wie z. B. auch Spahlinger die "Unschuld" – wenngleich die des "Dichters," nicht die von Pygmalion –, erkennt aber im Unterschied zu Spahlinger die handfeste Erotik der Szene an: "Moral und Ethos sind nicht das letzte Ziel dieser Dichtung; sie sind das Mittel, das den Dichter berechtigt, in aller Unschuld und Ausführlichkeit Geschichten hochkarätiger Erotik zu erzählen." Bömer 1980, 93. Allein schon auf der inhaltlichen Ebene des Textes wird Pygmalions sexuelles Begehren deutlich, vgl. z. B. 10.280-281: *ut rediit, simulacra suae petit ille puellae / incumbensque toro dedit oscula; visa tepere est*: "Als er nach Hause kam, zog es ihn zu seinem Mädchenbild. Er warf sich auf das Lager und küsste sie. Da war ihm, als sei sie warm." Darüber hinaus weist Bömer (1980, 106) auf die "leicht erotische Bedeutung" von *tepere* hin. Zu ergänzen wäre noch, dass gleichfalls *petere* über eine erotische Konnotation verfügt, vgl. Glare 1982, 1370: "10 To seek (a person) as a helper, friend, or sim. b to pay amorous attention to, court. c to seek the hand of (a woman) in marriage." Hierzu gleichfalls Adams ²1990, 159 sowie 212, Anm. 1. Vgl. ferner die Bedeutung von *toro* (10.281), der direkt nach der Venusfest-Digression (10.270-279) das *tori sociam* (10.268) unmittelbar vor dieser wieder aufgreift: "5 The bed as the place of conjugal, etc., union; (so also) ~us *genialis, socialis*. b (transf.) a conjugal or other sexual union or relationship." Glare 1982, 1952. Zur Kontroverse über Pygmalions *pietas* vgl. Bruzzone 2012, 66.

¹⁵ Bruzzone 2012, 69. Hierzu auch Elsner 2007, 114f.

2. PYGMALIONS SIMULACRUM: NARZISSMUS, GENDER, KUNST

Im Hinblick auf den Konstruktcharakter der Kategorie *gender* notiert Alison Sharrock: "Women are 'perceived'. We speak often not just of 'women', but of 'images', 'representations', 'reflections' of women. Women perceived is women as art-object; and paradigmatic of this phenomenon is the myth of Pygmalion."¹⁶ Im zehnten Buch der *Metamorphosen* berichtet der intradiegetische Erzähler Orpheus,¹⁷ begleitet von einer elegisch-erotischen *leviore lyra* (10.152),¹⁸ von einer rezeptions- und produktionsästhetisch sowie gendertheoretisch relevanten "Womanufacture":¹⁹ von Pygmalions artifizuell-synthetischer Erschaffung (s)einer Idealfrau unter Umgehung der weiblichen Fruchtbarkeit und Zeugung. Meint die mittlerweile zum Gemeinplatz geronnene Junktur *doing gender* formelhaft die Reproduktion von Geschlechterstereotypen und die damit einhergehende Hervorbringung von Essenz- und Realitätseffekten,²⁰ illustriert Ovids Version der

¹⁶ Sharrock 1991, 36. Zudem Elsner und Sharrock 1991, 170: "The boundaries between female love-objects and art-objects are susceptible to disintegration. Pervasive throughout the whole Western story of women and art and sex is one figure."

¹⁷ Zur komplexen narrativen Architektur der *Metamorphosen* vgl. z. B. Barchiesi 2001, 49-79.

¹⁸ Die "leichtere[n] Leierklänge" (*leviore lyra*, 10.152) sind als Gegensatz zu dem *plectro graviore* (10.150), dem "gewichtigeren[n] Plectrum" zu verstehen, das figurativ für das *genus sublime* der epischen Dichtung steht. Mit den *Gigantas / sparsaque Phlegraeis victricia fulmina campis* (10.150-151), den "Giganten ... und ... Blitzen, die siegreich die phlegraeischen Felder übersäten," wird das epische Sujet der Gigantomachie aniziert. Zum Adjektiv *levis* in einem gattungspoetischen Kontext vgl. den TLL 7.2.1212.2ff.: „*β carmina maxime ludicra, amatoria (opponitur carmen epicum...)*.“

¹⁹ Vgl. Sharrock 1991.

²⁰ Zur Denkfigur des *doing gender*, i. e. zur Theorie, dass die Geschlechtsidentität (*gender*) auf einer Performanz basiert und folglich nichts Substanzielles oder Vordiskursives darstellt, exemplarisch Butler 2008, insbesondere 1-46. Der Vollständigkeit halber sei erwähnt, dass Butler selbst noch die Unterscheidung zwischen dem kulturellen (*gender*) und dem biologischen (*sex*) Geschlecht dekonstruiert, indem sie auch dieses als ein kulturelles Artefakt betrachtet, vgl. z. B. Butler 2008, 10: "Gender ought not to be conceived merely as the cultural in-

Pygmalionsage etwas dazu Vorgängiges, Grundlegenderes: Sie führt im Gewande des Mythos ein *making gender* vor; gibt den Blick frei auf die *Produktion* eines spezifischen Phänotyps von Weiblichkeit *in statu nascendi*.

Die allererste und im Rahmen der kurzen Erzählung auch einzige Bewusstseinsregung von Pygmalions *virgo* (10.292) aus Elfenbein besteht im Affekt der Scham: *dataque oscula virgo / sensit et erubuit, timidumque ad lumina lumen / attollens* (10.292-294): "Das Mädchen hat den Kuss empfunden, sie ist errötet! Jetzt hebt sie scheu zu seinem Auge ihr Auge empor." Es ist gerade das Fehlen der Scham, die Schamlosigkeit des weiblichen Geschlechts, die Ovids Künstlerfigur dazu veranlasst, ein Leben im Zölibat zu führen: *Quas quia Pygmalion aevum per crimen agentes / viderat, offensus vitiis quae plurima menti / femineae natura dedit, sine coniuge caelebs / vivebat thalamicque diu consorte carebat* (10.243-246): "Weil Pygmalion sah, wie diese Frauen ihr Leben verbrecherisch zubrachten, blieb er einsam und ehelos, abgestoßen von den Fehlern, mit denen die Natur das Frauenherz so freigebig beschenkt hat, und schon lange teilte kein Weib mehr sein Lager." Der relative Satzanschluss *Quas* (10.243) knüpft an die Sage von den *obscenae ... Propoetides* (10.238), den "schamlosen Propoetiden" an, die, so die Auskunft unbestimmter Zeugen (vgl. *feruntur*, 10.240), die göttliche Autorität der Venus leugneten und für ihre Blasphemie bestraft wurden: *Sunt tamen obscenae Venerem Propoetides ausae / esse negare deam; pro quo sua numinis ira / corpora cum forma primae vulgasse feruntur; / utque pudor cessit sanguisque induruit oris, / in rigidum parvo silicem discrimine versae* (10.238-242): "Zur Strafe dafür sollen sie, weil ihnen die Göttin zürnte, als erste ihren Leib preisgegeben haben. Und sobald die Scham gewichen und das Blut im Gesicht erstarrt war, wurden sie – nur noch klein war der Schritt – in harten Kiesel

scription of meaning on a pre-given sex (a juridical conception); gender must also designate the very apparatus of production whereby the sexes themselves are established. As a result, gender is not to culture as sex is to nature; gender is also the discursive/cultural means by which 'sexed nature' or 'a natural sex' is produced and established as 'prediscursive,' prior to culture, a politically neutral surface on *which* culture acts." Hierzu ferner West und Zimmerman 1987.

verwandelt.“ Die mythologische Aitiologie der Prostitution und der misogynen Blick der männlichen Reflektorfigur auf die Prostituierten fungiert als Kontrastfolie, auf der Pygmalions künstlich-künstlerisch produzierte Frau das Licht der Welt erblickt; oder genauer: das Antlitz ihres Schöpfers vor himmlischer Kulisse, denn nur über diesen An- und Augenblick informiert der Erzähler: *pariter cum caelo vidit amantem* (10.294): “Und zugleich mit dem Himmel erblickt sie den Mann, der sie liebt.“ War es das grammatikalisch feminine Subjekt *natura* (10.245), das das weibliche Geschlecht als ein fehlerhaftes, fehleranfälliges und insuffizientes kreiert hat, gar als Superlativ (vgl. *plurima*, 10.244) moralischer Defizienz, was der auf den Ablativ *vitiis* (10.244) bezogene Relativsatz *quae plurima menti / femineae natura dedit* (10.244-245): “mit denen die Natur das Frauenherz so freigebig beschenkt hat“ zum Ausdruck bringt, wird die Unzulänglichkeit der Frau *naturalisiert*, deterministisch in ihrem biologischen Geschlecht verankert. Der “Mangel“ und die “Lasterhaftigkeit“ – *vitium* umfasst beides²¹ – gehören zur Natur, zur natürlichen und wesenhaften Ausstattung der Frau, weil es die *natura* war, die ihr die *vitia* gegeben hat. Da sich das segmentierende Relativpronomen *Quas* (10.243) zu dem generalisierenden Adjektiv *femineae* (10.245), bezogen auf *menti* (10.244), mit dem es durch Enjambement verbunden ist, expandiert, sind es nicht die Propoetiden allein, die als mangel- und fehlerhaft ausgewiesen werden; es ist das weibliche Geschlecht im Allgemeinen, das von der narrativen Instanz infamiert wird.

Orpheus schwört nach dem abermaligen Verlust von Eurydike im Hades (vgl. 10.53-70) dem weiblichen Geschlecht ab und avanciert zum Lehrmeister der Päderastie: *ille etiam Thracum populis fuit auctor amorem / in teneros transferre mares citraque iuventam / aetatis breve ver et primos carpere flores* (10.83-85): “Er lehrte auch die Thracervölker, die

²¹ Zur Bedeutung von *vitium* vgl. Glare 1982, 2080: “1 A quality which impedes success, perfection, etc., defect, default, shortcoming... 2 An imperfection (in material things), fault, flaw... **b** a defect, disorder... 3 (in contexts expr. the effect of a fault on a person or thing) Disadvantage, injurious quality... 4 Defect of character, moral failing, vice.”

Liebe auf zarte Knaben zu übertragen, vor der Reifezeit den kurzen Frühling zu genießen und die ersten Blüten zu pflücken.“²²

²² Der Orpheusmythos bei Ovid lässt sich nicht zuletzt in seiner Differenz zu Vergils Gestaltung der Sage in den *Georgica* (4.281-566) profilieren. Vergil zufolge soll Orpheus *septem ... mensis* (4.507), „sieben volle Monate“ „durchweint“: *flesse* (4.509) und in seinem Klagegedicht Eurydikes Tod und Plutos verwirkte Gnade thematisiert haben: *raptam Eurydicen atque inrita Ditis / dona querens* (4.519-520): „[Er] beklagte Eurydices Raub und Plutos vergebliche Gnade.“ Das Original folgt der Ausgabe von Mynors 1972, die Übersetzung stammt von Schönberger 1994. Als trauernder Witwer verhält sich Orpheus im vergilischen Prätext ausnahmslos sexuell abstinente: *nulla Venus, non ulli animum flexere hymenaei* (4.516): „Kein Liebeslocken, kein Hochzeitswerben rührte sein Herz.“ In den *Metamorphosen* zeigen sich gravierende Abweichungen sowohl im Hinblick auf die Dauer der unmittelbaren Trauerphase als auch im Hinblick auf das sexuelle Folgeverhalten. Die *septem ... mensis* (4.507) bei Vergil verkürzt Ovid zu *septem ... diebus* (10.73), zu „sieben Tage[n].“ Daneben wird aus der *nulla Venus* (4.516) eine *andere Venus*: Zwar enthält sich Orpheus auch bei Ovid der Frauenliebe (vgl. *omnemque refugerat Orpheus / femineam Venerem*, 10.79-80: „Orpheus hatte alle Frauenliebe gemieden“), doch lebt er nicht vollkommen enthaltsam, da er in Thrakien die sexuelle Praxis der Päderastie stiftet: *ille etiam Thracum populis fuit auctor amorem / in teneros transferre mares citraque iuventam / aetatis breue uer et primos carpere flores* (10.83-85): „Er lehrte auch die Thracervölker, die Liebe auf zarte Knaben zu übertragen, vor der Reifezeit den kurzen Frühling zu genießen und die ersten Blüten zu pflücken.“ Zudem erhält Orpheus' Gesang bei Ovid ein anderes *argumentum* als bei Vergil. Während Orpheus in den *Georgica* über Eurydike singt und ein elegisches *munus* (vgl. 4.520), einen „Totendienst“ verrichtet, wird das Lied des Orpheus in den *Metamorphosen* nur noch motivisch über das Thema „Liebe,“ nicht jedoch explizit mit Eurydike verbunden. An die Stelle der Totenklage über den endgültigen Verlust der Eurydike tritt eine erotische *levior lyra* (vgl. 10.152: „leichtere Leierklänge“), deren Inhalt im Proömium wie folgt zusammengefasst wird: *puerosque canamus / dilectos superis inconcessisque puellas / ignibus attonitas meruisse libidine poenam* (10.152-154): „Laßt uns Knaben besingen, die von Göttern geliebt wurden, und Mädchen, die, von verbotener Leidenschaft ergriffen, Strafe verdienten!“ Zu Orpheus' Liederkranz, der das gesamte zehnte Buch, i. e. den Beginn der letzten Pentade der *Metamorphosen* füllt, zählen die Sagen von Ganymed (10.155-161), Hyacinthus (10.162-219), den Cerasten und den Propoetiden

Demgegenüber überträgt Pygmalion sein Begehren auf ein lebloses Objekt; er ersetzt die als unbefriedigend empfundenen realen Frauen durch eine virtuelle (Kunst)Frau. Da die weibliche Natur bei der Erschaffung der einen Menschheitshälfte versagt hat, ist es an der *mira ... arte* (10.247), an der "wundersamen Kunst," "Kunstfertigkeit" oder "Geschicklichkeit" des Mannes Pygmalion, diese Aberration der *natura* einer Korrektur zu unterziehen und ein positives Gegenbild zu modellieren: *interea niveum mira feliciter arte / sculpsit ebur formamque dedit, qua femina nasci / nulla potest, operisque sui concepit amorem* (10.247-249): "Inzwischen bearbeitete er mit glücklicher Hand und wundersamer Geschicklichkeit schneeweißes Elfenbein, gab ihm eine Gestalt, wie keine Frau auf Erden sie haben kann, und verliebte sich in sein eigenes Geschöpf."²³ Ovids Version des Pygmalionmythos stipuliert auf der

(10.220-242), von Pygmalion (10.243-297), Myrrha (10.298-502), Adonis (10.503-559 und 10.708-739) sowie die Binnenerzählung über Hippomenes und Atalanta (10.560-707). Pygmalion wurde in der Forschung regelmäßig als Pendant zu Orpheus ausgewiesen. Beide, der Sänger wie der Skulpteur, sind zum einen misogyne Figuren und verkörpern zum anderen die Macht der Kunst, hierzu z. B. Hardie 2002, 188f. Außer Acht gelassen wurde dabei bisweilen, dass es im Fall Pygmalions die Göttin Venus und nicht dessen miraculöse *ars* (vgl. 10.247) ist, die die Figur aus Elfenbein belebt. Zur Orpheussage bei Ovid vgl. z. B. Anderson 1989; Eigler 2012; Emmrich 2015, 188-193; Janan 1988; Segal 1972; Viarre 1968. Zum Verhältnis zwischen Vergils und Ovids Darstellung des Orpheusmythos exemplarisch von Albrecht 2014b. Neumeister 1986.

²³ Bemerkenswert an dieser Stelle ist, dass die Erzählung mit *formamque* (10.248) unvermittelt von einer moralischen (vgl. *obscenae*, 10.238) zu einer ästhetischen Diskursivierung des weiblichen Geschlechts übergeht. Fink (²2007) z. B. übersetzt hier *forma* mit "Schönheit." Von Albrechts (2006) Wiedergabe von *forma* mit "Gestalt" hat demgegenüber den Vorzug, dass sie die Pointe der lateinischen Formulierung nicht verdeckt: Die Natur kann nämlich nicht nur deswegen keine Frau von solcher Gestalt hervorbringen, weil das weibliche Geschlecht, dem Erzähler zufolge, ein naturbedingt defizitäres ist. Sie vermag es auch deswegen nicht, da sie Frauen nicht aus Elfenbein erzeugt, sondern aus Fleisch und Blut. Während sich die deutsche Übersetzung für eine der beiden Aspekte entscheiden muss, sind im Lateinischen "Schönheit" und "Gestalt" in einem Wort vereint. Zum semantischen Spektrum von *forma* vgl. Glare 1982, 722f.

metapoetischen Ebene²⁴ die Superiorität der *ars* über die *natura*;²⁵ die Überlegenheit *einer* Kunst, die kunstfertig ihre eigene Künstlichkeit, ihre

²⁴ Diese Textdimension betont z. B. Harzer (2000, 89) in seiner Deutung des Pygmalionmythos: "Die kurze Geschichte von Pygmalion setzt sich aus poetologisch so bedeutsamen Kardinalfunktionen zusammen, daß sie zu einer der am häufigsten rezipierten Episoden der ›Metamorphosen‹ werden mußte."

²⁵ In ihrer Analyse der Sagen von Narcissus und Pygmalion notiert Darab (2018, 116) über das Verhältnis von *ars* und der künstlerischen Schöpferkraft der *natura*: "The two texts, continuously reflecting on each other, position the relationship between *natura* and *ars* neither in opposition nor in hierarchical order, but follow a particular Ovidian interpretation, which is articulated in other stories of *Metamorphoses*." Abgesehen davon, dass in der Erzählung von Pygmalion der Dualismus von *ars* und *natura* sehr wohl hierarchisch strukturiert ist, worauf bereits Solodow hingewiesen hat (vgl. "superiority of art over nature," Solodow 1988, 211), konfigurieren auch die von Darab (2018, 116) angeführten "other stories" die Suprematie der Kunst über die Natur – wenngleich in weniger dezidierte Weise als in der Episode von Pygmalion. Verhandelt wird der hierarchisch arrangierte Binarismus zwischen *ars* und *natura* in den von Darab genannten Beispielen im Zusammenhang mit Ekphraseis von *loca amoena*, insbesondere von Grotten bzw. Höhlen. In der Sage von Actaeon (3.138-252) wird die Grotte, in der sich die Göttin Diana nach der Jagd zu erfrischen pflegt, folgendermaßen beschrieben: *Vallis erat piceis et acuta densa cupressu, / nomine Gargaphie, succinctae sacra Dianae, / cuius in extremo est antrum nemorale recessu / arte laboratum nulla; simulaverat artem / ingenio natura suo, nam punice vivo / et levibus tofis nativum duxerat arcum* (3.155-160): "Dort war ein Tal, dicht bewachsen mit Kiefern und spitzen Zypressen; es hieß Gargaphie und war der hochgeschürzten Diana heilig. In seinem hintersten Winkel liegt, von Wald umgeben, eine Grotte, die nicht künstlich ausgestaltet ist. Die Natur hatte in freier Schöpferlaune ein Kunstwerk vorgetäuscht, denn aus lebendem Bimsstein und leichtem Tuff hatte sie einen gewachsenen Bogen gespannt." Ahmt die Natur die Kunst nach (vgl. *simulaverat artem*) und nicht die Kunst die Natur, wie es dem Anspruch eines realistischen Kunstprogramms entsprechen würde, so erhält die Kunst den ontologischen Primat vor der Natur. Ovids Kunstontologie basiert mithin auf einer Inversion der traditionellen Mimesistheorie. Des Weiteren wird in der Erzählung von Peleus und Thetis (11.221-265) eine Höhle inmitten eines Myrtenwäldchens erwähnt, von der man nicht weiß, "ob sie natürlich oder künstlich ist – doch eher künstlich (11.235-236): *est specus in medio (natura factus an arte / ambiguum, magis arte*

künstlich-künstlerische Gemachtheit dissimuliert: *ars adeo latet arte sua* (10.252): "So vollkommen verbirgt sich im Kunstwerk die Kunst," und Naturhaftigkeit vortäuscht, sogar noch, ohne dabei ihre Artifizialität preiszugeben, als Natur erscheinen will, die die Natur überbietet und perfektioniert. Pygmalion tritt damit nicht in ein mimetisches Verhältnis zur *natura*, sondern in ein aemulatives, agonales; er selbst rückt in die überlegene Position, in der er durch seine *ars* die *natura* optimieren kann.²⁶ Neben der utopisch-eskapistischen Macht der Kunst, die Scharten der Natur auszuweiten, veranschaulicht Ovids Pygmalionsage die Grundlage von Geschlechterimagines sowie von deren Konfliktpotenzialen.

In der vorliegenden mythologischen Repräsentanz zerfällt das weibliche Geschlecht in zwei binäre Oppositionen: in die schamlosen Prostituierten und in ein Ideal der Scham- und Tugendhaftigkeit. So unterschiedlich beide Phantasmen auch sind, das der Hure wie das der Heiligen sind mit dem Tod liiert. Die Schamlosigkeit der Prostituierten mündet in den Tod qua Verwandlung in Stein: *in rigidum ... silicem ... versae* (10.242); und die *reverentia* (10.251), die "Scheu" oder "Sittsamkeit" führt, zumindest dem Anschein nach, nicht aus diesem heraus: *virginis est verae facies, quam vivere credas / et, si non obstat reverentia, velle moveri* (10.250-251): "Es sieht aus wie ein wirkliches Mädchen! Man möchte

tamen). Die Ästhetik der Topographie wird hier zwar nicht eindeutig der Kunst zugeschrieben (vgl. *ambiguum*), so doch in der Tendenz (vgl. *magis arte tamen*). Die "particular Ovidian interpretation" (Darab 2018, 116) der Relation zwischen *ars* und *natura* besteht folglich darin, dass Ovid direkt oder indirekt die ästhetische Potenz der Kunst über diejenige der Natur stellt. Ebenso Rosati 2016, 71: "non la *natura*, quindi, ma l'*ars* diventa il paradigma della perfezione."

²⁶ Als "narrativisation of the ephrastic topics of illusionist realism" (Hardie 2002, 186) umschreibt Philip Hardie Ovids Pygmalionmythos. In diesem geht es jedoch weniger um ein Kunstwerk, das eine perfekt realistische Illusion der Natur erzeugt, wie Hardie annimmt, sondern um die sowohl ästhetische als auch moralische *Überlegenheit* der Kunst über die Natur. Demgemäß wertet Solodow die Figuren von Narcissus, Andromeda und Pygmalion als mythologische Repräsentanten der "superiority of art over nature," Solodow 1988, 211. Vgl. hierzu die Fußnote 25 des vorliegenden Beitrags.

glauben, sie lebe, wolle sich bewegen – nur die Sittsamkeit halte sie zurück.“²⁷ Man(n) möchte glauben, so der Potentialis *credas*,²⁸ Scheu und Sittsamkeit hielte die Frau aus Elfenbein vom Leben ab; hielte sie in anmutiger statuarischer Leblosigkeit und Starre, in schöner, un- bzw. widernatürlicher, da nicht von der *natura* gezeugter Leichenhaftigkeit toter Materie gebannt. Doch gerade der phantasmatische männliche Wunsch nach weiblichem *pudor* (10.241) und weiblicher *reverentia* (10.251) ist es,²⁹ der die Frau vom Leben fernhält, der sie daran hindert, zu einem eigenen Leben zu finden, unabhängig vom männlichen (An)Blick ihre eigene Perspektive einzunehmen und außerhalb des Graphem- bzw. Phonemsystems des männlichen Erzählers eine originäre Stimme zu entwickeln. Was der Leser über das *simulacrum* (vgl. 10.280) erfährt, ist lediglich ein Bündel an Zuschreibungen und Übertragungen des männlichen Sängers Orpheus bzw. der männlichen Reflektorfigur Pygmalion. Selbst über einen eigenen Signifikanten verfügt

²⁷ Elsner verweist darauf, dass nicht nur die “Sittsamkeit” die *virgo* (vgl. 10.250) vom Leben abzuhalten scheint, sondern gleichfalls die im Signifikanten *reverentia* enthaltene *re vere*: “Only *reverentia* (v. 251), the sexual restraint and modesty of which this wish-fulfillment fantasy is rapidly robbing the lover, stands between him and his desire. Yet *reverentia* means more than modesty. It punningly inscribes the term *re vere* (“in reality”) and thus asserts the whole problematic of the “real” woman which the image cannot be.” Elsner 2007, 124.

²⁸ In dem *credas* (10.250) sieht Elsner nicht nur das impersonale “man,” sondern auch eine direkte Hinwendung des Erzählers zum Leser, wodurch Pygmalions Rezeption seiner Skulptur mit der Rezeption des Textes, der von jener handelt, parallelisiert wird: “In the next couplet (vv. 250-51) Ovid dramatizes the beholder’s need to believe in the possibility of the real. The maiden’s face is real (*verae*); one can believe that she is alive, that she wishes to move. But all this is dependent on *credas*... on the fact that it happens in the viewer’s mind. The second person of *credas* addresses the reader directly as a viewer of the statue and equates the reader with Pygmalion as one who might also believe. This *credas*, immediately following the lines which describe Pygmalion’s act of creation and his act of falling in love (vv. 247-49), is what establishes his viewing as something not entirely differentiated from our act of reading.” Elsner 2007, 123.

²⁹ Zum *männlichen* Ideal weiblicher Sittlichkeit und Keuschheit vgl. exemplarisch Bovenschen 1979, insbesondere 63-256; Emmrich 2017.

die weibliche Skulptur in der antiken Überlieferung nicht. Erst im 18. Jahrhundert wird Pygmalions Elfenbeinfigur der Name "Galatea" verliehen, wozu Jean-Jacques Rousseaus Melodram *Pigmalion* (1770) maßgeblich beigetragen hat.³⁰ In Ovids *Metamorphosen* wird sie nur als *operisque* (10.249) oder mit dem poetischen Plural *simulacra* (10.280) bezeichnet, in beiden Fällen begleitet von dem akzentuierenden Possessivpronomen *suus*, das auf Pygmalion bezogen ist: An die Stelle eines *Nomen proprium* tritt die Angabe von Besitz- und damit letztlich von Machtverhältnissen.

Die ästhetische (vgl. *formamque dedit, qua femina nasci / nulla potest*, 10.248-249) sowie moralische (vgl. *reverentia*, 10.251) Idealität von Pygmalions *opus* (vgl. 10.249) ist im Gegensatz zu der Depravation der Propoetiden keine *disowning projection*, keine enteignende Projektion, mittels derer das verworfene und verstoßene Eigene abgesondert wird. Das Idealbild ist eine narzisstische *owning projection*, eine (Wieder)Aneignung der entäußerten affirmierten männlichen Selbstanteile auf Kosten der Autonomie und Souveränität des Anderen.³¹ Der Besitzanspruch Pygmalions auf sein Werk, die grammatikalisch pointierte Heteronomie des *opus* bzw. der *puella* von seinem/ihrem Schöpfer wird, wie bereits erwähnt, wiederholt durch das reflexive Possessivpronomen *suus* formuliert: *operisque sui concepit amorem* (10.249): "Er verliebt sich in sein eigenes Geschöpf,"³² *simulacra suae ... puellae* (10.280): das "Bildnis seines Mädchens." Das Substantiv *simulacrum* ist in seiner Polysemie verräterisch. Es bedeutet "Bildnis," "Plastik," "Skulptur," kann folglich synonym zu *opus* verwendet werden; es meint

³⁰ Hierzu Martin 2008. Ferner Beese 1978.

³¹ Dementsprechend postuliert Hélène Cixous (1975, 54): "Aimer, regarder-penser-chercher l'autre dans l'autre, déspeculariser, déspeculer." Zur projektiven Idealisierung der Frau einerseits sowie zu ihrer Dämonisierung oder Pathologisierung andererseits Bovenschen 1979; Emmrich 2017; Rohde-Dachser 1991.

³² Zur Bedeutung von *opus* an dieser Stelle vgl. Elsner 2007, 123: "The ambiguity of *operis sui* is that it can stand both for the object (the *niveum ebur...*) and for the beholder's egoistic appropriation and transformation of the object through his own desire. We can never know if it is the object or himself (as creator of the *operis sui*) with whom Pygmalion is in fact in love."

aber auch das "Spiegel-" oder "Ebenbild." Betont Ovid durch das reflexive Possessivpronomen *suae* (10.280), dass es sich bei dem "Mädchen" um sein *eigenes*, um seinen *eigenen* Besitz handelt, nähern sich die *simulacra suae ... puellae* (10.280) einem *Spiegelbild* Pygmalions an, einem *Ebenbild*, das zwar nicht aus seiner Rippe geformt und somit von ihm abgeleitet,³³ so doch immerhin aus Elfenbein, i. e. wie die Rippe einem Knochen, skulptiert wurde.³⁴ In den *simulacra* erfreut sich Pygmalion an seinem eigenen gespiegelten Selbst.³⁵ Er liebt (*concepit*

³³ Vgl. hierzu den Schöpfungsbericht in Genesis 1.2.

³⁴ Elsner verweist im Rekurs auf Homer und Vergil sowie auf die Pelopssage (6.401-411) in den *Metamorphosen* auf den illusionären Charakter des Materials "Elfenbein": "In Greek and Roman literary tradition, ivory had strong associations with deception." Elsner 2007, 125f. Allgemein hierzu Elsner, 125-128.

³⁵ Neben *simulacra* (10.280) sind keine alternativen Lesarten bezeugt, vgl. hierzu die textkritische Ausgabe von Tarrant 2004. Zur Bedeutung von *simulacrum* vgl. Glare 1982, 1766: "1 That which resembles something in appearance, sound, etc., a likeness... 2 A visual representation, image. **b** an image produced by reflection... 3 (spec.) **a** an image, statue (usu. of a god). **b** a pictorial representation... 4 The outward appearance of a person or thing (imagined in the mind; seen in a dream)... **b** a ghost, phantom; a phantom object... **c** (in Epicurean philosophy) the *εἶδωλον* or image which emanates from an object and, impinging on the eye, causes sight." Im Zusammenhang mit der Pygmalionsage gilt es auch den trügerischen Charakter des *simulacrum* sowie das Täuschungs- und das daraus resultierende Gefahrenpotenzial realistischer, illusionärer Kunst zu bedenken, hierzu z. B. Hardie 2002, 186: "This boundary is finally crossed in the story of Pygmalion, a narrativisation of the ecphrastic topics of illusionist realism in which no holds are barred." Ferner Hardie 2002, 189: "The mythical artist's statue literalises the lifelike illusions created by a Myron or a Zeuxis." Seine Karriere als schimärische Erscheinung beginnt das *simulacrum* als *εἶδωλον*, sein griechisches Äquivalent. Für Platon sind *εἶδωλα* Abbilder der Wahrheit, i. e. der Ideen; und künstlerische Darstellungen sind Abbilder von Abbildern, demnach lediglich auf der dritten Seinsstufe stehend, in doppelter Weise von der Wahrheit entfernt. Das Täuschungspotenzial künstlerischer Abbildhaftigkeit und die damit verbundene erkenntnistheoretische Problematik legitimieren für Platon den Herrschaftsanspruch der Philosophie über die Kunst, der in der *Politeia* darin kulminiert, dass die Dichter des Idealstaats verwiesen werden, vgl. Geisenhanslücke 2018, 25-30. Die erste greifbare systematische Theoretisierung

amorem, 10.249) das/die Andere, dem/der der Text den Besitz eines

des *simulacrum* findet sich in Lukrez' *De rerum natura*. Vor dem Hintergrund des epikureischen Atomismus legt Lukrez im vierten Buch seines Lehrgedichts dar, dass die Dinge von ihrer Oberfläche winzige Partikel emittieren und dadurch *simulacra*, Abbilder von sich selbst erzeugen, die die Relata der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung des Menschen sind: *nunc agere incipiam tibi, quod vehementer ad has res / attinet, esse ea quae rerum simulacra vocamus; / quae, quasi membranae summo de corpore rerum / dereptae, volitant ultroque citroque per auras* (4.29-32): "[Ich] will ... dir jetzt zu behandeln beginnen, was dieses aufs stärkste anrührt: es gibt, was wir der Dingwelt Abbilder heißen, die wie Häutchen, die ganz von der Oberfläche der Dinge los sich gerissen, hierhin fliegen und dorthin im Luftraum." Späterhin heißt es: *perpetuo fluere ut noscas e corpore summo / texturas rerum tenuis tenuisque figuras. / ergo multa brevi spatio simulacra genuntur* (4.157-159): "[D]aß man erkennt: es entströmen beständig dem Äußern des Körpers zarte Gespinste der Dinge und ebenso zarte Gebilde. Also entstehen in kurzer Zeit der Abbilder viele." Das Original folgt der Ausgabe von Büchner 1966, die Übersetzung stammt von Büchner 2011. Die *res* sind also einzig und allein als Emanationen, als *simulacra*, i. e. medial vermittelt erkennbar und für die Sinneswahrnehmung nur als Abwesende präsent. Zu Lukrez' Theorie des *simulacrum* vgl. exemplarisch Schiesaro 1990. Gerade aufgrund seiner paradoxalen Struktur im Hinblick auf Abwesenheit und Anwesenheit avancierte das *simulacrum* im Poststrukturalismus (vgl. z. B. Derrida 1972) und der postmodernen Medientheorie (vgl. z. B. Baudrillard 1981) zu einer attraktiven Denkfigur. So bringt etwa Derrida das *simulacrum* als Signum für das Verschwinden der Bedeutung im Rhizom der Signifikanten gegen eine Metaphysik der Präsenz in Anschlag: "La trace n'étant pas une présence mais le simulacre d'une présence qui se disloque, se déplace, se renvoie, n'a proprement pas lieu, l'effacement appartient à sa structure. Non seulement l'effacement qui doit toujours pouvoir la surprendre, faute de quoi elle ne serait pas trace mais indestructible et monumentale substance, mais l'effacement qui la constitue d'entrée de jeu en trace, qui l'installe en changement de lieu et la fait disparaître dans son apparition, sortir de soi en sa position. L'effacement de la trace précoce (*die frühe Spur*) de la différence est donc « le même » que son tracé dans le texte métaphysique. Celui-ci doit avoir gardé la marque de ce qu'il a perdu ou réservé, mis de côté. Le paradoxe d'une telle structure, c'est, dans le langage de la métaphysique, cette inversion du concept métaphysique qui produit l'effet suivant: le présent devient le signe du signe, la trace de la trace. Il n'est plus ce à quoi en dernière instance renvoie tout renvoi." Derrida 1972, 25.

eigenen Namens und damit einen individuellen Platz in der Ordnung der Sprache verwehrt, nicht in seiner/ihrer Differenz und Alterität, sondern nur als Besitz und Eigenes, nur insofern, als es/sie das bewunderte Eigene wiedergibt.³⁶ Der Mythos "suggeriert ... mir jedenfalls," so Wurmser's treffender Lektüreeindruck, "Gedanken an eine psychoanalytisch zentrale Phantasie: die von der *Verdoppelung des Selbst*, namentlich in *Gestalt des idealisierten Anderen*."³⁷ Dabei ist das Scham- und Tugendhaftigkeitsideal alles andere als asexuell, beinahe ließe sich sagen: alles andere als scham- und tugendhaft, denn wie z. B. Apoll im ersten Buch der *Metamorphosen* Daphne, der von jenem vergewaltigt zu werden drohte, auch noch *nach* ihrer Rettungsverwandlung in den Lorbeer liebt und liebkost (vgl. 1.553-556), so vollführt Pygmalion an seinem Liebesobjekt *vor* dessen Transformation eine Reihe unmissverständlicher hapto- und oralophiler Verrichtungen: *saepe manus operi temptantes admovet*: "Oft legt er prüfend die Hände an das Geschöpf" (10.254); *oscula dat* (10.256): "er gibt Küsse;" *tenetque* (10.256): "er hält es im Arm;" und bald schmeichelt er, bald bringt er ihr Gaben dar wie ein elegischer Liebhaber:³⁸

*et modo blanditias adhibet, modo grata puellis
munera fert illi, conchas teretesque lapillos
et parvas volucres et flores mille colorum
liliaque pictasque pilas et ab arbore lapsas
Heliadum lacrimas. ornat quoque vestibus artus;
dat digitis gemmas, dat longa monilia collo,
aure leves baccae, redimicula pectore pendent.
cuncta decent; nec nuda minus formosa videtur.* (10.259-266)

Bald schmeichelt er, bald bringt er Gaben, wie sie ein Mädchenherz erfreuen: Muscheln, geschliffene Steinchen, kleine Vögel, Blumen

³⁶ Zur Alteritätstheorie z. B. Lévinas 1991.

³⁷ Wurmser 1997, 167.

³⁸ Vgl. Knox 1986, insbesondere 52-55, hier 53: "His Pygmalion is endowed with a character and the pose he assumes is that of the elegiac lover." Zu den Analogien zwischen Ovids Pygmalionsage und dem elegischen Liebesdiskurs ferner Hardie 2002, 34; Sharrock 1991.

in tausenderlei Farben, Lilien, bunte Bälle und Bernstein, vom Baum getropfte Tränen der Sonnentöchter. Er schmückt ihr die Glieder mit Gewändern, die Finger mit Edelsteinen, den Hals mit langen Ketten. Am Ohr hängt eine zierliche Perle, an der Brust ein Geschmeide. Alles steht ihr, aber auch nackt erscheint sie nicht weniger schön.

Nachdem Pygmalions leblose Geliebte sorgfältig bekleidet wurde: *ornat quoque vestibibus artus* (10.263), tritt sie nur drei Verse später wieder als nackte Statue auf, wohl nicht nur aus ästhetischen Gründen, da sie "auch nackt nicht weniger schön anmut": *nec nuda minus formosa videtur* (10.266), vielleicht sogar, interpretiert man *nec minus* als Litotes mit verstärkender Funktion, im entblößten Zustand sogar noch schöner ist als gewandet. Die Nacktheit dürfte aber auch aus einem ganz pragmatischen Kalkül heraus vorteilhaft(er) sein, denn wofür Pygmalion seine künstlich erschaffene Idealfrau im Folgenden ge-/missbraucht, kann Kleidung nur hinderlich sein: *conlocat hanc stratis concha Sidonide tinctis / appellatque tori sociam acclinataque colla / mollibus in plumis, tamquam sensura, reponit* (10.267-269): "Er legt sie auf Decken, die mit sidonischem Purpur gefärbt sind, nennt sie seine Gemahlin, die sein Lager teilt, und bettet den geneigten Nacken, als müsse es dieser spüren, auf weichen Flaum."

Wenngleich Pygmalion seine *tori sociam* (10.268) unter Ausschluss der weiblichen Fruchtbarkeit und *natura* erschaffen hat, ganz ohne weibliche Beteiligung bliebe das *opus* (vgl. 10.249) leblos. Aus dem biologischen Vorgang der Prokreation von Leben wird eine magische Intervention: der Eingriff einer *dea ex machina*. Venus vermag durch ihre göttliche Macht nicht nur die Propoetiden in hartes Gestein (vgl. *in rigidum ... silicem*, 10.242) zu verwandeln, sondern auch hartes Elfenbein in menschliches Fleisch zu mollifizieren: *temptatum mollescit eburpositoque rigore / subsedit digitis* (10.283-284): "Er tastet noch, da wird das Elfenbein weich, verliert seine Starrheit, weicht zurück und gibt den Fingern nach." Als Patronin von Pygmalions *amor* (vgl. 10.249) zu "seinem eigenen Geschöpf" (*operisque sui*, 10.249), "seinem eigenen Mädchen" (*suae ... puellae*, 10.280) belebt sie die tote Materie unter den Händen ihres Schöpfers, als dieser sich ihr nach dem Opferfest für die

Liebesgöttin mit eindeutigen Absichten nähert: *ut rediit, simulacra suae petit ille puellae / incumbensque toro dedit oscula* (10.280-281): "Als dieser nach Hause kam, zog es ihn zu seinem Mädchenbild. Er warf sich auf das Lager und küsste sie." Pygmalions entblößte Elfenbeinstatue, die im Bett auf ihren Erzeuger wartet bzw. warten muss, um, selbst passiv, in toter Materie fixiert, dessen erotische Aktivitäten über sich ergehen zu lassen, erwacht plötzlich zum Leben. Und die einzige Vitalfunktion ihres Bewusstseins, das einzige reflexartige Aufflackern ihrer Subjektivität ist eine Reaktion auf den Kuss: *dataque oscula virgo / sensit et erubuit, timidumque ad lumina lumen / attollens pariter cum caelo vidit amantem* (10.292-294): "Das Mädchen hat den Kuss empfunden, sie ist errötet! Jetzt hebt sie scheu zu seinem Auge ihr Auge empor – und zugleich mit dem Himmel erblickt sie den Mann, der sie liebt." Während unmittelbar vor der tödlichen Petrifizierung der Propoetiden die Schamlosigkeit (vgl. *obscae*, 10.238) steht sowie das Stocken des Blutes im Gesicht (vgl. *sanguisque induruit oris*, 10.241), bekundet sich das Leben von Pygmalions Idealfrau im Affekt der Scham, in der vermehrten facialen Zirkulation und dem Pulsieren des Blutes. Mit dem Erröten der schneeweißen Haut (vgl. *niveum*, 10.245) realisiert Pygmalions Geschöpf den topologischen aphrodisiastischen Farbcode der römischen Liebeselegie.³⁹ Daneben entspricht es Pygmalions "Wunschbild": *vota* (10.288) von weiblicher Virginität, Tugend- und Schamhaftigkeit. Das Leben von Pygmalions *virgo* (10.292), oder besser: deren heteronome Existenz beginnt also mit und in der Scham, während das Leben der Propoetiden in chiasmischer Verkehrung dazu in Schamlosigkeit (vgl. *obscae*, 10.238) endet, "als sei

³⁹ Vgl. exemplarisch Prop. II.3.9-12: *nec me tam facies, quamvis sit candida, cepit / (lilia non domina sint magis alba mea; / ut Maeotica nix minio si certet Hiberno, / utque rosae puro lacte natant folia)*: "Nicht hat mich so sehr ihr Gesicht, wie strahlend es auch sein mag, in Bann geschlagen (die Lilien könnten nicht weißer sein als meine Herrin; wie wenn maeotischer Schnee mit spanischem Mennig streitet und wie Blätter der Rosenblüte auf reiner Milch schwimmen." Das Original folgt der Ausgabe von Hanslik 1979. Die Übersetzung stammt von Mojsisch, Schwarz und Tautz 1993.

Scham jene Grenze, die empfindende Wesen von toter Materie trennt.“⁴⁰ Auslöser der Scham ist dabei das Erotische, Geschlechtliche, Sexuelle, denn es ist die labiale Kontaktaufnahme: *dataque oscula virgo* (10.292), die der Geliebten Pygmalions die Schamesröte ins Gesicht treibt. Scheu: *timidumque* (10.293) hebt sie den Blick zu ihrem Schöpfer empor: *lumen / attollens* (10.293-294), der vor dem Hintergrund des Himmels auf sie herabblickt: *pariter cum caelo vidit amantem* (10.294): “[Z]ugleich mit dem Himmel“ erblickt sie, die den Kuss empfängt, denjenigen, der aktiv küsst.⁴¹ Das hierarchische Gefälle zwischen den Augenkontakten, das Regime zwischen Hinauf- und Hinabblicken konstituiert visuell die Dependenz des Geschöpfes von seinem Schöpfer, der *puella* (vgl. 10.280) von ihrem Erzeuger, der bei Ovid im Gegensatz zu Philostephanos’ Prätext bezeichnenderweise eine wirkmächtige Künstlerfigur ist.⁴²

3. KUNST UND INZEST

The story is a good example of that cunning method of enchainment whereby one story in the *Metamorphoses* functions as a commentary on previous ones. Pygmalion too, Myrrha’s story implies, is guilty not only of Narcissism and of a strange kind of onanism

⁴⁰ Böhme 1997, 114. Allgemein zum Thema “Scham” in der Literatur und Philosophie Emmrich 2019; Geisenhanslüke 2013.

⁴¹ Vgl. zu diesem Passus Dörrie 1974, 23-24.: “Nun erst schlägt sie furchtsam ihre Augen auf, das Licht ihrer Augen richtet sich aufs Licht – also auf den leuchtenden Himmel. ... Auch ihr erster Gesichtseindruck stellt ihr den liebenden Pygmalion vor das Auge: *pariter cum caelo vidit amantem*. Mit einem Wort: Lebensbeginn und Liebesbeginn fallen für dieses Geschöpf der Venus zusammen. Das Licht des Himmels und das Gesicht des Liebenden sind das erste, was sie sieht. Der Stern, der im Augenblick einer Geburt aufgeht, bestimmt als Aszendent das Leben des *nasciturus*. Für dieses Mädchen, das zum Leben erwacht, ist das Horoskop gestellt; das Schicksal dieses Mädchens ist Pygmalion.”

⁴² Vgl. Anderson 1963, 25: “Pygmalion is the creative artist *par excellence*.” Ebenso Solodow 1988, 215. Zur breiten Rezeption des Pygmalionmythos vgl. exemplarisch Dinter 1979; Dörrie 1974; Geisler-Szmulewicz 1999; Hardie 2002, 193-226; James 2011; Miller 1990; Mülder-Bach 1998; Schmitz-Emans 1993; Schneider 1987.

but also of incest. Pygmalion is Galatea's fathering maker as well as her husband. To sleep with her is to sleep with his own daughter.⁴³

Pygmalions Liebe zu seiner Elfenbeinfigur basiert nicht allein auf einem narzisstischen Übertragungsmechanismus. Das sexuelle Begehren eines Schöpfers zu seinem Geschöpf ist, wie bereits Hillis Miller festgestellt hat, nicht anders denn als Inzest zu bewerten,⁴⁴ im vorliegenden Kontext zu verstehen als eine abjektete Sonderform des Narzissmus. Pygmalions *amor* (vgl. 10.249) wird auf der literalen Ebene des Textes klandestin als ein inzestuöser ausgewiesen, wenn mit *puellae* (10.280)⁴⁵ ein Wort zum Einsatz gelangt, das nicht nur "Mädchen," sondern gleichfalls "Tochter"⁴⁶ bedeutet.⁴⁷ Dass Ovid selbst das Wort

⁴³ Miller 1990, 10-11.

⁴⁴ Hierzu gleichfalls Elsner und Sharrock 1991, 176: "One very obvious form of creation is procreation, and one metaphor for the relationship between the artist and his creation is that of parent and child, or rather, specifically *father* and child." Die assoziative Verschränkung der Hervorbringung eines Kunstwerks mit der biologischen Zeugung bzw. einem Geburtsvorgang ist bereits in der Antike ein prominenter Topos, vgl. hierzu Bruzzone 2012, 75.

⁴⁵ Neben *puellae* (10.280) sind keine alternativen Lesarten überliefert, vgl. hierzu die textkritische Ausgabe von Tarrant 2004.

⁴⁶ Zum semantischen Spektrum von *puella* Glare 1982, 1514: "1 A female child, girl. b ... a daughter... 2 A young woman (married or otherwise), girl, maiden... 3 A young woman as an object of sexual interest... 4 A slave-girl." Vgl. hierzu ebenfalls den TLL 10.2:2504-2509. Vgl. überdies das Lemma *puella* in der Konkordanz zu Ovids Werk: Defferari, Barry und MacGuire 1939, 1583-1587. Bedingt durch die Sprachentwicklung invisibilisieren die Übersetzungen weitestgehend die Polyvalenz von *puella* und reduzieren diese auf "Mädchen," "junge Frau" oder "Geliebte". Mit dem Sem "Tochter" geht eine entscheidende Bedeutungsebene des Textes verloren, vgl. z. B. von Albrecht 2006, 10.280: "Als er nach Hause kam, zog es ihn zu seinem Mädchenbild." Ebenso Fink ²⁰⁰⁷, 10.280: "Kaum heimgekehrt, begibt sich Pygmalion wieder zum Bild seiner Geliebten." Ferner Holzberg 2017, 10.280: "Als er zurückkommt, eilt er sogleich zum Standbild des Mädchens." Auch die Übersetzungen ins Englische, Italienische und Spanische vermögen die Doppelbödigkeit von *puella* nicht zu erfassen, vgl. z. B. Humphries ²⁰¹⁸, 10.280: "[A]nd Pygmalion came / Back where the maiden lay." Miller ¹⁹⁸⁴, 10.280: "When he returned he sought the image of his

puella auch im Sinne von "Tochter" verwendet, belegen z. B. die *Medicamina faciei femineae: At vestrae matres teneras peperere puellas* (17): "Eure Mütter aber haben zarte Töchter geboren."⁴⁸ Die Ambiguität der Junktur *simulacra suae... puellae* besteht demnach in der latenten, subkutanen Markierung eines Verwandtschaftsverhältnisses.⁴⁹

maid." Reed und Chiarini 2013, 10.280: "Tornato a casa, va dalla statua della sua *fanciulla*." Álvarez und Iglesias 1995, 10.280: "Cuando regresó, buscó aquél la estatua de su *amada*." Im Gegensatz zum Deutschen, Englischen, Italienischen und Spanischen kann die französische Sprache mit dem Substantiv "fille" beide Bedeutungen gleichzeitig zum Ausdruck bringen, vgl. Lafaye ³1960, 10.280: "De retour chez lui, l'artiste va vers la statue de la jeune *fille*." Sämtliche Kursivierungen sind meine Hervorhebungen.

⁴⁷ In seiner Analyse des Verses 10.249 (*operisque sui concepit amorem*) betont Elsner (2007, 123) die biologische Komponente des Wortes *concupere*: "Ovid's word for falling in love (*concepit*) is, of course, the supreme authorial verb – the parental verb for paternity." Berücksichtigt man das von Elsner aufgezeigte semantische Feld der Prokreation, ergibt sich ein weiteres sprachliches Indiz für das mehr oder weniger latente inzestuöse Begehren Pygmalions nach seiner Schöpfung, seinem *opus* (vgl. 10.249) bzw. seiner *puella* (vgl. 10.280). Elsner ist allerdings nicht darin zuzustimmen, dass *concupere* einen Ausdruck der Vaterschaft (vgl. "paternity," Elsner 2007, 123) darstellt. *Concupere* im Sinne des biologischen Vorgangs ist dem weiblichen Geschlecht vorbehalten und hat damit vielmehr als Ausdruck der "maternity" zu gelten. Durch die Verbindung mit *concupere* wird die Figur des Pygmalion einem "Gender-Crossing" unterzogen und erhält klandestin einen weiblichen Geschlechterindex. Akzentuiert man demgegenüber den aktiven Handlungsaspekt von *concupere* im Sinne von "to produce" oder "to form" (vgl. Glare 1982, 388), lässt sich daraus wiederum ein Hinweis auf die narzisstische Motivation der Liebe Pygmalions zu seinem *opus* (vgl. 10.249) ableiten. Aus dieser Perspektive betrachtet, *empfängt* er nicht die Liebe zu seinem Werk: *operisque sui concepit amorem* (10.249), sondern *bringt* sie selbst *hervor*. Zur Bedeutung von *concupere* vgl. Glare 1982, 388: "3 (of women and female animals, oft. absol.) To receive in the womb, conceive... b to be the mother of... 4 To bring into existence, produce, form."

⁴⁸ Das Original folgt der Ausgabe von Kenney 1961. Die Übersetzung stammt von mir.

⁴⁹ Anderson macht auf eine weitere Ambivalenz des Verses 10.280 aufmerksam, vgl. Anderson ²1977, 499: "*simulacra suae puellae*: deliberately ambiguous. Normally the phrase would refer to a statuary likeness of a real person; here it

Die Verbindung zum Thema "Inzest" wird darüber hinaus sowohl durch die Werkarchitektur als auch durch die mythologische Genealogie bestätigt: Pygmalion ist der Urahn von Myrrha, und die Erzählung von Myrrhas inzestuösem *amor* (vgl. 10.319) zu ihrem Vater Cinyras folgt unmittelbar auf den Pygmalionmythos. Mit *illa Paphon genuit* (10.297): "da gebiert sie [i. e. Pygmalions Gemahlin] Paphos" schließt dieser; und der Mythos von Myrrha hebt mit der Kennzeichnung des Verwandtschaftsverhältnisses und einem rezeptionslenkenden Irrealis der Vergangenheit an: *Editus hac ille est, qui si sine prole fuisset, / inter felices Cinyras potuisset haberi. / dira canam* (10.298-300): "Paphos' Sohn war Cinyras. Wäre er ohne Nachkommen geblieben, hätte er für glücklich gelten können. Von Grauenhaftem will ich singen," so der Erzähler Orpheus. In ihrem Aufsatz "Statues, Celibates and Goddesses in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 10 and Euripides' *Hippolytus*" rekonstruiert Bruzzone die genealogischen und werkstrukturellen Parallelen zwischen dem Mythos von Pygmalion und dem von Myrrha und arbeitet deren motivische wie terminologische Äquivalenzen heraus. Dabei kommt sie zu folgendem Resultat:

Echoes between Pygmalion's story and Myrrha's suggest that while her actions may be more obviously deranged, the two characters are identical in both desire and behavior. Pygmalion asks Venus to change the laws of nature *timide* (*Met.* 10.274). At *Met.* 10.275-6 Pygmalion is again timid, *non ausus... dicere*, and at *Met.* 10.429-30 Myrrha mirrors him: *non ausa "parente" / dicere*. Pygmalion requests a wife like a statue, *similis eburnae* (*Met.* 10.276). Myrrha speaks in nearly identical terms when she tells her father at *Met.* 10.364 that she desires a husband "like you," *similem tibi*. Both Pygmalion and Myrrha recognize the taboo nature of their desire and behave with appropriate hesitancy.⁵⁰

should mean: 'the female statue which he had created.' But the placing of *suae* modifying *puellae* looks ahead."

⁵⁰ Bruzzone 2012, 77. Bruzzone macht überdies darauf aufmerksam, dass Myrrha in der Selbstmordszene (vgl. 10.378-390) sowie während des Beischlafs mit ihrem Vater Cinyras (vgl. 10.446-475) vom Erzähler eine statuarische Anmutung verliehen bekommt und sich dadurch Pygmalions *puella* (vgl. 10.280) aus Elfenbein annähert, vgl. Bruzzone 2012, 78f.

Im Gegensatz zu Pygmalions *amor* (vgl. 10.249) zu seinem Geschöpf wird Myrrhas *amor* (vgl. 10.319) zu ihrem Schöpfer entschieden moralisch sanktioniert: Bereits in Orpheus' Binnenproömium wird er indirekt unter die *inconcessisque puellas / ignibus attonitas meruisse libidine poenam* (10.153-154), unter die "verbotene Leidenschaft, die Mädchen ergriff und Strafe verdiente," subordiniert.⁵¹ Des Weiteren erfährt Myrrhas inzestuöses Verlangen zu Beginn der Erzählung mit

⁵¹ Orpheus' Binnenproömium lautet in Gänze: *Ab Iove, Musa parens (cedunt Iovis omnia regno), / carmina nostra move. Iovis est mihi saepe potestas / dicta prius; cecini plectro graviore Gigantas / sparsaque Phlegraeis victricia fulmina campis. / nunc opus est levior lyra; puerosque canamus / dilectos superis inconcessisque puellas / ignibus attonitas meruisse libidine poenam* (10.148-154): "Mit Iuppiter – seiner Königswürde muß alles andere weichen – laß meinen Gesang beginnen, o Muse, meine Mutter! Iuppiters Macht habe ich schon oft verkündet: Mit gewichtigerem Plectrum habe ich von den Giganten gesungen und von den Blitzen, die siegreich die phlegraeischen Felder übersäten. Jetzt bedarf es leichterer Leierklänge: Laßt uns Knaben besingen, die von Göttern geliebt wurden, und Mädchen, die, von verbotener Leidenschaft ergriffen, Strafe verdienen!" Da sich im zehnten Buch der *Metamorphosen* mit Myrrhas Patrophilie nur eine Erzählung findet, in dem ein "Mädchen" von "verbotener Leidenschaft ergriffen" wird, ist *puellas* als poetischer Plural zu verstehen. Wie ein Fremdkörper schiebt sich die Pygmalionsage in Orpheus' Liederkranz ein, da sie weder von der abjekten Leidenschaft einer *puella* handelt (vgl. Myrrha) noch von *pueri*, die von Göttern geliebt wurden (vgl. Ganymed und Hyacinthus), wie die Themenangabe im Binnenproömium ankündigt. Vielmehr invertiert der Mythos von Pygmalion die im Prolog dargelegten Begehrensstrukturen: Aus den *puerosque* (vgl. 10.152), den männlichen Adressaten göttlicher Liebe, wird eine *puella* (vgl. 10.280), die von ihrem Schöpfer geliebt wird; und aus den *puellas* (10.153), die eine schändliche Leidenschaft ergriffen hat, wird eine männliche Künstlerfigur, die sich "in sein eigenes Geschöpf [verliebte]": *operisque sui concepit amorem* (10.249). Zu Orpheus' Epyllion, das, an der Schwelle zwischen der zweiten und dritten Pentade der *Metamorphosen* stehend, eine werkstrukturell exponierte Position einnimmt vgl. z. B. von Albrecht 2014a, 123-138; Döring 1996; Henneböhl 2005; Pavlock 2009, 89-110. Bereits am Übergang zwischen der ersten und der zweiten Pentade der *Metamorphosen* steht mit Arachne eine paradigmatische Künstlerfigur (vgl. 6.1-145).

der Formulierung *dira canam*: "Von Grauenhaftem will ich singen," betont durch Trithemimeres, und auch späterhin, z. B. als *nefas* (10.307), *scelus* (10.314), *foedoque... amori* (10.319), *malus ardor* (10.342), *furor* (10.355) und *diros... amores* (10.426) bezeichnet, eine deutliche Verurteilung.⁵² Im Pygmalionmythos hingegen findet sich kein einziges moralisches Werturteil, kein noch so rudimentärer Erzählerkommentar. Ovids Künstlerfigur ist gegenüber jedweder moralischen Evaluation seines *amor* (vgl. 10.249) immun. Nicht skandalös, nicht Anstoß erregend scheint der in der Sage von Pygmalion disponierte Inzest mit seiner *puellae* (10.280) zu sein, der bei den Nachfahren ausbricht und explizit pathologisiert wird. Diese Bewertungsabstinenz war wohl deswegen nötig, um die Sage mit einem kunsttheoretischen und ästhetischen Programm zu verbinden, wie es auch geboten war, den Mythos aus der religiösen und kultischen Sphäre zu lösen.⁵³

"Ovid's Pygmalion becomes a central symbol not only in the western myth of the artist, but also in fantasies of the fulfilment of desire. The two are not easily to be separated: a central reason for the enduring popularity of the story is its thematisation of the close connections between erotic desire and the response to works of art, both verbal

⁵² Zu Ovids Sage von Myrrha vgl. exemplarisch Dupont 1985; Emmrich 2016, 62-72; Hardie 2004; Nagle 1983; Ziogas 2016. Zur Verbindung zwischen dem Pygmalion- und dem Myrrhamythos z. B. Bruzzone 2012, 76-79; Elsner und Sharrock 1991, 176-181; Manson 1982, insbesondere 114.

⁵³ Dass Pygmalions inzestuöses grundiertes Begehren nach seiner *puella* (vgl. 10.280) im Gegensatz zu Myrrhas Patrophilie nicht moralisch be- bzw. verurteilt wird, erklärt Bruzzone mit Orpheus' Misogynie, der nach dem neuerlichen Verlust Eurydikes Frauen abweist und sich der Knabenliebe zuwendet (vgl. 10.82-85): "The tone of Book 10 does not encourage the reader to see Pygmalion as a man who manages simultaneously to be criminally celibate and perverted, dooming his family to relive his incestuous relationship on more familiar terms. Rather, Orpheus' song lavishes approval upon Pygmalion while Myrrha is harshly condemned. This disparity can be attributed to Ovid's characterization of Orpheus as a misogynist, one facet of which is the bard's determination to see criminal lust in his female characters." Bruzzone 2012, 81.

and visual.”⁵⁴ Nicht nur “nicht einfach zu isolieren” (vgl. “not easily to be separated”), wie Hardie kommentiert, sind die beiden Aspekte von Eros und Kunst. Im Hinblick auf den Pygmalionmythos sind diese überhaupt nicht zu trennen, da dasjenige, was Pygmalion erschafft, als *operisque* (10.249) und zugleich als *puellae* (10.280) bezeichnet wird: *opus* und *puella*, *ars* und *amor* gehören bei Ovid unverbrüchlich zusammen, sind gewissermaßen synonyme Begriffe und in ihrer Referenz identisch.⁵⁵ Der Theorieprofit, den eine philologische Rekonstruktion von Ovids Pygmalionsage erzielen kann, besteht demzufolge darin, dass am Anfang der Kunstproduktion eine narzisstische Intimität des Künstlers zu seinem *opus* steht, die sich bis zu einer inzestuösen Begehrensstruktur steigern kann.⁵⁶

4. PYGMALION UND NARCISSUS

Mit seinen programmatischen Erzählungen von Narcissus (3.339-510) und Pygmalion (10.243-297) initiiert Ovid innerhalb der *Metamorphosen* einen intertextuellen Dialog, der auf einer Kombination von *variatio* und Korrespondenzen basiert. Eine der gemeinsamen Grundlagen beider Narrative ist die mythopoetische Verhandlung des komplementären Doppels von Produktions- und Rezeptionsästhetik. Renate Böschenstein z. B. interpretiert Ovids Pygmalion als eine produktive Kontrafaktur zu Narcissus: “So darf man, obgleich die beiden Modelle bei Ovid getrennt bleiben, in Pygmalion, der ja auch nur ein Idealbild lieben kann, die produktive Variante der Narziß-Figur sehen.”⁵⁷ Vor der Abstraktion des von Böschenstein postulierten entscheidenden Distinktionsmerkmals zwischen Pygmalion und Narcissus, nämlich der Produktivität, zu einer in den *Metamorphosen* angelegten ästhetischen Kryptotheorie soll vorab eine Reihe von narrativen Analogien und terminologischen Äquivalenzen untersucht werden, die die Vergleichbarkeit der beiden

⁵⁴ Hardie 2002, 193.

⁵⁵ Die Konfusion zwischen den Bereichen *ars* und *amor* ist bereits im Begriff *opus* klandestin enthalten, auf dessen sexuelle Konnotation Adams (21990, 157) hinweist: “*Opus*... is often used of the male part in the act.”

⁵⁶ Zum Konnex von Narzissmus und Kunstproduktion vgl. Böschenstein 1997.

⁵⁷ Böschenstein 1997, 134f.

gegenübergestellten Episoden trotz ihrer werkarchitektonischen Trennung (drittes vs. zehntes Buch der *Metamorphosen*) sowie der genealogischen und topographischen (thebanischer vs. cyprischer Sagenkreis) Unterschiede begründet.⁵⁸

Der Ausgangspunkt beider Mythen ist die Zurückweisung potenzieller Partner, wie Ágnes Darab festhält: "The baseline of the two narratives is the same human gesture: rejection. Even so, the reason for rejection is different in the two texts."⁵⁹ Bei Pygmalion ist es die misogyny Abwehr des weiblichen Geschlechts (vgl. 10.245f.), für das die Natur einen Superlativ an Defizienz vorgesehen hat: *vitiis quae plurima menti / femineae natura dedit* (10.244-245), wie die *obscenae... Propoetides* (10.238) exemplarisch zeigen. Im Fall von Narcissus ist es die Ablehnung sowohl hetero- als auch homosexueller Beziehungen, bedingt nicht etwa durch einen moralischen Anspruch wie bei Pygmalion, sondern durch *dura superbia*, durch "hartherzigen Hochmut" oder "Hybris" – ein Topos, der auf das tragische Ende von Narcissus vorausdeutet: *multi illum iuvenes, multae cupiere puellae; / sed (fuit in tenera tam dura superbia forma) / nulli illum iuvenes, nullae tetigere puellae* (3.353-355): "Viele Männer, viele Mädchen begehrt ihn. Aber solch hartherziger Hochmut wohnte in der zarten Gestalt! Kein Mann, kein Mädchen konnte ihn rühren." Der je unterschiedlich motivierten sexuellen Askese folgt eine erotisch konnotierte Fixierung auf ein Idealbild: im zehnten Buch der *Metamorphosen* auf eine von Pygmalion skulptierte Elfenbeinstatue; im dritten Buch auf ein natürliches Phänomen, nämlich auf das Spiegelbild, das durch einen kristallinen klaren *fons* in einem nachgerade sterilen, dennoch klassisch amönen Raum reflektiert wird:⁶⁰

*fons erat inlimis, nitidis argenteus undis,
quem neque pastores neque pastae monte capellae*

⁵⁸ Die Vergleichbarkeit der beiden Erzählungen betont z. B. auch Hardie 2002, 189: "Equally obviously the story of Pygmalion forms a pendant to the story of Narcissus."

⁵⁹ Darab 2018, 108.

⁶⁰ Zum Topos des *locus amoenus* vgl. Curtius ²1954, 202-206.

*contigerant aliudve pecus, quem nulla volucris
 nec fera turbarat nec lapsus ab arbore ramus;
 ramem erat circa quod proximus umor alebat,
 silvaque sole locum passura tepescere nullo.
 hic puer et studio venandi lassus et aestu
 procubuit faciemque loci fontemque secutus;
 dumque sitim sedare cupit, sitis altera crevit,
 dumque bibit, visae correptus imagine formae
 spem sine corpore amat, corpus putat esse quod unda est.
 adstupet ipse sibi vultuque immotus eodem
 haeret, ut e Pario formatum marmore signum.
 spectat humi positus geminum,⁶¹ sua lumina, sidus
 et dignos Baccho, dignos et Apolline crines
 impubesque genas et eburnea colla decusque
 oris et in niveo mixtum candore ruborem,
 cunctaque miratur, quibus est mirabilis ipse.
 se cupit imprudens et qui probat ipse probatur,
 dumque petit petitur, pariterque accendit et ardet.
 inrita fallaci quotiens dedit oscula fonti!
 in mediis quotiens visum captantia collum
 brachia mersit aquis nec se deprendit in illis! (3.407-429)*

Es gab einen klaren Quell mit silberglänzendem Wasser, den keine Hirten berührt hatten, keine Ziegen, die auf Bergen weiden, und auch sonst kein Vieh. Kein Vogel, kein wildes Tier hatte ihn getrübt, nicht einmal ein Ast, der vom Baume gefallen war. Ringsum wuchs Gras, dem das nahe Gewässer Nahrung gab, und Gehölz, das keinen Sonnenstrahl erlaubte, den Platz zu erwärmen. Hier ließ sich der Knabe nieder, vom eifrigen Jagen und von der Hitze erschöpft; denn die Anmut des Ortes und die Quelle zogen

⁶¹ Über den Bezug des Adjektivs *geminum* notiert Darab (2018, 113): “Bringing into play the duplicative aspect of the Ovidian narrative again, if one interprets *geminum* not simply as an epithet of the word *sidus* following it, but also as that of the preceding *signum*, and combines the two halves, the resulting meaning begins with *adstupet* (418), the admiring contemplation of a sculpture: *signum / spectat humi positus geminum* (419-420) – he is looking at his sculpture-double, lying on the ground.”

ihn an. Und während er den Durst zu stillen trachtete, wuchs in ihm ein anderer Durst. Während er trinkt, erblickt er das Spiegelbild seiner Schönheit, wird von ihr hingerissen, liebt eine körperlose Hoffnung, hält das für einen Körper, was nur Welle ist. Er bestaunt sich selbst und verharrt unbeweglich mit unveränderter Miene wie ein Standbild aus parischem Marmor. Am Boden liegend, betrachtet er seine Augen – sie gleichen einem Sternenpaar –, das Haar, das eines Bacchus oder eines Apollo würdig wäre, die bartlosen Wangen, den Hals wie aus Elfenbein, die Anmut des Gesichts, die Mischung von Schneeweiß und Rot – und alles bewundert er, was ihn selbst bewundernswert macht. Nichts ahnend begehrt er sich selbst, empfindet und erregt Wohlgefallen, wirbt und wird umworben, entzündet Liebesglut und wird zugleich von ihr verzehrt. Wie oft gab er dem trügerischen Quell vergebliche Küsse! Wie oft tauchte er, um den Hals, den er sah, zu erhaschen, die Arme mitten ins Wasser und konnte sich nicht darin ergreifen!

Pygmalion ist zunächst auf ein lebloses *corpus* (10.255), einen "Körper" oder "Leichnam" – was das lateinische *corpus* ebenfalls bedeuten kann⁶² – von haptisch-taktiler und labialer Präsenz fixiert; Narcissus' Begehren ist und bleibt demgegenüber auf etwas Körper- und Substanzloses (vgl. *sine corpore*, 3.417), auf eine immaterielle *umbra* (3.434) bezogen.⁶³ Das Phänomen der Spiegelung, das dem Bereich der Natur zugehört, wird ästhetisch, folglich anthropozentrisch codiert, indem zu seiner Beschreibung ein Wort aus dem lexikalischen Paradigma der Kunst zur Anwendung gelangt. Von Albrechts Übersetzung der *visae... imagine formae* (3.416) mit "das Spiegelbild seiner Schönheit" verdeckt diese semantische Schicht des Textes.⁶⁴

⁶² Zum semantischen Spektrum von *corpus* vgl. Glare 1982, 448: "1 The body of a man or a beast... 3 A dead body, corpse."

⁶³ Selbst noch in der Unterwelt betrachtet Narcissus sein Spiegelbild: *tum quoque se, postquam est inferna sede receptus, / in Stygia spectabat aqua* (3.504-505). Tarrant (2004) kennzeichnet diese Verse als mögliche Interpolation.

⁶⁴ Die Bedeutung der *imago* als Kunstwerk wird gleichfalls in den Übersetzungen etwa von Fink und Holzberg invisibilisiert. Fink ²2007, 3.416:

Imago bedeutet neben "Spiegelbild" auch "Plastik" oder "Skulptur."⁶⁵ Hingerissen wird Narcissus mithin von einem statuarischen Abbild seiner Schönheit bzw. Gestalt. Ferner wird er im Rahmen eines Vergleichs explizit mit dem Charakter einer Plastik versehen: *adstupet ipse sibi vultuque immotus eodem / haeret, ut e Pario formatum marmore signum* (3.418-419): "Er bestaunt sich selbst und verharret unbeweglich mit unveränderter Miene wie ein Standbild aus parischem Marmor." Erhält durch die Verwendung des polyvalenten Begriffs *imago* (vgl. 3.416) die Spiegelung im Wasser und damit indirekt der gespiegelte Narcissus einen artifiziellen Charakter, so wird jener durch den Vergleich mit einem "Standbild aus parischem Marmor" *expressis*

"[W]ährend er trank, berückte ihn der Anblick seiner schönen Gestalt." Holzberg 2017, 3.416: "Während er trinkt, erblickt er verzückt das Bild seiner Schönheit." Den Kunstcharakter der gespiegelten *forma* (vgl. 3.416) bringt z. B. Humphries (²2018) in seiner englischen Übersetzung des Verses zum Ausdruck: "As he tried / To quench his thirst, inside him, deep within him, / Another thirst was growing, for he saw / An image in the pool." Mit dem Substantiv "image" verfügt die englische Sprache über ein Wort, das sowohl "Abbild," "Spiegelbild" als auch "Skulptur" bedeutet.

⁶⁵ Darüber hinaus ist die *imago* wie das *simulacrum* (vgl. die Fußnote 35 des vorliegenden Beitrags) ein Terminus der epikureischen atomistischen Erkenntnislehre. Hierzu Glare 1982, 831: "1 A representation in art of a person or thing, picture, likeness, image... 2 A death-mask... 3 A reflection in a mirror or sim... 4 (in Epicurean philosophy, as transl. of Gk. εἶδωλον) An image emitted by an object and apprehended by the eyes... 5 An illusory apparition, ghost, phantom; (med.) a hallucination... 9 A duplicate, copy, reflection, likeness, image." Zur schillernden Verwendung des Wortes *imago* in Ovids *Metamorphosen* vgl. Solodow 1988, 205-209. Darab hebt hervor, dass *imago* semantisch mit dem Tod assoziiert ist und dadurch das Ende des Narcissus vorwegnimmt. Verstärkt wird diese Konnotation im Vers 3.434 durch die Verschränkung mit *umbra*: "The same point is reformulated later in *quam cernis, imaginis umbra est* (434: what you are looking at is a shadow-figure), where another meaning of *imago*, 'dead shadow-image' can be noted, amplified by the word *umbra*, which two words, respectively and combined alike, anticipate the narrative's end, the death of Narcissus." Darab 2018, 110. Zur Bedeutung von *umbra* vgl. Glare 1982, 2088: "7 The disembodied form of a dead person, ghost, shade."

verbis in die Nähe eines Kunstwerks gerückt. Dabei ist es – entgegen Darabs Interpretation – nicht die Natur, die kunstschaaffend ist: “In the story of Narcissus, everything is a creation of *natura*,” hält Darab fest.⁶⁶ Überdies vermerkt sie: “Along these lines, the water’s surface, nature imitates a sculpture, a work of art.”⁶⁷ Für die *natura* ist die Reflexion Narcissus’ nichts weiter als eine solche; lediglich eine visuelle Erscheinung, die über keinen ästhetischen Wert verfügt. Den Status eines Kunstwerks erhält die *imago* (vgl. 3.416) ausschließlich in der Perspektive des sei es auktorialen, sei es personalen Erzählers,⁶⁸ als *Erblicktes* und nicht als von der Natur (*Wieder*)Gegebenes: Kunst konstituiert sich erst im menschlichen, i. e. anthropozentrischen Blick auf die *natura*. Ovid inszeniert damit in der Sage von Narcissus ein Subjekt, dessen Modus der Weltwahrnehmung und Weltdeutung das Ordnungssystem von Ästhetik und Kunst ist.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Darab 2018, 109.

⁶⁷ Darab 2018, 113. Zudem Darab 2018, 114: “In the story of Narcissus, it is *natura* itself that takes the role of the creator.” In ähnlicher Weise urteilt Böschenstein 1997, 134: “Bedeutsam ist auch, dass das Spiegelbild des Narcissus eine Art Kunstcharakter trägt, da er selbst einem Kunstwerk gleicht... Dieses Kunstwerk, ausgezeichnet durch die Ähnlichkeit mit Götterstatuen... verdankt sich zwar nicht einem Schöpfungs-, sondern nur einem vom Subjekt unabhängigen Naturvorgang, doch die Art der Schilderung rückt es schon in die Nähe des von Pygmalion geschaffenen Gebildes.”

⁶⁸ Zur komplexen narrativen Struktur von Ovids *Metamorphosen* vgl. z. B. Barchiesi 2001.

⁶⁹ Das hermeneutische Paradigma der Rezeptionsästhetik sieht Elsner (2007, 115) gleichfalls in der Pygmalionsage mythopoetisch illustriert: “The Pygmalion I evoke below is an account of the sculptor as viewer.” Später heißt es bei Elsner 2007, 122: “In other words, Ovid’s picture of Pygmalion as artist-sculptor is itself a metaphor for Pygmalion as artist-viewer.” Ebenso Hardie 2002, 189: “Pygmalion is a figure for the visual artist.” Ovids “account of the viewer as artist” (Elsner 2007, 124) mag auf Narcissus zutreffen, auf Pygmalion hingegen nur bedingt. Natürlich betrachtet auch Pygmalion seine Skulptur, doch evoziert Ovid in diesem Kontext primär ein rezeptionsästhetisches Modell des Haptischen und Taktilen, nicht der Visualität. Dementsprechend dominiert in der Erzählung von Pygmalion das Wortfeld der manuellen wie labialen

Narcissus bewundert und bestaunt sich selbst: *adstupet* (3.418) und *miratur* (3.424), und nimmt dadurch eine Rezeptionshaltung ein, die späterhin im fünften Buch der *Metamorphosen* in der Sage von Medusa darin mündet, dass Astyages in der Saalschlacht zwischen Phineus und Perseus bei der admirativen Betrachtung einer Marmorskulptur zu eben einer solchen lithifiziert wird.⁷⁰ Diese Gefahr der Erstarrung, ausgehend von der kontemplativen ästhetischen Erfahrung des (*ad*)*stupere* und (*ad*)*mirari*, die den Rezipienten vollauf absorbiert und selbstvergessen in das ästhetisch Erfahrene versinken lässt, ist im

Berührung: *saepe manus operi temptantes admovet* (10.254); *tactis... membris* (10.257); *pressos... artus* (10.258); *dedit oscula* (10.281); *admovet os iterum, manibus quoque pectora temptat* (10.282); *temptatum mollescit ebur* (10.283); *tractataque pollice* (10.285); *rursusque manu sua vota retractat* (10.288); *temptatae pollice venae* (10.289); *oraeque tandem / ore suo non falsa premit; dataque oscula* (10.291-292). Demgegenüber finden sich auf der Ebene der Signifikanten nur an fünf Stellen Hinweise auf eine optische Wahrnehmung, vornehmlich ausgedrückt durch das Verb *videre*. Der Blick, das *videre*, ist hier jedoch nicht der sinnliche Kanal einer ästhetischen (Kunst)Rezeption und teils nur in der Bedeutung von "(er)scheinen" verwendet, teils nicht auf den Künstler Pygmalion bezogen, sondern auf dessen *puella* (vgl. 10.280) nach deren Belebung: *Quas quia Pygmalion aevum per crimen agentes / viderat* (10.243-244); *nec nuda minus formosa videtur* (10.266); *visa tepere est* (10.281); *timidumque ad lumina lumen / attolens pariter cum caelo vidit amantem* (10.293-294). Johann Gottfried Herder kann sich daher bei seinem Versuch, den in der ästhetischen Tradition untergeordneten Tastsinn gegenüber dem Sehsinn aufzuwerten, zu Recht auf Pygmalion berufen, vgl. Herder 1994, 243-327. Hierzu auch Mülder-Bach 1998, 59-71.

⁷⁰ Vgl.: *hi tamen ex merito poenas subiere, sed unus / miles erat Persei, pro quo dum pugnat, Aconteus, / Gorgone conspecta saxo concrevit oborto. / quem ratus Astyages etiamnum vivere, longo / ense ferit: sonuit tinnitibus ensis acutis; / dum stupet Astyages, naturam traxit eandem / marmoreoque manet vultus mirantis in ore* (5.200-206): "Diese traf die Strafe verdient, doch einer, Aconteus, ein Soldat des Perseus, gefror, während er für ihn kämpfte, beim Anblick der Gorgo plötzlich zu Stein. Astyages glaubt, er sei noch am Leben, und schlägt ihn mit dem langen Schwert; da klirrt die Klinge hell auf. Und während Astyages stutzt, hat seine Natur sich ebenso verändert, und dem Marmorbild bleibt der staunende Ausdruck." Hierzu z. B. Hardie 2002, 178-182. Zu Ovids Medusenmythos, in den die Petrifizierung des Astyages eingebunden ist, vgl. Emmrich 2020, 228-256.

Mythos von Narcissus im dritten Buch bereits präfiguriert. Wird Narcissus, der Betrachtende, und nicht das betrachtete Spiegelbild mit einer Marmorstatue verglichen, überschreitet der Text, wie Hardie betont, die Grenze zwischen Realität und Kunst: "The boundary between art and reality is overstepped by the application of the statue simile not to the inanimate object of Narcissus' stupefied gaze, the reflection, but to his own living person; but since the reflection is of himself, the simile applies equally to the object of his gaze. He is his own simile."⁷¹ In diesem Kontext verweist Hardie zudem auf eine Parallele zwischen Narcissus' Selbstvergessenheit und derjenigen des Aeneas aus Vergils *Aeneis* beim Anblick eines Tempelreliefs, das Szenen aus dem trojanischen Krieg zeigt (vgl. 1.446-497):⁷² "Narcissus' astonishment at what he sees (418 *adstupet*) is the typical reaction of the beholder of a masterpiece of illusionist art, like Aeneas looking at the reliefs in the temple of Juno at Carthage all the more absorbed because what he sees are pictures of himself and his people."⁷³ Der in der ästhetischen Rezeption zunächst aktive (vgl. *lustrat*, 1.453), sich

⁷¹ Hardie 2002, 146. In ähnlicher Weise erscheint in Millers Deutung der Pygmalionsage die Belebung der *simulacra* (10.280) als eine mythopoetische Veranschaulichung des auf Paul de Man zurückgehenden Konzepts der Prosopopoeia, i. e. einer Überschreitung der Grenze zwischen Fiktion und Realität im Akt der Rezeption, vgl. Miller 1990, 1-12.

⁷² Vgl.: *namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo / reginam opperiens, dum quae fortuna sit urbi / artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem / miratur, videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas / bellaque iam fama totum vulgata per orbem / Atridas Priamumque et saevum ambobus Achillem* (1.453-458): "Denn während er [i. e. Aeneas] an der Basis des riesigen Tempels in Erwartung der Königin [i. e. Dido] die einzelnen Bilder betrachtet, während er bestaunt, welches Schicksal der Stadt bestimmt ist, dazu das ineinandergreifende Werk der Künstler und die für all dies aufgewendete Mühe, sieht er die Kämpfe um Ilium der Reihe nach, die Kriege, deren Kunde schon über dem ganzen Erdkreis verbreitet ist, sieht die Atriden und Priamus und den über beide ergrimmt Achilles." Das Original folgt hier wie im weiteren Verlauf der Ausgabe von Mynors (1972). Die Übersetzung stammt hier wie im weiteren Verlauf von Edith und Gerhard Binder (2005).

⁷³ Hardie 2002, 146.

seiner selbst bewusste Aeneas, das Vor- bzw. Urbild des mimetischen Kunstwerks, bewundert sich⁷⁴ und seine Geschichte als artifiziiell geformtes Abbild, das ihn bzw. sie lediglich *repräsentiert*, in dem er mithin nur als Abwesender anwesend ist. Über der mesmerisierenden Bewunderung des Kunstwerks, damit implizit seiner Absenz, droht Aeneas, seine Selbstpräsenz zu verlieren: *dum stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno* (1.495): "während er staunte und gebannt einzig im Schauen verharrete," heißt es am Ende der Ekphrasis. Ist Vergils Protagonist starr, gleichsam paralysiert vor Staunen (vgl. *stupet*, 1.495)⁷⁵ und im "Schauen" versunken (vgl. *obtutuque haeret defixus in uno*, 1.495), geht er zugleich ganz im dazu komplementären *Geschauten* auf,⁷⁶ in dem er nur als Spur oder Verweisung zugegen ist. Von dem *Anblick* wie dem *Angeblickten* absorbiert, ist er nicht bei sich; er ist außer sich, paradoxerweise als präserter Rezipient absent. *Obtutuque ... defixus in uno* (1.495) wird Aeneas selbst zu einem Kunstwerk, zu einer Spur und kommt dabei der Auslöschung des Urbilds, i. e. seines eigenen Selbst, folglich dem Tode gefährlich nahe.⁷⁷ Mit der

⁷⁴ Vgl.: *se quoque principibus permixtum agnovit Achivis* (1.488): "Auch sich erkannte er im Kampf mit den Fürsten der Achiver."

⁷⁵ Zu *stupere* vgl. Glare 1982, 1831: "1 To be or become physically powerless, numb, paralysed, or sim., be deprived of one's faculties... 2 To be or become stunned, dazed, speechless, etc., with some strong emotion, to be astounded, aghast, bewildered, etc." Vergil wie Ovid greifen bei ihrer Beschreibung der paralysierenden ästhetischen Rezeption nicht nur auf *stupere*, sondern ebenfalls auf das Wort *haerere* zurück, vgl. Verg. *Aen.* 1.495: *obtutuque haeret defixus in uno*; Ov. *Met.* 3.418-419: *vultuque immotus eodem / haeret*.

⁷⁶ Zur Bedeutung von *obtutus* vgl. Glare 1982, 1229: "1 The action of looking fixedly (at), gaze... b the power of gazing... c (applied to the object which is reflected in a mirror, as opposed to the *imago* or reflection)... 2 Mental contemplation or consideration (of something)."

⁷⁷ Die Gefahr des Todes in der thaumazentischen Kunstbetrachtung dokumentieren Narcissus' Schicksal sowie die Versteinigung des Astyages zu einer Marmorstatue (5.200-206) paradigmatisch. Zu Astyages vgl. die Fußnote 70 des vorliegenden Beitrags. Den in der Rezeption versunkenen Aeneas verbindet Hardie explizit mit Astyages, vgl. Hardie 2002, 180f. Fernerhin betont Hardie die Todesbedrohung durch eine allzu intensive Kunstbewunderung: "Astyag-

Verdoppelung des Kunstwerks bzw. der inversiven Mimesis in der admirativen Rezeption lassen sowohl Vergil als auch Ovid auf metapoetischer Ebene für die abendländische Episteme konstitutive Dichotomien in die Brüche gehen: Es kollabiert die binäre Opposition von Realität und Fiktion bzw. Kunst, wie Hardie im Hinblick auf Ovids Sage von Narcissus festhält;⁷⁸ es geraten aber auch die Binarismen von Urbild und Abbild, Leben und Tod, Präsenz und Absenz in Schwingung. Kunst verfügt demnach über ein subversives Potenzial und vermag einen ästhetischen Widerstand gegen die Theorie⁷⁹ zu formieren.⁸⁰

Die Erzählungen von Narcissus und Pygmalion greifen auf dasselbe produktions- wie rezeptionsästhetische lexikalische Paradigma zurück – mit dem Unterschied, dass der Mythos von Narcissus dies im Rahmen rhetorischer Operationen tut: Während Pygmalions Weiblichkeitsideal *faktisch* aus Elfenbein gefertigt *ist*, betrachtet

es is an example of the narcissistic viewer... He ends up as a statue staring at a statue, a narrative realisation of the simile that compares Narcissus' self-absorption with his own image to the fixity of a statue... Astyages turned to stone is a dreadful warning of the consequence of too intense an identification with a work of art or literature: once inside, you may never escape“ (Hardie 2002, 181).

⁷⁸ Vgl. Hardie 2002, 146.

⁷⁹ Vgl. hierzu de Man 2002.

⁸⁰ Eine alternative, narratologisch ausgerichtete Interpretation des Passus legt von Albrecht vor. Er sieht in der Rezeptionsszene bei Vergil eine Art Brennglas, in der die Zeitdimensionen von Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft zu einem einzigen Moment komprimiert werden, vgl. von Albrecht 2007, 110: "In der Stadt sieht Aeneas am Iunotempel Darstellungen aus dem Trojanischen Krieg (441-493). So gelingt es, die Vergangenheit des Aeneas mit einzubeziehen... Doch ist auch hier das Erinnern an Vergangenes eng mit der Zukunft verbunden: Der Anblick ermutigt Aeneas; hier fällt das berühmte Wort: *sunt lacrimae rerum* ('Die Dinge finden ihre Beweinung': 462). Aeneas kann somit auf teilnehmendes Verständnis in Karthago hoffen. Dies ist der unmittelbar vorausweisende Sinn der Reminiszenzen aus dem Trojanischen Krieg. Doch gibt es einen weiteren, der Aeneas verborgen ist. Die einzelnen Episoden aus dem Trojanischen Krieg lassen sich auch als Vorausblick auf die ‚iliadischen‘ Bücher der *Aeneis* lesen.“

Narcissus wie hypnotisiert: *vultuque immotus eodem / haeret* (3.418-419) seinen gespiegelten "Hals": *colla* (3.422), der wie aus Elfenbein: *eburnea* (3.422) bestehend *anmutet*. Und wie Pygmalions Kunstwerk als *niveum* (10.247), als "schneeweiß" attribuiert wird und nach seiner Verlebendigung vor Scham "errötet": *erubuit* (10.293), so realisiert auch Narcissus den kanonischen Farbkontrast der elegischen Liebesdichtung: *in niveo mixtum candore ruborem / ... miratur* (3.423-424): "die Mischung von Schneeweiß und Rot... bewundert er."⁸¹ Narcissus blickt, unbewegt und bäuchlings liegend, als Statue aus parischem Marmor in den Teich; und was er sieht, was ihm entgegenblickt, ist die Evokation einer Elfenbeinskulptur (vgl. *eburnea colla*, 3.422), also wiederum ein Gegenstand der Kunst, der spiegelverkehrt, i. e. rücklings gelagert, auf eine Marmorplastik starrt, die in einem Akt ästhetischer Rezeption versunken ist. "Narcissus' Begegnung mit seinem Spiegelbild wird also mit Hinweisen auf die Rezeption von Kunst inszeniert... Man könnte sagen, Täuschung ist etwas, das mit Kunstrezeption ganz wesentlich zu tun hat," kommentiert József Krupp.⁸² Dass Narcissus unglücklich ist, Pygmalion als weniger unglücklich gelten darf, da sein externalisiertes Idealbild wenigstens greif- und küßbar ist (vgl. z. B. *admovet os iterum, manibus quoque pectora temptat*, 10.282), wenigstens über eine materielle Präsenz verfügt, ohne zurückzuweichen oder sich auf der schwankenden Wasseroberfläche zu dissoziieren, findet seinen Niederschlag in der divergierenden Bedeutung des Substantivs *simulacrum*.⁸³ In beiden

⁸¹ Vgl. hierzu die Fußnote 38 des vorliegenden Beitrags.

⁸² Krupp 2009, 104. Hierzu ebenfalls Harzer 2000, 92-95.

⁸³ Zum *simulacrum* vgl. die Fußnote 35 des vorliegenden Beitrags. Von dem Wort *simulacrum* ausgehend, interpretiert Hardie die Episode von Echo und Narcissus in Ovids *Metamorphosen* als einen mythopoetischen Kommentar zu Lukrez' *simulacrum*-Theorie aus dem vierten Buch von *De rerum natura*: "Ovid's drama of presence and absence in the stories of Narcissus and Echo can be seen as a response to ancient philosophical discussions of illusion and reality with reference both to the senses of hearing and seeing and to the psychology of desire... Like its root, the verb *simulo*, *simulacrum* is a Janus-headed word. On one hand it refers to the fitting likeness (*similis*, *similitudo*) of image to model, a fit which is particularly close in Epicurean explanation of sense-images as films

Episoden wird ein narzisstisches "Eben-" oder "Abbild" in Szene gesetzt. Doch im Mythos von Narcissus sind die – wie in der Pygmalionsage – in den poetischen Plural deklinierten *simulacra* (3.432)⁸⁴ "Trugbilder" *sine corpore* (3.417), ein *error* (3.431) bzw. eine *umbra* (3.434) ohne Materialität, die im Raum atypisch: *nusquam* (3.433) sind: *credule, quid frustra simulacra fugacia captas? / quod petis, est nusquam* (3.432-433): "Leichtgläubiger, was greifst du vergeblich nach dem flüchtigen Bild? Was du erstrebst, ist nirgends." Demgegenüber ist im Mythos von Pygmalion das *simulacrum* (vgl. 10.280) nicht nur ein "Abbild," sondern auch eine physische Entität, nämlich eine wirkliche Skulptur.⁸⁵

5. FAZIT: DER URSPRUNG DES KUNSTWERKS

Unerfüllt und unerwidert wie Narcissus' homosexuelles Begehren bliebe Pygmalions narzisstisch-inzestuös grundiertes gegenüber den *simulacra* (10.280) seines "Mädchens" bzw. seiner "Tochter" (vgl. *suae... puellae*, 10.280), würde ihm die Liebesgöttin Venus nicht beistehen. Doch unabhängig davon, ob das narzisstische Verschmelzungs- und Vereinigungsphantasma in Erfüllung geht oder nicht, ist dasjenige von Pygmalion ein produktives, Kunst schaffendes, ein sozial anschlussfähiges von kulturkonstitutiver Werthaltigkeit. Narcissus' *amore mei* (3.464) hingegen erweist sich als ein durch und durch *asozialer*. Unterstrichen wird diese Diskrepanz durch die Topographie der beiden Narrative: "Aside from the analogies, there is a significant difference between the position of the youth and the sculptor, namely, that Narcissus is

of atoms which originate as physically part of the objects we perceive... On the other hand *simulacrum* may refer to the deceptiveness (*simulo, simulation*) of images, which may for various reasons correspond to no substantially existing objects, but nevertheless lead us to believe in the existence of such objects. The first example of such delusive images discussed in book 4 by Lucretius, one chosen to establish a link with the subject-matter of the previous book, is *simulacrum* as image of a dead person, or 'ghost'." Hardie 2002, 150f; Hardie 1988.

⁸⁴ Neben *simulacra* sind keine alternativen Lesarten überliefert, vgl. hierzu die textkritische Ausgabe von Tarrant 2004.

⁸⁵ Zur Rezeption der Sage von Narcissus exemplarisch Elsner 2007, 132-176; Renger 2002. Zur Verbindung zwischen Ovids Erzählung von Narcissus und Pygmalion z. B. Böschstein 1997; Rosati 2016.

placed in *natura*, whereas Pygmalion is situated in an urban, civilized environment."⁸⁶ Während Pygmalion in einem urbanen Milieu an der kollektiven Praxis des Venusfests teilnimmt, ist Narcissus von der Gemeinschaft abgesondert, verortet in einem isolierten, silvanen *locus amoenus* und solipsistisch-egozentrisch von seinem Spiegelbild und dem eigenen Selbst gebannt.⁸⁷

Ovids Pygmalionepisode im zehnten Buch der *Metamorphosen* zeigt mythopoetisch, dass die Produktion von Kunst und, damit verbunden, ihr kultureller wie individueller Wert nicht auf eine reine, noch unverfälschte, ideale, erhabene, geistige oder gar heilige Ursprungsdimension zurückzuführen sind: auf eine göttliche Beseelung etwa, was seit Homers *Ilias* der Topos des autorisierenden Musenanrufs implizit postuliert.⁸⁸ Mit

⁸⁶ Darab 2018, 108.

⁸⁷ Eine Analyse der topographischen Komposition und ihrer Korrespondenzen mit Narcissus' Jungmännlichkeit und Unproduktivität findet sich bei Parry 1964, 276: "To see why this particular landscape is not irrelevant to, or merely decoration for, the theme of passion uniformly enacted against it, whether to be literal or sexual pursuit, literal or ritual death, we shall consider a representative example of the poet's craft. Narcissus, virginal hunter, reaches a pool *which is itself clear and virginal* (3.408ff.)... Sunlight is excluded from the spot; the pool attracts the boy, reflecting a virginal face in its virginal waters; and when the seductive image vanishes, the boy, wasted by unrequited selfpassion, undergoes a ritual death at the pool's edge, being transformed into a flower. Thus the scene where violence or death is to ensue is itself virginal, so that the setting itself portends and prefigures the deed." Hierzu auch Darab 2018, 108f.

⁸⁸ Vgl. Hom. *Il.* 1.1-2.: Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος / οὐλομένην: "Göttin, singe mir nun des Peleussohnes Achilleus / Unheilbringenden Zorn." Das Original folgt der Ausgabe von Allen 1931. Die Übersetzung stammt von Hampe 1979. Zur Inspirationslehre und der Tradition des Musenanrufs vgl. z. B. Barmeyer 1968; Fuhrmann 1973, 72-77; Geisenhanslücke 2018, 21-25. Otto 1954. Ovid selbst kombiniert im Prolog der *Metamorphosen* eine sogar in den Plural gesteigerte extrinsische göttliche Macht (vgl. *di*) mit einer eigenen, inneren Quelle (vgl. *animus*) der Inspiration: *In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas / corpora; di, coeptis (nam vos mutastis et illa) / aspirate meis* (1.1-3): "Von Gestalten zu künden, die in neue Körper verwandelt wurden, treibt mich der Geist. Ihr Götter – habt ihr doch jene Verwandlungen bewirkt –, beflügelt mein

seiner paradigmatischen und traditionsbildenden Künstlerfigur veranschaulicht Ovid, dass die Kunst vielmehr auf "hochkarätiger Erotik"⁸⁹ gründet;⁹⁰ auf einer narzisstischen Mesalliance des Künstlers zu seinem Werk. Bei Pygmalion steigert sich diese sogar zu einer inzestuösen Begehrensstruktur, die im Falle seiner Urenkelin Myrrha vom Erzähler als *nefas* (10.307), *scelus* (10.314), *foedoque... amori* (10.319), *malus ardor* (10.342), *furor* (10.355) und *diros... amores* (10.426) stigmatisiert wird. Pygmalions sublimierter Inzest, verstanden als eine abjekte Sonderform des Narzissmus,⁹¹ ist dagegen nicht als "Makel"⁹² zu begreifen, sondern als eine Möglichkeitsbedingung von Kunst.

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Beginnen." Demgegenüber stützt sich der Gesang von Orpheus, der als Double der Dichterpersona "Ovid" interpretiert wurde, einzig auf eine Muse, nämlich auf Kalliope: *Ab love, Musa parens, (cedunt Iovis omnia regno), / carmina nostra move*. (10.148-149): "Mit Iuppiter – seiner Königswürde muß alles andere weichen – laß meinen Gesang beginnen, o Muse, meine Mutter!" Zum Prolog der *Metamorphosen* vgl. exemplarisch von Albrecht 1961, 269-278.

⁸⁹ Bömer 1980, 93.

⁹⁰ Psychoanalytisch orientierte Ansätze gehen davon aus, dass sich auch hinter dem Musenanruf letztlich eine erotische Dimension verbirgt, vgl. z. B. Tutter 2017.

⁹¹ Bruzzone (2012, 83) spricht in diesem Zusammenhang von einer "extreme form of narcissism."

⁹² Im "inzestuöse[n] Ende" sieht Annette Keck (2013, 69) den "Makel der *Pygmalion*-Erzählung."

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THE BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS IN THE OLD GEORGIAN TRANSLATIONS OF THE *HEXAEMERON* OF BASIL OF CAESAREA*

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Abstract. This article addresses the issue of the provenance of the Biblical passages cited in two Georgian translations of the *Hexaemeron* of St. Basil the Great. Specifically, it focuses on procedures adopted by the translators of Basil's work, namely whether they used any of the surviving Georgian versions of the Holy Scriptures, provided their own rendering, or if the quotations of their translations were taken from a hitherto unknown Georgian recension of the Bible. Finally, this article emphasizes the importance of studying the Biblical passages cited in the Old Georgian translations of the *Hexaemeron* for a better understanding of the history of the Georgian translation of the Holy Scriptures.

Identifying the provenance of the Biblical quotations in the translations of patristic writings into Georgian (as well as in other languages) reveals a number of possible procedures: the translator may quote Biblical passages from several different Georgian versions, or from

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memory, or may offer his own rendering; or he may accurately follow the quotations in his source text, which, in turn, may open up other possibilities: the author of the source text may cite a recension of the Biblical text that is different from all the surviving recensions, or may quote the Biblical passage from memory or may offer an abridged or paraphrased version, etc. However, as concerns the subject of the exegesis, i.e. the text that was to be explained systemically, verse-by-verse (such as *Homilies on the Song of Songs* by Gregory of Nyssa, or *Commentaries on the Gospels* by Theophylact of Bulgaria, etc.), it is logical to suppose that the exegete would have this text in front of him² (while other Biblical quotations, both from the Old and the New Testaments, may have been cited from memory). Therefore, the author of a systemic Hexaemeron work, would very probably have in front of him the text of Genesis 1, which he aimed to explicate verse-by-verse. Basil of Caesarea, when working on the *Hexaemeron*, not only had in front of him the Septuagint, but other Greek translations as well (probably, Hexaplaric texts), which he sometimes cites in parallel with the text of the Septuagint.³ Other church fathers also used to cite and analyze the interpretations of the recensions of Biblical texts. In his exegetical works, including *An Apology for the Hexaemeron*, Gregory of Nyssa, the brother of Basil, directly refers to the translators – Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion.⁴

The same can be said about the translators of the *Hexaemeron*, who must have considered the already existing version (or versions) of the Bible when quoting the initial verses of Genesis. Thus, the texts that are different from the widely known recensions of the Georgian Bible in the Georgian versions of the *Hexaemeron* are less likely to be related to citing from memory: the translator either follows a recension lost to us or intentionally revises the existing version (probably, according to the recension cited by the exegete or considering his commentaries).

² This explains why various readings quoted in such exegeses have been included in the apparatus of the critical editions of the Bible.

³ E.g., see Bas. Caes. *Hex.* 1.6, p. 12, 2-4 (De Mendieta and Rudberg 1997).

⁴ Cf. Gr. Nyssa. *Apol.*, PG 44, col. 69 D3ff; 80 A16-B1ff.

There are two surviving Old Georgian translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron*: one was rendered from Greek by Giorgi the Hagiorite in the 11th century,⁵ while the other was rendered by a translator not yet identified and dated to an earlier period⁶ (as Giorgi the Hagiorite notes, he was familiar with and used this translation)⁷. Iliia Abuladze dated this earlier translation to the 8th-10th century (because of the archaic language of the text, the scholar is more inclined to date the translation to the 8th or 9th century) and due to the presence of Arabic and Persian borrowings found in it, identified it as a rendering from Arabic.⁸ According to recent studies, the source text of the translation is believed to be Greek, while lexical Arabisms are explained by the Arabic environment in which the translation was done.⁹ I share this opinion but will not dwell on the question any further, as the source language of the Biblical passages included in the anonymous translation of Basil's work and discussed in this paper is definitely Greek and these passages closely resemble the Biblical text cited in Giorgi the Hagiorite's translation.

As far as the Georgian recensions of the Bible¹⁰ and, specifically, the Pentateuch are concerned, the surviving Georgian manuscripts have been grouped into two principal text types: that of Oshki and Gelati. The scholars speak of a third text type as well, which basically is the combination of the two main types.¹¹ The recension of the Biblical verses cited in Giorgi the Hagiorite's and the earlier anonymous

⁵ The text was edited by Mikheil Kakhadze based on the Shatberdi manuscript A 73 (11th century), which is one of the six surviving copies of Giorgi the Hagiorite's translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron*. The gaps were filled up and misreadings found in it were corrected according to A 55 (12th century manuscript). See Kakhadze 1947, ix.

⁶ The text was edited by Iliia Abuladze on the ground of two manuscripts from the Jerusalemite collection: nos. 44 and 4 (Abuladze 1964, 11), dating from the 11th-12th and 12th-13th centuries respectively (Noble 2019, 32).

⁷ Abuladze 1964, 9-10.

⁸ Abuladze 1964, 17.

⁹ Noble 2019.

¹⁰ Issues related to the Georgian Biblical texts and to their editing are discussed in detail by Gigineishvili (1989, 5-60), as well as by Melikishvili (2012, 35-156).

¹¹ Gigineishvili 1989, 9, 40.

translator's renderings of Basil's *Hexaemeron* differs from the texts of all surviving Georgian manuscripts of the Bible, while their comparison with the Oshki Bible (978) is impossible as the latter lacks the first twelve chapters of Genesis.

I compared the Biblical quotations in Georgian translations of the *Hexaemeron* with the text of Genesis 1 included in 10th century Georgian lectionaries¹² (the texts of the Pentateuch included in these lectionaries, closely resemble in general the Oshki Bible text).¹³ The comparison revealed that in both Georgian translations, out of the eighteen verses of Genesis 1 cited in Basil's *Hexaemeron*, eleven verses (fully or partially) coincide with the text included in the lectionaries or they are closely parallel. The few differences shown in the table below are either due to the use of the absolute case, or to the orthography of ჳ (confusions in the use of both of these elements are frequent in works dating from the mentioned period, including the lectionaries);¹⁴ there are two more cases where the texts show minor differences: one is the use of the conjunction „ოჲ“ (“and”) and the other is the use of the article.

Let us see the passages from Genesis 1, that are almost identical in the Georgian translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron* and the lectionaries. For comparison, the table also shows the same passages from the Gelati text type.¹⁵

¹² Although the four surviving copies of the lectionaries date from the 10th century, their original redaction is believed to be formed in the 5th-8th centuries. See Melikishvili 1974, 34.

¹³ One of the four lectionaries (the Parisian Lectionary), which, according to Melikishvili (1974, 36), is different from the Oshki Bible, does not include the first three chapters of Genesis at all (Melikishvili 1974, 9).

¹⁴ Melikishvili 1974, 90-95, 134-137.

¹⁵ Genesis 1 as cited in Giorgi the Hagiorite's translation of Basil's work is largely identical with Biblical quotations included in his translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *Apology*. It would be likewise interesting to study Biblical quotations in other Hexaemeronic works that are not currently available to me: the earliest Georgian translation of the *Hexaemeron* by Severian of Gabala (4th-5th century), prepared for publication by Tornike Chkonia (Chelidze 1997, 5) and Theophilus' translation of John Chrysostom's *Homilies on Genesis* (the manuscript that contains this work is preserved in the monastery of Iviron on Athos)

Gen.	Bas. Caes. <i>Hex.</i> (De Mendieta and Rudberg 1997) = Septuagint	Earlier Georgian Ver- sion of the <i>Hexaemeron</i> , 8 th -10 th centuries (Abuladze 1964)	Giorgi the Hagiorite's Translation of the <i>Hexa- emeron</i> , 11 th Century (Kakhadze 1947)	Lectionaries, 10 th Century (Melikishvili 1974) ¹⁶	Gelati Text Type, Bible ms A -179 (1669) (Giginei- shvili and Kikvidze 1989) ¹⁷
1.1	ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν (p. 3, 14)	დასაბამად ქმნა ღმერთმან ცამ და ქუეყანად (p. 40, 24)	დასაბამად ქმნა ღმერთმან ცამ და ქუეყანად (p. 2, 25)	დასაბამად ქმნა ღმერთმან ცამ და ქუეყანად (p. 1)	დასაბამად ქმნა ღმერთმან ცამ და ქუეყანად (p. 62)
1.2	καὶ σκοτός ¹⁸ ἐπᾶνω τῆς ἀβύσσου	– ბნელ იყო ზედა უფსკრულთა	– ბნელი იყო ზედა უფსკრუ-	და ბნელი ¹⁹ იყო ზედა უფსკრუ-	და ბნელი იყო ზედა უფსკრუ-

(Gigineishvili 1989, 35). Some information on texts quoted in Theophilus' translation is provided in Gigineishvili 1989.

¹⁶ The text of the lectionaries in the table is basically cited from the Sinai Lectionary (S). The variant readings from other lectionaries (namely, from Latali (L) and Kala (K) lectionaries) are also cited from Melikishvili 1974. The text under consideration is also included in the edition of Parisian Lectionary (Danelia, Chkhenkeli and Shavishvili 1987).

¹⁷ In Gigineishvili and Kikvidze's edition of the Pentateuch (1989), the text of Genesis of ms. A-179 (C), assigned to the Gelati text type, is presented together with the text of the Bible of Bakar (1743) (B) and is considered as being of the same type. It should be noted that the variant readings of B, in some cases, are different from C and identical with the lectionaries.

¹⁸ Cf. v. 1. σκοτός ἦν (Giet 1949, 152).

¹⁹ და ბნელი SK] ბნელ L.

		ლოთა	ლოთა	ლოთა
	(p. 26, 20)	(p. 32, 20)	(p. 18, 28)	(p. 1)
	καὶ	და	და	და
	πνεῦμα	სული	სული	სული
	θεοῦ	ღმრთისად	ღმრთისად	ღმრთისად
	ἐπεφῆρετο	იქცეოდა	იქცეოდა	იქცეოდა
	ἐπάνω	ზედა	ზედა	ზედა
	τοῦ ὕδατος	წყალთა	წყალთა	წყალთა
	(p. 31, 1)	(p. 36, 8)	(p. 22, 15)	(p. 1)
1.3	καὶ	და	და	და
	εἶπεν	თქუა	თქუა	თქუა
	ὁ θεός	ღმერთმან:	ღმერთმან:	ღმერთმან:
	γενηθήτω	იყავნ	იყავნ	იქმენინ
	φῶς	ნათელი	ნათელი	ნათელი
	(p. 32, 1)	(p. 36, 34)	(p. 23, 5, 112, 26-27)	(p. 1)
	καὶ	და	და	და
	ἐγένετο	იყო	იყო	იქმნა
	φῶς	ნათელი	ნათელი	ნათელი
	(p. 158, 16)	(p. 134, 12-13)	(p. 112, 26-27)	(p. 1)
1.4	καὶ	და	და	და
	εἶδεν	იხილა	იხილა	იხილა
	ὁ θεός	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან
	τὸ φῶς	ნათელი	ნათელი	ნათელი
		იგი	იგი	–
	ὅτι	რამეთუ	რამეთუ	რამეთუ
	καλόν	კეთილ	კეთილ	კეთილ
	–	არს	არს ²²	–
	(p. 33, 6)	(p. 37, 30)	(p. 23, 35-36)	(p. 1)

²⁰ წყალსა| წყალთა B.

²¹ კეთილ| კეთილა K. As we see, the trace (s) of the verb „არს“ (“is”) is evident in the Kala lectionary.

²² Cf. the quotation used by Giorgi the Hagiorite in Gr. Nyss. *Apol.* 3.2: „რამეთუ კეთილ“ (Chelidze 1989, 209).

Cf. Gen. 1.10

(K), 1.25 (K):

„კეთილ
არს“

	καὶ	და	და	და	და
	διεχώρισεν	განაშორა	განაშორა ²³	განაშორა	განწვალა
	ὁ θεὸς	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან
	ἀνὰ μέσον	შორის	შორის	შორის	შორის
	τοῦ φωτός	[ნათლისა	ნათლისა	ნათლისა	ნათლისა
		მის	მის	მის	–
	καὶ	და	და	და	და
	ἀνὰ μέσον	შორის	შორის	შორის	შორის
	τοῦ σκοτούς	ბნელისა]	ბნელისა	ბნელისა	ბნელისა
		–	–	მის	–
1.5	(p. 34, 1-2)	(p. 38, 14-15)	(p. 24, 19)	(p. 1)	(p. 62)
	καὶ	და	და	და	და
	ἐκάλεσεν	უწოდა	უწოდა	უწოდა	უწოდა
	ὁ θεὸς	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან
	τὸ φῶς	ნათელსა	ნათელსა	ნათელსა	ნათელსა
		მას	მას	მას	–
	ἡμέραν	დღე	დღე	დღე	დღე
	καὶ	და	და	და	და
	τὸ σκότος	ბნელსა	ბნელსა	ბნელსა	ბნელსა
		მას	მას	მას	–
	ἐκάλεσεν	უწოდა	უწოდა	უწოდა	უწოდა
	νύκτα	ღამე	ღამე	ღამე	ღამე
1.6	(p. 34, 5)	(p. 38, 18-19)	(p. 24, 22-23)	(p. 1)	(p. 62)
	καὶ	და	და	და	და
	εἶπεν	თქუა	თქუა	თქუა	თქუა
	ὁ θεὸς	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან
	γενηθήτω	იყავნ	იყავნ	იყავნ	იქნენინ
	σπερώμα	სამყაროდ	სამყაროდ	სამყაროდ	სამყაროდ
	ἐν μέσῳ	შორის	შორის	შორის	შორის
	τοῦ ὕδατος	წყალთა	წყალთა	წყალთა,	წყლისა
	καὶ	და	და	და	და
	ἔστω	იყავნ	იყავნ	იყავნ	იყავნ

²³ Cf. the quotation used by Giorgi the Hagiorite in Gr. Nyss. *Apol.* 3.2: „განწვალა“ (Chelidze 1989, 209).

	διαχωρίζον	განმაშორებელ	განმაშორებელ	განმაშორებელ	განწყველ
	ἀνὰ μέσον	შორის	შორის	შორის	შორის
	ὑδατος	წყალთა	წყალთა	წყალთა	წყლისა ²⁴
	καὶ	და	და	და	–
	ὑδατος	წყალთა	წყალთა	წყალთა	–
1.8	(p. 39, 15-16, 43, 7-8)	(p. 42, 29-31)	(p. 28, 7)	(p. 1)	(p. 62)
	καὶ	და	და	და	და
	ἐκάλεσεν	უწოდა	უწოდა	უწოდა	უწოდა
	ὁ θεὸς	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან
	τὸ στερέωμα	სამყაროსა	სამყაროსა	სამყაროსა	სამყაროსა
		მას	მას	მას	–
	οὐρανόν	ცაჲ	ცაჲ	ცაჲ	ცაჲ
	(p. 51, 18)	(p. 49, 10)	(p. 37, 8)	(p. 2)	(p. 62)
	καὶ	და	და	და	და
	εἶδεν	იხილა	იხილა	იხილა	იხილნა
	ὁ θεὸς	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან
	ὅτι	რამეთუ	რამეთუ	რამეთუ	რამეთუ
	καλόν	კეთილ	კეთილ	კეთილ	კეთილ
	–	არს	არს	–	–
	(p. 55, 7)	(p. 52, 1-2)	(p. 39, 18)	(p. 2)	(p. 62)
				Cf. Gen. 1.4	
1.10	καὶ	და	და	და	და
	ἐκάλεσεν	უწოდა	უწოდა	უწოდა	უწოდა
	ὁ θεὸς	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან
	τὴν ξηρὰν	ჭმელსა	ჭმელსა	ჭმელსა	ჭმელსა
		მას	მას	მას	–
	γῆν	ქუეყანაჲ	ქუეყანაჲ	ქუეყანაჲ	ქუეყანა
	καὶ	და	და	და	და
	τὰ συστῆματα	შესაკრებელსა	შესაკრებელსა	შესაკრებელსა	შესაკრებელსა
		მას	მას	მას	–
	τῶν ὑδάτων	წყალთასა	წყალთასა	წყალთასა	წყალთასა
	ἐκάλεσεν	უწოდა	უწოდა	უწოდა	უწოდა
	θαλάσσης	ზღუეზ	ზღუეზ	ზღუეზ	ზღუეზ
	(p. 58, 19-20)	(p. 54, 11-13)	(p. 41, 29-30)	(p. 2)	(p. 62)

²⁴ წყლისა] + და წყლისა B.

1.14	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός γενηθήτωσαν φαστήρες ἐν τῷ στερέωματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς φάσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς – τοῦ διαχρᾶζειν ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς νυκτὸς (p. 89, 17-19)	და თქუა ღმერთმან იყვნედ მნათობნი სამყაროსა – ცისასა განმან- თლებელად – ქუეყანისა და განმწვა- ლებელად შორის დღისა და შორის ღამისა (p. 78, 25-27)	და თქუა ღმერთმან იყვნედ მნათობნი სამყაროსა – ცისასა განმან- თლებელად – ქუეყანისა და განმწვა- ლებელად შორის დღისა და შორის ღამისა (p. 64, 33-34)	და თქუა ღმერთმან იყვნედ მნათობნი ²⁵ სამყაროსა – ცისასა განმან- თლებელად – ქუეყანისა ²⁶ და განმწვა- ლებელად შორის დღისა და შორის ღამისა (p. 3)	და თქუა ღმერთმან იყვნენ მნათობნი სამყაროსა შინა ცისასა მნათობად – ქუეყანისა – განსაყოფელად შორის დღისა და შორის ღამისა (p. 63)
1.26	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον (p. 158, 11) ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν (p. 160, 6; cf. p. 159, 23)	და თქუა ღმერთმან ვეძნეთ კაცი (p. 134, 7) ვეძნეთ კაცი ხატად ჩუენდა (p. 135, 25-26; cf. p. 135, 15-16)	და თქუა ღმერთმან ვეძნეთ კაცი (p. 112, 21) ვეძნეთ კაცი ხატად ჩუენდა (p. 113, 35; cf. p. 113, 24)	და თქუა ღმერთმან ვეძნეთ კაცი (p. 5) ვეძნეთ კაცი ხატად ჩუენდა (p. 5)	და თქუა ღმერთმან ვეძნეთ კაცი (p. 65) ვეძნეთ კაცი ხატები- საებრ ჩუენისა (p. 65)
1.27	Ἐν εἰκόνι	ხატად	ხატად	ხატად	ხატებად

²⁵ მნათობნი] + ქუეყანასა ზედა S.

²⁶ ქუეყანისა ... წელიწადებად K] –S.

θεοῦ	ღმრთისა	ღმრთისა	ღმრთისა ²⁷	ღმრთისა
ἐποίησεν	შექმნა	შექმნა	შექმნა	შექმნა
αὐτόν	ოგი	ოგი	ოგი	ოგი
(p. 160, 12)	(p. 136, 4)	(p. 114, 3)	(p. 6)	(p. 65)

Various combinations can be found in other verses: a. quotations included either in Giorgi’s rendering or in the anonymous translation fully coincide with the text of the lectionaries; b. quotations included in Giorgi’s rendering and in the anonymous translation are identical but different from the text of the lectionaries; c. the texts of the anonymous translation, Giorgi’s rendering and the lectionaries are different in some respects. However, despite the differences, the texts of the lectionaries and the Hexaemeronic quotations exhibit close redactional similarities, as shown in the example below:

Gen.	Bas. Caes. <i>Hex.</i> = Septua- gint	Earlier Georgian Version of the <i>Hexa-</i> <i>emeron</i>	Giorgi the Hagiorite’s Translation of the <i>He-</i> <i>xaemeron</i>	Lectionaries	Gelati Text Type
1.7	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερεώ- σασθαι	და ქმნა ღმერთმან სამყარო.	და შექმნა ღმერთმან სამყარო.	და ²⁸ შექმნა ღმერთმან სამყარო	– – – –
	καὶ διέχρω- σεν ὁ θεὸς	– განაშოვრა	ოგი და განაშორა	ოგი და განაშოვრა	– და ²⁹ განყო
		–	ღმერთმან	ღმერთმან ³⁰	ღმერთმან

²⁷ ღმრთისა KL] ღმრთეებისა S.

²⁸ და შექმნა ღმერთმან სამყარო ოგი და განაშოვრა ღმერთმან შორის წყალთა მათ] –S.

²⁹ და] pr. და შექმნა ღმერთმან სამყარო B.

³⁰ და შექმნა ღმერთმან სამყარო ოგი და განაშოვრა KL] + ღმერთმან L. The word “God” is omitted in some Greek Biblical manuscripts as well. See Wevers 1974, 76.

ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδα- τος	შორის წყალთა	შორის წყალთა	შორის წყალთა,	შორის წყლისა
ὁ	–	მათ	მათ ³¹	–
ἦν	რომელნი	რომელნი (+ იგი v.l.)	რომელი- იგი	რომელი
ὑπο	იყვნეს	იყვნეს	იყო	იყო
κάτω	ქუეშე	ქუეშე	ქუეშე	ქუეშე
τοῦ στε- ρεώματος	–	–	–	კერძო
καί	სამყაროსა	სამყარო- მსა	სამყაროსა	სამყაროსა
ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδα- τος	–	მის	მას	–
καί	და	და	და	და
ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδα- τος	შორის წყალთა	შორის წყალთა	შორის წყალთა	შორის წყლისა
τοῦ	–	მათ	მათ	–
ἐπάνω	რომელნი	რომელნი	რომელი ³²	–
τοῦ στε- ρεώματος	არიან	იყვნეს	იყო	–
–	ზედა	ზედა	ზედა	ზედა
–	–	–	–	კერძო
–	სამყაროსა	სამყარო- მსა	სამყაროსა	სამყაროსა
–	–	მის	მას	–
(p. 43, 9-11)	(p. 42, 31-34)	(p. 30, 33-31, 1)	(p. 1)	(p. 62)

In some cases, the differences between the Georgian translations of the *Hexaemeron* and the lectionaries is to be explained by the fact that the translators follow Basil's paraphrased or abridged quotations of the Biblical text. In one case, the Georgian renderings offer an unexpected change in Biblical quotation: specifically, both Georgian

³¹ მათ K]– L.

³² რომელი] რომელი-იგი L.

translations add „ჰოსორცა სხბეო“ (“as species”)³³ in Genesis 1.21 (καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ κήτη τὰ μέγала³⁴).

Textual similarities with the lectionaries were found in Biblical quotations used in another exegetical work as well. Bakar Gigineishvili compared the passages from the first eleven chapters of Genesis quoted in Theophilus’ translation of John Chrysostom’s *Homilies on Genesis* (ms. Ath. 29) with the texts of the Georgian lectionaries and concluded that they mostly differ from each other.³⁵ However, the scholar cites the cases when the text of the Biblical verses quoted in Theophilus’ translation and the texts of the lectionaries are fully identical and differ from those found in the Biblical copies pertaining to the Gelati text type.³⁶ We can say that the differences Gigineishvili revealed between these texts and the Gelati Bible are the same as the differences I point out in the table between the Biblical passages quoted in Georgian translation of the *Hexaemeron* and the Gelati recension. I mean the identity of the variant readings of Genesis 1.16 cited by the scholar as an illustrative example, as well as redactional parallels in the renderings of Genesis 1.9 and 1.11. Also of note is that in the quotations found in the Georgian translations of Basil’s *Hexamaeron*, the verb „ჰბნა“ (“come into being”) is regularly replaced by „ყოფა“ (“be”) (Gen. 1.3; 1.5-6 and elsewhere), as in the translation of John Chrysostom’s homilies (ms. Ath. 29).

Furthemore, one can add to this that the lectionaries and the Georgian translations of the *Hexaemeron* are characterized by a more frequent insertion of the verb „ყოფნა“ to render Greek verbless sentences than the Gelati type redaction (the frequency of such insertion is also typical of the Oshki Bible); likewise, the lectionaries and the Georgian translations of Basil’s work, as well as the Oshki Bible, use articles more often than the Gelati Bible, and so on.

³³ Abuladze 1964, p. 105, 18-19; Kakhadze 1947, 88, 30-31.

³⁴ De Mendieta and Rudberg 1997, p. 123, 17.

³⁵ Giginesihvili 1989, 36.

³⁶ Giginesihvili 1989, 36.

Nino Melikishvili, whose research focuses on Georgian lectionaries and namely the texts of the Pentateuch included in them, finds it possible to suppose that the Biblical texts contained in the lectionaries were excerpted from the source that was very close to the Oshki text type (so-called proto-Oshki).³⁷ Anyway, the lectionaries show, in general, textual parallels with the Oshki Bible, and the Biblical quotations included in the Georgian translations of Basil's *Hexaameron*, despite their similarity with the texts of the lectionaries have some peculiarities as well. Hence, may we assume that these peculiarities reflect the readings of the Oshki Bible? In other words, may we hypothesize that the Oshki Bible could have been the immediate source for the Biblical quotations of the *Hexaameron*?³⁸ If we agree with Ilia Abuladze's dating of the anonymous translation, the above-mentioned hypothesis can only be applied to Giorgi the Hagiorite's translation of the *Hexaameron* (especially so that the Oshki Bible is preserved on Athos),³⁹ while the source for the anonymous translator could have been the archetype of the Oshki Bible.

However, such hypotheses can be relevant only if we are certain that the translators of the *Hexaameron* cites Biblical passages from sources available to them exactly, without applying any changes. I believe, the following passage from the anonymous translation of the *Hexaameron* is especially important in this regard.

³⁷ Melikishvili 1974, 35.

³⁸ The same hypothesis regarding Theophilus' translation of John Chrysostom's exegetical homilies on Genesis has been proposed by Gigineishvili (1989, 39).

³⁹ I should add that the hypothesis regarding Giorgi the Hagiorite's use of the Oshki Bible was not confirmed for Biblical quotations included in his translation of Gregory of Nyssa's exegetical homilies on the Song of Songs. See Kiknadze 2013, 9.

Gen.	Bas. Caes. <i>Hex.</i> = Septua- gint	Earlier Georgian Version of the <i>He- xaameron</i>	Giorgi the Hagiorite's Translation of the <i>He- xaameron</i>	Lectionaries	Gelati Text Type
1.5	καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρῶτῃ ἡμέρα μία (p. 34, 11)	და იყო მწუხრი და იყო განთიადი დღე იგი პირველი (p. 38, 24-25) Cf. „დღე იგი ერთი“ (p. 39, 6-7)	და იყო მწუხრი და იყო განთიად დღე იგი ერთი (p. 24, 28-29)	და იყო მწუხრი და იყო განთიად ⁴⁰ დღე იგი პირველი (p. 1)	და იქმნა მწუხრი და იქმნა განთიად დღე – ერთი (p. 62)

As we see, in this verse, ἡμέρα μία of the Septuagint is rendered as „დღე იგი პირველი“ (“the first day”) in the lectionaries and in the earlier anonymous translation of the *Hexaameron*, and as „დღე იგი ერთი“ (“day one” or “one day”) by Giorgi the Hagiorite and in the Biblical texts assigned to the Gelati type. It should be noted that ἡμέρα πρῶτῃ (“the first day”) is a variant reading attested in the apparatus of the critical edition of the Greek version of Genesis – however, not among the variants of the Septuagint,⁴¹ but in Aquila’s version.⁴² We should also add that variant

⁴⁰ განთიად] განთიადი K.

⁴¹ There are other differences as well between the texts of the lectionaries and the Septuagint (Melikishvili 1974, 40). Differences against the Septuagint are also noted by Gigineishvili as regards Biblical passages included in Theophilus’ translation of John Chrysostom’s commentaries on Genesis (Gigineishvili 1989, 39).

⁴² Wevers 1974, 76. A similar reading can be found in a number of Bible translations into other languages (e.g., in the King James Bible, the Louis Second Bible, etc.). “Day one” or “one day” is believed to be a Hebrew calque (Harl 1986,

readings of the versions of Aquila and Symmachus have been revealed in the books of the Oshki Bible as well.⁴³

The importance of the reading of Genesis 1.5 in the earlier Georgian version of the *Hexaemeron* is even more evident when analyzing the context of Genesis 1.5 in Basil's *Hexaemeron*. The exegete here makes a special emphasis on why the first day and night of Genesis is simply referred to as "day" („დღე“), and also, why "one" („ერთი“) is used instead of "the first" („პირველი“).⁴⁴ Specifically, according to Basil, "one" refers to a circadian period (which is constant) and at the same time, reflects the eternity, as one day returns to itself after a seven-day period is fulfilled, thus accounting for the everlasting circulation of time (the eighth day is the symbol of eternity).⁴⁵ Below is the passage in question from the earlier Georgian translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron*:

Bas. Caes. *Hex.* 2; 8
(De Mendieta and Rud-
berg 1997, p. 34, 11-35, 6)

Earlier Georgian
Version of the *Hexae-*
meron, 8th-10th Centuries
(Abuladze 1964, 38,
24-39, 8)

English Translation of
the Georgian Version⁴⁶

Καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα, καὶ
ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα μία.
Ἑσπέρα μὲν οὖν ἔστι
κοινὸς ὄρος ἡμέρας καὶ
νυκτός· καὶ πρωΐα
ὁμοίως ἢ γειτονία
νυκτός πρὸς ἡμέραν.
Ἴνα τοίνυν τὰ πρῶσιβια
τῆς γενέσεως ἀποδῶ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ, πρότερον εἶπε τὸ

და იყო მწუხრი და იყო
განთიადი, დღე იგი პი-
რველი (დაბ. 1.5).
მწუხრი იგი საზღვარი
არს ზიარი დღისა და
ღამისა, და განთიადი
კულად მოძმეობა არს
ღამისა დღესა თანა. და
რამთა მისცეს დღესა
პირველი არსებამ,
მოქსენა დასასრუ-

And it was the evening and
it was the morning: the first
day. Evening is then the
boundary common to day
and night; and in the
same way morning con-
stitutes the fraternity of
night and day. It was to
give day the priority of
being that [the Scripture]

88), but my immediate goal is not to study the source of this reading or of other variants in the earliest surviving Georgian translations of the Bible.

⁴³ Melikishvili 2012, 81.

⁴⁴ Philo of Alexandria too gives special attention to this issue (see Philo, *De opif. mund.* 3.15.4; 9.35.11 Cohn 1896).

⁴⁵ Bas. Caes. *Hex.* 1.8, 177-182 Giet 1949.

⁴⁶ I use the text of English translation of *Hexaemeron* by Jackson 1895.

πέρασ τῆς ἡμέρας...

Ἐγένετο οὖν ἑσπέρα, καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ. Τὸ ἡμεροσύνκιον λέγει. Καὶ οὐκέτι προσηγόρευσεν, ἡμέρα καὶ νύξ, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐπικρατοῦντι τὴν πᾶσαν προσηγορίαν ἀπένευμε. Ταύτην ἂν καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Γραφῇ τὴν συνήθειαν εὗροις, ἐν τῇ τοῦ χρόνου μετρῆσει ἡμέρας ἀριθμουμένας, οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ νύκτας μετὰ τῶν ἡμερῶν...

Καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα, καὶ ἐγένετο πρωΐ, ἡμέρα μία. Τίνος ἕνεκεν οὐκ εἶπε **πρώτην**, ἀλλὰ **μίαν**; καίτοιγε ἀκολουσσότερον ἦν τὸν μέλλοντα ἐπάγειν δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην ἡμέραν, τὴν κατὰ-ρχουσαν τῶν ἐφεξῆς πρώτην προσαγορεῦσαι.

ლი დღისად...

და იყო მწუხრი და იყო განთიად. დღესა მას ერთსა ღამითურთ მისით უწოდა დღე, და არა უწოდა დღე და ღამე, არამედ მისცა სახელის-დებად მძლესა მას. და ესე ჩუელებად იპოვების ყოველთა შინა წიგნთა რაცხვასა შინა ჟამთასა, რამეთუ აღირაცხვიან დღენი და არა თუ ღამენი დღეთა თანა...

და იყო მწუხრი და იყო განთიადი **დღე იგი ერთი**. რაღსათჳს არა თქუა. „იყო **დღე იგი პირველი**“, არამედ თქუა: „იყო **დღე იგი ერთი**?“ და შეჰკავს მისა, რომელი-იგი იტყოდის...⁴⁷

mentioned the end of the day...

And it was the evening and it was the morning. [The Scripture] called the day that day with the night, and did not call day and night, but gave a designation to the superior: a custom which you will find throughout the Scripture when measuring the time, because the measure of time is counted by days, and not by nights with days...

And it was the evening and it was the morning: day one. Why does [the Scripture] not say “it was the first day”? but said “it was day one” Before speaking to us of...

As we can see, at first the translator cites Genesis 1.5 from one Georgian version of the Bible – *და იყო მწუხრი და იყო განთიადი, დღე იგი პირველი* (*And it was the evening and it was the morning: the first day*), while later, when rendering the passage in which Basil explains why the first day is referred to as “one,” he offers a different translation of the same Biblical passage – *და იყო მწუხრი და იყო განთიადი, დღე იგი ერთი* (*And it was the evening and it was the morning: one day*).

⁴⁷ Here the manuscript discontinues, the end of Chapter 2 and the beginning of Chapter 3 are lost.

What conclusions can we draw? I think this can be interpreted as a case where the translator creates a new version of Genesis 1.5 by considering a very important exegetical work.⁴⁸ If so, it can be argued that the anonymous translator of Basil the Great's *Hexaemeron* remains extremely faithful to the Georgian version of the Bible available to him and makes revisions only out of sheer necessity.⁴⁹ This loyalty allows us to assume that elsewhere he cites the existing Georgian version of the Holy Scriptures without any changes, which in turn suggests that the Biblical verses quoted in the earlier Georgian translation of the *Hexaemeron*, should have been taken from one of the earliest Georgian recensions of the Bible (naturally, excluding the cases when the translator follows Basil the Great's paraphrases or abridgements of Biblical quotations, applied by the exegete for highlighting a particular word or idea). This is especially important if we bear in mind that the Biblical passages cited in the Georgian versions of the *Hexaemeron* are not fully identical with the text of any hitherto known Georgian recension. As concerns Giorgi the Hagiorite's translation of the *Hexaemeron*, Genesis 1.5 as he cited, follows the recension to which all the surviving Georgian Biblical manuscripts have been assigned.⁵⁰

Thus, the preliminary research findings suggest that the two Old Georgian translations of Basil the Great's *Hexaemeron* quote passages from the Georgian version of the Bible that is very close to the text included in the lectionaries and can be assigned to the Oshki text type. Thus, if we take into consideration that the anonymous translator of Basil's *Hexaemeron* demonstrates extreme fidelity to the Old Georgian version of

⁴⁸ The method of revising the existing version of a Biblical text by considering exegetical literature is discussed in my article in which, along with other examples, I also analyze Genesis 1.5. See Mchedlidze 2019, 8-9.

⁴⁹ A similar approach in quoting Genesis 1.5 can be observed in some translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron* into European languages. For an example of faithfulness to an authoritative version of the Bible, see an English translation of Basil's work by B. Jackson (1895).

⁵⁰ Giorgi uses the same recension of Genesis 1.5 in his translation of Gregory of Nyssa's *Apology*, where the use of "day one" („ἡμέρα") instead of "the first day" is likewise highlighted (Chelidze 1989, 209-210, 217).

the Bible available to him, I believe there is a sufficient ground to assume that Biblical passages that are not identical with the texts of the lectionaries may be taken from the archetype of the Oshki Bible (which would enable us to reconstruct its lost part). This assumption is prompted by a number of lexical, grammatical and stylistic parallels found in the texts under consideration. However, final conclusions can be drawn only after a comprehensive study of the texts, which will also enable us to establish if the Biblical passages present in the Georgian translations of Hexaemeron works are relevant for the critical edition of the Georgian version of the Bible.

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THE CITIES OF THE GREEK EAST AFTER THE FIRST MITHRIDATIC WAR. ASPECTS OF SULLA'S FINANCIAL POLICY

SIMONE RENDINA

Abstract. The military results of Sulla's war against Mithridates were inconclusive. Appian overlooked this fact, probably because his narrative of this war very much relied on the memoirs of Sulla himself or on a source that emphasized Sulla's point of view. For the same reason, Appian did not really stress the harsh effects of the fines that Sulla imposed on many cities of the Greek East after the war. On the other hand, the end of the First Mithridatic War did contribute to the establishment of good relations among the Romans and notables from the Greek East, as has recently been claimed. By analyzing these facts, this paper reconstructs the aftermath of the First Mithridatic War and thus contributes to the reflections on the interaction between Rome and the Greek East.

1. SULLA AND MITHRIDATES IN THE SOURCES

Appian's narrative of the First Mithridatic War (88-85 B.C.) terminates with his description of the conditions of the cities of Asia Minor. He also describes the measures Lucius Cornelius Sulla took in order to punish the cities that had been disloyal towards Rome before and during that war. Appian also records that Sulla gave a speech in Ephesus shortly after the end of the war, in the winter of 85-84 B.C., which was

addressed to the most important citizens of the cities that had betrayed Rome.¹

The cities that were not punished were, of course, those cities that had been allied to Rome during the conflict, and, in some cases, had been punished by Mithridates for their loyalty to Rome. These cities were Ilium, Chios, the cities of Lycia, Rhodes, and Magnesia. To all these cities, Sulla granted freedom and the *φιλία* of the Roman people.² Sulla also took measures in order to restore the social order, which had been overturned by Mithridates, who had freed all the slaves in the cities of Asia Minor (App. *Mith.* 9.61). Sulla's speech (App. *Mith.* 9.62) is immediately followed, in Appian's text, by the description of the consequences of the measures taken by Sulla in Asia Minor (*Mith.* 9.63).

Having settled the affairs of Asia, Sulla bestowed freedom on the inhabitants of Ilium, Chios, Lycia, Rhodes, Magnesia, and some others, either as a reward for their cooperation, or a recompense for what they had suffered from their loyalty to him, and inscribed them as friends of the Roman people. [...] After this a proclamation was sent around commanding the principal citizens to come to Ephesus on a certain day to meet Sulla. When they had assembled

¹ For Sulla's speech in Ephesus, see Campanile 2003; Santangelo 2007, 57, 107; Thein 2014, 172; Eckert 2016, 112. For the Ephesians' allegiance to Mithridates during the initial phase of the First Mithridatic War and their eventual punishment by Sulla, see Mastrocinque 1999b, 89; Santangelo 2007, 108; Coudry and Kirbihler 2010, 50. According to Santangelo (2007, 117, 120-121) and Coudry and Kirbihler (2010, 1, 20-22, 33, 78), Sulla formulated a *Lex Cornelia*, which was aimed at reorganising the province of Asia, shortly after that war.

² App. *Mith.* 9.61: ἡ συμμαχίας ἀμειβόμενος, ἢ ὧν διὰ προθυμίαν ἐπεπόνθεσαν οὐ ἔνεκα, ἐλευθέρους ἠφίει καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέγραφε φίλους. ("Sulla bestowed freedom [...], either as a reward for their cooperation, or a recompense for what they had suffered from their loyalty to him, and inscribed them as friends of the Roman people"). All translations from Appian in this paper are by H. White. See Dowling 2000, 319, 330; Santangelo 2007, 108; Eckert 2016, 112. The aforementioned city of Magnesia was Magnesia ad Sipylum: see Mastrocinque 1999b, 88; Santangelo 2007, 108.

Sulla addressed them from the tribune as follows: "We first came to Asia with an army when Antiochus, king of Syria, was despoiling you. We drove him out and fixed the boundaries of his dominions beyond the river Halys and Mount Taurus. [...] I shall only impose upon you the taxes of five years, to be paid at once, together with what the war has cost me, and whatever else may be spent in settling the affairs of the province. I will apportion these charges to each of you according to cities, and will fix the time of payment. Upon the disobedient I shall visit punishment as upon enemies." After he had thus spoken Sulla apportioned the fine to the delegates and sent men to collect the money. The cities, oppressed by poverty, borrowed it at high rates of interest and mortgaged their theatres, their gymnasiums, their walls, their harbours, and every other scrap of public property, being urged on by the soldiers with contumely. Thus was the money collected and brought to Sulla. The province of Asia had her fill of misery (App. *Mith.* 9.61-63).

This passage is key to understanding Roman imperialism, especially its economic aspects.³ Sulla tried to explain the reasons for the Roman expansion and its economic consequences on Asia Minor, by taking into account the age from the Treaty of Apamea (188 B.C.) until the age in which he was living. The Roman authorities are shown to have been very positive towards Asia Minor, where they established solid political and social conditions. Sulla's attitude towards his audience, however, had him overlook some ambiguous aspects of the Roman conquests in that area. For example, he did not mention the fact (of which we are aware through Polybius) that the concession of Lycia to Rhodes was interpreted differently by the inhabitants of Lycia and Rhodes.⁴ While the Rhodians had been convinced that Lycia belonged to them until the end of the Third Mace-

³ Another key document is the text of the speech that Sulla is supposed to have addressed to Mithridates (App. *Mith.* 8.57-58), which narrates the Romans' initial decision not to administer Phrygia, Mithridates' aggressive foreign policy (aimed at destroying the Roman power), his liberation of slaves and cancellation of debts, and his massacre of the Romans and Italians.

⁴ Polyb. 22.5.1-10.

donian War, Sulla declared in his speech that the Lycians had been freed by the Romans very soon. This is what Sulla declared in the speech he gave in Ephesus, as far as the Treaty of Apamea and later events were concerned:

We did not retain possession of you when you had become our subjects instead of his, but set you free, except that we awarded a few places to Eumenes and the Rhodians, our allies in the war, not as tributaries (ὑποτελεῖς), but as clients (ἐπὶ προστάταις). A proof of this is that when the Lycians complained of the Rhodians we freed them from the authority of Rhodes (App. *Mith.* 9.62).⁵

As recorded by Appian (*Mith.* 9.62), the Romans inflicted a collective punishment, i.e. upon each one of the rebel cities (κοινήν). However, each city had to undergo a different treatment (διαιρήσω δὲ ταῦθ' ἐκάστοις ἐγὼ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ τάξω προθεσμίαν ταῖς ἐσφοραῖς). Sulla's measures generally consisted of forcing the cities to pay five years of taxes. Those taxes had to be paid *αὐτίκα* ("at once"). In addition, the cities had to compensate in monetary terms for the cost of the war against Mithridates to Sulla (τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην, ὅση τε γέγονέ μοι), and for whatever the establishment of the province might cost (καὶ ἔσται καθισταμένῳ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα).

In Appian's text, the end of the First Mithridatic War is presented as a crucial moment as well as being a perfect opportunity to draw conclusions on Roman policy in the Greek East.⁶ Appian was not the only historian who had this attitude towards this historical event. Cicero also considered Sulla's policy in the Greek East as a turning point in the relations between Rome and the eastern provinces, as is demonstrated by a passage from *De officiis* (2.26-27), where Sulla's policy is presented as the end of the previous form of dependence of the rest of

⁵ For the loyalty of Rhodes to the Romans, see Santangelo 2007, 31.

⁶ From this point of view, these passages by Appian can be compared to Mithridates' letter to King Arsaces, in Sall. *Hist.* 4.69 M. This is another summary of the key events of the Roman expansion before the First Mithridatic War. This text, too, especially refers to the conditions of Asia Minor. For the ideological aspects of Mithridates' hostility towards the Romans, see Gabba 1990, 213-215.

the world on Rome (*patrocinium*) and as the beginning of a new and stronger form of command (*imperium*).

The consequences of Sulla's fiscal policy were soon clear: the cities, oppressed by poverty, obtained loans with a very high interest rate from moneylenders and mortgaged the public buildings, due to the pressure exerted by the soldiers (App. *Mith.* 9.63).

Appian's source for the information he gave in these passages is not known with certainty. The part of *Mithridaticus* dedicated to Sulla's expedition possibly owes much material to Sulla's memoirs, or to some historian who was sympathetic towards Sulla, such as Sisenna.⁷ The speeches that Sulla gave to Archelaus, Mithridates' general, and to Mithridates himself (App. *Mith.* 54, 57), are self-legitimizing, especially in the passages that raised some questions concerning Sulla's own legal status in Asia Minor.

Another important expression of an attitude in favour of Sulla is the way Appian narrates some events involving Gaius Flavius Fimbria. Fimbria was an enemy of Sulla. At first, Appian presents him as a skilled and willing collaborator of Lucius Valerius Flaccus, who had been chosen as the leader of the expedition against Mithridates, and who was a supporter of Gaius Marius (*Mith.* 8.51). Fimbria also accomplished some successful military operations (*Mith.* 8.52). However, later his ambitions got the better of him.⁸ Using a source favourable to Sulla, Appian presents Fimbria as if he had been the killer of Flaccus, and as if he had usurped Flaccus' role in the expedition against Mithridates (*Mith.* 8.52). On the other hand, Livy and Strabo seem to be more favourable to Fimbria, and stress the fact that he held a formal office. He was Lucius Valerius Flaccus' *legatus*, according to Livy (*Per.* 82), and he was his *quaestor*, according to Strabo (13.1.27 = 594).⁹

Before Gaius Flavius Fimbria died, his behaviour became somewhat undignified: he was forced to ask for help from his soldiers, one by one, and to persuade them to "fight against their fellow-citizens" (App. *Mith.*

⁷ For this problem, see Mastrocinque 1999a, 59-75.

⁸ See Santangelo 2007, 33, for Fimbria's feats and his eventual failure.

⁹ See Mastrocinque 1999a, 60.

9.59). He also paid a slave in order to have Sulla assassinated. Finally, Fimbria committed suicide. Sulla did not insult Fimbria's corpse, but rather treated it respectfully – contrary to what Cinna and Marius did to the corpses of their dead enemies (*App. Mith.* 9.60).

Appian thus makes Sulla appear as the only true hero of the expedition against Mithridates. In his heroism, Sulla also had to bear the destruction of his own properties and the murder of his own friends in Rome, in addition to being declared a public enemy of the Roman people (*Mith.* 8.51).

Appian's narrative of Sulla's siege and storming of Athens in 86 B.C. shows similar features to those mentioned above with regard to his treatment of the cities of Asia: Sulla did slaughter many of its inhabitants, but also pardoned the rest of them; he allowed the soldiers to plunder Athens, but forbade the burning of the city (*App. Mith.* 6.38-39).¹⁰ According to Appian, Sulla's punishment of Athens was not excessive.

The chapters of Appian's *Mithridaticus* concerning Sulla's war against Mithridates are, overall, an attempt to eliminate the blame that could have been put on Sulla because he had seized the command of the war from the followers of Marius, and he had thus prevented them from ending the war and vanquishing Mithridates.¹¹ Sources also record that after the Peace of Dardanos (85 B.C.) it was presumed that a new war was approaching.¹² Sulla's obstructionism was especially clear when

¹⁰ For the siege and sack of Athens by Sulla, see Thein 2014, 170-171; Eckert 2016, 86-102; Kuin 2018, 617, 634 ("Appian does not emphasize the looting that took place after the siege of Athens").

¹¹ Santangelo 2007, 8: "Sulla's decision was by no means ill-founded. He needed to hasten his return to Italy and to concentrate his energies on the imminent confrontation with his enemies." (See also p. 117); Thein 2014, 176-177; Eckert 2016, 115.

¹² See Sall. *Hist.* 1.32 M: *Quis rebus Sulla suspectis maximeque ferocia regis Mithridatis in tempore bellaturi*. Flor. 1.40.3.11: *Et debellatum foret, nisi de Mithridate triumphare cito, quam vere maluisset*. In the first case, it would be interesting to ascertain whether Sallust was using documents written immediately after the First Mithridatic War or his observation was simply *ex eventu*. See Mastrocinque 1999a, 64. Will (1979-1982, II: 485) seems to overestimate the extent of

Mithridates was caught up in a siege in Pitane by Fimbria, and Sulla interrupted the siege.¹³ Sulla also needed to justify his quick return to Italy, where the civil war was about to reignite. He thus hurriedly agreed with Mithridates on a peace, the terms of which were very favourable to the King.¹⁴ On the other hand, leniency towards Mithridates may have been justified by the fact that the Romans (especially Manius Aquilius) were also responsible for the outbreak of the war.¹⁵

While Plutarch (*Sull.* 24.7) claims Sulla's soldiers made a complaint about the lightness of Mithridates' punishment, Appian seems to justify Sulla's attitude towards Mithridates, by highlighting the impossibility of Sulla conducting the war until Mithridates' final defeat. Appian stresses the fact that Sulla managed to accomplish several military operations in Asia Minor against all odds: "Sulla had no ships; [...] his enemies at Rome had sent him no money, nor anything else, but had declared him an outlaw" (*App. Mith.* 54).¹⁶

Plutarch was an author who stressed the negative effects of Sulla's economic innovations. Plutarch notes Sulla's ruthlessness and highlights the economic consequences of Sulla's punishment of the cities of Asia Minor. As *Plut. Sull.* 25.4-5 records, "Sulla imposed upon Asia a

Sulla's victory: "Paix coûteuse pour Mithridate, obligé d'accepter toutes les conditions de Sulla, à savoir, pour l'essentiel, l'évacuation de tout ce qu'il avait conquis en Asie Mineure."

¹³ *Liv. Per.* 83: *Fl. Fimbria in Asia fuisis proelio aliquot praefectis Mithridatis urbem Pergamum cepit obsessumque regem non multum afuit quin caperet. Urbem Ilium, quae se potestati Syllae reservabat, expugnavit ac delevit et magnam partem Asiae recepit.* Although Livy here seems to acknowledge Fimbria's valour, he had previously defined him as a *ultimae audaciae homo* (*Per.* 82). Cf. *App. Mith.* 8.52 on Mithridates being sieged in Pitane and on his escape to Mytilene. See *Plut. Sert.* 23.6 on Fimbria's reconquest of Asia; *Plut. Sull.* 23; and *Oros.* 6.2.9.

¹⁴ In addition, as *Plut. Sull.* 23.1-5 mentions, Sulla was accused of giving 10,000 *plethra* to Mithridates in Euboea and the title of friend and ally of the Romans shortly before the Peace of Dardanos.

¹⁵ For the relations between Rome and Mithridates until 89 B.C., see Harris 1979, 273.

¹⁶ See also *App. Mith.* 56 for some difficulties Sulla overcame during the expedition.

collective (κοινῆ) fine of 20,000 talents and ruined the private patrimonies of individuals with the arrogance and rapacity of the soldiers who were lodged at their houses. Every master of a house was forced to pay to his lodger four tetradrachms every day and feed him and any friends that the lodger decided to invite. On the other hand, an official had to receive fifty drachmae, clothes for staying at home, and clothes for going out to the square.”

This passage is crucial for understanding the quantitative data of the financial punishment inflicted upon the Greeks of Asia Minor. This sum of money is also confirmed by other passages in Plutarch’s *Lucullus* at 4.1 (“once peace had been established, Mithridates sailed to the Euxine Pontus, while Sulla fined Asia 20,000 talents”) and at 20.4 (“that debt originated from the 20,000 talents of the fine that Sulla imposed on Asia. Twice as much was paid to moneylenders, who had already raised the sum to 120,000 talents, due to the interest”). In the latter chapter, Plutarch describes the disastrous conditions of the province of Asia due to the unethical practices of the moneylenders (*Luc.* 20.1-2).

Exactly why 20,000 talents had to be paid is still an open issue. It is not clear whether the sum of 20,000 talents mentioned by Plutarch included both the arrears of the missing years of taxes (corresponding to the First Mithridatic War, 88-85 B.C.) plus the indemnity of the cost of the war, or just the indemnity alone.¹⁷ In any case, this sum was extremely high compared to the war reparations that Rome forced other defeated enemies to pay: for example, at the end of the Second Punic War, Carthage was forced to pay the Romans 3,200 talents, 1,000 of which had to be paid immediately;¹⁸ the indemnity Antiochus III had to pay according to the Treaty of Apamea consisted of 15,000 talents.¹⁹

¹⁷ This discussion was quite intense between the 19th and the 20th centuries, and was summarized by Rostovtzeff 1966-1980, III: chap. 7, 17 n. 30. For the financial implications of the reconquest of Asia Minor by Sulla, see Mastrocinque 1999b, 87; Santangelo 2007, 5, 58, 111-112, 114, 124, 227; Thein 2014, 183; Eckert 2016, 116-117; Delrieux 2010, para. 8-9.

¹⁸ Polyb. 1.62.8-9; 1.63.3; 3.27.5.

¹⁹ Polyb. 21.43.19; Liv. 38.38.

Mithridates, who bore the greatest responsibility for the war, was also forced to pay a fine according to the terms of the Peace of Dardanos (85 B.C.). According to Plutarch, it was 2,000 talents, namely one-tenth of the sum that the whole province of Asia had to pay. In addition, Mithridates had to leave Asia and to deliver seventy ships (Plut. *Sull.* 22.9). The exact sum is not mentioned by Granius Licinianus. However, Granius does mention the request of delivering seventy decked ships (35.77, p. 21, ed. N. Criniti), which seems in line with what Plutarch reported. As B. Scardigli rightly observes in her commentary on this passage by Granius, the sum reported by Plutarch (2,000 talents) appears to be very low, as the island of Chios had been asked for the same amount by Mithridates during the war (App. *Mith.* 47).²⁰

The historian Memnon of Heraclea tells a slightly different story and mentions a fine that Mithridates had to pay consisting of 3,000 talents and 80 ships.²¹ Whether Plutarch or Memnon is right, the sum that Mithridates had to pay was very low compared to the much higher sum that Sulla made the cities of Asia Minor give to the Romans.²² In fact, Mithridates had much greater leverage than the cities. Since the results of the war were still inconclusive, Mithridates' agreement was crucial for stopping the war, while the cities had much less bargaining power. Since the war was not over yet and Sulla tried to make the most of his temporary military superiority, it is perhaps difficult to suppose that he subjected the cities of Asia to a planned and consistent financial policy.²³

²⁰ Scardigli 1983, ad loc.

²¹ *FGrHist* 434 F 1.25: βεβαιωθῆναι δὲ Μιθριδάτη τοῦ Πόντου παντὸς τὴν βασιλείαν, παρασχεῖν δὲ ἰδίως Σύλλα τριήρεις π' καὶ τάλαντα τρισχίλια πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρῶμην κάθοδον ("that the kingdom of Pontos in its entirety would be secured for Mithridates, that Mithridates would provide specifically to Sulla eighty triremes and three thousand talents for his own return to Rome from exile." Trans. Keaveney and Madden). See Eckert 2016, 115, 119.

²² Santangelo 2007, 114.

²³ For the Romans' attitude towards the future (on which their ability to conduct a consistent economic policy would depend), see Shaw 2019.

At first, before the final terms of the Peace of Dardanos were decided, Sulla proposed to Archelaus that Mithridates should indemnify all the expenses of the war (App. *Mith.* 55). The final agreement, however, was far more favourable towards Mithridates. In fact, the Peace of Dardanos was a private agreement and its terms were never written down, nor was the Peace formally ratified in Rome by the Senate, due to Sulla's exceptional position of power (App. *Mith.* 64)²⁴. Sulla's unorthodox control of Asia Minor, which was pacified by means of unofficial agreements, might thus have allowed the Roman winners to arbitrarily collect tributes and reimbursements. The Roman soldiers' dissatisfaction with the light punishment of Mithridates (Plut. *Sull.* 24.7) was balanced by the leeway they had in Asia Minor after the war. It was, of course, Sulla who gave them this freedom of action (Plut. *Sull.* 25.4-5).

2. SULLA AND THE CITIES OF THE GREEK EAST

The economy of the cities of Asia Minor was heavily damaged after the First Mithridatic War. Lucius Cornelius Sulla needed large sums of money in order to conduct the upcoming civil war, and to satisfy the needs of his soldiers.²⁵

Tax collection was generally farmed out to *publicani*. However, there are no witnesses to the presence of *publicani* in Asia Minor immediately after the conflict ended. There is actually no mention of *publicani* in Plutarch or in Appian (in *Mith.* 9.63, there is just a reference to the pressure exerted by the soldiers in order to obtain the money, *σὺν ἕβρει στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων*). A heavy load of taxes and fines was imposed on a large number of cities, with the exception of Ilion, Chios, the cities of Lycia,

²⁴ *πρόεσβεισιν αὐτοῦ, τὰς συνθήκας προτείνουσιν, οὐκ ἔφη συνθήκας ὄραν· οὐ γὰρ συνεγέγραπτο Σύλλας, ἀλλ' ἔργω τὰ λεχθέντα βεβαιώσας ἀπήλλακτο.* ("When the [king's] ambassadors appealed to the treaty he replied that he saw no treaty; for Sulla had not written it out, but had gone away after seeing what he proposed orally carried out in fact"). See Kallet-Marx 1995, 263; Santangelo 2007, 114 n. 31.

²⁵ See Campanile 1996.

Rhodes, and Magnesia,²⁶ along with those cities that had acquired freedom and *immunitas* and which are mentioned by Cicero.²⁷

As mentioned above, the Greek cities initially had to pay 20,000 talents to the Romans. This sum ended up being multiplied by six in the following years, due to the interest to be paid to moneylenders, until it became 120,000 talents (Plut. *Luc.* 20.4). Meanwhile, as already mentioned, Mithridates had to pay only 2,000 talents: thus, the cities had to pay a much higher sum than Mithridates. The distress of the Greeks was great, as Plutarch observed (*Luc.* 20.1-2).

The reason why Sulla did not ask for the help of the *publicani* in order to collect taxes in Asia Minor is not completely clear. P. A. Brunt argued that a basic aspect of the Roman economy, such as the activity of the tax-farmers, was impossible to eliminate.²⁸ It would thus be unlikely that Sulla excluded the *publicani* from collecting taxes in Asia Minor due to his hostility towards the equestrian order, to which the *publicani* generally belonged. It seems probable that during the Asiatic Vespers of 88 B.C., many of these tax-farmers were assassinated, and that many others escaped from Asia Minor. However, the *publicani* were temporarily replaced by the Roman soldiers billeted in the province.²⁹

Inscriptions provide a *terminus ante quem* for the return of the tax-farmers to Asia Minor, as the *locatio* of *vectigalia* to the *publicani* is mentioned in the *Senatus consultum de Asclepiade Clazomenio sociisque* of 78 B.C. (line 16 of the Latin text = line 23 of the Greek text).³⁰ Another tes-

²⁶ See Campanile 1996.

²⁷ Cic. *Off.* 3.87: *quas civitates L. Sulla pecunia accepta ex senatus consulto liberavisset, ut eae rursus vectigales essent*. See Mastrocinque 1999b; Eckert 2016, 113-114. One of these cities was Smyrne according to Mastrocinque 1999b, 89-92.

²⁸ Brunt 1956.

²⁹ For the Asiatic Vespers, see Santangelo 2007, 5, 32; Bowersock 2013, 378; Kuin 2018, 617. For the absence of *publicani* in Asia Minor after the First Mithridatic War, see Mastrocinque 1999b, 87; Santangelo 2007, 113, 124.

³⁰ See Brunt 1956, 21; Raggi 2001; Santangelo 2007, 56. The city of Clazomenae, from which Asclepiades came, had already been subject to Rome before the war, and remained in that condition after Sulla's reconquest of Asia Minor: see Santangelo 2007, 122.

timony to this event is provided by a passage written by Memnon of Heraclea on the presence of Roman *publicani* in Bithynia in 74 B.C. (*FGrHist* 434 F 1.27.5-6).

Although the people of the province of Asia (not including Mithridates) were the scapegoat for the First Mithridatic War, not every city and social class was punished by Sulla. There were two kinds of favourable conditions: those attributed to certain cities, and, as F. Santangelo observed, there were individual members of the social strata who had prestige and managed to reach privileges and high positions through their connection to Roman magistrates,³¹ for example, Asclepiades and his *socii* in the already mentioned *Senatus consultum de Asclepiade*. Asclepiades and his associates managed to obtain fiscal immunity and judicial privileges in the difficult years following the First Mithridatic War, even though they were never awarded the Roman citizenship.³²

However, a prejudice against the Greeks of Asia was still alive in the following decades. J. Thornton has stressed the lasting influence of the attitude of Cicero, who in the *Pro Flacco*, separated the Greeks who had supported Mithridates from those who had fought against him. This was a way of making some of them feel guilty for their fellow citizens' crimes and thus making them more submissive towards Rome.³³ The followers of Mithridates were presented as members of the lower classes, and his enemies as members of the upper classes. This enabled Cicero to be gracious towards the inhabitants of Asia Minor who were his personal allies, and to accuse his personal enemies of having been the accomplices of Mithridates in the Asiatic Vespers.³⁴ This was probably not the case, since also most of the Greek elites initially saw Mithridates as a liberator, and were later let down by him, especially when he started cancelling their borrowers' debts and freeing their slaves.

³¹ Santangelo 2007, 65, 128, 132.

³² Santangelo 2007, 56.

³³ Thornton 1998, 291ff.; Santangelo 2007, 126.

³⁴ See, for example, Cic. *Flac.* 52, 57-60.

Many members of the upper classes who initially supported Mithridates were based in Magnesia, Ephesus, and Mytilene.³⁵ The attitude of some communities towards Mithridates was mixed. Pergamon was initially pro-Mithridatic.³⁶ A plot against Mithridates later took place in that city.³⁷ However, in the same city there also lived a man called Mithridates of Pergamon, who had been initially educated at the court of Mithridates and was considered to be his illegitimate son, but would later become a supporter of the Romans and a friend of Julius Caesar.³⁸ Pergamon was also the capital of Mithridates' reign in Asia Minor, and was his shelter during a critical phase of his first war against the Romans.³⁹

Sulla's reaction to the Greek communities depended on whether they had supported Mithridates or fought against him. Some cities received favours and fiscal privileges in return for their loyalty during the war; Rhodes, for instance, obtained the city of Caunos back from the Romans.⁴⁰ The finances of Stratonicea had been heavily damaged during the First Mithridatic War (App. *Mith.* 3.21, 12.82). However, Stratonicea was helped in recovering the goods lost during the war by a *senatus consultum* (RDGE 18, ll. 60-63; 114-118). Ilion, Chios, the cities of Lycia, and Magnesia were freed again and obtained the friendship of the Roman people (App. *Mith.* 9.61). In particular, Chios received proof of Sulla's benevolence through the concession of freedom and autonomy, even as far as judicial matters were concerned.⁴¹ Ilion had been severely damaged by Gaius Flavius Fimbria during the conflict between him and Sulla (App. *Mith.* 8.53). The privileged treatment of

³⁵ App. *Mith.* 21; SIG³ 742 of 85 B.C., ll. 9-14.

³⁶ For the punishment of Pergamon by Sulla, see Santangelo 2007, 60.

³⁷ App. *Mith.* 48.

³⁸ Str. 13.4.3 = 625c; *BAlex.* 78.1-2. See Arrayás Morales 2010, 383; Bowersock 2013, 380.

³⁹ Plut. *Sull.* 11; App. *Mith.* 52.

⁴⁰ Cic. *QFr.* 1.1.33; Str. 14.2.3 = 651. Caunos had been a point of contention since the end of the Third Macedonian War. For Rome's treatment of Caunos, see Delrieux 2010, para. 4, 11.

⁴¹ See SIG³ 785.

Ilion by the Romans, however, may have also been encouraged for cultural reasons, such as the Trojan legend and its connection with Rome. However, in around 70 B.C., Ilion was still not in a good economic state.⁴² Finally, some other cities were treated with leniency because their leaders had given large sums of money to Sulla under the counter (*Cic. Off.* 3.87).

Some favours bestowed by the Romans were justified by cultural or religious aspects. For example, Sulla aided the *technitai* of Dionysus (artists devoted to Dionysus) in Ionia and in the Hellespont (in around 84-81 B.C.) with tax exemptions.⁴³ Sulla also rewarded some temples, such as that of Hecate at Lagina, near Stratonicea, in Caria, to which he attributed the *asyllia*.⁴⁴ However, the region of Caria had in any case generally been loyal to Rome.⁴⁵ Another sanctuary that Sulla was magnanimous towards was the temple of Daulis, in Phocaea.⁴⁶ But not all the temples received such treatment. In fact, the temples of Epidaurus and of Olympia in Greece were exploited by Sulla as he needed money in order to conduct the siege of Athens (86 B.C.).⁴⁷ Sulla also had a strong connection to the temple of Aphrodite in Aphrodisias, in Caria (*App. B Civ.* 1.97-98), and to that of Isis and Serapis in Mopsuestia, in Cilicia. To these two sanctuaries, Sulla had already conferred the privilege of *asyllia* during his governorship of Cilicia (96-93 B.C.).⁴⁸ Sulla also consulted the Oracle of Delphi, with which he had

⁴² See *Ivllion* 10, ll. 13-19, block A; *Ivllion* 71. For the destruction of Ilion by Fimbria and its economic conditions, see Santangelo 2007, 58; Thein 2014, 171-172, 179.

⁴³ *RDGE* 49; Le Guen 2001, 56, B, ll. 8-13.

⁴⁴ *SC de Stratonicensibus*, *RDGE* 18, ll. 113-118. See Santangelo 2007, 51.

⁴⁵ See, for example, the case of Aphrodisias in *App. B Civ.* 1.97-98; Reynolds 1982, No. 5; Marek 1988; Santangelo 2007, 130; Delrieux 2010, para. 17. For the loyalty of Caria to the Romans, see Santangelo 2007, 50.

⁴⁶ *SEG* 1.175. See Santangelo 2007, 52.

⁴⁷ *Plut. Sull.* 12, 5ff.; *App. Mith.* 54.

⁴⁸ *SEG* 44.1227. Sulla also granted full fiscal immunity to the shrine of Amphiaraios near Oropos (*RDGE* 23). See Santangelo 2007, 201ff. For Sulla's governorship of Cilicia, see Santangelo 2007, 3.

a tight relationship.⁴⁹ Sulla's attitude with regards to temples shows his complex behaviour towards the Greek world: he had as many allies in the Greek East as enemies and he presumably developed tight connections to key figures in the temples.

Jones, Thornton, and Santangelo highlighted how good relations were formed between the Greek elites and Rome after the end of the First Mithridatic War.⁵⁰ Inscriptions show that during the following decades many Greek notables, who were sent on diplomatic missions to the Roman senate and to Roman magistrates, often obtained financial concessions for their own cities.

Because of the harsh financial measures that Sulla imposed on the cities of Asia, the members of the elites in Asia Minor needed to forge connections with members of the Roman elite and thus seek support. In the years between the Peace of Dardanos and the Third Mithridatic War, there was indeed an "intense diplomatic activity directed by Asia to Rome and the Roman magistrates in the province."⁵¹ One aspect that is generally not emphasized, however, is that at least one of the people who was sent to Rome as an envoy, i.e. Xenocles of Adramyttium, was accused of being sympathetic towards Mithridates (μιθριδατισμός) since he defended the cities of Asia Minor in the Roman Senate. In fact, Xenocles is known from a passage of Strabo who mentioned Xenocles' speech in the Senate in defence of the cities of Asia Minor and in defence against the accusations he had received

⁴⁹ Santangelo 2007, 50, 52, 207-209.

⁵⁰ For the Roman patronage of Greek communities after the First Mithridatic War and the local elites' increasing search for support of the members of the Roman elite, see Jones 1974, 204-205; Thornton 1998, 302; Santangelo 2007, 65, 128, 132; Arrayás Morales 2010; Delrieux 2010, para. 17, 20-23.

⁵¹ Jones 1974, 203. One example that sheds light on the attitude of the Greek elites towards the Romans in that period is that of Diodorus Paspáros. For Diodorus, see Jones 1974; Virgilio 1994; Jones 2000; Santangelo 2007, 61; Arrayás Morales 2010, 379-381; Coudry and Kirbihler 2010, para. 44. Before Jones' article (1974), it was still debated whether Diodorus began to be active after the First Mithridatic War, or much earlier, i.e. shortly after the Romans' war against Aristonicus of Pergamon.

(Str. 13.1.66 = 614). Xenocles is also mentioned as a former teacher of rhetoric of Cicero (a few years after the end of the First Mithridatic War) in the latter's *Brutus* (316). What we know about Xenocles highlights once again the type of connections that formed between Rome and the Greeks of Asia Minor after the First Mithridatic War. The Romans ultimately developed good relations with the Greeks, although the diplomacy between Greeks and Romans was sometimes damaged by the suspicion many Romans had of the Greeks, as a long-term consequence of the massacre that had happened in the Asiatic Vespers, as demonstrated by Cicero's *Pro Flacco*.⁵²

Another case of members of the elites in Asia Minor going to Rome as ambassadors is that of Diodorus Zonas, an orator who "many times defended Asia, and at the time of the attack of King Mithridates was accused of trying to provoke a rebellion against Mithridates by the cities; however, he defended himself and was exonerated from the calumnies."⁵³ It is possible that this orator provoked an insurgence against Mithridates because he had always been a supporter of the Romans.⁵⁴ In the Greek East, in any case, being connected to Mithridates would later become the proof of the prestige that could be displayed by Greek notables along with one's good relations to the Romans, as G. W. Bowersock has recently demonstrated with regards to Strabo's narrative of his own family history.⁵⁵

The First Mithridatic War thus contributed to creating solid relations between the Roman elites and many members of the Greek elites of Asia Minor, who were also the envoys of their own cities. Secondly, the results obtained by the Romans during the First Mithridatic War were still inconclusive, although Appian's *Μιθριδάτειος* overlooks

⁵² In the *Pro Flacco*, Cicero exploited the suspicion of *μιθριδατισμός* in order to accuse the Greeks of committing crimes, as we have already seen above.

⁵³ Str. 13.4.9 = 628.

⁵⁴ The source of much of this information is Strabo's *Geography*. Strabo's family had been tightly connected to the dynasty of Mithridates VI Eupator. See Bowersock 2013, 380, 383; Kuin 2017.

⁵⁵ Bowersock 2013, 380, 383-384.

this fact, probably because it derives from Sulla's own memoirs or from a source favourable to him.

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ANATOMICAL EX-VOTOS AS A REFLECTION OF “RELIGIOUS ROMANIZATION”? REAPPRAISING A CENTRAL ITALIAN PRACTICE

LUCA RICCI

Abstract. This article seeks to provide a new analysis for the phenomenon of anatomical votive offerings in Central Italy. Traditionally, these items’ distribution was examined in relation to Roman colonization. Simply put, the extension of Rome’s power into Central Italy and the consequent establishment of colonial settlements were thought to be the foundational causes behind the popularity of these votives. This paper debunks such a view, examining the evidence in light of production, distribution and consumption. By doing so, the failures and unsuitability of Romanocentric explanations will become apparent: namely, Rome’s centrality played a limited role at all three aforementioned levels. What the evidence highlights, instead, is a more dynamic interplay among various Central Italian settlements, further emphasizing the importance of localized decision-making. The final result is the formation of a Central Italian *koine* in which these localized strands took part.

Between the 5th and 3rd centuries B.C., Central Italy bore witness to a widespread use of anatomical votives, which are commonly referred to as Etrusco-Latinal-Campanian due to their area of distribution. These are mold-made terracotta renditions of body parts, such as heads, breasts,

wombs, arms and feet as well as figurines depicting swaddling babies and whole bodies. Usually, the increasing numbers of these objects in ritual contexts have been explained in relation to Rome's colonizing ventures, which peaked in the period between the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. Simply put, while extending its power over the Italian peninsula, Rome established a series of settlements that disseminated typically Roman material culture, among which anatomical ex-votos, also determining the spreading of Roman religious practices (hence the term "Religious Romanization").¹ Such an approach, however, presupposes a centre-to-periphery model, that does not take into consideration the wider social, cultural and political landscape of 5th-3rd century Central Italy. In this paper, I will examine the production, distribution and consumption of anatomical ex-votos in order to show that a colonization approach should be abandoned. Instead, I will demonstrate that the evidence follows a glocalizing process. Although approaches that emphasize local agency in terms of anatomical votives have been already postulated, especially by Scopacasa,² my approach differs considerably from previous studies because it emphasizes the importance of local decision-making processes by examining the "biography" of these votives, as exemplified by the aforementioned three stages. Before undertaking the analysis of the material, it is important to detail the theoretical frameworks, specifying the pitfalls of Romanization and the advantages of Glocalization. Subsequently, I will focus on production, distribution and consumption, showing that anatomical ex-votos do not indicate Romanization. Rather, they need to be studied in relation to localized/regional patterns of interaction and exchange, further influencing the formation of a Central Italian *koine*.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS: ROMANIZATION VS. GLOCALIZATION

Approaching material culture from the standpoint of Romanization means associating cultural exchange and transmission with a static centre-to-periphery model, further highlighting a dichotomy between "Roman" and "non-Roman" rather than a complexity of socio-cultural

¹ De Cazanove 2000.

² Scopacasa 2015; for a more holistic interpretation of various datasets, see Stek 2009; 2015.

layers. According to Romanization, Rome represented the fulcrum from which material culture spread to its peripheries, namely the colonies. Roman culture becomes an unchanging entity, attaching itself onto the various realities with which it comes in contact, finally supplanting them. By doing so, "Roman" becomes an oppositional category to other cultures, usually referred to as the "Other."³ Moreover, with the term "Roman," one enters an even more slippery territory since the adjective usually has a legal/administrative significance,⁴ instead of a culturally specific one. Then, it is easy to understand the main issue with this unilinear approach: cultural exchange affects all groups involved in cultural contact in a uniform manner.⁵ In this context, cultural contact necessitates a theoretical framework that treats cultures not in oppositional terms, but in relation to one another. Furthermore, Romanization is not equipped to understand the relationship between material culture and identity. In fact, like any other acculturation model, Romanization identifies an equivalence between the style of material culture and ethnocultural identity by treating cultural categories in a static fashion.⁶ Just because archaeology reveals the adoption of "Roman" objects, it does not automatically follow that people were adopting a "Roman" ethnocultural identity. As previously said, "Roman" is a legal/administrative term and not a culturally specific concept linked to identity.

Moving away from acculturation theory, I propose that Glocalization offers a more suitable approach to explain dynamics of (material) culture and identity formation. Initially conceived as a framework for modern society,⁷ nowadays Glocalization is also employed to examine ancient phenomena. The relevance of Glocalization for antiquity depends on a choice of perspective: if it pertains to a worldwide integrated economy, then Glocalization is a typically modern phenomenon; if it is conceived as a process involving the growth of human networking

³ Pitts and Versluys 2015, 5-6.

⁴ Versluys 2015, 145.

⁵ Versluys 2015, 144.

⁶ Versluys 2015, 146.

⁷ Giulianotti and Robertson 2007, 134.

between “global” and local, as I perceive it, then it can be applied also to pre-modern periods.⁸ Broadly speaking, this theory highlights how local cultures might critically react to “global” phenomena.⁹ More specifically, it emphasizes the agency and the interaction of the local, especially within the exchange of culture and subsequent production of goods. In its original setting, Glocalization dealt with economic analysis, leading Robertson to approximate it to micro-marketing.¹⁰ In this context, goods and services can be tailored according to different local situations, creating a plethora of different localized products. Thus, we understand why Glocalization’s innovative element resides in the active, determinant role that the local plays within the global.¹¹ As Swyngedouw argues, glocalizing production cannot be separated from glocalizing governance.¹² What this implies is that the production of glocalizing material culture reflects the interests of local social, cultural and political structures, which, in turn, determine the meaning of produced goods. In order to understand Glocalization, two processes need to be kept in mind: universalization and particularization. The former indicates that styles and elements specific to a certain culture detach from that culture in order to become part of a wider system; the latter specifies a movement from the universalized category toward local realities.¹³ Such an approach implies that we move away from a static ethno-cultural treatment of material culture toward a more dynamic view wherein the “biography” of objects, as seen in the production, distribution and consumption of items, informs us about the decisions made by people (social agents) at a local level.

⁸ Pitts and Versluys 2015, 13.

⁹ Giulianotti and Robertson 2007, 134.

¹⁰ Robertson 2012, 194.

¹¹ Robertson 2012, 196.

¹² Swyngedouw 1997, 159.

¹³ Versluys 2015, 155.

PRODUCTION: FROM FOREIGN STIMULI TO LOCALIZED CHOICES IN A LOCAL MARKET

Within the production of anatomical ex-votos, the early dissemination of molding techniques highlights that a centre-to-periphery model, based around Rome, does not fit with the available evidence. Between the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., there are two main centres of production, located respectively in southern Etruria and in Campania. These derived their techniques of production from the contacts with mainland Greece or southern Italy. In the case of southern Etruria, scholarship has usually given an influential role to Corinth, which had a tradition of dedicating mold-made anatomical terracotta items to the god Asklepios between the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.¹⁴ In this setting, it is interesting to see that the appearance of such production techniques in that region occurred according to modalities of cultural exchange that did not see Rome as a direct participant. Lesk, in fact, argues that anatomical ex-votos reached southern Etruria through coastal sites, such as Graviscae (Fig. 1).¹⁵ Already from the Archaic period, this settlement functioned as an *emporion* where Greek merchants transacted business. In this heterogeneous ethno-cultural landscape, religious offerings that emulated Corinthian typologies were found *in situ*,¹⁶ thus attesting the plausibility of a contact point in southern Etruria. Graviscaan votives, like their Corinthian counterparts,¹⁷ display holes that allowed the object to be hanged. Similarly, some breast votives were mounted on plaques for suspension.¹⁸ Such a treatment of objects epitomizes the transition and the adaptation of foreign forms into an Etruscan context. In the case of Campania (Fig. 2), the settlements of Neapolis – modern-day Naples – Cuma and Capua can be seen as the centres from which production techniques spread to the coast and the inner part of the region.¹⁹ Even here, the contacts with the Greek world influenced both the techniques and the

¹⁴ Glinister 2006, 16.

¹⁵ Lesk 2002, 195-196.

¹⁶ Comella 1981, 772.

¹⁷ Lesk 2002.

¹⁸ Lesk 2002, 195.

¹⁹ Bonghi Jovino 1990b, 75, 79.

models: in this case, contact did not occur with Corinth, but with the Greek cities of southern Italy. As seen from a specific representation of Artemis, known as *Artemis Sicula*, molding techniques for the production of anatomical representations became popular in Campania during the 4th century B.C. building on Syracusan prototypes (perhaps through the intermediating role of Neapolis).²⁰ In this context, a centre-to-periphery model does not explain the adoption of certain techniques and models of production. After all, we would have some problems in explaining Rome's centrality since the *Urbs* had not yet acquired a prominent political presence in Central Italy in this period. On the other hand, if we shift the attention toward a glocalizing approach, a process of universalization took place, whereby certain techniques could detach from their original setting (Greece or southern Italy) and enter a broader market.

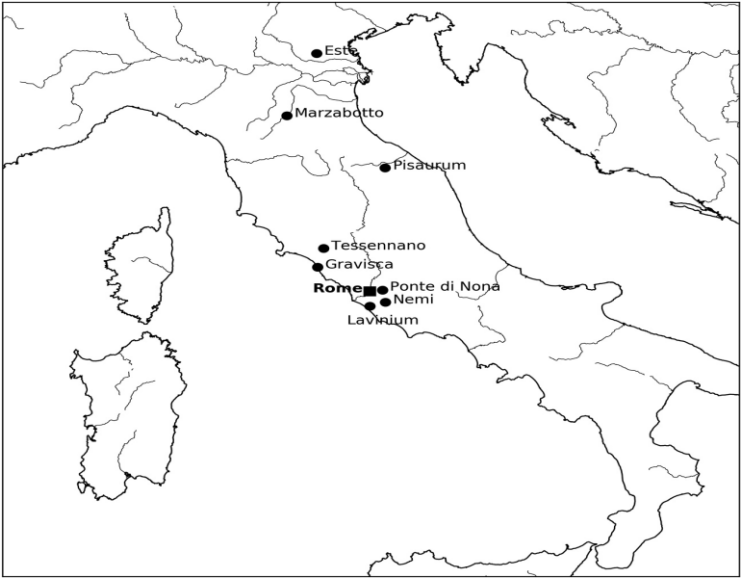


Figure 1. 5th-century presence of anatomical votives (Hughes 2017, 63).

²⁰ Scatozza Hörich 1990, 125.



Figure 2. Map of Republican Italy

<https://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/free-maps/the-romans-from-village-to-empire-2nd-edition-2011/>

From the end of the 5th century B.C., the production of anatomical votive offerings began to be influenced by localized trends, further indicating a process of particularization. In the case of southern Etruria, the production of ex-votos was carried out by indigenous people outside the colony: at Tessennano (Fig. 1), in the territory of Vulci, anatomical dedications were produced by Tuscanian workshops, which employed their own localized techniques, as seen from the addition of the veil (*capite velato*) on previously unveiled votives.²¹ In Campania, the workshops of Capua, as much as those of the other aforementioned centres, can be examined in order to ascertain the local elements in the production. In fact, it seems that from this period the Greek elements in these workshops were influenced by the employment of local natives. This social change must have been radical since, even down the centuries, written sources could still mention it: among many, Virgil (*Aen.* 7.729) and Strabo (6.1.2) describe that such an intense phenomenon of migration occurred in Campania so as to change the socio-cultural structure of settlements. Going back to production, such a change in the social tissue of workshops is often connected to inexperience, often perceived as qualitative discrepancies, visible defects of form and shape.²² This view creates a hierarchy between urbanized artisans and non-urbanized migrants, without taking into consideration the real contribution of migrants to the production of ceramics. After all, they had been practicing their own crafts, such as metallurgy and pottery making, since time immemorial.²³ It would not be entirely far-fetched to postulate the influence of their own crafts onto the production of ex-votos. Moreover, as Bonghi Jovino hints at,²⁴ these newcomers would have inevitably influenced the production of objects through their socio-cultural values: production, in fact, does not reveal only technological choices, but also a series of actions that the makers employed as indicators of their own

²¹ Söderlind 2002.

²² Bedello Tata 1990, 110.

²³ Bonghi Jovino 1990a, 35-36.

²⁴ Bonghi Jovino 1990b, 92.

cultural practices.²⁵ In the case of our body of evidence, such a socio-cultural aspect becomes even more relevant since, due to the religious and cultic nature of anatomical votives, local beliefs and piety would have played a great role in the production of items, determining certain molds and, in turn, styles. What does this localized production, both at a level of technology and meaning, tell us about a centre-periphery model, like Roman colonization? The increasing participation of local people in the production of religious objects does not justify the homogeneous view that scholars propounded for decades. Simply put, the cultural uniformity, often associated with the spreading of anatomical ex-votos, is in stark contrast with localized production, which catered for a heterogeneous set of people and, by extension, a heterogeneous set of beliefs. In this context, the production of anatomical votives underwent a process of particularization, whereby it acquired a localized character from the universalized sphere.

A closer look at the production phase sheds light on the intensification of productivity as a localized development. More specifically, the organisation of production within various settlements did not depend on Rome. Rather, it was determined by local economic dynamics. Given a conspicuous lack of evidence for Latium,²⁶ we are forced to concentrate on Campania, which provides the best attested workshops, especially those of Capua. Although scholars have postulated that molding techniques and models spread through itinerant artisans,²⁷ settlements in Campania began to witness the emergence of permanent workshops with a polyfunctional character by the end of the 5th century B.C.: they did not focus on one type of production, instead opting for a variegated range of items, which differed in economic value and artistic rendition.²⁸ In the case of Capua, the numerous anatomical terracottas, pre-

²⁵ Scopacasa 2015.

²⁶ Although see Nijboer 1998 for a detailed account of production at Satricum.

²⁷ Comella 1981. Bonghi Jovino (1990a) postulates that some of these so-called itinerant artisans could have been invited by the settlement in order to perform their craft for a certain amount of time.

²⁸ Bonghi Jovino 1990a, 46.

served at the Museo Provinciale Campano, can shed light on how these polyfunctional workshops impacted on the local production. Especially from the 4th century B.C. there was an increase in demand, which might have been accentuated by the abovementioned movements of people. According to Bedello Tata,²⁹ this increase sparked the reuse of the same molds and prototypes in order to create a varied range of items, from the production of architectonic and votive terracottas to the production of vessels, such as small vases with anatomical details (e.g. female heads). Given their polyfunctional nature, the workshops intensified production for various types of consumers. In fact, the constant reuse of matrixes would have inevitably led to their wearing down, further resulting in the production of lower quality items, destined to the lower classes.³⁰ In this context, the 4th- and 3rd-century workshops would have fitted into Stissi's conception of "workshop as a machine,"³¹ whereby the focus of the atelier was on intense, polyfunctional production. More importantly, the intensification of workshops should not be seen as emanating from Rome toward the peripheries of Central Italy. As Morel notes,³² in the 4th century B.C., colonization does not offer an encompassing explanation for the emergence of these centres of production. In Campania, colonization became more present only at the end of the 4th century B.C. Thus, moving away from this approach, he advocates for the introduction of a different concept, namely "economic influence," which takes into consideration the emergence of production centres, the adoption of techniques within a localized setting and the attention toward a localized market.

DISTRIBUTION: THE FAILURE OF ROME'S COLONIES AND THE INTERACTION AMONG LOCAL CENTRES

If we examine the distribution of anatomical votives in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., the archaeological evidence shows that a centre-to-periphery model does not account for the early manifestations of the

²⁹ Bedello Tata 1990, 98.

³⁰ Bedello Tata 1990, 109.

³¹ Stissi 2012, 210-211.

³² Morel 1988, 51.

phenomenon. Fitting into the evidence regarding production, Rome did not play any important function in the early distribution of these objects, which, instead, spread from Etruscan and Campanian centres. Let us start with the archaeological data from southern Etruria. In a votive deposit in the Campetti area near Veii (Fig. 2), a conspicuous amount of votive items, dated to the 5th century B.C. and made locally, resurfaced: slightly less than 200 heads were discovered, in small dimensions (between 7 cm and 20 cm in height).³³ Similarly, still in the proximity of Veii, numerous examples were revealed at Falerii (Fig. 2); these date to the same period and originate from Veii itself.³⁴ Outside the Veientan and Faliscan area, the 5th-century diffusion of anatomical votives did not occur in intense waves. Nevertheless, the few examples found in the rest of Central Italy, once again, seem to point to southern Etruria as the area of production. For instance, at Caere (Fig. 2), modern-day Cerveteri, 5th-century votive heads are not particularly numerous. However, one specimen presents very close parallels in type and style with one from Veii.³⁵ A similar phenomenon can be witnessed at Carseoli in modern-day Abruzzo. From a deposit containing a total of 358 finds, only four votive heads date to the 5th century B.C.³⁶ Despite this, it is interesting to note that the 5th-century examples are strictly connected with the production from Veii and Falerii: the first type, a double-faced ex-voto, derives from the same mold, which was used to produce an entire head both at Veii and Falerii;³⁷ the second type consists of a female head, which, once again, can be connected stylistically with a typology from Veii, as seen from the dimension, the headgear and the hairstyle.³⁸ If we shift the attention to Latium, 5th-century votive specimens are so scarce that it is not possible to analyse distribution patterns.³⁹ In Campania, instead, we find a different situation. The archaic

³³ Vagnetti 1971, 31-46.

³⁴ Comella 1981, 773.

³⁵ Vagnetti 1971, 35.

³⁶ Comella 1981, 773.

³⁷ Marinucci 1976, 17-18.

³⁸ Vagnetti 1971, 34-35.

³⁹ Comella 1981, 774.

heads from the votive deposit at Teanum demonstrate close stylistic affinities with the types from Veii, as explained by the intense commercial connections between southern Etruria and northern Campania during the last third of the 5th century B.C.⁴⁰ At the same time, we also find a more localized distribution, which fits into the productive landscape of the region. Capua, in particular, must have acted as a regional centre of distribution, as evinced from the various votives that follow local Campanian, rather than southern Etruscan production.⁴¹ In this context, we can conclude that, at the early stages of the anatomical votives' production, the distribution of items occurred along patterns that emphasized certain regional centres, like Veii and Capua, rather than Rome.

Between the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C., the distribution of anatomical votives acquired a more multi-faceted aspect since Rome's colonizing efforts intensified. Indeed, as Comella points out, although Rome was not the source of provenance for anatomical offerings, it could have still adopted such items from southern Etruria, further spreading them through the colonies during the 4th century B.C.⁴² However, it is important not to idealize and generalize this view. After all, how can colonization explain the finding of anatomical votives in Appenninic and Adriatic Italy, areas which saw few – if any – colonies? And how does the evidence really support a Romanization approach in colonized areas? A number of sanctuaries in Umbria (Grotta Bella and Mevania), Picenum (Isola di Fano and Montefortino di Arcevia) and Samnium (Colle Sparanise) have revealed a conspicuous number of terracotta votives, which have never been properly examined as to their distribution in relation to colonies.⁴³ As Morelli notes, archaeological excavations in Abruzzo have unearthed numerous votive deposits in locations which are not close to any colony.⁴⁴ Even if we shifted the attention to the more colonized areas of southern Etruria, Latium and northern

⁴⁰ Comella 1981, 774.

⁴¹ Bedello Tata 1990, 110.

⁴² Comella 1981, 775.

⁴³ Glinister 2006, 18-19.

⁴⁴ Morelli 1997, 89.

Campania, the evidence does not necessarily prove the Romanizing role of colonies. Rather, it shows that there are two different gradients of distribution, whereby the areas around Rome, usually thought to be more colonized, present more numerous samples of anatomical ex-votos in relation to the aforementioned areas in the Appenninic and Adriatic area. These areas were densely populated in antiquity. Thus, it should not come as a surprise that they display a higher number of items. In addition, we should also take into consideration that modern archaeological investigations have been more extensive in the area around Rome, hence explaining the higher numbers of findings.⁴⁵ This whole issue is exacerbated by the lack of a scientific dating method for anatomical ex-votos: they are usually dated between the 4th and 1st centuries B.C., without any further specification within this timespan.⁴⁶ Even though sometimes it is possible to establish stylistic connections, such occurrences are not substantial enough to allow a more precise dating. What transpires from this methodological problem is that it is virtually impossible to assess whether the Etrusco-Latial-Campanian votives were present in any given area before the Romans or, as traditional scholarship argues, as a result of Rome's presence through its colonies, further invalidating their role as indicators of Romanized settlements and social groups.

In this context, how can we explain the 4th-and 3rd-century distribution of anatomical votives throughout Central Italy? Their distribution highlights the interconnectivity among various local settlements, without emphasizing nor undermining Rome's role. Indeed, as previously stated, it is possible that Rome could spread certain ritual votives through its colonies. After all, some colonists must have wanted to preserve the religious traditions of Rome, of which anatomical votives had become part. At the same time, once these settlements became rooted in the colonial landscape, they must have also bestowed more importance on the exchanges – economic and cultural – with their neighbours, who were not necessarily Romans. As seen from the distribution of various

⁴⁵ Glinister 2006, 19.

⁴⁶ Glinister 2006, 20.

media, not only does Morel see no direct or preferential commercial link between Rome and its colonies, but he also infers a more direct contact among various local centres.⁴⁷ If we zoom in onto a specific area, like the Pontine region in Central Italy, the petrographic analysis of fabrics from non-votive, yet commonly used, pottery allows us to gain an insight into how the socio-economic network might have worked. The Roman vessels (*ollae*) under study were all made out of four different fabrics.⁴⁸ In particular, the fabrics from the mid-Republican specimens (4th and 3rd centuries B.C.) can be grouped into two sections, respectively Fabric 1 and Fabric 2 (Fig. 3). The first is usually associated with workshops in the Tiber area around Rome, while the second has a regional character, deriving from an important centre (hypothetically Satricum).⁴⁹ It is telling that the majority of vessels were made with Fabric 2 during the period of intense colonization.⁵⁰ If we compare these data with the distribution of anatomical ex-votos, we find a similar picture. The case of Minturnae, near the Pontine area, is particularly informative. Even though it was a Roman colony, the anatomical ex-votos found at the sanctuary of the goddess Marica attest a regional provenance from Capua and Cales, a colony close-by.⁵¹ At the same time, it is important to note that local settlements like these were not mere receivers since they could be included in regional and supra-regional economic networks. For instance, Minturnae exported northward, as seen from the numerous examples of anatomical votives found in the deposits along the Tiber.⁵² Similarly, Cales had intense exchanges with Capua, but products manufactures here reached more distant regions, like the territory of the Equi, Apulia and even further down in southern Italy.⁵³ By understanding this complex network of exchange, not only do we

⁴⁷ Morel 1988, 51, 53.

⁴⁸ Borgers, Tol, and de Haas 2017, 316-318.

⁴⁹ Borgers, Tol, and de Haas 2017, 320-321.

⁵⁰ Of the sixteen specimens, ten belong to Fabric 2 (regional) and six to Fabric 1 (Tiber valley).

⁵¹ Bonghi Jovino 1990b, 76, 84.

⁵² Bonghi Jovino 1990b, 76.

⁵³ Bonghi Jovino 1990b, 84.

realize the limitation of a centre-periphery model based on Rome's pervading force, but we can also explain the shortcomings of such model. The presence and distribution of anatomical votives in Samnium (modern-day Abruzzo and Molise) becomes clearer once we realize that Capua, in Campania, had some economic interests there.⁵⁴ What this tells us is that the distribution of anatomical ex-votos occurred along complex dynamics, in which Rome occupied a role, but not a pivotal one. A look at Fig. 4 reveals that the matrixes/molds used in Rome belonged to a regional pattern, typical of northern Latium, which differed from the matrixes/molds employed in southern Latium and Campania. As I will speculate in the next section, the key to understanding these votives' production and distribution is to have a better picture of localized interests within the socio-cultural landscape of mid-Republican Central Italy.

⁵⁴ Bonghi Jovino 1990b, 80.

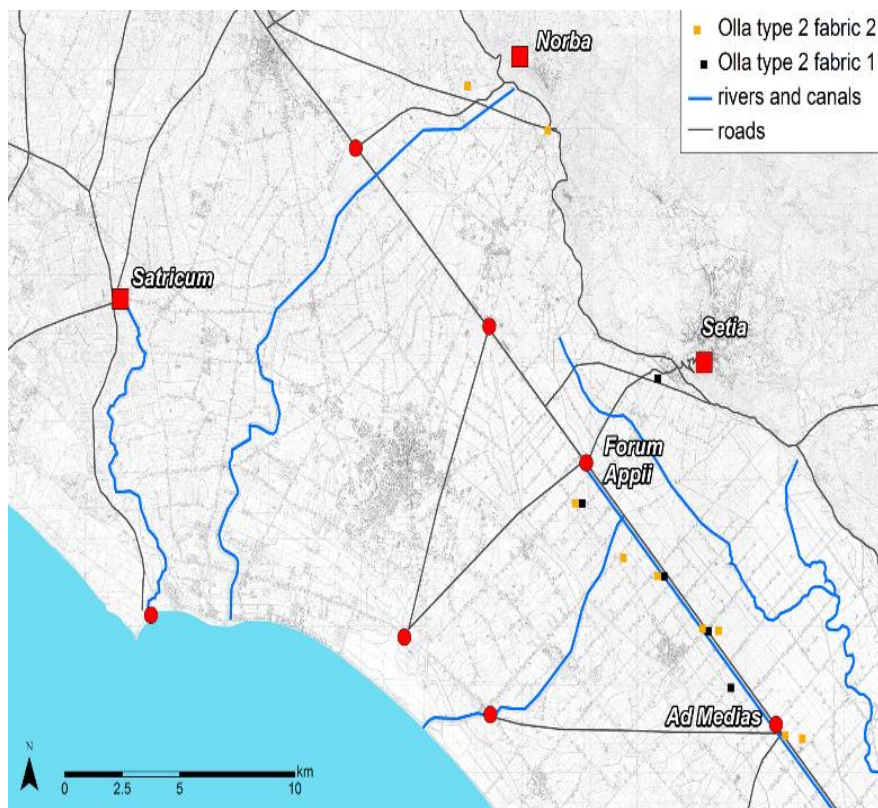


Figure 3. Map showing the distribution of Fabric 1 and Fabric 2 of olla type 2 cookware samples in the Pontine Region (4th-3rd centuries B.C.) (Borgers, Tol, and de Haas 2017, 322).



Figure. 4. Distribution of matrices, following certain regional/localized patterns (3rd century B.C.) (Comella 1981, 792, fig. 9).

CONSUMPTION: PRACTICAL APPROACHES AND LOCAL CONTEXTS IN A CENTRAL ITALIAN *KOINE*

From the viewpoint of consumption, anatomical ex-votos made it possible for a larger group of worshippers to perform ritual activities within the context of existing religious practices, rather than indicating the wholesale adoption of a new culture. Although an argument could be brought forth regarding a phenomenon of cultural adoption (Hellenization) in the 5th century B.C.,⁵⁵ whereby the Etruscans or Campanians wanted to emulate Greek culture, such an approach is not true, otherwise we would expect to find anatomical ex-votos in conjunction with typically Greek cults. But, as we have seen, especially from the 4th century, the presence of these objects is almost ubiquitous throughout Central Italy and does not occur specifically in contexts related to Greek cultic practices. In a similar fashion, a Romanization approach would only be valid if we found typically Roman specimens associated with Roman sites. But, as Glinister aptly argues,⁵⁶ some supposedly Roman types (*capite velato* heads) were found together with non-Roman specimens (*capite aperto* heads) in Roman cultic contexts, thus completely debunking the association between material culture and ethno-cultural manifestations. With this in mind, the users' consumption should be understood from a practical point of view. If we examine the previous trends of votive offerings in Central Italy, we would find out that they were made in metal, as evinced from the examples found at Marzabotto (Fig. 1).⁵⁷ In this context, it is easy to understand why terracotta votives would be more widely consumed: given the availability and the low cost of the material, not only were they relatively more rapid to produce, but they could also allow more worshippers to take part in ritual activity. After all, we could not expect everyone to afford metal votives. The increase in terracotta, therefore, should be seen as an indicator of commodification, whereby cultural contact and the adoption of material culture could be inserted in the existing socio-cultural milieu.

⁵⁵As previously said, terracotta anatomical votives in Italy were adopted through the contact with Greeks, whether Corinthians or Sicilians. Hughes 2017, 63.

⁵⁶Glinister 2009.

⁵⁷Hughes 2017, 79-80.

Like production and distribution, the consumption of anatomical ex-votos highlights a degree of localism within a wider *koine*. More specifically, from Greek influential sources, Central Italian communities developed their own variations on votives since they aimed at a local consumption. This is particularly visible in the rendition of internal organs among Central Italian votive deposits. If we compared this aspect with the Greek evidence, we would see that there are no parallels outside of Italy. Along Hughes' argument, this practice developed from a familiarity with the body's internal structure. In particular, apart from animal butchery and sacrifice, Italic religions frequently included the examination of entrails and the liver:⁵⁸ although no one would expect potters to be present on those occasions in order to be inspired, there are many examples of anatomical models, such as terracotta livers, which were made in relation to religious occasions; similarly, there are also numerous scenes where haruspicy is depicted, thus providing further evidence to the connection between religious practices and anatomical votives. Despite a degree of commonality throughout Central Italy, the consumption of these votives could change from place to place since religious manifestations would present several variations. In fact, even though the models are common throughout Central Italy, different deposits will produce different specimens. If we take the southern Etrurian sites of Gravisca and Tessennano, indeed they share several types of body parts (heads, ears, etc.). Yet, they also present very specific items of a distinctive character: in the case of Tessennano, the deposit has a typically "male" character with its preponderance of male parts, as opposed to Gravisca and its "female" counterparts.⁵⁹ Once we extend this pattern to the whole of Central Italy, the difference among the various deposits can be related to the adaptation of such a votive practice to the localized religious mores.⁶⁰ In this varied landscape, we can also understand why the centre-periphery model does not offer a useful system of analysis. Although the various colonies might have wanted to preserve Roman socio-religious practices, with time we should also postulate that cults acquired more lo-

⁵⁸ Hughes 2017, 87.

⁵⁹ Hughes 2017, 74.

⁶⁰ This is also argued in Scopacasa 2015.

calized practices, changing the landscape of anatomical votives. Thus, the final picture we have is of a widespread Central Italian *koine* in which localized manifestations occurred in different geographical areas.

That the consumption had a local significance can be inferred also from a symbolic analysis of the objects, whereby the ritual meaning behind the items acquired a meaning in the context of communal life. Graham shows how the performative space where anatomical ex-votos were employed highlighted a close relationship among gods, individuals and the community.⁶¹ The votives acted as symbolic representations of the dedicators, who could also heighten the sense of community by taking part in the same cultic activity.⁶² Similarly, Glinister is even more specific since she asserts that the use of swaddled babies as anatomical votives was closely connected to the community's well-being through the health of its youngest members.⁶³ The distribution of these votives further highlights the local consumption within the wider Central Italian *koine*. In fact, many centres, like Caes and Capua, were specialized in producing high quality objects for refined tastes.⁶⁴ Once these items were distributed to their various destinations, they would have acquired a local meaning, through which the commissioner could emphasize his/her own wealth, political alliances and economic opportunities within the local community, reminding others of his connection to the wider Central Italian sphere.

CONCLUSIONS: GLOCALIZATION AND THE FORMATION OF A KOINE

In this paper, I have shown that the emergence and development of anatomical votives is not well explained by Romanization. More specifically, the view, according to which these ex-votos indicated Rome's encompassing political and cultural presence in Central Italy, does not consider a more complex picture. Instead, as seen from the examination of the objects' production, distribution and consumption, I have argued that the archaeological data followed a glocalizing pattern, especially regarding the interactions among various local realities and

⁶¹ Graham 2017, 59.

⁶² Graham 2017, 61.

⁶³ Glinister 2017, 142-143.

⁶⁴ Bonghi Jovino 1990b, 83.

their input in forming a Central Italian *koine*. From the point of view of production, anatomical votives were initially influenced by non-Italic models. In southern Etruria and Campania, the contact with the Greeks brought about the emergence of various production centres. Even though Rome might have spread the votives through its colonies from the 4th century B.C., there is a plethora of centres that were not influenced by such a colonizing phenomenon. Already at this point, we see these centres developing localized trends within Central Italy, away from Rome's encompassing presence. If we examine distribution, again, colonization does not explain the presence of anatomical votives in non-colonized areas. Moving away from this centre-periphery model, I have shown that the distribution of objects can be explained through the intense contact among the aforementioned production centres. In this landscape, Rome must have played an important, although not central, role in distributing items alongside other centres. By adopting this new approach, therefore, we can already begin to understand how the intense interaction among settlements brought about the creation of a communal, yet locally diverse, *koine*. In fact, as I have shown in the section on consumption, anatomical votives were initially adapted from Greek prototypes to serve typically Italic socio-cultural practices. Because of localized religious practices, the consumption of anatomical votives acquired a local significance both at a material and a symbolic level. At the same time, the distribution from one centre to another can also testify this localized concerns, whereby certain items were employed by specific classes, later acquiring a localized meaning in the Central Italian *koine*.

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