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CONSPECTUS MATERIAE

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C O M M E N T A T I O N U M
P A R S P R I O R

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A NOTE ON A SYLLABIC INSCRIPTION
FROM PAPHOS-MANTISSA (*KOUKLIA* NO. 228)

By

RAFAŁ ROSÓŁ

In the years 1950–1955 the British Kouklia Expedition conducted excavations on the Marcello Hill near the present day village of Kouklia. The research was continued by the German-Swiss archaeological mission in 1966–1973. The excavations have revealed the north-eastern part of the fortification of Old Paphos. The discovered part consists of the so-called north-eastern gate and a hundred and ten meter long wall dated from the 8th to the 4th centuries B.C. Apart from the fortifications, the archaeologists revealed a siege mound built by Persians or their allies during the war in 498 B.C.¹

It is very interesting that the Persians building the siege mound used not only earth, field stones or wood, but also the material coming from an archaic temple plundered and destroyed by them. This temple was located surely before the walls of the city (its exact location is unknown). That is why in the siege mound hundreds of votive gifts were found. The objects are dated to the second half of the 6th century B.C. or to the turn of the 6th and the 5th centuries B.C.²

Over two hundred of these objects contain Greek inscriptions written in the Cyprian syllabary. The inscriptions were edited in 1986 in a separate tome entitled *Les inscriptions syllabiques de Kouklia Paphos* (quoted as *Kouklia*) by O. MASSON, who used in his work to great extent the detailed notes prepared by T.B. MITFORD. The corpus contains almost only votive inscriptions carved on

¹ The fights on Cyprus at that time are mentioned in Herodotus' *Histories* (V 115).

² On the excavations see the introductory part of the corpus of the inscriptions with further literature (*Kouklia* p. 1f.).

the stones of various shapes, especially rectangular or circular (steles or tablets, rectangular blocks, drum-shaped stones, cylinders or half cylinders etc.). Some of these stones served as small portable altars (in several cases one can even recognize some traces of carbonisation). All but exceptional inscriptions from the siege mound are very short. They often consist only of a name of the donor, sometimes together with a patronymic. What is more, in many cases we deal only with abbreviated names³.

In this paper I would like to concentrate on a syllabic inscription that is to be found in the corpus under no. 228 (with a photograph). It was discovered by chance in 1954 or 1955 in a wall on the territory of a newly built Turkish school in Mantissa, not far from Kouklia (in the north-eastern direction). It is a rectangular stone stele of dimensions of 44 cm x 44 cm x 19 cm. On the stele three big and clearly legible signs appear (the height of the signs varies between 10 and 12 cm). The inscription is no doubt complete. On the basis of the palaeography, it could be dated to the 6th century B.C.⁴ The stele is now in the possession of the local Museum of Palaepaphos in Kouklia (inventory number: KX 171)⁵.

As mentioned above, the inscription is clearly legible and reads: *ma-na-ma*⁶. O. MASSON and T. B. MITFORD claim that these three signs should be interpreted as the Greek noun *μνᾶμα* (Ion.-Att. *μνῆμα*) with the meaning of 'monument, tomb, grave'. Actually, the word *μνᾶμα* with such a meaning is well known on Cyprus, for it is attested in two other syllabic inscriptions. The first of them is a grave stele (70 x 55 cm) found on the cemetery of Tsambres in Karpasia (*ICS*² 331). Its text reads: (1) *ma-na-ma* (2) *me-no-ka-ra-te-o*, i.e. *μνᾶμα Μενοκράτεο(ς)* 'the monument of Menokrates'. The second inscription (*ICS*² 92) is also a grave stele (151 x 62 cm) coming from Salamiou (about 30 km from Paphos). It contains a quite long text and in its last line the dialectal form *ma-na-ma-ne*, i.e. *μνᾶμαν*, appears⁷.

On the basis of this evidence, O. MASSON and T.B. MITFORD have proposed to treat the inscribed stone from Mantissa as a grave stele without the name of the deceased person. It would be an anonymous monument coming originally from a cemetery. This interpretation has been accepted by some other researchers⁸ and recently by M. EGETMEYER (2010: 765, no. 157) in his edition of the Cyprian syllabic inscriptions. However, it seems strange that a grave stele should contain

³ Moreover, the corpus contains four parallel syllabic inscriptions coming from the same place that are claimed to be Eteocyprian, two Phoenician fragmentary vase inscriptions (one of them was found in the siege mound), and several other Greek syllabic inscriptions of various character and date that were revealed on the territory of Old Paphos or nearby.

⁴ So EGETMEYER 2010: 765, no. 157. Cf. HIRSCHFELD 1996: 99 who does not determine the date.

⁵ A general description of the object is to be found in *Kouklia*, p. 101.

⁶ Cf. the photo of the inscription in the corpus.

⁷ On the form *μνᾶμαν* see EGETMEYER 2010: 402.

⁸ See EGETMEYER 1992: 87; HINTZE 1993: 36; HIRSCHFELD 1996: 99; cf. WOODARD 1997: 73.

only a word with the meaning of ‘monument’. We may expect a personal name, as it is in the case of the stele from the cemetery of Tsambres mentioned above. From that reason C. BRIXHE (1988: 60f.) expresses his skepticism about this interpretation: “La tentation est évidemment grande de voir le $\mu\nu\tilde{\alpha}\mu\alpha$. Mais l’*épitaphe* ne serait-elle pas curieuse, qui se bornerait à dire ‘monument funéraire’, information inutile (si le texte se limitait à elle), car correspondant à une évidence? Si l’on avait réellement $\mu\nu\tilde{\alpha}\mu\alpha$, n’attendrait-on pas qu’il fût suivi du nom du défunt?”.

C. BRIXHE puts forward his own interpretation too. Contrary to MASSON and MITFORD, he supposes that the sequence *ma-na-ma* represents a personal name. He claims that *ma-na-ma* is the female personal name $\text{Μνᾶ}\mu\tilde{\alpha}$, i.e. a hypocoristic form of a name with $\text{Μνᾶ}\mu(\text{o})-$ (Ion.-Att. $\text{Μνη}\mu(\text{o})-$). According to this explanation, the inscription from Mantissa may be a grave stele of a woman or a girl named Mnama. This interpretation is, however, not very convincing, because the hypocoristic form $\text{Μνᾶ}\mu\tilde{\alpha}$ is not attested in any other Greek sources.

It should be highlighted that both interpretations described above pose one more problem. Although the shape of the stone can point out that it is a grave stele, the archaeologists, however, have until now discovered no cemetery from late archaic times in the neighborhood of Mantissa or Kouklia. So, the question arises, where the stele comes from.

In my opinion it is, however, not necessary to assume that the stele comes originally from a cemetery and that, in consequence, it is a grave stele. Given the fact that there are some similar stones found in the siege mound in Kouklia, it seems possible that the stele discovered in Mantissa could also come from that site. In this context, it is worthy to note that before 1950, i.e. before the beginning of the archaeological excavations in Kouklia, the neighboring inhabitants penetrated illegally the siege mound and used the stones found there for their own purposes. In 1949 the Museum of Cyprus in Nicosia bought three syllabic inscriptions from the hands of inhabitants claiming that they were dug up in the siege mound in Kouklia. I mean the inscriptions no. 1 (a limestone stele), 130 (a stone cylinder), and 146 (a fragment of a stone tablet).

If this hypothesis is correct, the stele from Mantissa is to be considered not as a grave stone but as a votive gift. In consequence, the content of the inscription is presumably a personal name, because in all but exceptional cases the inscribed stones discovered in the siege mound contain personal names. As mentioned above, many of them consist of only one personal name (see Table 1).

However, for it is very difficult to treat the sequence *ma-na-ma* as a full personal name, we should rather assume that we have to do here with an abbreviated name. Such abbreviations are also very common in the votive inscriptions found in Kouklia (see Table 2).

In the light of these examples we can try to interpret the signs *ma-na-ma* as an abbreviation of a compound personal name with the first element $\text{Μνᾶ}\mu(\text{o})-$ (Ion.-Att. $\text{Μνη}\mu(\text{o})-$). It could be the name $\text{Μνᾶ}\mu\alpha\nu\delta\rho\varsigma$ or $\text{Μνα}\mu\alpha\gamma\acute{o}\rho\alpha\varsigma$. Both

Syllabic text	Transcription	Object	Dimensions (cm)	No.
<i>ku-po-ro-ta-le</i>	Κυπροθάλη(ς)	upper part of a stele	18 x 36 x 7	7
<i>o-na-si-la</i>	Ὀνασίλα (?)	half cylinder	d. 31, h. 32	9
<i>(pa)-si-pi-lo-se</i>	(Πα)σίφιλος	“drum”	d. 11, h. 14	11
<i>sa-ta-si-no-to-se</i>	Στασίνοθος (?)	“drum”	d. sup. 30, d. inf. 22, h. 31	13
<i>a-ra-ta-u</i>	Ἀράταυ	upper part of a stele	29 x 23 x 10	19
<i>e-u-ti-mo</i>	Εὐτίμω	“drum”	d. sup. 26, d. inf. 23, h. 15	22
<i>[ku]-po-ro-te-mi-wo</i>	[Κυ]προθέμιφο(ς)	stele	31 x 32 x 9	24
<i>o-na-si-pa-ta-u</i>	Ὀνασιπά(ν)ταυ	block	34 x 22 x 21	30
<i>o-re-o-mi-to</i>	Ὀρεομίτω (?)	half cylinder	h. 29	32
<i>pa-ra-si-ta-[mo]</i>	Παρασ(σ)ιδά[μω] (?)	misshapen “drum”	h. 18	34
<i>ta-si-wa-na-to</i>	Τασ(σ)ιΦάνατ(τ)ο(ς)	“drum”	d. 32, h. 29	37
<i>pi-le-ta-u</i>	Φιλήταυ	block	43 x 24 x 30	40

Table 1: Inscriptions from Kouklia (the siege mound) consisting of one personal name

Syllabic text	Transcription	Object	Dimensions (cm)	No.
<i>e-sa-la</i>	Ἐσλα()	stele	47 x 28 x 15	20
<i>ku-po-ro</i>	Κυπρο()	block	38 x 20 x 24	90
<i>ku-po</i>	Κυπ()	cylinder	d. 29, h. 29	136
<i>o-na-si</i>	Ὀνασι()	block	44 x 16 x 36	51
<i>o-na</i>	Ὀνα()	little pilaster	d. 21, h. 23	141
<i>o-na</i>	Ὀνα()	block	36 x 20 x 26	142
<i>o-na</i>	Ὀνα()	misshapen cylinder	d. 23, h. 36	143
<i>o-na</i>	Ὀνα()	block	26 x 13 x 16	144
<i>te-mi</i>	Θεμι()	block	36 x 15 x 30	156
<i>te-mi</i>	Θεμι()	block	22 x 23 x 22	157

Table 2: Inscriptions from Kouklia (the siege mound) consisting of one abbreviated personal name

names are attested in Greek sources, namely in the inscriptions from Eretria in Euboea dated to the turn of the 4th and the 3rd centuries B.C.⁹ Interestingly, there are two syllabic inscriptions found in the siege mound in Kouklia that can also contain personal names of this type. The first of them is to be found on a stone block and contains the barely legible sequence *ma-na-ma-te-?* (no. 73)¹⁰. The second one appears on a stone block and consists presumably of two abbreviated personal names divided by a vertical stroke – the first sequence has two signs, namely *ma-na* (no. 93)¹¹. It is also worthy to mention that a “drum”-shaped stone delivers a compound personal name with the first element *Μνασ(ο)-* (Ion.-Att. *Μνησ(ο)-*), namely *ma-na-sa-ko-ra-u*, gen. *Μνασαγόραυ* (no. 25)¹².

Let us sum up. The stone stele with a syllabic inscription no. 228 found in a wall on the site of a Turkish school in Mantissa is not – as other researchers claim – a grave stele, but a votive gift. It is very likely that it was dug up by one of the neighboring inhabitants before the beginning of the archaeological excavations in 1950. So, the stele may come originally from the so-called archaic temple situated before the walls of Old Paphos. The name of the donator was written as *ma-na-ma*, which is an abbreviation for a personal name like *Μνάμανδρος* or *Μναμαγώρας*.

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⁹ See *LGNP*: I, 317. On the personal names with *Μνημ(ο)-* / *Μνᾶμ(ο)-* cf. BECHTEL 1917: 319.

¹⁰ Cf. EGETMEYER 2010: 756, no. 102.

¹¹ Cf. EGETMEYER 2010: 759, no. 123.

¹² Cf. EGETMEYER 2010: 747, no. 53.

SOME INNOVATIONS OF THE CYPRIOT SYLLABIC SCRIPT*

By

SERGUEY SHARYPKIN

I.

In this paper, I intend to focus on two features of the Cypriot Syllabic Script of the first millennium B.C. which have yet not been investigated – in any case not in an appropriate way. As it is well known, the ancient Greeks introduced and used, besides the alphabetic scripts, two different syllabic scripts – the Linear B script (LB) in the middle of the second millennium B.C., and the Cypriot Syllabic Script (CSS) in the first millennium (or perhaps already at the end of the second millennium)¹. Both scripts had been inherited from other non-Greek peoples, each of them in a different epoch and in a different historical and cultural context.

The Greek syllabic scripts were without any doubt connected genetically – both came from the Linear A script (LA)² used on Crete by Eteocretans (Minoans) in the first half of the second millennium B.C. The LA originated, in its turn, from the so-called Cretan Hieroglyphic (alias Pictographic) script³. The LB and CSS have in common 9 syllabograms: **da/ta, ti, to, pa, po, ro/lo, na, sa, se** in

* My thanks go to my colleague Dr Irena CZWENAR for her kind revision of this text.

¹ The traditional point of view holds that the earliest monuments of the Cypriot Syllabic Script belong to the VII century B.C., cf. O. MASSON, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, pp. 30–38; J. CHADWICK, *The Minoan origin of the classical Cypriot Script*, [in:] *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Relations between Cyprus and Crete ca. 2000–500 B.C.'*, Nicosia 1979, pp. 139–143. However, M. LINDGREN supposes that the CSS originated in the XI century B.C., cf. M. LINDGREN, *Use of the Cypriot Syllabary in the multicultural surrounding*, [in:] A. SACCONI *et al.* (ed.), *Colloquium Romanum*, Pisa–Roma 2008, p. 465, cf. also J.-P. OLIVIER, *Les syllabaires chypriotes des deuxième et premier millénaires avant notre ère. État des questions*, [in:] *Colloquium Romanum*, pp. 604–613; L. GODART, *L'invenzione della scrittura. Dal Nilo alla Grecia*, Torino 1992, pp. 209 f.; A. PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU, *Les écritures chypriotes et la présence mycénienne à Chypre*, [in:] *Colloquium Romanum*, pp. 651–658.

² Cf. C. CONSANI, M. NEGRI, *Testi minoici trascritti. Con interpretazione e glossario*, Roma 1999; G. NEUMANN, *Zur Sprache der kretischen Linearschrift A*, *Glotta* XXXVI 1958, pp. 156–158.

³ G. FACCHETTI, *La questione della scrittura 'geroglifica cretese' dopo la recente edizione del Corpus dei testi*, [in:] *Colloquium Romanum*, Pisa–Roma 2007, pp. 269–280.

the same or similar shape. After the decipherment of the LB, when we know values of the most syllabic symbols of this script, we can see genetic connections between the syllabograms for **a**, **i**, **ra/la**, **we/ve**, as well. Some traces of similar shapes are perhaps noticeable, to a certain degree, for other signs⁴.

The LB was directly connected with the LA, whereas the CSS also came from the latter, but by means of Cypro-Minoan scripts (CMs) in the second millennium. The CMs were created and used on Cyprus in the second millennium B.C., the earliest of them approximately about 1500 B.C.⁵ Thus, both of the Greek syllabic scripts were connected genetically but this connection was not direct.

On the one hand, both LB and CSS share, of course, important common features of this kind of scripts. In both scripts, there are instances of excess spelling. The Greek syllabic scripts included only signs for open syllables, they would be quite adequate for representing languages like Polynesian or Japanese, with their open syllabic structures. Greek, as we know, allows many closed syllables however, thus consonant clusters abound in its phonological structures. To represent the first members of consonant clusters, both syllabic scripts used the so called 'empty' or 'dead' vowels: **te-ko-to-ne** = *tektones*, 'carpenters', **ti-ri-po** = *tri-po(d)s*, 'tripod', **de-so-mo** = *desmos*, 'sword belt', **ka-na-pe-u** = *gnaph^heus* 'cloth-dresser' etc. In these LB examples, the symbols **ko**, **ti**, **so** and **ka** contain merely graphical, non-phonological vowels. The same mode was used in the CSS: **po-to-li-se** = *ptolis* 'city', **i-ki-ma-me-no-se** = *ikmamenos* 'wounded', **ka-si-ke-ne-to-se** = *kasignētos*, 'brother'⁶. In these examples the symbols **po**, **ki** and **ke** also render only consonants.

For rendering the first elements in consonantal clusters ($V_1C_1C_2V_2$), the users of syllabic scripts had no choice but to use the syllabic symbol which noted down the first consonant and the vowel of the subsequent syllable (C_1V_2). On Cyprus, it was also possible to use the preceding vowel if the first element was a sonant (C_1V_1)⁷. And such a mode of writing down the first consonant in clusters is the case of excess spelling. An ideal solution for avoiding it and for rendering consonantal clusters in an appropriate mode would have been a special mark for indicating single consonants and approximants – like the *virama*⁸ of the Devanagari script. But such a great discovery as *virama* belongs, in the

⁴ Cf. G. FACCHETTI, *Antropologia della scrittura: con un'appendice sulla questione del rongorongo dell'Isola di Pasqua*, Milano 2002, pp. 115 f.

⁵ L. GODART, *o.c.*, pp. 207 f.

⁶ For the interpretation of Cypriot words see: M. EGETMEYER, *Wörterbuch zu den Inschriften im Kyprischen Syllabar*, Berlin–New York 1992.

⁷ Such simple methods were used in other ancient syllabic scripts, cf. T. PALAIMA, E. SIKKINGA, *Linear A → Linear B*, [in:] 'Meletemata'. *Studies in Aegean Archaeology presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as he enters his 65th year*, vol. II, Liège–Austin 1999, p. 606.

⁸ It is a Sanskrit word (verbatim 'stopping') which denotes a mark added to syllabic symbol in Devanagari script. The *virama* indicates that the syllabogram stands only for a consonant or approximant.

history of civilization, to rare exceptions which are due to the illuminations of brilliant thinkers⁹. But neither the Achaeans in the second millennium B.C. nor the Cypriot Greeks in the first millennium B.C. had an urgent necessity to invent something like *virama*. Thus, they used the above-mentioned excess strategy which was a fully adequate method for the purposes of their texts.

On the other hand, there are some significant differences between the Linear B script (LB) and the Cypriot syllabic script (CCS), which may be due to the innovations introduced either by Greek Cypriot scribes or by their predecessors. The latter were also inhabitants of Cyprus (users of the so called Cypro-Minoan scripts). These innovations concerned not only the inventory of syllabic symbols but also the rules of their use. In this paper I intend to discuss first of all the changes in the inventory of syllabic symbols of the CSS. But it is worth saying some words about the innovations in the system of the syllabic script, as well.

The main difference between Greek syllabic scripts consists in the fact that the CSS rendered all the phonemes of the Greek language, whereas the LB omits some of them:

- the sonants (approximants) /r/, /l/, /m/, /n/ in the syllable- and word-final position;
- /s/ in the word-initial position before consonants and in the word-final position;
- /i/ as a second part of diphthongs;
- the phoneme /h/ (*spiritus asper*).

E.g., **da-mo** = *damos*, **pe-mo** = *spermo*, **ko-no** = *sk^hoinos*, **e-ke** = *hekhei* etc. Such treatments of the above-mentioned phonemes are in LB normal and regular, and the mood of underrepresentation of some phonemes may be defined as partial spelling. We may maintain that, in contrast to the LB, the CCS rendered all the Greek phonemes including the word- and syllable-final ones, e.g., **a-to-ro-po-i** = *aⁿthrōpoi* (nom. pl), **mi-si-to-ne** = *misthōn* (gen. pl.) etc. Owing to this feature, texts of CCS give us a much clearer image of the Greek language than those of LB, although, from the phonological point of view, the CSS was not a perfect script at all¹⁰.

Some scholars find in the CSS instances of partial spelling, as well. It consisted, in their opinion, in omitting the phoneme /n/ before dental consonants, e.g.: **pa-ta** = *paⁿta* etc. However, it must be rather a phonetic dialectal feature¹¹ – not a graphic one.

⁹ To the same type of great inventions belongs also the alphabetic script, cf. Y. DUHOUX, *Les débuts de l'alphabet en Orient et en Occident. Quelle ambiance!*, Res Antiquae VII 2010, pp. 105 f.

¹⁰ See Y. DUHOUX, *Le linéaire B: une sténographie de l'âge du bronze*, Živa Antika L 2000, pp. 37–57, cf. also S. SHARYPKIN, *Alcune riflessioni sull'adeguatezza di una scrittura largamente disadeguata*, Pasiphae III 2009, pp. 223–225.

¹¹ C. CONSANI, *Sillabe e sillabari fra competenza fonologica e pratica scrittoria*, Alessandria 2003, p. 110: „La situazione riflessa dalla grafia corrisponda ad un' effettiva debolezza della nasale

It seems also that the CSS did not note down the phoneme /h/: **a po-to-li-se** = (h)*ā ptolis*¹², **o-te** = (h)*ote*¹³. But we can not exclude the possibility that the omission of the phoneme /h/ was caused either by its peculiar phonological status (represented e.g. in the classical Attic dialect)¹⁴ or by its absence in the phonological system of the language. In the latter case, we might characterize the dialect as a psylotic one¹⁵. At the same time, the LB noticed the phoneme /h/ but only in the syllable /ha/ (the sign 25 = a₂). The sign was regularly used in Pylos, but seldom in Knossos. Its use, which permitted to render the /h/ only in combination with /a/ or /ā/, i.e. only in syllables /ha/ and /hā/ but not /he/, /ho/, /hi/ and so on, manifests the asymmetric character of the system of the LB.

In the CSS, the consonants were systematically represented only by primary articulation, whereas such important phonological features as voicelessness, voicing or aspiration were uniformly ignored. The same is true of the LB script, with an exception of the voiced dental phoneme /d/ which was always distinguished from the voiceless and aspirated ones: **ta-ra-si-ja** = *talansia*, **ta-ra-ma-ta** = *t^halamatās* versus **da-mo** = *dāmos* etc. And this is another manifestation of the asymmetric character of the Greek script of the Mycenaean epoch.

These features are well known and well investigated. I would like to sum up this theme as follows: *Both Greek syllabic scripts had their losses. But the LB script had its losses on three levels of language – on the levels of the phoneme, the syllable and the word, whereas the CSS had its losses only on the level of the phoneme*¹⁶.

II.

The first innovation of the CSS, which I would like to discuss here, is the differentiation of the syllabic symbols for /l/ and /r/. In contrast to the LB syllabary,

preconsonantica”; see also S. LURIA, *Die Sprache der mykenischen Inschriften*, Klio XLII 1964, p. 23.

¹² Attic ἡ πτόλις.

¹³ Attic ὄτε.

¹⁴ About the status of this phoneme see: С.Я. ШАРЫПКИН, *О фонологическом статусе древнегреческого густого придыхания*, [in:] *Индоевропейское языкознание и классическая филология – VII*, Санкт-Петербург 2003, pp. 140–142.

¹⁵ Cf. C.D. BUCK, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago 1955, pp. 53, 146; otherwise A. THUMB, A. SCHEPHER, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, Heidelberg 1959, p. 164. It is also possible that the phoneme /h/ existed at early stage of history of the dialect, cf. J. CHADWICK, *Differences and similarities between Cypriot and the other Greek dialects*, [in:] J. KARAGEORGHIS, O. MASSON (ed.), *The History of the Greek Language in Cyprus*, Nicosia 1988, pp. 56 f.

¹⁶ S. SHARYPKIN, *Irrelevant Phonetic Features and the Rules of the Linear B Script*, [in:] *Colloquium Romanum* (op. cit. above, n. 1), pp. 738–740.

which did not differentiate between the two phonemes and possessed the same symbols both for syllables of the type /rV/ and /lV/:

ra-ke = *lak^he* and **ra-pte** = *raptēr*,
re-u-ko = *leukos* and **a-ke-re-se** = *agrēse*,
ri-no = *linon* and **a-ki-ri-ja** = *agria* and so on,

the CSS used two different signs for rendering /r/ and /l/:

la-pa-to-ne = *Lapatōn*¹⁷ versus **pa-ra-me-no-ne** = *Parmenōn*
le-ti-ri-o-se = *Ledrios* versus **pa-si-le-u-se** = *basileus*
li-no = *linō* (gen. sing.) versus **ma-ti-ri** = *mātri* (dat. sing.).

The CSS had two main variants – the common (ordinary) variant and the Paphian one¹⁸. Both variants distinguished the phonemes in question. The local variant of the CSS used in Old Paphos was, without any doubt, more archaic than the common one. In favour of such an opinion is the fact that in this variant the shapes of the three signs **ko** (70), **ni** (30), and **ki** (67) resemble the corresponding signs of the linear scripts¹⁹ but this is not the case of the common one.

Namely, the Paphian local variant also demonstrates how special signs for syllables /rV/, i.e. *ra*, *re*, *ro* had been created. These signs were missing from the Linear A. The innovation had been introduced by means of an additional element – a horizontal line or ‘roof’ which had been added above the corresponding symbols rendering the syllables /lV/, i.e. *la*, *le*, *lo*. We can see the ‘line’ in the signs for *ra*, and *ro* and the ‘roof’ in the sign for *re*. As regards the sign for *lo*, the scribes had at their disposal two variants – a ‘cross’ and ‘x’ (see Figure 1).













r								
l								
	a		e		i		o	

Figure 1. Syllabic signs for liquid phonemes at Rantidi-Paphos
 (by T.B. MITFORD, O. MASSON²⁰)

Reformers of the script could not use the ‘cross’ for creating a new sign for *ro*, because by adding a ‘line’ over it, they would have obtained a sign already

¹⁷ It is name of a month, which is also attested (as **ra-pa-to**) in LB inscriptions from Knossos.

¹⁸ O. MASSON, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Paris 1983, p. 57. I use the term *Paphian* in a broad sense, it includes also some adjacent to Paphos localities: *Kouklia* and *Rantidi*.

¹⁹ G. NEUMANN, *Annäherungen an Linear A*, [in:] S. DEGER-JALKOTZY, S. HILLER, O. PANAGL (ed.), *Florent studia Mycenaea: Akten des X. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums in Salzburg vom 1.–5. Mai 1995*, Wien 1999, II, pp. 411 f.

²⁰ T.B. MITFORD, O. MASSON, *The Syllabic Inscriptions of Rantidi-Paphos*, Konstanz 1983, pp. 30–32.

existing in the syllabary, i.e. the symbol for *to*. So they had no choice but to add the diacritic sign to the ‘x’ (see Figure 2). It is worth mentioning that in the Old Paphian syllabary there was only a sign **ri** but the signs **li**, **lu** and **ru** were unknown, the sign **ru** being everywhere – in the CSS texts of the common syllabary – very rare²¹. The syllabograms for liquid phonemes in the syllabary of Kouklia-Paphos have almost the same shape as in Old Paphos and Rantidi but this variant of syllabary includes a sign for **li** which has obviously no connection with **ri**²² (see Figure 2).






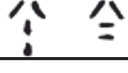

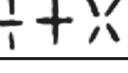
R					
L					
	a	e	i	o	

Figure 2. Syllabic signs for liquid phonemes at Rantidi-Paphos
(by O. MASSON, T.B. MITFORD²³)

The linear B non-differentiation of the liquid phonemes was due – without any doubt – to the phonology of the Eteocretan (Minoan) language. This peculiarity testifies that the Linear B script had been created by Minoan scribes – by order of illiterate Achaean rulers²⁴. Thus, the non-differentiation must have been an inherent feature of the Eteocretan phonology.

On the grounds of the primary character of the signs for /l/ in the CSS (Paphian variant), we may suppose that the Minoan liquid phoneme resembled, from the phonetic point of view, the Greek phoneme /l/. In due course, the shape of the signs for rendering liquid phonemes changed. Therefore, we can observe the genetic connection between the signs for /ri/ and /li/ neither in the Paphian nor in common syllabary. As regards the latter, the graphical connection between the other pairs of symbols for liquid phonemes (**ra** : **la** and so on) cannot be seen at all, as it has been lost in the course of time. It must have been a manifestation of a tendency to simplify the shapes of syllabic symbols. In any case, the secondary character of

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 32; O. MASSON, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Paris 1983, pp. 61 f.

²² O. MASSON, T.B. MITFORD, *Les inscriptions syllabiques de Kouklia-Paphos*, Konstanz 1986, p. 13.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ Such an opinion share many eminent mycenologists: M. VENTRIS, J. CHADWICK, *Evidence for Greek Dialect in the Mycenaean Archives*, JHS LXXIII 1953, p. 90; Sp. MARINATOS, *Zur Entzifferung der mykenischen Schrift*, Minos IV 1956, pp. 11–21. Cf. also: „C’est donc à l’école minoenne que les Mycéniens ont appris à écrire...”: L. GODART, *L’histoire du linéaire B et la Crète occidentale*, [in:] Cl. BRIXHE (ed.), *Sur la Crète antique. Histoire, écriture, langues*, Nancy 1993, p. 8.

the Paphian symbols for the liquid phoneme /r/ testifies the archaic character of this variant of the syllabic script in comparison with the common syllabary.

Yet, both liquid phonemes were distinguished in the Greek language, in contrast to the Minoan one. The letter **r** – LB conventional transcription of the signs denoting liquid phonemes, used by modern scholars (**ra** = *ra* or *la*, **re** = *re* or *le* etc.) – should not be interpreted as sounding always like [r]. It is only a conventional mode of transcription, we might equally well use the letter **l** instead of the **r** and perhaps it would be a better way to transcribe the LB signs rendering liquid phonemes.

The Mycenaean Greek (Ancient Achaean) distinguished, without any doubt, both phonemes /r/ and /l/, but we may know suppose, in the light of the Cypriot evidence, that in the Eteocretan (Minoan) language, the sole liquid phoneme sounded rather like Indo-European /l/.

r						
l						
	ra	re	ri	ro		

Figure 3. Symbols for **r**- and **l**- in Paphian syllabary (by O. MASSON²⁵)

III.

The second innovation of the CSS was diametrically opposed to the previous one. It consisted in joining two series of syllabograms rendering syllables with different initial dental plosives (**d**- or **t**-) in one. In the LB there were special symbols for syllables with the initial /d/ : **da**, **de**, **do**, **di**, **du**, **dwe**, **dwo**. At the same time, the phonemes /t/ and /t^h/ were designed by the same series of symbols transcribed conventionally as **tV**²⁶ (**ta**, **te** and so on): **da-mo** = *dāmos* but **ta-ra-nu** = *t^hrānus*, **ta-ra-si-ja** = *talansiā*²⁷. In the CSS, the symbols of the same series

²⁵ It is worth mentioning that in the Paphian syllabary, presented in the edition of O. MASSON, we see in the upper part of **re** the 'line' and not the 'roof': O. MASSON, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, p. 66, Figure 5. The latter appears in T.B. MITFORD, O. MASSON, *o.c.*, p. 31.

²⁶ They might be rightfully transcribed not only as **t** but as **t^h**, as well.

²⁷ It is possible that the LB script distinguished not only /d/ and /t/-/t^h/ but also /b/ and /p/-/p^h/, see K.T. WITCZAK, *A B-series in Linear B*, *Kadmos* XXXII 1993, pp. 162–171. But, in contrast to the dental voiced phoneme, the labial one occurred in the language of the LB exceptionally rarely – practically only in loanwords, that is why we cannot verify definitively this hypothesis which seems to be well-founded. It is also possible that the sign transcribed as **pu**, rendered not only the syllable

serve to indicate all the dental plosive phonemes: **ta** = /ta/, /^ha/ or /da/, **te** = /te/, /^he/ or /de/ and so on. For example: **ta-la-to-ne** = *talā^htōn* (gen. sing.) **ta-la-mo** = *t^halamō* (dat. sing.), **ta-mo** = *dāmō* (gen. sing.).

But in the Cypriot script, the signs **ta**, **te** and **tu** correspond respectively to the symbols **da**, **de** and **du** of the LB, while the symbols **ti** and especially **to** are very similar to the signs of the same value (i.e. **ti** and **to**) of the Mycenaean script (see Figure 2). Thus, we may claim that reformers of the syllabic script had united two different series of signs in one.

IV.

What could be the cause of such transformation of the script? As regards the differentiation of the phonemes /r/ and /l/, its cause is obvious – the optimization of rendering of the Greek phonology. It seems possible that the differentiation in question had been introduced already by users of the Cypro-Minoan script because in the inventory of this script we find the symbols which correspond to the syllabic signs of the CSS²⁸ – not only for **IV** (**la**, **le**, **lo**, **li**, **lu**) but also for **rV** (**ra**, **ru**, **ro**).

As regards the rendering of plosive dentals in the CM, we also find among its syllabic signs those coming from **dV** of the LB (**da** and perhaps **du**) but also from **tV** (**ti**)²⁹. This fact could be explained in different ways:

1. We may assume that the creators of the Cypro-Minoan syllabic script did not feel, contrary to the LB scribes, any difference between the values of series **tV** and **dV**. So they had chosen from both series the most appropriate, i.e. the simplest signs, bringing together the two series in one.

2. But it is also possible that the users of the CM did feel the opposition between /t/ and /d/; in this case the innovation was due to striving to simplification of the script and removing its asymmetric character. In this case, it must have consisted in the spread of neutralizing the opposition of **voicing** : **voiceless**. In the LB, this opposition involved only dental consonants while in the CSS it was removed altogether. Such an innovation complicated the use of the script for the *reader* but made it easier for the *writer* (*scribe*).

In the history of script, we have at least one instance of such a change. The most ancient variant of German runic script possessed 24 signs differentiating between voiced and voiceless consonants. But about the A.D. 800, it was limited to 16 runes only, the voicing and voiceless consonants not being differentiated.

/bu/ but also /p^hu/, i.e. the aspirate phoneme, as well, cf. J.L. MELENA, *Chapter 11. Mycenaean writing*, [in:] Y. DUHOUX, A. MORPURGO DAVIES, *A Companion to Linear B Texts and their World*, Louvain-la-Neuve 2010 (preprint), § 11.3.1.2.4.

²⁸ J. FAUCOUNEAU, *Les inscriptions chypro-minoennes*, Paris 2007, p. 66.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

Such a state of alphabet did not last a long time because soon new runes for voicing phonemes were invented and introduced again³⁰.

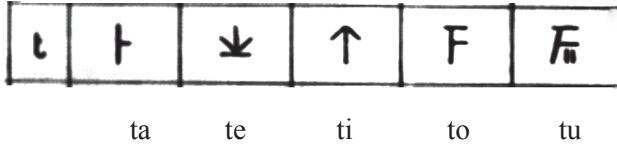


Figure 4. t-series in the CSS

	a	e	i	o	u
	𐤀 8	𐤁 38	𐤂 28	𐤃 61	𐤄 10
p	𐤅 3	𐤆 72	𐤇 39	𐤈 11	𐤉 50
t	𐤊 59	𐤋 4	𐤌 37	𐤍 5	𐤎 69
d	𐤏 1	𐤐 45	𐤑 7	𐤒 14	𐤓 51
k	𐤔 77	𐤕 44	𐤖 67	𐤗 70	𐤘 81
q	𐤙 16	𐤚 70	𐤛 21	𐤜 32	
j	𐤝 57	𐤞 46		𐤟 36	
w	𐤠 54	𐤡 75	𐤢 40	𐤣 42	
m	𐤤 80	𐤥 13	𐤦 73	𐤧 15	𐤨 23
n	𐤩 6	𐤪 24	𐤫 30	𐤬 52	𐤭 55
r	𐤮 60	𐤯 27	𐤰 53	𐤱 2	𐤲 26
s	𐤳 31	𐤴 9	𐤵 41	𐤶 12	𐤷 58
z	𐤸 17	𐤹 76		𐤺 20	

𐤛 25 ha(a ₁)	𐤜 43 ai(a ₂)	𐤝 76 ra ₁	𐤞 33rai(ra ₂)	𐤟 68 ro ₂
𐤠 66 ta ₂	𐤡 29 pu ₂	𐤢 85 au		𐤣 62 pte
𐤤 71 dwe	𐤥 90dwo	𐤦 87 twe	𐤧 91 two	𐤨 48 nwa

Figure 5. Syllabary of LB script³¹

³⁰ E. MOLTKE, *Runes and their Origin: Denmark and Elsewhere*, Copenhagen 1985, p. 173–183.

³¹ A.A. MOLCHANOV, V.P. NEROZNAK, S.Ya. SHARYPKIN, *Monuments of the Most Ancient Greek Script: An Introduction to Mycenology*, Moscow 1988, p. 19.

In contrast to Cypro-Minoan scribes, the creators of the LB script – who were Minoans, not Greeks – did not perceive the difference between the phonemes /r/ and /l/. As we can see, they did not perceive the opposition of the Greek phonemes /k/ : /g/ and /qu/ : /gu/ but they did perceive the opposition of /t/ and /d/. How was it possible?

There are two explanations of such an asymmetry. M. LEJEUNE supposed that in the Minoan language, there was no phonological opposition according to voicing at all. But there existed a peculiar phoneme whose phonetic realization resembled the Greek /d/³². Phonetically it might, in the opinion of M. LEJEUNE, resemble the Greek phoneme /l/. Yet, Minoan scribes used the syllabic signs for this phoneme /l?/, still existing in the LA, for writing down the Greek syllables of the series **dV**. The hypothesis is without any doubt worth taking into consideration but it seems that it cannot explain why the series in question was used for writing down the phoneme /d/ but not the /l/. The latter must have been more similar to the hypothetical phoneme /l?/ of the Minoan if it had really existed in that language.

It seems to me that the problem has been explained more felicitously by the outstanding Indo-European linguist T. GAMKRELIDZE. He has pointed out that there are languages which differentiate between voiced and voiceless consonants only in the case of dentals (i.e. /t/ and /d/) whereas this opposition is neutral for other consonants. Such a phenomenon appears, for example, in some Caucasian languages and might be, in the opinion of the Georgian linguist, the case of the Minoan language³³.

In fact, Minoan scribes, who created the LB by injunction of illiterate Achaean rulers, could only distinguish between the phonemes /d/ and /t/ but did not hear the difference between /g/ : /k/ and /qu/ : /gu/³⁴. They could record the opposition of **voicing** : **voiceless**, characteristic of Greek, only in dentals (and perhaps in labials, see above). The asymmetric character of the LB syllabary may constitute yet another fact in favour of the hypothesis that the Minoans created the LB script. We may assume that if the Mycenaean Greeks themselves had created the syllabic script for their purposes, they would have also united both series of dental symbols in one (as the Cypro-Minoans did). Otherwise, they would have rather introduced new syllabic signs for other voicing consonants. As regards the CSS, its creators were in no case Minoans, they could have been representatives of an unknown non-Greek *ethnos* or Greeks. Either the former or the latter had

³² M. LEJEUNE, *Mémoires de philologie mycénienne*, I^{re} série, Paris 1958, pp. 327 f.

³³ Т.В. Гамкрелидзе, *К вопросу о системе смычных и фрикативных „минойского” языка по показаниям греческой линейного письменности класса В*, Вопросы языкознания 1988, 1, pp. 66–68.

³⁴ It is not worth mentioning the pair /b/ : /p/ because the phoneme /b/ was lacking in the phonological system of Mycenaean Greek.

introduced in their scribal system an important change consisting in uniting two series of signs in one. Such an innovation might have contradicted the principle of phonological perfection of the script but it must have been quite adequate as regards the pragmatic aims of its users³⁵.

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³⁵ Cf. S. ZEILFELDER, *Beschränkungen in Silbenschriften: ein optimalitätsteoretischer Versuch*, *Historische Sprachforschung* CXIX 2006, pp. 1–24.

TWO “ABERRANT” CULTS IN AMATHOUS – THE WORSHIP OF BAETYLS AND *APHRODITE KYPRIA*

By

PAWEŁ NOWAKOWSKI

ABSTRACT: A Cypriot city Amathous is famous for its ancient cults which were introduced already by pre-Greek inhabitants of the island. This paper discusses two special forms of worship, which are claimed by modern scholars to be present there in antiquity – the cult of baetyls and of Aphrodite *Kypria*. The author suggests that our evidence is actually not enough to prove it. The worship of baetyls and the so-called sanctuary of the Seven within the Stelai is a result of a misreading of an inscription, what was already shown by P. AUPERT and A. HERMARY. The cult of Aphrodite *Kypria* does not seem to be an official poliadic form of worship but a mere invention of some foreigners visiting the island and dedicating to the goddess. This epithet can derive from the common knowledge of the origin of Aphrodite, told by myths or from poetry. It is also frequent in Latin Christian polemics with pagans in Late antiquity.

The aim of this paper is to discuss two aspects of the Amathousians’ religious life – the supposed worship of baetyls under the Roman rule and a unique title of Aphrodite, here called *Kypria*, while she was usually styled *Kypris*. Both issues are strongly connected with a couple of inscriptions set up by a Roman governor and both cults seem to be nothing more than a conjecture of modern scholars, misled by the ancient myths about the “aberrant” character of the Amathousian religion. The Cypriot city Amathous was a place of very old rituals, not completely understood even by the ancients¹. They considered the local society as descendants of the native Cypriots, the tribe of Kinyras, inhabiting the island in the period before Greek colonization, as Theopompus stated²: “Ἕλληνες οἱ σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι τὴν Κύπρον κατέσχον, ἀπελάσαντες τοὺς μετὰ Κινύρου ὧν εἰσὶν ὑπολιπεῖς οἱ Ἀμαθούσιοι³. Stephanus of Byzantium thought that even

¹ MITFORD 1946: 40–42; HERMARY 1988: 101.

² JONES 1937: 366, the selection of sources on p. 487.

³ Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 103: “The Greeks commanded by Agamemnon, who captured Cyprus, killed the tribe of Kinyras, whose survivors are the Amathousians” (all translations are mine unless otherwise stated). Cf. KARAGEORGHIS 2005: 75, 77 – the myth can contain a reminiscence of real happenings and it is probable that the Eteocyprians, who escaped from Paphos, found a refuge there. The myth told by Theopompus is not connected to the Trojan war as the other myths on foundation

the name of the city derives from Kinyras' mother: Ἀμαθοῦς, πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη [...] ἀπὸ Ἀμάθους δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐκλήθη ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς Κινύρου μητρὸς Ἀμαθούσης⁴. The similar views were expressed by the Pseudo-Scylax's *Periplus*: Ἀμαθοῦς (αὐτόχθονές εἰσιν)⁵.

The syllabic script was still in use here even in the Hellenistic period. This along with some strange rituals aroused curiosity of many writers, who strove to explain their nature and origin⁶. Plutarch mentions in the *Life of Theseus* (20) that one Paion of Amathous stated that pregnant Ariadne had been put down from the hero's ship on the beaches of Cyprus. There she was taken care of by the women living on the island. Unfortunately, Ariadne died while giving birth. When Theseus came back to the island, he founded two statues in her memory. A few centuries later in the holy grove of Aphrodite-Ariadne a rite was still to be performed during which a young man imitated a woman in travail⁷. On the other hand Macrobius in the *Saturnalia*⁸ says about the androgynous, bearded Aphrodite from Cyprus: "Signum etiam eius est Cypri barbatum corpore, sed veste muliebri, cum sceptro ac natura virili: et putant, eandem marem et feminam esse". This statement has been supported by Catullus (68, 51) who says about *duplex Amathusia* and by Hesychios, recalling a story told by Paion about Aphrodite taking a shape of a man⁹.

of Cypriot cities. The temple of Amathous could have stemmed from the temple of Paphos (cf. an account of Tac. *Ann.* III 62 f. about Aerias, founder of the Cypriot shrine who came from Paphos).

⁴ Steph. Byz. s.v. *Amathous*: "Amathous – the oldest city of Cyprus [...] it was called after Amathous, son of Herakles or after Amathousa, mother of Kinyras".

⁵ Ps.-Scyl. 101: "Amathous – they are indigenous people".

⁶ RUDHARDT (1975: 111) noticed this paradox: the Greeks commonly attributed Aphrodite – a well known goddess – to Cyprus, but the Cypriot forms of her cult seemed strange to them.

⁷ RUDHARDT (1975: 116–118) suggests that this rite was connected with the death of Ariadne. It is possible that husbands were obliged to share the sufferings of their wives in order to guarantee a safe birth. The absence of Theseus made accomplishment of this custom impossible (cf. also Strabo III 4, 17 about barbarian women who were told to work soon after the childbirth and their husbands lay in bed instead of them; Ap. Rhod. II 1009–1014 about husbands of the Tibareni women. They lie in bed while their wives bring them food and prepare them child-birth baths). KARAGEORGHIS (2005: 77, 107) points out that even if this custom was a relic of a primitive rite of *couvade*, the Cypriots in the Hellenistic and Roman period were not aware of its genuine meaning.

⁸ Macrob. *Sat.* III 8: "On Cyprus there is a statue of her – with a bearded face but in female clothes with a sceptre and of a male nature. They say that it is both man and woman". It must be noted that according to HERMARY (1988: 109) there is no archaeological proof of the bearded goddess in Amathous, but a similar cult was introduced in Athens in the 5th c. BCE (KARAGEORGHIS 2005: 110 f.).

⁹ Hesych. s.v.: Ἀφρόδιτος: Θεόφραστος μὲν τὸν Ἑρμαφρόδιτὸν φησιν, ὁ δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἀμαθοῦντα γεγραφῶς Παίων εἰς ἄνδρα τὴν θεὸν ἐσχηματίσθαι ἐν Κύπρῳ λέγει ("Aphroditos: Theophrast calls so a hermaphrodite. Paion, who wrote a book on Amathous, says that the goddess changed into a man on Cyprus"). An abundant set of sources about the androgynous Aphrodite has been supplied by RUDHARDT 1975: 120. Cf. also below on the inscription of Charinos.

I. THE WORSHIP OF BAETYLS

A foundation of a proconsul of Cyprus, L. Bruttius Maximus¹⁰, who governed the island in 79/80 CE has been known for a long time only from one dedicatory inscription found in Agios Tychonas near Amathous. It was published by T.B. MITFORD in 1946 and it reads as follows¹¹:

[Κ]υπρί[αι] | Ἀφροδε[ί]τηι | καὶ Αὐτοκράτορ[ι] | | Τίτωι Καίσαρι | [Οὐ] εσπασιαν[ῶ]ι | [Σεβ]αστῶι τὸ | [ιε]ρὸν τῶν ἐντὸς | [τ]ῶν στηλ[ῶ]ν | [ἑπ]τὰ καθιέρω[σ]ε[ν] Λούκι[ο]ς | Βρούττιος | Μάξιμος | ἀνθύπατος | ἔτους | δευτέρου[ν].

Proconsul Lucius Bruttius Maximus consecrated the sanctuary of the Seven within the Stelai to the Cypriot Aphrodite and Imperator Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus. In the second year (of the reign of the emperor).

The inscription commemorates a consecration of a *hieron*, made by the proconsul in the second year of the reign of emperor Titus. The stone’s surface was in bad condition and the edges were broken, so MITFORD had to reconstruct some parts of the text. He assumed that in line 9 a Greek word [ἑπ]τὰ (= seven) was the best option. Thus he concluded that the sanctuary was a place of the cult of the so called *Seven within the Stelai* (ιερὸν τῶν ἐντὸς τῶν στηλῶν ἑπτὰ). He perceived them as a form of the worship of baetyls. The word *baetyl* presumably derives from Semitic languages and means a ‘house of god’ (*bethel* = *BT’L*). The worship of such items was especially popular in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean¹². It is considered as a kind of non-iconic cult¹³. In this case a shapeless stone¹⁴ was to substitute a statue of a god made by a sculptor. However, baetyls could also assume shapes of a stele, fixed in the ground, or of a sphere¹⁵. Herennius Philon of Byblos informs us about the reasons of special attention paid to this form of cult. He says that ἐξενόησε Θεὸς Οὐρανὸς

¹⁰ MITFORD 1980: 1302, no. 28; THOMASSON 1984: 297, no. 16.

¹¹ MITFORD 1946: 40.

¹² Cf. the chapter “Baítýloī, Baítýlia and Zeus Bétýlos” in COOK 1914–1940: I 887–893.

¹³ MILLAR 1994: 13–15.

¹⁴ Cf. COOK 1914–1940: I 892: “There can be little doubt that the Dyrian *baítuloī* or *baítýlia* really were – as G.F. Moore contended – either small meteorites or neolithic implements believed to have fallen from heaven”.

¹⁵ Such description features in Damaskios’s *Life of Isidoros*: σφαῖρα μὲν γὰρ φησιν ἀκριβῆς ἐτύγγανεν ὢν, ὑπόλευκος δὲ τὸ χρῶμα, σπιθαμιαία δὲ τὴν διάμετρον κατὰ μέγεθος· ἀλλ’ ἐνίοτε μείζον ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐλαττων. Καὶ πορφυροειδῆς ἄλλοτε. Καὶ γράμματα ἀνεδίδαξεν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ λίθῳ γεγραμμένα, χρώματι τῷ καλουμένῳ τιγγαβαρίνω κατακεχρωσμένα (Phot. *Bibl.* 242, 203: “He told that it was a perfect sphere, a bit white, as big as a fist. It could become bigger and smaller, and sometimes red. He showed us letters written on the stone, which were orange”).

βαιτύλια, λίθους ἐμψύχους μηχανησάμενος¹⁶. So the stones were “filled with the spirit of god”. The epigraphical material from the northern Syria attests even a god called *Symbaitylos*¹⁷. An interesting *hapax* is also Zeus Baitylos, who received an altar, founded by Aurelius Diphilianus, a soldier of *legio IV Scythica Antoniniana* in Dura Europos¹⁸. The inscription, accompanying the altar, says: θεῶ πατρῶω | Διὶ βετύλω | τῶν πρὸς τῶ | Ὀρόντη Αὐρ(ἡλιος) | Διφιλιανὸς στρα(τιώτης) | λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Σκυ(θικῆς) Ἀντ(ωνεινιανῆς) | εὐξάμενος | ἀνέθηκεν. Unfortunately, the lack of further sources makes it impossible to determine if Baetylos was an epithet (i.e. *Zeus Baetylian*) or an epiclesis of the god (*Zeus the Baetyl*)¹⁹. The most famous description of the worship of baetyls, still prospering in late antiquity, is related by Herodian, who writes about the temple of Heliogabalus in Baalbek (i.e. Syrian Heliopolis):

ἄγαλμα (...) οὐδὲν ἔστηκε χειροποίητον, θεοῦ φέρον εἰκόνα· λίθος δέ τις ἔστι μέγιστος, κάτωθεν περιφερῆς, λήγων ἐς ὀξύτητα· κωνοειδὲς αὐτῶ σχῆμα, μέλαινά τε ἢ χροιά. Διιπετῆ τε αὐτὸν εἶναι σεμνολογοῦσιν, ἐξοχὰς τέ τινας βραχείας καὶ τύπους δεικνύουσιν, εἰκόνα τε Ἥλιου ἀνέργαστον εἶναι θέλουσιν, οὕτω βλέπειν ἐθέλοντες.

(Hdn. V 3, 5)

There was no statue made by man, which would represent the god, but there was a big stone, its lower part was round and with a sharp ending. It looked like a cone and was dark. They told myths that it came from Zeus and showed its small insets. They wanted to believe that it is an image of Helios and they wanted to look at it.

The cult in Baalbek is also attested by Damaskios:

ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἡλιούπολιν τῆς Συρίας εἰς ὄρος τὸ τοῦ Λιβάνου τὸν Ἀσκληπιάδην ἀνελεῖν φησι, καὶ ἰδεῖν πολλὰ τῶν λεγομένων βαιτυλίων ἢ βαιτύλων, περὶ ὧν μυρία τερατολογεῖ ἄξια γλώσσης ἀσεβούσης.

(Phot. *Bibl.* 242, 94)

He said that Asklepiades had climbed up the mountain Libanon near Heliopolis in Syria and had seen there many shapes called baetylia or baetyla and he says about them many lies with his blasphemous tongue.

¹⁶ *FGrH* 790 F 2 (23): “The god Uranos invented baetyls. He made stones filled with spirit”. The fragment has been preserved in Eusebius’s *Praeparatio Evangelica* I 10, 23.

¹⁷ *IGLS* II 376 and 383. The interpretation of the name of this god is more difficult than it seems. It does not have to derive from Greek and mean “cobaetylus”. The prefix *sym-* was considered by O. EISSFELDT as linked with the Babilonian god of fire – Ishum, according to the name *Ishumbethela*, attested in Elephantine (cf. COOK 1914–1940: I 889 f.).

¹⁸ Inscription published in SEYRIG 1933: 68–71, no. 168. *Non vidi*, cf. reprint in: COOK 1914–1940: I 890, n. 3: “To the paternal god Zeus baetyl one of those near Orontes Aurelios Diphilanos, soldier of *legio IV Scythica Antoniniana* set up as a votive offering”.

¹⁹ Cf. MILLAR 1994: 15.

similar images and steles are also present in the Nabataean sacral art ("low-relief carvings of non-representational *stelai*"), which are also considered baetyls²⁰.

MITFORD wanted to connect the Maximus foundation with the cult of baetyls, because it is also well attested on Cyprus in the Bronze Age. In the sanctuary in Ayia Irini a round black stone was found, which could have been an aspect of the bull-god, whose terracota figurines were also discovered there²¹. The stone is almost a perfect sphere with a diameter of about 25 cm. The god was worshipped until the archaic age, despite a fundamental alteration of the sanctuary and the modification of rites (e.g. the introduction of blood sacrifice) during the iron age. The cult of Adonis in Paphos can supply a similar case. He was worshipped as a cone, although G.F. HILL was not sure if it was depiction of Adonis himself or of Aphrodite²². A similar cone was also discovered in Athienou. HILL perceives those items as an alteration of the Cretan cones or the *omphalos* in Delphi.

S. O'BRYHIM argued that the cult of baetyls was present in Amathous and interpreted anthropomorphic figurines found there as bearing baetyls, not circular drums²³.

MITFORD, encouraged by these unusual relations, suggested that the cult of the Seven could be connected with the myth about the Propoitides²⁴ – women from Amathous, who renounced the worship of Aphrodite. The angry goddess made them to prostitute their bodies, as the very first *pornai* in the world, and then changed them into stones. The worship of their petrified bodies would be connected with the cult of baetyls. This mythological background is really inspiring, but MITFORD's hypothesis about the worship of petrified Propoitides is, in my opinion, unjustified. In the tenth book of the *Metamorphoses* Ovid says that Amathous was ashamed of women who had shown disrespect to Aphrodite (Ov.

²⁰ MILLAR 1994: 424.

²¹ HILL 1949: 59, 62.

²² HILL 1911: 60: "Does the cone here and on the various other 'Adonis-graves' of Phoenicia represent the god or the goddess? Tacitus' answer is still the safest: *ratio in obscuro*". Cf. HILL 1949: 71 ff.

²³ O'BRYHIM 1997: 39–45. The figurines are reproduced in HERMARY 2000: plates 4–8, a commentary on pp. 22 f. HERMARY does not consider the round objects as baetyls and points that they can be musical instruments or even more probably sacrificial breads. Neither KARAGEORGHIS (2005: 94 f.) has accepted the views of O'BRYHIM: "it must be related to the practice of playing the tambourine (the *tympanon*) in sanctuaries in honour of the goddess" or "it may be a ritual disc related to the cult of Astarte, since the disc is one of her symbols associated with the crescent".

²⁴ Ov. *Met.* X 238–242, cf. MITFORD 1946: 42. By stating so MITFORD does not exclude the cult of baetyls. A similar myth was told in Salamis about a girl Anaxarete who turned into stone, while standing by the window, when she saw a dead body of her rejected admirer. Later on she was worshipped as Aphrodite *Prospiciens* or Παράκλιπτοςσα (Ov. *Met.* XIV 698–771; cf. also a commentary on the aspect of sacral prostitution in RUDHARDT 1975: 121 and KARAGEORGHIS 2005: 79, 109 f.: "The myth may also be intended to explain the presence of baetyls [...] for there is an inscription found at the site, which – if it has been translated correctly – refers to a cult of the seven among the Steles").

Met. X 220 f.): “at si forte roges fecundam Amathunta metallis,/ an genuisse velit Propoetidas, abnuet aequē” (“if you ask Amathous rich in metals if it wanted to bear Propoitidae, it will negate”). Thus, I see no reason behind erecting an inscription or even the whole sanctuary in their honour.

The idea of the cult of baetyls in Amathous has been widely supported. Even L. ROBERT stated that “les Sept seraient sans doute des bétyles”²⁵. P. AUPERT²⁶ also accepted this hypothesis. Additionally he considered the Phoenician influence, interpreting the Seven as Cabires, children of the Phoenician Sidicus, or as the seven forms of the goddess Hathor.

Nowadays the recent archaeological discoveries in Cyprus gave us opportunity to verify this hypothesis. In 1996 an inscription, similar to the one erected by Bruttius Maximus, was found in Amathous²⁷, although it was not until 2006 that it was published (by P. AUPERT)²⁸. The stone has been very well preserved and it bears the following text:

Αὐτοκράτορι Τίτῳ | Καίσαρι Οὐεσπασιανῶ | Σεβαστῶ καὶ μεγάληι | θεᾷ
Κύπρου Ἀφροδείτῃ | τόπον ἱερὸν ἀπο|κατέστησεν τὸν ἐν|τὸς τῶν στηλῶν |
ὄντα Λούκιος Βρούττιος | Μάξιμος ἀνθύπατος | ἔτους δευτέρου.

Proconsul Lucius Bruttius Maximus restored the sacred place within the stelai to Emperor Titus Caesar Augustus and the great goddess of Cyprus – Aphrodite. In the second year (of the reign of the emperor).

Apart from a few details, the two inscriptions are almost identical. Surely they concern two phases of the same event: AUPERT’s stele mentions the restitution of the sanctuary, while MITFORD’s one commemorates its consecration. AUPERT suggested also some emendations to MITFORD’s reading, resulting from the comparison of the two texts²⁹:

[Κ]υπρί[αι] | Ἀφροδε[ί]τηι | καὶ Αὐτοκράτορ[ι] | | Τίτῳ Καίσαρι | [Οὐ]
εσπασιαν[ῶ]ι | [Σεβ]αστῶι τό[πον] | [ιε]ρὸν τὸν ἐντὸς | [τ]ῶν στηλ[ῶν] |
[ὄν]τα καθιέρω[σε]ν Λούκι[ο]ς | Βρούττιος | Μάξιμος | ἀνθύπατος | ἔτους |
δευτέρο[υ].

Proconsul Lucius Bruttius Maximus consecrated the sacred place within the stelai to the Cypriot Aphrodite and Emperor Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus. In the second year (of reign of the emperor).

²⁵ *BE* 1949, no. 210.

²⁶ Cf. AUPERT, HERMARY 2006: 92, n. 14. Cf. also *SEG* XXXVI, no. 1248; AUPERT, KARAGEORGHIS 1986: 371 f.

²⁷ AUPERT, HERMARY 1997: 802 f. (MITFORD’s stele is wrongly cited here as *AJA* LXXI 1967, pp. 40–42, though it is actually *JHS* LXVI 1946, pp. 40–42); cf. *BE* 2002, no. 487 and *SEG* XLVII, no. 1867 (the latter mistakes Bruttius for Brutus).

²⁸ AUPERT, HERMARY 2006: 83–99; cf. *AE* 2006, no. 1562.

²⁹ AUPERT, HERMARY 2006: 88.

The main point is the sixth line, where τό[πον] | [ι]ερὸν should be read instead of τὸ | [ι]ερὸν. This option allows to reconstruct in the ninth line [ὄν]τα instead of [ἔπ]τα. AUPERT³⁰ points out that MITFORD could not read [ὄν]τα, because the previously chosen option τὸ | [ι]ερὸν is neutrum, not masculine like τό[πον] | [ι]ερὸν. The other change in the seventh line is also of great importance for this issue. Here MITFORD³¹ read [ι]ερὸν τῶν ἐντὸς | [τ]ῶν στηλ[ῶν], but AUPERT prefers [ι]ερὸν τὸν ἐντὸς | [τ]ῶν στηλ[ῶν]. Once again, MITFORD could not read τὸν, because of the grammatical gender. It makes a huge difference. The first option means “the sanctuary of those within the stelai”, while the latter “the sanctuary, the one within the stelai”. AUPERT justified³² his emendations by the text of the new inscription and by reexamination of the photo of MITFORD’S stele. Although the picture is of rather poor quality, the reading proposed by AUPERT is, in the light of the new source, the most probable solution. Thus, the Sanctuary of the Seven within the Stelai seems to be nothing more than a result of a grammatical necessity.

AUPERT has taken into consideration that the Bruttius Maximus foundation did not belong to the main sanctuary of Aphrodite in Amathous³³, which is situated on the acropolis, but constituted a separate *temenos* outside the city walls, delimited by the stelai into which the discussed texts were incised. Near the inscription the archaeologists found³⁴ a graffiti depicting a carelessly incised building accompanied by a letter N, presumably an effigy of our *naos*³⁵. The editor has also stated³⁶ that *hieros topos* was “rebuilt” presumably after an earthquake, which

³⁰ AUPERT, HERMARY 2006: 89.

³¹ MITFORD 1946: 40.

³² AUPERT, HERMARY 2006: 89: “À la lumière de la ligne 6 du texte A et à l’examen de la photographie 7, il faut lire τὸν et non τῶν comme Mitford. La base de l’*omicron* disparaît dans une cassure, mais il ne présente, ni à gauche, ni à droite, les nets retours que l’on note à l’*oméga* immédiatement superposé à la ligne 6”.

³³ It was one of the three most famous Cypriot sanctuaries and received the right of asylum from the Roman Senate, along with the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in Paphos and the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Salamis. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* III 62 f.: “Exim Cyprii tribus <de> delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphiae Veneri auctor Aerias, post filius eius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae et Iovi Salaminio Teucer, Telamonis patris ira profugus, posuissent” (“Next [came] the Cypriots [asking for the privilege of asylum] for three shrines: the oldest of them – the one of Venus Paphia – was built by Aerias, then his son Amathus built one for Venus Amathusia and Teucer for Iupiter Salaminus, when he was trying to evade anger of his father Telamon”). Cf. KARAGEORGHIS 2005: 76 f.

³⁴ AUPERT, HERMARY 2006: 96 f., a photo on p. 97.

³⁵ It can be a very hard task to determine the nature of the place basing only on the term *hieros topos*. This term had a very broad meaning, cf. BERNARD 1993: 103–110 and HUSSON 1983: 276–278, s.v. *topos*. A delimited *topos* was also a term often used in decrees concerning the right of asylum granted to sacred places, cf. RIGSBY 1996: esp. nos. 212, 223; REYNOLDS 1989: no. 35.

³⁶ AUPERT, HERMARY 2006: 94.

had hit Cyprus in 76 or 77 CE³⁷. Unfortunately, these views seem to be incorrect and I will discuss them in a forthcoming article³⁸.

II. THE WORSHIP OF *APHRODITE KYPRIA*

I would like to take into consideration another interesting issue – the title of Aphrodite in the Bruttius Maximus dedication, i.e. Κυπρία (cf. *Venus Cypria*). A discussion aroused over the question whether there was an official cult of Aphrodite Kypria on Cyprus and whether it was more important than the cult of the famous Paphian Aphrodite. T.B. MITFORD³⁹ suspected that it was an official form of worship and wondered if it could be even more important than the Paphian one. P. AUPERT⁴⁰ was also interested in the nature of the honorand goddess and her unusual titulature. He thought that an epithet μεγάλη θεὰ Κύπρου can be a “recompense” for placing the goddess’s name after the emperor’s.

In my opinion the present evidence for Aphrodite Kypria is not sufficient to acknowledge the existence of an institutionalized cult. As far as I know the following attestations can be evoked⁴¹:

- 1) the mentioned above two dedications from Amathous set up by L. Bruttius Maximus – AUPERT, HERMARY 2006: 88, nos A and B,
- 2) a dedication of proconsul L. Crepereius Proculus in Amathous – “[- Crep] ereius, pro[consul - - -] | [mo]numentum si[gnumq(ue) aere?] | um Veneris Cyp[r]ia[e - - -] | taei pecunia s[ua - - | - - -]”⁴²,
- 3) a dedication from Amathous set up by a woman Eubiota in honour of her husband Panaitios: Κυπρ[ία] | Πολυξένου· Αινιαῦ[ος θυ]γάτηρ· Εὐβιότα

³⁷ On the earthquake cf. GUIDOBONI 1994: no. 101.

³⁸ P. NOWAKOWSKI, *A Hieros Topos in Amathous and a “Legal Decision” of Augustus and Agrippa*, forthcoming in “Palamedes”. AUPERT himself remained very careful about his statement and did not claim that these are his final views on the issue, cf. AUPERT, HERMARY 2006: 83: “Le problème de la localisation exacte du sanctuaire épigraphiquement mentionné ne pourra être véritablement abordé qu’au sein de la publication de l’ensemble de la fouille, au terme d’une réflexion menée de pair avec mes partenaires, Pierre Leriche et Claire Balandier”.

³⁹ MITFORD 1990: 2185 f.

⁴⁰ AUPERT, HERMARY 2006: 90 f. Cf. HERMARY 1988: 101: “Le culte de la grande déesse de la ville, celle que les Amathousiens appelaient, non sans fierté sans doute, l’Aphrodite de Chypre”. Cf. ibidem, pp. 108 and 102: “Aphrodite reçoit un culte, à Amathonte, sous le nom de la Déesse de Chypre ou l’Aphrodite de Chypre”. But, on the other hand, HERMARY, MASSON 1982: 241: “Une traduction fidèle devrait être ‘la Chypriote, Aphrodite’, plutôt que ‘l’Aphrodite chypriote’”.

⁴¹ Cf. HERMARY 1988: 101–109; VAN BERCHEM 1975: 155.

⁴² Text according to *AE* 1986, no. 692: “Proconsul Crepereius set up a memorial and a copper statue of Cypriot Aphrodite from his own money”; cf. LE GLAY 1987: 33 f.; KARAGEORGHIS 2005: 88.

- | Παναίτιον Πολυξένου Αινιᾶνα, | Διὸς Ὀρομπάτα ἱερέα, τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα, αὐτὴ καὶ τὰ παιδιά⁴³,
- 4) an inscription from Amathous mentioning a *hiereus* of Aphrodite: ἐφ’ ἱερέως Κύπρου Ἀφρ[οδίτης] | Χαρίνου τοῦ Χαρίνου⁴⁴ and presumably another of this kind from Paphos: ἱερέα τῆ[ς νήσου] | [Ἀφροδίτης (?)]⁴⁵,
- 5) a verse inscription from Paphos: [ἀσπί]δα καὶ Νείκην Παλλὰς χειρὶ θῆ[κ]α π[αχείη] | [ῥπ]λων οὐ χρήζω πρὸς Κύπριν ἐρχομένη· | [Κεκρο]πίδης μ’ ἀνέθηκε πάτρης ἀπὸ πατρίδ’ ἐς ἄλλην | [Θε]ϊόδοτος Παφιοῖς Φειδιακὴν Χάρिता⁴⁶,
- 6) two verse inscriptions from Amathous: (a) Θησαυρὸν Κυπρίαί καὶ [Ὀρεσ]θέως εἰ[κόνα] μορ[φ]ῆ[ς] | υἱοῦ τήνδε ἀνέθηκε Ἀν[δ]ροκλῆς βασιλεύς⁴⁷, and (b) Β[ασιλεύς] Ἀνδροκλῆς - - - (ca. 27 l.) - - - Ὀρ[εσ]θεύς καὶ Ἀνδραγόρου Κυπρίαί Ἀφροδίτη⁴⁸.

In my opinion the so called *Aphrodite Kypria*, appearing in these inscriptions, is only a result of the mythological and poetical image of the island in Greek literature⁴⁹. The founders of the first three inscriptions were not of Cypriot origin. Both of them are Roman proconsuls of the island. The reason of dedication to Kypria is their acquaintance with myths and stories about Cyprus in the Greco-Roman world. Thus these texts cannot be taken into consideration as an attestation of a native Cypriot cult of Aphrodite.

The inscription cited in point three comes from the third or second century BCE. It was found in 1914 in Amathous by E. SITTIG. The exact place of discovery is not known, but it must have been somewhere on the acropolis⁵⁰. The dedicator and the honorand are Greeks, but they are also foreigners. Both of them

⁴³ MASSON 1972: 199–203: “To the Cypriot. Eubiota daughter of an Aenian, wife of Polyxenos with her children honoured her husband Panaitios son of Polyxenos the Aenian, the priest of Zeus Orompatas”.

⁴⁴ *GIBM* IV 2, no. 975: “when Charinos son of Charinos was a priest of Aphrodite of Cyprus”.

⁴⁵ MITFORD 1953: 131, no. 2 = MITFORD 1961: 26, no. 69: “the priest of Aphrodite of the island”.

⁴⁶ *SEG* XXXIX, no. 1529: “I Pallas Athena have put down my shield and Nike with my strong hand, because I do not need my arms after my arrival at Cyprus. Kekropides Theiodotos gave me, the Grace of Phidias, to the Paphians, when he changed his homeland”.

⁴⁷ HERMARY, HELLMANN 1980: 262: “King Androkles offered a treasure and a statue of his son Orestheus to the Cypriot”. In Cyprus Aphrodite was a *kourotrophos* goddess. Hence the dedication of a statue of king’s child (KARAGEORGHIS 2005: 85).

⁴⁸ HERMARY, MASSON 1982: 239: “King Androkles [offered] to the Cypriot Aphrodite [- - -] of Orestheus and Andragoras”.

⁴⁹ On the Cypriot origin of Aphrodite cf. an abundant chapter “Aphrodite et l’île de Chypre” in PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994: 309–369. It must be admitted that there was also another tradition of the birth of the goddess. Homer (e.g. *Il.* V 370 ff.) calls her a daughter of Zeus and Dione. The two traditions were also joined by later writers (cf. PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994: 311, 317).

⁵⁰ MASSON 1972: 201; cf. SITTIG 1915: 158.

are described as Αἰνιάνες, i.e. Aenianes – a Greek tribe from Thessaly, which wandered through Greece⁵¹. The names Eubiota and Polyxenos are well attested among the Aenianes⁵². Moreover, the name Panaitios is also not a Cypriot one – it is a typical Rhodian name. Additionally, a very interesting issue is the priesthood of Panaitios. He was a *hiereus* of Zeus *Orompatas*. This epithet is, unfortunately, a *hapax legomenon*, but it does not seem to be a Cypriot deity⁵³. A few theories concerning this issue exist. E. SITTIG⁵⁴ wanted to understand Ὀρομπάτας as ὄρει - βάτης, i.e. a *mountain-walking* god. He argued that -μπ- can stand for -β-, but this argument was rejected as anachronistic. A slightly different etymology was suggested by M. BÉQUIGNON⁵⁵, who thought that the word derived from ἐμβρατεύω and meant ὄρεμβάτης, i.e. a *mountain-climbing* god. A.B. COOK⁵⁶ suggested that the epithet *mountain-walking* is more suitable for Pan than for Zeus. He opted that *Orompatas* can be connected with a word attested by Plutarch in the so called “Pythian language”: ὄρεμπότας⁵⁷. Thus Zeus *Orompatas* would be a god of streams. COOK pointed out that the Aenianes used to live for some time in Kirrha, the harbour of Delphi and Zeus is present on their coinage between 168 and 146 BCE⁵⁸. This view has been recently supported by R. BEEKES⁵⁹.

Thus this inscription would refer to foreigners who visited the Cypriot shrine and founded a stele dedicated to Aphrodite Kypria – i.e. the goddess born on Cyprus whom they knew from myths and legends. This does not imply that they conformed to an already existing cult. It should be also explained why the Aenianes would go to Amathous. In my opinion the answer lies in the myth, attested by Nonnos (*Dion.* V 611), about Zeus Xenios who pursued the Cypriot Aphrodite. When he did not manage to catch her, he dropped his sperm on the Cypriot ground and thus created *kerastai* – the horned centaurs⁶⁰. Ovid (*Met.*

⁵¹ MILI 2011: 169.

⁵² Cf. MASSON 1972: 202; the author cites *IG IX 2* nos. 4, 15, 20, 21, 45 and 49.

⁵³ For the opposite opinion see MITFORD 1990: 2185.

⁵⁴ SITTIG 1915: 159. Cf. MASSON 1972: 203.

⁵⁵ BÉQUIGNON 1937: 179 f. (*non vidi*).

⁵⁶ COOK 1914–1940: II 868 f., n. 8.

⁵⁷ Plut. *De Pyth. or.* 24: ἀπέπαυσε δὲ τὴν Πυθίαν ὁ θεὸς πυρικάους μὲν ὀνομάζουσιν τοὺς αὐτῆς πολίτας, ὄφιοβόρους δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, ὄρεᾶνας δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὄρεμπότας δὲ τοὺς ποταμούς (“The god forced Pythia to stop calling her citizens setting fire, the Spartans eating snakes, men *oreanes* and rivers *orempotes*”).

⁵⁸ E.g. BMC Thessaly, p. 10.

⁵⁹ BEEKES 2010, s.v. *orempotes*.

⁶⁰ Cf. however *Etym. Magn.* 738, 50 (cf. Tzetz. *Schol. in Lycoph.* 447), where it is said that *kerastai* were horned people, according to one Menander: [Cyprus] ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ Κεραστία, ὡς Μένανδρος ἐν τῷ περὶ Κύπρου λέγει, διὰ τὸ ἐνοικῆσαι αὐτῇ ἄνδρας, οἱ εἶχον κέρατα, ὡς δὲ Ξενογόρας ἐν τῷ περὶ νήσων, διὰ τὸ ἔχειν πολλὰς ἐνοχὰς, ἅς κέρατα καλοῦσιν (“Menandros in a book on Cyprus says that the island was called Kerastia, because it was inhabited by men who

X 222) says that the *kerastai* were typical especially of Amathous. Finally some figurines of horned centaurs were found especially in the homeland of the Aenianes – Thessaly⁶¹; moreover, it was a region otherwise connected with those creatures. Though it is doubtful if Zeus Orompatas is the same as the god mentioned by Nonnos, it can be claimed that there is a connection between the Aenianes and Amathous⁶².

Point 4 contains a set of two inscriptions concerning the so called “priest of all Cyprus”⁶³. Though the name of Aphrodite also appears in the text, it cannot be claimed that Charinos, son of Charinos was a *hiereus* of Aphrodite Kypria. The first inscription says: ἐφ’ ἱερέως Κύπρου Ἀφρ[οδίτης]⁶⁴. In my opinion the word Κύπρου refers to *hiereus*, not to the goddess. It is a *priest of Cyprus*, not *Aphrodite of Cyprus*, who is mentioned here.

A less probable interpretation was put forward by D. VAN BERCHEM⁶⁵, who explicated a theory of J. RUDHARDT⁶⁶ that *Kypros* (masculine) was an archaic name of Aphrodite. The latter of the scholars evoked three late sources which could have preserved the unusual name. A *scholion* on Lycophron’s *Alexandra* (449) comments the words Μορφῶ παροικήσουσι with a phrase Κύπρον τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, παρὰ τὸ μορφοῦσθαι. The exact thought of the scholiast is not clear, but RUDHARDT considered both words: *Kypros* and *Aphrodite* as two names of the goddess. He supported his thesis by reference to Nonnos (*Dion.* XIII 440), who says that the blood of Ouranos μόρφωσε i.e. morphed into the shape of the goddess. A few lines earlier (435 f.) the poet says: Κύπρον [...] νῆσον [...] Κύπριδος αὐτογόνιοι φερώνυμον, i.e. the island is to bear an exact name of Aphrodite. Another strange passage is an entry of Hesychios⁶⁷: Γένεσις Κύπρου· ἡ σπονδή, παρὰ Κυπρίοις, what would mean “a birth of *Kypros*”, i.e. a birth of the goddess herself. Basing on this evidence VAN BERCHEM wanted to interpret ἱερεὺς Κύπρου Ἀφρ[οδίτης] as “a priest of Aphrodite the *Kypros*”. He assumed that it was a reminiscence of the androgynous Amathousian Aphrodite and even

had horns. Xenagoras in a book on the islands says that [Cyprus was called so] because it has many peninsulas which they call horns”).

⁶¹ Cf. DRÜMLER 1894: 2760.

⁶² Another interesting similarity is the discussed below Cypriot feast, *karposis*. Xenophon (*An.* VI 1, 7) attests that there existed a ritual dance, called *karpaia*, performed by the Aenians and Magnesians (cf. MILI 2011: 172). KARAGEORGHIS (2005: 79 f.) also notices a connection between *kerastai* and Zeus Orompatas. However, he does not discuss the presence of the Aenians but wants to connect the Ovidian account of human sacrifice performed by the horned people with the worship of Zeus Meilichios and Orompatas and with depictions of a sacred bull, which were common in Cyprus.

⁶³ MITFORD 1990: 2186.

⁶⁴ *GIBM* IV 2, no. 975.

⁶⁵ VAN BERCHEM 1975: 155. Supported by KARAGEORGHIS 2005: 109.

⁶⁶ RUDHARDT 1975: 139–142. It was also supported by PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994: 331–333.

⁶⁷ Hesych. s.v. Γένεσις Κύπρου: “the birth of Cyprus: a libation among the Cypriots”.

L. Bruttius Maximus set up his steles to [Κ]υπρί[ω]ι | Ἀφροδε[ι]τηι (*sic!*). I do not want to judge if *Kypros* really was the name of the goddess, but VAN BERCHEM's idea seems to carry things a bit too far. In my opinion in this inscription ἱερεὺς Κύπρου is only an alternative to a more frequent expression ἱερεὺς τῆς νήσου⁶⁸. The Cypriots used to describe their homeland simply as *the island* and in Charinos's stele the phrase was simply substituted with a precise name.

It can be questioned if Charinos's function is the same as the Cypriot ἡγήτωρ, known from lexicographers of Late Antiquity and if this kind of priesthood was connected with Aphrodite *Kypria*⁶⁹. Hesychios⁷⁰ wrote: κάρπωσις – θυσία Ἀφροδίτης ἐν Ἀμαθοῦντι⁷¹ and ἀγήτωρ – ὁ τῶν Ἀφροδίτης θηηλῶν ἡγούμενος ἱερεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἡ ἑορτὴ ἀγητόρ(ε)ια⁷². In my opinion the leading role of *hegetor* can be an argument for his identification with *hiereus Kyprou*, but some epigraphic sources⁷³ also attest this priesthood and the precise use of the term ἡγητορευκῶς speaks against it. If *hiereus Kyprou* were *hegetor*, he would have been adequately called. Moreover in the same inscription another man, Aristion, son of Antenor (or Euphranor), is simultaneously styled *hegetor*⁷⁴. Thus Charinos could not be the man holding this post. There is a possibility that he could be a *hegetor* some time earlier⁷⁵, but not while being the *hiereus* of Cyprus.

The second inscription from point 4 is fragmentary and the line preserving the name of the office reads as follows: ἱερέα τῆ[ς νήσου] | [Ἀφροδίτης (?)]⁷⁶. T.B. MITFORD identified the honorand as Theodoros, son of Seleukos, who was

⁶⁸ E.g. MITFORD 1961: nos. 40 and 78; *SEG* XXXI, no. 1359; *I. Kition*, no. 2037 and others.

⁶⁹ Cf. MITFORD 1990: 2186, n. 49; KARAGEORGHIS 2005: 109.

⁷⁰ Hesych. s.v. ἀγήτωρ; κάρπωσις.

⁷¹ “Karpōsis – an offering to Aphrodite in Amathous”. In my opinion RUDHARDT (1975: 120) wrongly identifies *karpōsis* with the mysteries described in the *Acts of Barnaba*. It is more probable that the mysteries took place in Rantidi near Paphos; cf. YOUNG 2005: 23–44.

⁷² “Hagetor – a priest, leader of the offerings to Aphrodite in Cyprus. A feast hagetoreia”.

⁷³ MITFORD 1961: no. 99 = *OGIS* 364: Ἀφροδίτηι Παφίαι | τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Κυπρίων Ποταμῶν[α] Αἰγύπτ[ου] | τῶν ἐν Πάφῳ γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων | καὶ ἡγητορευκότων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ Θεοῦς Εὐεργέτας τεχνιτῶν. | εὐνοίας χάριν (“To the Paphian Aphrodite. The association of Cypriots honoured Potamon son of Aigyptos, one of the former gymnasiarchs in Paphos, one of the former hegetors and a member of the association of poets for Dionysos and the divine benefactors [the Ptolemies]. Because of his magnanimity”). Cf. also *GIBM* IV 2, no. 975. Cf. *SEG* XLIX, no. 612, where name Aristion, son of Euphranor is suggested.

⁷⁴ *GIBM* IV 2, no. 975, ll. 7–10: Ἀρισ[τίων Ἀντή] | υρορος. Τῶν ἐστρατηγε[κότων καὶ] | γεγυμνα[σ]ιαρχηκότ[ων καὶ ἀρξάν] | των, ὁ ἡγήτωρ (“Ariston son of Antenor. One of the former strategoi and gymnasiarchs and archonts, the hegetor”).

⁷⁵ *GIBM* IV 2, no. 975, ll. 5–7: ἀρξάντων ὑπὲρ τῆς σω[] | τηρίας τοῦ Ἀμαθουσιῶ[ν δήμου] | καὶ τῶν καρπῶν (“one of the former officials responsible for offerings for the safety of the people of Amathous and of the crops”).

⁷⁶ MITFORD 1961: 26, no. 69.

a Ptolemaic governor of Cyprus. The stele was erected in 143 BCE. The British scholar was however reluctant to strictly define the priesthood of Theodoros. He assumed that $\text{ιερέα τῆ[ς Παφίας] | [Ἀφροδίτης]}$ can be an equally probable option⁷⁷. I would like to point out that too much doubt arises of these two sources and they can not be used in order to attest an official cult of Aphrodite Kypria, connected with the hegetorial priesthood.

The last three inscriptions, outlined in points 5 and 6, are verse ones. The first of them comes from Paphos, the other from Amathous. In the Paphian epigram Aphrodite is styled Κύπρις, not exactly Κυπρία. It commemorates setting up a statue of Athene in the famous Paphian shrine by a man who most probably came to the island from Athens. Thus he got a new *patris* mentioned in the text. It is the next case of a foreigner dedicating to *Aphrodite Kypria*.

The second and third inscriptions are foundations of a *basileus* Androkles. They were found in Amathous. A. HERMARY⁷⁸ suggested that Androkles can be the same person as the man mentioned by Arrianus. The Greek historian says that a king of Amathous, bearing this name, was helping Alexander the Great during the siege of Tyre in 332 and that his ship was sunk by the Tyrians along with some other Cypriot quinqueremes⁷⁹. These inscriptions are in fact the only dedications of a native Cypriot to Aphrodite Kypria. I have carefully examined the photo, because it would be very easy to mistake ΚΥΠΡΙΔΙ for ΚΥΠΡΙΑΙ, but the text indeed says *Kypriai*. The serious problem about this attestation is its poetic character. Firstly, the use of the word *Kypriai* can be explained by metrical necessity – *Kypridi* has a short *iota* at the end, while *ai* of *Kypriai* can stand for a required long syllable. Secondly, the author was writing a poetic text, an epigram, so he could call Aphrodite *Kypria*, inspired by myths, not by the real epithet of the goddess worshipped in Amathous. In my opinion the Cypriot allegiance of Aphrodite in all three inscriptions is due only to their poetic character and does not represent any real poliadic cult of Aphrodite.

⁷⁷ MITFORD 1961: 26: “I have already suggested that Euergetes at the outset of his reign made some concession to the priesthood of Aphrodite at Old Paphos. Hence perhaps their gratitude to Seleukos, who would implement this policy. The grant of an honorary priesthood of Theodoros would be in keeping with this, for Seleukos, himself *ex officio* high-priest could not be honoured in this manner”.

⁷⁸ HERMARY, HELLMANN 1980: 262.

⁷⁹ ΑΠ. *Anab.* II 22: τὴν τε Πνυταγόρου τοῦ βασιλέως πεντήρη ἐυθύς ὑπὸ τῆ πρώτῃ ἐμβολῇ κατέδυσαν καὶ τὴν Ἀνδροκλέους τοῦ Ἀμαθουσίου καὶ τὴν Πασικράτους τοῦ Κουριέως τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξωθοῦντες ἔκοπτον (“They sank the quinquereme of king Pnytagoras already with the first hit and that of king Androkles the Amathousian and that of Pasikrates from Kourion and they forced the others to get stranded and they destroyed them”). John Tzetzes in his commentary to Lycophron mentions another Androkles, who wrote a book on Cyprus, this however is probably a mistake for Menander (cf. Tzetz. *Schol. in Lycoph.* 447 and J. KIRCHNER, *Androkles* 8, *RE* I 2 [1894], col. 2148).

Only one thing in the overall appearance of those inscriptions can be disturbing – the Amathousian origin of most of them. However, an explanation other than a mere coincidence can be suggested. Most of the sources attest the extraordinary role of Paphos (maybe even that Aphrodite was born on the nearby coast)⁸⁰. The Aphrodite worshipped in Paphos was very famous and commonly known as the Paphia. Thus adding another epithet was not necessary. *Kypria* could be a description of any other Aphrodite worshipped on Cyprus and would not mean “the goddess of all Cyprus”, but “the goddess worshipped in Cyprus” or simply “coming from Cyprus”. The Amathousian sanctuary was second to the Paphian and considered as the oldest in the island – that is why it attracted ancient tourists and pilgrims, but it seems that the epithet *Amathusia*, attested by Catullus (68, 51), was less known and more susceptible to alterations.

So could the expressions *Aphrodite Kypria* and *Kypria* be not of Cypriot origin? Where should the source of the expression be searched for? As I have suggested above, it is a non-Cypriot construction, deriving from the myth about the birth of Aphrodite on the Cypriot shores. It can be understood as a common expression used by foreigners to designate Aphrodite. The primary source of it is of course the mythical plot. As for literature, it must be admitted that the ancient writers rarely use the word *Kypria*⁸¹. It is attested in the odes of Pindar. In the first *Olympic Ode* the poet says: φίλια δῶρα Κυπρίας⁸² and in the eighth Nemean uses a similar phrase: ποιμένες (...) Κυπρίας δώρων (*Nem.* 8, 7). Among the Latin authors⁸³ there are more references to *Cypria*. Pseudo-Tibullus (III 3, 34) says: “et faveas concha, Cypria, vecta tua”; while Paulus Diaconus in his epitome of Festus (III 52) recalls the myth: “Cypria Venus, quod ei primum in Cypro insula templum sit constitutum”. There is also a set of Christian polemics which mention mysteries of Venus Cypria⁸⁴. Arnobius⁸⁵ writes: “Nec non et Cypriae Veneris abstrusa illa initia praetereamus, quorum conditor indicatur

⁸⁰ Cf. DRÜMLER 1894: 2757. Paus. I 14: πρώτοις Κυπρίων Παφίους κατέστη σέβεσθαι τὴν Οὐρανιαν. Other authors simply connect Aphrodite with Paphos but do not explicitly describe her origin – Hom. *Od.* VIII 362–366 says about her journey to Paphos after the love affair with Ares and its revealing by Hephaestus. Strabo VIII 340 f. refers the words of Alcman (Κύπρον ἱμερτὰν λιποῖσα καὶ Πάφον περιρρύταν, “she left pleasant Cyprus and Paphos surrounded by water”) and Aeschylus (Κύπρου Πάφου τ’ ἔχουσα πάντα κληῖρον: “she has all Cyprus and Paphos as a heritage”), underlining the extraordinary role of Paphos.

⁸¹ Cf. LSJ s.v. Κυπρία; Κύπρις; OLD s.v. *Cypria*; DRÜMLER 1894: 2757.

⁸² Pind. *Ol.* 1, 75: “the lovely gifts of the Cypriot”.

⁸³ Cf. HERMARY, HELLMANN 1980: 264: “Dans les textes littéraires cette dénomination n’apparaît que deux fois, chez Pindare”. The authors do not consider Latin sources.

⁸⁴ Cf. a commentary on these texts in PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994: 342–344. Though they are a late testimony, it is highly probable that they contain descriptions of really existing rites, but according to a Christian interpretation.

⁸⁵ Arn. *Adv. nat.* V 19: “We will also briefly discuss the mysteries of Venus Cypria. King Kinyras is told to be the founder of them. Those who want to be initiated must bring a certain pay-

Cinyras rex fuisse, in quibus sumentes ea certas stipes inferunt ut meretrici et referunt phallos propitii numinis signa donatos”. Here Kinyras is considered as a mythical founder of the cult. People who wanted to be initiated brought some money and received figures of *phalloi* instead. The necessity of payment and the erotic nature of the goddess provoked Arnobius to compare her to a prostitute. A similar description is given by Firmicus Maternus⁸⁶: “Audio Cinyram regem templum amicae meretrici donasse, ei erat Venus nomen, initiasse etiam Cypriae Veneri plurimos et variis consecrationibus deputasse, statuisset etiam ut quicumque initiari vellet secreto Veneris sibi tradito assem unum mercedis nomine deae daret”. This passage, written in a spirit of euhemerism⁸⁷ (Aphrodite as a deified prostitute), precises that the followers of the cult had to pay one *as* in order to get initiated. J. RUDHARDT⁸⁸ supposed that these mysteries can be the same as the one described by Strabo⁸⁹ – a yearly procession from Nea Paphos to Palaipaphos and possibly the same event which saint Barnaba witnessed⁹⁰ when he met a group of naked men and women walking down the road and singing in honour of Aphrodite. It is possible that Kinyras appears in the context of the mysteries because of the *Kinyradai* – a group of priests of Aphrodite who held their office in Paphos⁹¹. Anyway these sources are commonly attributed to Paphos, not to Amathous. Thus the epithet *Cypria* can not be taken for a precisely Amathousian one.

On the other hand Pseudo-Clemens Romanus⁹² mentions that there is a sacred grave of Venus Cypria in Cyprus: “sepulcra singulis quibusque in locis manifestissime demonstrantur [...] Cypriae Veneris apud Cyprum”. It is true that no such place has been found during the archaeological research on site, but on the other hand the *Life of Saint Tycho*⁹³ also attests the existence of a grave of Aphrodite there. Thus there is little probability that it was mistaken for the grave

ment for the goddess, as if she were a prostitute. Then they receive phalluses as a sign of favour of the goddess⁷.

⁸⁶ Firm. Mat. *Err. prof. rel.* 10, 1: “I have heard that king Kinyras dedicated a shrine to his friend – a prostitute. Her name was Venus. Kinyras initiated many people to the cult of the Cypriot Venus and ordered some offerings. He also decided that if somebody wanted to be initiated to the secret rites of Venus, he must offer one *as* to the goddess as a fair payment”.

⁸⁷ Cf. RUDHARDT 1975: 123.

⁸⁸ RUDHARDT 1975: 113 f. Cf. YOUNG 2005: 23–44, who claimed that the destination of the procession was the sanctuary in Rantidi, where a male consort of the goddess could have been worshipped.

⁸⁹ Strabo XIV 6, 3.

⁹⁰ *Act. Barn.* 18.

⁹¹ Cf. W. KROLL, *Kinyras*, *RE* XI, 1 (1921), col. 484; RUDHARDT 1975: 112.

⁹² Clem. Rom. *Recognitiones* X 24: “they proudly show graves in certain places [...] the grave of Venus Cypria on Cyprus”; cf. Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2, 13 f. – there is no mention of *Kypria*.

⁹³ *Vita Sancti Tychoni*, p. 230: ἔνθα λέγει τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐν Πάφῳ τῆς Κύπρου ταφῆναι (“He says that Aphrodite was buried in Paphos on Cyprus”). Cf. RUDHARDT 1975: 115.

of Ariadne-Aphrodite in Amathous. Again we meet the employment of the word in a general sense, not a strictly Amathousian connection.

On the contrary *Kypris* was a much more favoured term⁹⁴. The following selected attestations provide evidence. It appears as early as the epic poetry. Homer names so Aphrodite wounded by Diomedes: ὁ δὲ Κύπριν ἐπώχετο νηλεῖ χαλκῶ⁹⁵ and again in the speech of Apollo: Κύπριδα μὲν πρῶτα σχεδὸν οὐτάσε χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῶ⁹⁶. In the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite, the goddess is twice presented with epithets corresponding to Cyprus: μούσα μοι ἔννεπε ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης, | Κύπριδος⁹⁷ and χαῖρε, θεά, Κύπριοιο ἐυκτιμένης μεδέουσα⁹⁸. *Kypris* was also evoked by two Greek poetesses, Sappho: ἐλθέ Κύπρι | χρυσαίσιον ἐν κυλίκεσιν ἄβρωσ | συμμεμιγμένον θαλίασι νέκταρ οἰνοχοεῦσα⁹⁹ and by Corinna in a poem on the daughter of Asopos: οὐ[τ]ω γὰρ Ἔρωσ | κῆ Κούπρις πιθέταν¹⁰⁰. In the Western part of the Greek world another poet-philosopher, Empedocles speaks about Aphrodite, calling her *Kypris*: Οὐδέ τις ἦν κείνοισιν Ἄρης θεὸς οὐδὲ Κυδοίμωσ | οὐδὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ Κρόνος οὐδὲ Ποσειδῶν, | ἀλλὰ Κύπρις βασίλεια¹⁰¹.

It should be added that Hesiod uses a term slightly different than *Kypris* in order to describe Aphrodite: Κυπρογενέα δ', ὅτι γέντο πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ Κύπρῳ¹⁰². It was also repeated in the tenth Homeric hymn: κυπρογενῆ Κυθήρειαν ἀείσομαι¹⁰³.

On the contrary the Cypriots themselves did not perceive Aphrodite in the same way as the famous Greek poets (the goddess of whole Cyprus). Until the very end of the fourth century BCE and the introduction of the Ptolemaic reign Cyprus was nothing more than a geographical term. The island was divided between several kingdoms, often hostile to each other and not even able to forge a common policy towards the Persian threat¹⁰⁴. A simple consequence is the

⁹⁴ A detailed description and etymology can be found in PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994: 311, 317, n. 41.

⁹⁵ Hom. *Il.* V 330: "He attacked Kypris with a pitiless copper".

⁹⁶ Hom. *Il.* V 458: "First he almost wounded Kypris in her ankle".

⁹⁷ *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 1 f.: "Muse, tell me about the deeds of the golden Aphrodite Kypris".

⁹⁸ *Ibidem* 292: "Be well, goddess, lady of beautiful Cyprus".

⁹⁹ Sapph. fr. 5 BERGK: "Come, Kypris, you who pour delicate mixed nectar to golden chalices during feasts".

¹⁰⁰ Corinn. 2, 58 DIEHL: "In this way Kypris and Eros persuaded".

¹⁰¹ Emp. fr. 128 DIELS: "In the beginning in vacuum there was no god Ares, nor Kydoimos, king Zeus, Kronos and Poseidon, but only queen Kypris".

¹⁰² Hes. *Theog.* 199: "Kyprogenea, because she was born on Cyprus surrounded by water". Cf. also PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994: 316.

¹⁰³ *Hymn. Hom.* 10, 1: "I will sing about Kythereia who was born on Cyprus".

¹⁰⁴ Cf. POUILLIUX 1989: 147–161; the attempts of Onesilos, the king of Salamis to unite Cyprus against the Persians required some military actions against Amathous in order to forge a fragile

character of the cult of Aphrodite¹⁰⁵. It was similarly divided between cities and called¹⁰⁶ the Paphian¹⁰⁷, the Amathousian¹⁰⁸, *Akraia*¹⁰⁹, *Ourania*¹¹⁰, *Prospiciens* or Παρακύπτουσα (in Salamis)¹¹¹, Ὀρεία (in Soli)¹¹², Ἐγχείος¹¹³, Ἐλεήμων¹¹⁴, or perhaps Εὐβούλα¹¹⁵.

* * *

In my opinion the evidence listed above is sufficient to contest the opinions about the existence of two characteristic forms of worship in Amathous. The modern scholars who underline the ancient rumours about the strange cults in this city must not allow to be deluded themselves by those stories. Of course presence of some relics of the Eastern, Semitic cults in Amathous is unquestionable,

alliance. Nevertheless, it was quickly ended by a treason of Stesenor of Kourion who joined the Persians during the battle of Salamis, as described by Hdt. V 108–113: Στησίνωρ τύραννος ἐὼν Κουρίου προδοῖ ἔχων δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν περὶ ἑωυτόν οὐ σικμῆν (“Stesenor, who a tyrant of Kourion and had many troops, betrayed”). A few decades later Euagoras of Salamis tried to create a Salaminian hegemony over Cyprus, but the kings of Kition, Amathous and Soli asked Artaxerxes to interrupt his plans. The invading army was led by Tribazos and defeated Euagoras’s forces (Diod. XV 8).

¹⁰⁵ Another factor, which I am not going to discuss here, is the dependency of the Cypriot cults on the Near Eastern forms of worship and the identification of classical gods with the pre-Greek ones. On the identifications of Aphrodite with Astatre cf. BUDIN 2004: 95–145; YOUNG 2005: 23–44; RUDHARDT 1975: 109 and 126 (about shrines of Aphrodite in Idalion and Kition where she was to be worshipped in garden or wood sanctuaries, as Eastern goddesses were); PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994: 312 ff. The ancient authors shared similar views on the Eastern origin of Aphrodite, cf. Hdt. I 105; Paus. I 14, 7. PIRENNE-DELFORGE also suggests that already Homer considered Aphrodite as an oriental deity and because of that described her as a protectress of the Trojans.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. the evidence in MITFORD 1990: passim.

¹⁰⁷ It was the most important name of Aphrodite worshipped in Paphos. There were also some minor cults in the city: Aphrodite Αερία, whose shrine could be located in the “open air” (Tac. *Hist.* II 3; cf. Hesych. s.v. Αερία) and Γαληναίη, a saviour of the sailors (Philodemus *AP* X 21). Cf. also RUDHARDT 1975: 129. On the alternative etymology of *Paphia* cf. PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994: 318, n. 44. On another etymology of the name Aeria deriving possibly from Latin *aes*, *aeris* cf. ibidem 331.

¹⁰⁸ Catull. 68, 51.

¹⁰⁹ Strabo XIV 6, 3; *SEG* XVIII, no. 578. Οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀκροῖς – *SEG* XX, no. 316. Cf. RUDHARDT 1975: 128.

¹¹⁰ RUDHARDT 1975: 132.

¹¹¹ *Ov. Met.* XIV 698–771.

¹¹² *SCE* III, p. 626, no. 8: Ἀφροδείτη Ὀρεία ἐπηκόωι.

¹¹³ Hesych. s.v. Ἐγχείος. RUDHARDT 1975: 129.

¹¹⁴ Hesych. s.v. Ἐλεήμων. Cf. RUDHARDT 1975: 129.

¹¹⁵ Cf. RUDHARDT 1975: 129. The name attested on a bronze pin, covered by gold, published by HOGARTH 1888: 223: Ἀφροδίτη Παφία Εὐβούλα εὐχήν | ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ἀράτου τοῦ συγγενοῦς | καὶ Ταμίασα. However, MITFORD (1961: 41) insisted that Euboula is the name of the dedicant – the wife of Aratos. In my opinion it is a more probable interpretation.

but on the other hand we can not suppose that every story told about the city is true. The cult of baetyls, in the light of AUPERT's and HERMARY's discoveries, is clearly a misunderstanding. The worship of Aphrodite Kypria can be at least doubtful but it seems to me that it is indeed a mere misinterpretation.

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BE: *Bulletin Épigraphique*.

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DEMONASSA – THE TRUE STORY OF AN ILL-FATED QUEEN OF CYPRUS

By

AGNIESZKA KOTLIŃSKA-TOMA

ABSTRACT: This article examines the probable roots and origins of the legend about Demonassa, the unknown queen of Cyprus. The story is told solely in the discourse *Peri Tyches* by Favorinus of Arelete and seems to be a rhetorical *exemplum* invented by the author. The detailed analysis of the individual parts of the story presents its complexity and eclectic character.

The recent decades brought without any doubt a great revival of interest in ancient rhetoric, as it is attested by a larger number of publications, conferences and projects concerning different aspects of the Greek and Roman art of oral expression. Among others also the so-called rhetorical topics or *exempla* deserve some attention from scholars as they tell much about both composition of the orations and the sublime ways of persuasion.

A rhetorical *exemplum* which deserves detailed investigation is the story of Demonassa. As the queen of Cyprus of this name is mentioned only once in extant ancient literature and there is no counterpart of the heroine in history, the legend has not provoked much modern scholarly interest. The purpose of this paper is to present the probable roots for this story. The analysis of the individual parts of it may shed some light on both the historicity of Demonassa and the origins of the legend.

The story about the Cypriot queen Demonassa was told solely in the discourse *Peri Tyches*, one of the two *Orationes* of Dio Chrysostomos, recently assigned to Favorinus of Arelate¹.

ἔρω δὲ ὑμῖν τινα καὶ Κύπριον λόγον, εἰ βούλεσθε. ἤνεγκεν ὁ παλαιὸς βίος καὶ

¹ Dio Chrys. 64, 2–4 = Favor. *De fort.* 2–4. For a recent Budé edition, see E. AMATO (edition and commentary), Y. JULIEN (translation into French), *Favorinos d'Arles, Œuvres*, vol. I: *Introduction générale – Témoignages – Discours aux Corinthiens – Sur la Fortune*, Paris 2005. For the issue of attribution, see the stylistic analysis in M. GOGGIN, *Rhythm in the Prose of Favorinus*, YCS XII 1951, pp. 151 and 191 f.; and the edition of A. BARIGAZZI, *Favorino di Arelate, Opere*, Firenze 1966, p. 245, with further bibliography.

ἐνδόξους γυναῖκας, Ῥοδογούνην πολεμικήν, Σεμίραμιν βασιλικήν, Σαπφῶ μουσικήν, Τιμάνδραν καλήν· οὕτω καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ Δημώνασσα ἐγένετο, πολιτική τε ὁμοῦ γυνή καὶ νομοθετική· τρεῖς ἔθηκεν αὕτη τοῖς Κυπρίοις νόμους· τὴν μοιχευθεῖσαν κειραμένην πορνεύεσθαι· θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς ἐμοιχεύθη καὶ τὴν κόμην ἀπεκείρατο κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ ἐπορνεύετο· τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποκτείναντα ἄταφον ῥίπτεσθαι· δεύτερος οὗτος Δημωνάσσης νόμος· τρίτος ὥστε μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι βοῦν ἀρότριον· δυοῖν δὲ αὐτῇ παιδῶν ἀρρένων ὄντων, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ βοῦν ἀποκτεῖναι ἀπέθανε· τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείναντα οὐκ ἔθαψεν· ἡ δὲ τέως μὲν ἐκαρτέρει καὶ ἄπαις οὔσα καὶ νομοθετοῦσα, ἰδοῦσα δὲ βοῦν ἐπὶ μόσχῳ ἀπολλυμένῳ μκωκωμένην καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἐν ἄλλῳ συμφορὰν γνωρίσασα, τήξασα χαλκὸν εἰς αὐτὸν ἤλατο· καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ πύργος ἀρχαῖος ἀνδριάντα χάλκεον ἔχων, χαλκῷ ἐντετηκότα καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ ἰδρύματος καὶ πρὸς μίμημα τοῦ διηγήματος· ἐπιγραφή δὲ ἐπὶ τινος στήλης πλησίον, σοφὴ μὲν ἦμην, ἀλλὰ πάντ' οὐκ εὐτυχής.

But I will tell you also a certain Cypriot tale if you wish. The days of old produced women of distinction as well as men – Rhodogunê the warrior, Semiramis the queen, Sappho the poetess, Timandra the beauty; just so Cyprus too had its Demonassa, a woman gifted in both statesmanship and law-giving. She gave the people of Cyprus the following three laws: a woman guilty of adultery shall have her hair cut off and be a harlot – her daughter became an adulteress, had her hair cut off according to the law, and practised harlotry; whoever commits suicide shall be cast out without a burial – this was the second law of Demonassa; the third, a law forbidding the slaughter of a plough-ox. Of the two sons which she had, one met his death for having slain an ox, while the other, who slew himself, she refrained from burying. Now for a time she not only bore with fortitude the loss of her children but also persevered in her regulations; but having observed a cow lowing in sorrow over a calf which was dying, and having recognized her own misfortune in the case of another, Demonassa melted bronze and leaped into the molten mass. And there used to be at that place an ancient tower holding a bronze statue, an image embedded in bronze, both in order to insure the stability of the statue and also as a representation of the story; and near-by on a tablet there was an inscription: “Wise was I, yet in everything ill-starred”.

(trans. by Crosby H. LAMAR²)

A good starting point of this analysis is the very name of the queen: Demonassa. As a typical Greek compound name it means simply the “lady of the people”, so is an equivalent of a ruler. It was never a popular name in Greece³ though four mythical heroines are known by this name: a daughter of Amphiarauus, the mother of Eurydamas, the mother of Philoctetes, and the mother of Aegialeus by Adrastus – all of them royal daughters or wives of minor significance⁴. As mentioned before, no queen of Cyprus, nor in fact any historical figure is known

² C.H. LAMAR, *Dio Chrysostom*, vol. V: *Discourses 61–80. Fragments. Letters*, Cambridge, MA–London 1951 (Loeb Classical Library), pp. 47–49.

³ See *LGNP* s.v.

⁴ AMATO (*o.c.* [n. 1], p. 498) mentions also a Corinthian *hetaira* of this name (Luc. *DMer.* 5, 2), but she seems to be irrelevant here.

by this name⁵. It is therefore justified to think that in the rhetorical writing of Favorinus the name of the queen has a more universal meaning, it does not necessarily have to infer a specific ruler. The arrangement of the successive parts of the narrations and especially the representation of Demonassa in the speech can reveal another aspects of her literary portrait. As the story is set in a highly rhetorical manner the women named before Demonassa are of great importance. In the similar order Rhodogune and Semiramis are collated one after another in the work of Polyaeus⁶. According to the *Strategemata*, both queens have been surprised whilst bathing by the news of revolts in their countries and did not hesitate to lead their armies even with undressed hair! It seems that a similar set of illustrious women, which included also the biographical entries of Sappho and Timandra was a source used by Favorinus. Unfortunately we are not sure who might have been the latter heroine. It might have been either Timandra, the sister of Helen and Clytemnestra⁷ or, more probably, the last mistress of Alcibiades, mentioned by Plutarch⁸. The examples of the women seem to be chosen very carefully, each of them representing different way of becoming illustrious. Rhodogyne was a great warrior, Semiramis a great ruler, Sappho a great poet, Timandra was famous because of her beauty and Demonassa was in the first place a great law-giver. They all represent virtues characteristic for an ideal king: bravery, wisdom, beauty and legislative skill. Unlike all previously enumerated women Demonassa is not mentioned in any other ancient source. Thus it is impossible to determine if her story was mentioned for the first time by Favorinus or, more probably, also in her case Favorinus followed an unknown older text.

The story of Demonassa seems to be more a typical rhetorical *exemplum* fitting more to the speeches on kingship or law-making than changeability of fortune, especially because her original happiness is not stressed in the text. Therefore her deeds might have been described in a different rhetorical set of *exempla* which was to be used to present an ideal ruler, whose greatness manifested itself in the consequent obedience to his/her own laws⁹. E. MILLER points

⁵ The historicity of Favorinus' Demonassa was questioned already by R. HIRZEL, *Der Selbstmord*, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XI 1908, pp. 75–104, 243–284, 417–476 (here quoted after a book edition: Darmstadt 1966, p. 56, n. 1).

⁶ Polyaeus. *Strategemata*. VIII 26 f.

⁷ We do not know much about her, cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 78; Hes. F 23 a, 176 WEST–MERKELBACH; Ps.-Apollod. III 11, 2.

⁸ Plut. *Alc.* 39, 1–7.

⁹ The story of Demonassa could fit also a set of *exempla* on virtues of woman (maybe like Plutarch's *Mulierum Virtutes*). J. McINERNEY observes that "One has to wonder whether some of the works about famous women were not paradoxological, with more emphasis on *para* than the *doxa*" (Plutarch's *Manly Women*, in: R.M. ROSEN, I. SLUITER [eds.], *Andria: Studies in Manliness and Courage in Classical Antiquity*, Leiden 2003, p. 327).

out the connection between her story and the short chapter on ancient legislators in Aelian's *Varia Historia*¹⁰. In comparison with Favorinus Aelian presents his legislators very briefly, only in a few sentences; in fact, he quotes only the laws they had enacted¹¹.

The particular elements of the story are very surprising. The focal point of the story are the three laws of Demonassa. It is striking that none of them has an equivalent in the legal regulations known from ancient Greece.

Τὴν μοιχευθεῖσαν κειραμένην πορνεύεσθαι
A WOMAN GUILTY OF ADULTERY SHALL HAVE HER HAIR CUT OFF
AND BE A HARLOT

The first law of Demonassa concerns adultery. No legal document preserved either in a form of inscription or attested in literature is known to confirm existence of such law or custom. Of course we do not possess many documents attesting the punishments in case of female adultery¹². The only reliable testimony on punishments in the case of female adultery is the speech *Against Neaera*, erroneously ascribed to Demosthenes¹³. In chapter 87 we read that a woman caught in the act of adultery is not allowed to attend public sacrifices and her husband should cast her out of the house under the threat of losing his civic rights¹⁴. It seems that in all Greek regulations more serious punishment was provided only for the adulterers¹⁵. The citizen women were not the subjects of persecution in the case of adultery as their consent for the act was totally irrelevant. In the

¹⁰ E. MILLER, *Mélanges orientaux: textes et traductions publiés par les professeurs de l'École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes à l'occasion du VI^{ème} congrès international des orientalistes réuni à Leyde (septembre 1883)*, Paris 1883, p. 221, n. 3.

¹¹ Ael. *VH* XIII 14.

¹² Most of the sources are of course of Athenian provenance. Especially relevant here are the court orations of Lysias and Demosthenes.

¹³ On the authorship of the speech, see K.A. KAPPARIS, *Apollodoros, "Against Neaira" [D. 59]*, Berlin 1999, pp. 48–55.

¹⁴ According to this law an adulteress may expect any punishment (except death) if she transgresses the ban of attending public sacrifices, but she is not physically punished for the adultery itself. About the social consequences for the woman, see KAPPARIS, *o.c.* (n. 13), pp. 296 f. with further bibliography.

¹⁵ For an excellent study on this problem, see E. CANTARELLA, *Gender, Sexuality, and Law*, in: M. GAGARIN, D. COHEN (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Greek Law*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 239–245; see also E.M. HARRIS, *Did the Athenians Regard Seduction as a Worse Crime than Rape?*, *CQ* XL 1990, pp. 370–377; P.G. BROWN, *Athenian Attitudes to Rape and Seduction: The Evidence of Menander, Dyskolos 289–93*, *CQ* XLI 1991, pp. 533 f.; D. COHEN, *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens*, Cambridge 1991; D. COHEN *Sexuality, Violence, and the Athenian Law of Hubris*, *G&R* XXXVIII 1991, pp. 171–188; S.G. COLE, *Greek Sanctions against Sexual Assault*, *CPh* LXXIX 1984, pp. 97–113. Of course at the same time the

case of adultery and rape the only aggrieved party was the legal *kyrios* of the woman (her husband, father, brother or any male relative who was in charge of the household and responsible for her). Additionally, prostituting citizen-women, even in the case of adultery, is unthinkable. The punishment would be directed not only against the adulteress but against her *kyrios* and it would dishonour the whole family. According to Demonassa's law, the additional punishment and at the same time a visible sign of adultery was the cutting of hair. Also this custom is not properly attested in the Greek sources. It is even difficult to determine if short cut hair was usually worn by prostitutes. Cropped hair distinguishes in visual arts slave-girls, hence some scholars assumed that it distinguished also prostitutes as most of them were slaves. Ingeborg PESHEL has proved, however, that this assumption is not correct or at least cannot be attested in Greek art, as even in erotic settings women can be represented both having their hair short, in a *sakkos* or in a knot¹⁶. In fact it is very logical – long hair increased the attractiveness of women, which in this case meant also the incomes for the owners, so cutting it would be irrational¹⁷. Indisputable proof for cutting the hair of slave women can be found in Achilleus Tatios' romance, in which we read about Leucippe (VIII 5, 4): δεδούλευκε, γῆν ἔσκαψε, σεσύληται τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ κάλλος· τὴν κουρὰν ὀρᾶς (“she was sold into slavery, she dug in the ground, her head was deprived of its ornaments, look how shaved she is!”).

Nevertheless, cutting women's hair is a common means of humiliation or punishment in many ancient and modern cultures. A good example is provided in Menanders' *Perikeiromene*: the cutting of Glycera's plait is a means of punishment for suspected adultery, though, and it must be stressed, it is an act of domestic violence and not a legal punishment. Another ancient testimony, more fitting to the example of Demonassa's daughter, can be found in Tacitus: according to the Latin author, adultery was very rare among Germans, but if it happened, the woman was punished in the following way (*Germ.* 19, 2): “abscisis crinibus nudatam coram propinquis expellit domo maritus” (“having cut off her plaits, the husband stripped her in front of the relatives and threw her out”).

The only Greek testimony attesting the shorn hair as shameful is Paul's first letter to the Corinthians 11, 3: “For if a woman will not veil herself, then she should cut off her hair; but if it is disgraceful for a woman to have her hair cut off or to be shaved, she should wear a veil”¹⁸. It was often collated with the

legal system of the Greeks did not protect adulterous women against personal punishment as it is visible in the case of the Menander heroines of the *Samia* or *Perikeiromene*.

¹⁶ I. PESHEL, *Die Hetäre bei Symposion und Komos in der attisch rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei des 6.–4. Jhs. v. Chr.*, Frankfurt am Main 1987, pp. 358 f.

¹⁷ Cf. S. LEWIS, *The Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook*, London–New York 2002, p. 106.

¹⁸ All translations of the Bible after the King James Bible.

law of Moses from *Book of Numbers* 5, 18: a woman suspected of adultery was ordered by the law to be taken to the priest and stripped of her veil. This does not in fact confirm the existence of a law or custom which would demand shaving women as punishment for being unfaithful. The context of the Pauline passage is very important. After stating that the shaved head is shameful for women (εἰ δὲ αἰσχρὸν γυναικὶ τὸ κείρασθαι ἢ ξυρᾶσθαι) he writes that long hair is a shame (ἀτιμία) for men. This is the nature which decides how the man and woman should wear their hair (ἡ φύσις αὐτῆ διδάσκει). Therefore we may also understand that short hair detracts from a woman's natural aesthetic appeal and is, consequently, a cause of shame. The examples used by the Apostle may be based on aesthetical aspects of male and female nature and the aim of his perceptions is to make both sexes to behave decently and properly¹⁹. It has to be stressed that Paul's perception of shaving women's head may be either an expression of his personal predilections or an expression of late Hellenistic and Roman social norm but it cannot be collated with the Demonassa's law against adultery.

No doubts cutting the hair of Demonassa's daughter was a visible sign of degradation of her social status. She was made equal to a slave girl and in consequence subjected to sexual harassment. The audience of Favorinus recognized both cutting the hair and prostitution as means of humiliation and was undoubtedly inclined to believe in the historicity of the law.

¹⁹ The passage of the letter to the Corinthians is an object of constant academic investigation and interpretation. Since it concerns among others also the precept of veiling heads by women and their subordination to men it causes a great deal of theological problems and questions and therefore the veiling is the main issue undertaken in the modern scholarship, cf. A.C. THISELTON, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, Michigan 2000, pp. 800–870; G.D. FEE, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Grand Rapids 1987, pp. 496–512; E. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins*, New York 1983, pp. 227 f.; V. P. FURNISH, *The Theology of the First Letter to the Corinthians*, Cambridge 1999, p. 77; C.L. THOMPSON, *Hairstyles, Head-coverings, and St Paul: Portraits from Roman Corinth*, *Biblical Archaeologist* LI 1980, pp. 99–115; J. MURPHY-O'CONNOR, *Sex and Logic in 1 Corinthians 11:2–16*, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* XLII 1980, pp. 482–500; R. DOWLING, *Headcoverings: An Exposition of 1 Corinthians 11:2–16*, *Evangel* XII 1994, 2, pp. 37–40; Th.P. SHOEMAKER, *Unveiling of Equality: 1 Corinthians 11:2–16*, *Biblical Theology Bulletin* XVII 1987, pp. 60–63; D.W.J. GILL, *The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-Coverings in 1 Corinthians 11:2–16*, *Tyndale Bulletin* XLI 1990, pp. 245–260; M. FINNEY, *Honour, Head-coverings and Headship: 1 Corinthians 11.2–16*, *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* XXXIII 2010, pp. 31–58; also a controversial paper: T.W. MARTIN, *Paul's Argument from Nature for the Veil in 1 Corinthians 11:13–15: A Testicle instead of a Head Covering*, *Journal of Biblical Literature* CXXIII 2004, pp. 75–84. About the problem of men's hairstyle in the fragment see: R. OSTER, *When Men Wore Veils to Worship: The Historical Context of 1 Corinthians 11.4*, *New Testament Studies* XXXIV 1988, pp. 481–505. On the rhetorical aspect and *dispositio*: S. TORBUS, *The Rhetorical dispositio of 1 Cor. 11, 2–16 and the Problem of the Veil*, in: L. PERNOT (ed.), *New Chapters in the History of Rhetoric*, Leiden 2009, pp. 507–521. The issue of cutting hair is relatively less interesting for the scholars. Some above mentioned scholars point out that cutting women's hair is unnatural and therefore disturbs the divine order.

Τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποκτείναντα ἄταφον ῥίπτεσθαι

WHOEVER COMMITS SUICIDE SHALL BE CAST OUT WITHOUT A BURIAL

The second law of Demonassa can be explained only in terms of a religious ban. In general any death caused ritual pollution, violent death though, such as murder or suicide, created special, much serious, *miasma*²⁰. Murder and suicide have been acts against not only natural law but also against society. Punitive measures though have been taken only against the corpses of murderers. In the case of suicides the problem seems inconclusive. The ancient Greek society did not condemn suicide in general, both means and motives were very important. In some cases suicide was considered as honourable (if it was committed to avoid disgrace) or as a sign of civic allegiance (in the case of institutional suicide, i.e. when the person was pressed by the authorities or law to commit it). The only kind of suicide deserving moral and social condemnation could have been the one committed out of cowardice or any other low reason²¹. Nevertheless even in this case the corpses of the suicides have not been condemned and given to the family for a kin-burial. In ancient Greek sources there is no but one evidence of maltreatment of the suicides' bodies. Aeschines says (*In Ctes.* 244) that the hand of a self-murder was buried separately from the body²². This fact is not attested in any other source but it is in conformity with the rules of destroying or punishing the murder-instruments²³ (objects used to commit murder or suicide are polluted and must be destroyed; according to an inscription from Cos, the rope of a hanged man should be burned²⁴).

In the case of a few testimonies in which corpses are apparently punished, it is happening because of other reasons (like the example of the *Ilias Parva*, in which the body of Ajax was not cremated but buried, it is happening because of Agamemnon's anger and not to punish the suicide). The most radical views

²⁰ R. GARLAND, *The Greek Way of Death*, London–Ithaca 1985, pp. 95–99; R. PARKER, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford–New York 1983, pp. 32–73.

²¹ At least this seems to be the general conclusion from Plato's *Laws* 873D. On the issue, see P. WALCOT, *Suicide, a Question of Motivation*, in: J. H. BETTS, J. T. HOOKER, J. R. GREEN (eds.), *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster*, Bristol 1986, pp. 231–237. For general information about suicide in antiquity, see HIRZEL, *o.c.* (n. 5); and the works of A. J. L. VAN HOOFF, *Female Suicide between Ancient Fiction and Fact*, *Laverna* III 1992, pp. 142–172.; *From Autothanasia to Suicide: Self-Killing in Classical Antiquity*, London 1990; *Suicide and Parasuicide in Ancient Personal Testimonies*, *Crisis* XIV 1993, pp. 76–82; *Icons of Ancient Suicide: Self-Killing in classical art*, *Crisis* XV 1994, pp. 179–186; and E. P. GARRISON, *Attitudes Toward Suicide in Ancient Greece*, *TAPhA* CXXI 1991, pp. 1–33; *Suicide in Classical Mythology. Part I. Females*, at www.stoa.org/diotima/essays/garrison.shtml November 2000; *Groaning Tears. Ethical and Dramatic Aspects of Suicide in Greek Tragedy*, Leiden 1995.

²² On punitive measures against suicides' corpses, see E. P. GARRISON, *o.c.* (n. 21), pp. 8–12.

²³ About serious pollution caused by the act of suicide, see PARKER, *o.c.* (n. 20), pp. 41 f.

²⁴ R. HERZOG, *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*, Berlin 1928 (*Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Nr. 6), pp. 20–25; F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969, p. 154; and E. P. GARRISON, *o.c.* (n. 21), p. 5 (with an English translation of the inscription).

pertaining to suicide victims can be found in Plato's *Laws*. Plato wants the cowardly suicides' corpses to be buried in isolated places without any grave markers and inscription (*Leges* 873D). Still even in the case of cowardly suicide, Plato recommends the burial. Only in the case of premeditated and unjust murders the corpse must be deprived of burial in the country of his victim, and in some special cases thrown out naked at a specified place where three roads meet outside the city and the corpse's head must be stoned (*Leges* 871D). Demonassa's law seems to be much stronger and, what is more important, it does not mention any exceptions for honourable suicide. It is also interesting that Demonassa is supposed to commit suicide in a way which allows her to escape the consequences of her own legal regulations²⁵.

Μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι βοῦν ἀρότριον
A PLOUGH-OX SHALL NOT BE SLAUGHTERED

The third law of Demonassa protects plough-oxen. This law is no less unique as the previous two. Only Aelian in the *Varia Historia* (V 14) attests a similar ban:

Νόμος καὶ οὗτος Ἀττικὸς. [...] βοῦν ἀρότην καὶ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν πονήσαντα σὺν ἀρότρῳ ἢ καὶ σὺν τῇ ἀμάξῃ, μηδὲ τοῦτον θύειν, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος εἶη ἄν γεωργὸς καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καμάτων κοινωνός.

This was an Attic Law [...]: a plough ox, which works under the yoke, either with a plough or with a cart, sacrifice not. Because he is also a farmer, and takes part in men's toils.

Aelian uses the term βοῦς ἀρότηρ which is a quite common epithet of working oxen, whereas the form ἀρότριος used by Favorinus is very rare and may suggest a Pythagorean or Orphic origins of this law as ἀρότριος is only found in *Orphic Hymns* 34, 3 as an epithet of Apollo²⁶. Indeed Diogenes Laertius writes (after Aristoxenus) that Pythagoras permitted the eating of all animals except rams and plough oxen²⁷.

It might have been a very archaic legal regulation. In the Greek world echoes of such practice can be found in the so called "third law of Triptolemus"²⁸.

²⁵ This fact makes GARRISON (*o.c.* [n. 21], p. 12) to suspect the historicity of the story but she does not negate the authenticity of the law.

²⁶ See AMATO, *o.c.* (n. 1), p. 499.

²⁷ Diog. Laert. VIII 20.

²⁸ Porphyry of Tyre in *De Abstinencia* quotes the three precepts or laws by Triptolemos: γονεῖς τιμᾶν, θεοὺς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν, ζῶα μὴ σίνεσθαι (IV 22).

ROHDE collates it with the third law of Demonassa²⁹. He is of the opinion that the Triptolemus law might have something to do with the Haloa festival (Ps.-Demosthenes, *C. Neaer.* 116), during which bloody sacrifices were forbidden. Special treatment of working oxen was common in antiquity. Considering an ox as a co-worker of people is visible in *Deuteronomy* 25, 4: “Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn”³⁰ which was explained by Paul in the letter to Timothy (5, 18) by collating it with another gnostic expression : Ἄξιός ὁ ἐργάτης τοῦ μισθοῦ αὐτοῦ (“the labourer is worthy of his reward”).

Demonassa’s third law seems to be closely akin to a legal regulation in ancient Rome which is mentioned by Pliny³¹:

Optime cum domito iuvenus inbuitur; socium enim laboris agrique culturae habemus hoc animal, tantae apud priores curae, ut sit inter exempla damnatus a p<opulo> R<omano> die dicta, qui concubino procaci rure omassum edisse se negante occiderat bovem, actusque in exilium tamquam colono suo interempto.

(Plin. *HN* VIII 180)

Demonassa’s comportment after the condemning of her children is admirable, she is acting with imperturbable composure as it is proper for a perfect statesman (stateswoman). She breaks down finally at the sight of a cow in despair after the death of her calf. This part of the story is based on a popular ancient *topos* of a mourning cow – the animal was regarded as a paradigm of motherhood and very often represented grieving over the dead offspring.

The last surprising information is that the story was commemorated on an statue embedded in bronze and additionally by a separate, unique and very brief inscription. Can these two artefacts be in fact the real source of the legend?

Female statues of the type of Kore have been made out of bronze since the archaic times. Not many Greek human-size bronze sculptures have been preserved till our times and female statues are in fact very rare. We do not possess any single example of a bronze kore as a grave marker, though we can imagine not only that they have been produced, but also how they looked like. A big number of votive figurines made from bronze has been found in sanctuaries all over the Greek world. They must have been similar to the artefacts cast in scale of the type of the small bronze statuette in Istanbul³². Some idea of what the “Demonassa’s kore” might have looked like may be formed on the basis of a kore from Samos

²⁹ E. ROHDE, *Psyche. Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, Tübingen–Leipzig 1903, p. 299, n. 2.

³⁰ This passage is also metaphorically explained by Paul in 1 *Cor.* 9, 9.

³¹ Similar story is told by Valerius Maximus (VIII 1, *damn.* 8), but here the man killed the ox because of his boyfriend’s wish.

³² E. AKURGAL, *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander*, Berlin 1961, photographs 176 and 177.

and another one from Olympia³³. All of these examples are or used to be set on a pillar, plinth or pedestal and fit Favorinus' description. It is also not hard to imagine that the rare type of bronze grave marker could have been a source of the legend. The realism of full bronze cast female figure presumably made people invent a story about women leaping into the molten metal.

The theory that the figure was in fact a nameless grave marker can be supported by the inscription engraved on the tablet.

Σοφὴ μὲν ἤμην, ἀλλὰ πάντ' οὐκ εὐτυχίης
WISE WAS I, YET IN EVERYTHING ILL-STARRED

This line was attributed by August NAUCK to an unknown and lost tragedy and since his edition of *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* is regarded as a dramatic fragment³⁴. This attribution might have been caused by the fact that at the beginning of the chapter Favorinus presents examples of tragic heroes: Medea, Phaedra and Orestes. The theory could have been supported by the fact that the author quotes also some fragments from other tragedies³⁵. It is of great importance that there exists no other testimony which would support the claim that a tragedy about Demonassa was ever written, either in classical or in post-Euripidean times. Such extraordinary theme would have most probably been mentioned by some chrestomathy writers or become a more popular example in rhetorical writings. In this case the *argumentum ex silentio* seems to be very convincing, especially if we can find another explanation of the origins of this monostich. The one-line inscription matches a typical pattern of a brief, philosophical funerary epigram of the type:

69 PEEK (for Antophon, son of Euphanes)
Ἄντοφῶν Εὐφάνους
ἀσκήσαντα ὅσα χρή θνητοῦ φύσει ἀνδρὸς ἐνεῖναι
σωφροσύνην, σοφίαν, γῆς με ἐκάλυψε τάφος.

I have practiced what is proper for the mortal nature of men:
Temperance and wisdom. Now covers me the grave in the earth.

³³ For the Samian bronze kore from Berlin see E. BUSCHOR, *Die Plastik der Griechen*, Berlin 1934, vol. V, nos. 353 ff.; for the bronze kore from Olympia, ibidem, no. 188. Interesting is also the kore statuette from Sparta in Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung 7933 (for an illustration see M.C. STIEBER, *The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*, Austin 2004, p. 222, no. 47).

³⁴ Also in the recent edition by R. KANNICHT and B. SNELL: *TGrF Adespota* 124.

³⁵ Mostly from Euripides, but Favorinus in this oration quotes also among others Herodotus, Plutarch, Homer and Hesiod.

PEEK 67 (for Aineas from Athens)

Αινέας Δημοστράτου Ἀθηναῖος

πᾶσιν ἄμεμπτον αἰεὶ καὶ ἄλυπτον γῆ με ἐκάλυψε·

νῦν δὲ θανῶν λύπτας ἀθανάτους παρέχω.

For everyone blameless and always painless covered me earth

Now when I am dead, I suffer immortal worries.

The above mentioned epigrams are relatively short and have a universal philosophical character, exactly like the one engraved on Demonassa's tablet. Also the iambic trimeter of the inscription does not necessarily indicate a dramatic provenience of the verse. Grave inscriptions in iambic trimeter are not uncommon³⁶. It is worth mentioning that neither on the statue nor on the tablet was the name of Demonassa engraved. The two artefacts, if they really existed, have been probably connected with the circulating story about Demonassa or the legend was made up as an explanation for these objects. A tale about the ill-fated queen is a mixture of real and fantastic elements. All three laws of Demonassa are based on legal practices common in Greek or, more generally, in the Mediterranean world, but none of them is attested in such a radical version. Even the death of the queen in the liquid bronze can be recognized as a fable-like motif. The same way of suicide, according to a Chinese legend about the Bell Tower, was chosen by the daughter of Deng, an official in Beijing. In the case of Demonassa, her jumping into the melted bronze allows her to avoid the consequences of breaking her own laws. It is also a very spectacular way of committing suicide, a perfect ending of an interesting story.

Favorinus decides to tell the story about Demonassa, the least known from all the rulers mentioned in his set of illustrious women. He seems to realize that her story, in contrast to the lives of Semiramis, Rhodogyne or Sappho, is not really popular and therefore it will make his oration far more interesting and learned. Favorinus is aware of the fact that his audience may not be familiar with the life of Demonassa so he has to present it in detail. It is beyond any doubts that the three laws of Demonassa are loosely based on legal regulations or customary norms from all over the Mediterranean world and they do not have their counterparts in any historically attested laws. Even more importantly, in the form presented by Favorinus Demonassa's laws are against common sense of justice in the Greek society, they transgress the ethical balance between crime and punishment and, last but not least, the punishments seem to be dangerously close to impious acts (the prohibition to bury the suicide, prostituting the adulteress and making equal the life of an ox and a man). The story is constructed on the basis of fable-like motifs with every single element presented with typical fabulous exaggeration. Nevertheless it has also enough realistic elements to be credible

³⁶ M.B. WALLACE, *Notes on Early Greek Grave Epigrams*, Phoenix XXIV 1970, pp. 95–105.

in the ears of Favorinus' audience. Did Favorinus create this legend himself? Presumably not. The ending of the Demonassa passage in a form of a gnomic funerary inscription may indicate that it was an original ending of a separately written story. In *Peri Tyches* the author continues his speech presenting other examples of unfortunate people, not really connected with the previous paragraph. If it were not an opening story in his speech the episode about Demonassa could even seem to be a random digression. It does not entirely fit to Favorinus' disquisition on fortune, especially because it does not stress Demonassa's original prosperity and happiness. The author wants to show that people groundlessly accuse fortune for their failures, but Demonassa does not do so. If the story were invented by Favorinus he would probably present it in a way much more adequate to the whole speech. It is more than likely that Favorinus had found the story in some set of rhetorical *exempla*, very popular in his times. Realizing that the story is not yet hackneyed, he used it as an element of surprise, an important means in rhetorical writings. The life of Demonassa arouses both admiration for her indomitability and compassion because of the blatant injustice of her sad end. It was therefore a perfect story to rivet the attention of the audience and also a perfect rhetorical *exemplum*. The story about Demonassa is a rhetorical invention, so let me finish with quoting Quintilian, the great master of rhetoric: "Quid quod rhetorice non utique propositum habet semper vera dicendi, sed semper veri similia? Scit [*scil. orator*] autem esse veri similia quae dicit"³⁷.

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³⁷ Quint. *Inst.* II 17, 39.

THE ANTI-ROMAN JEWISH REBELLION IN CYPRUS
IN 116/117 AD

By

ZDZISŁAW J. KAPER A

INTRODUCTION

In the last half century we can witness a revival of historical research on the Jewish uprisings against the Romans of the years AD 66–73, 116/117, and 132–135. It is necessary to say at once that the Jews of Cyprus took part only in one of them, and it is regrettable that this fact is usually barely noticed and rarely treated in depth¹.

The growing interest in the uprisings is very probably the result of documents being unexpectedly found in the Judaeian Desert; they included among others some letters of the famous Bar-Kokhba, leader of the last rebellion². Certainly the continuous progress of studies on Flavius Josephus has had some influence, too. Several colloquia have taken place dealing with the rebellions and even some monographs have appeared. There are specialists concentrating on one or the other uprising. Concerning the turmoil in the Jewish Diaspora at the time of Trajan the leading person is Prof. Miriam PUCCI BEN ZEEV, whose monograph on the subject is a considerable advance in the current research³. However, even in her study, Cyprus is treated only marginally.

¹ Cf. for example M. GOODMAN, *Trajan and Roman Hostility to the Jews*, Past and Present CLXXXII 2004, pp. 3–29 or his: *Rome and Jerusalem. The Clash of Ancient Civilisations*, London 2007, pp. 454 ff.

² The discussion started with the publication of a Bar Kokhba letter from a cave in the Wadi Murabba'at by J.T. MILIK: *Une lettre de Siméon Bar Kokheba*, *Revue Biblique* LX 1953, pp. 276–294. Recently it got a new fuel with the discoveries of hideouts of the rebels in the Judaeian Desert. Cf. for example A. KLONER, B. ZISSU, *Hiding Complexes in Judaea: An Archaeological and Geographical Update on the Area of the Bar Kokhba Revolt*, in: P. SCHÄFER (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered*, Tübingen 2003, pp. 181–216.

³ Cf. a preliminary version in Italian: *La rivolta ebraica al tempo di Traiano*, Pisa 1981, and final English version: *Diaspora in Turmoil, 116/117 CE: Ancient Sources and Modern Insights*, Leuven–Dudley, MA 2005.

The main theses put forward by Prof. PUCCI BEN ZEEV are, briefly, these. First: the rebellion lasted one year, from the summer of AD 116 to the summer of 117. The proposed time of its end is early to late summer of 117, i.e. before the accession of Hadrian. Second: the events in Egypt, Libya and Cyprus should be linked with rebellion in Mesopotamia and probably with some unrest in Judaea. It is very highly probable that we deal here with a “virtually simultaneous” explosion against Rome⁴.

The rebellions were the result of the general situation of Jews in the Roman Empire and of some local circumstances, mainly the hostile activities of the Greek population. The primary causes were:

the economic woes and psychological humiliation engendered by the *Fiscus Judaicus*, which was imposed on all Jews in the aftermath of the 66–72 war, regardless of whether they actually participated in the uprising; [...] continual antagonism between local Jews and Greeks in numerous Diaspora communities, [...] disturbances instigated by rebels who had fled Judea after the great war, further exacerbating already existing tensions between Jewish and non-Jewish segments of society; [...] a general upswing in messianic expectations and predictions of Rome’s fall, one of the purported signs of which may have been the earthquake that took place in Antioch during a visit of the Emperor Trajan in 115⁵.

Prof. M. PUCCI BEN ZEEV evaluated the local factors leading to the uprisings more thoroughly in her chapter in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. IV. In the case of Egypt it was:

social, economical, political, and ideological competition and rivalry between Jews and Greeks are attested since the third century BCE. The situation had become more tense in Roman times, and twice earlier in Trajan’s days – in 112 and in the summer of 115 – armed attacks had been perpetrated by Greeks against Jews, the last of which may definitely be considered a direct cause of the Jewish uprising. As for Libya, the unrest that had occurred in 73 CE, which ended with the death and confiscation of property of a large number of wealthy Jews (Josephus, *Bell.* 7.437–51), may have weakened the number and the restraining authority of the wealthier members of local Jewish communities, paving the way for the most extreme ones⁶.

⁴ Two decades ago (or even earlier), the late Prof. Józef WOLSKI connected the outbreak of the rebellion in the eastern part of the Empire with the beginning of the counteroffensive of the Parthian king Chosroes against the Roman invaders. Cf. his book, *L’empire des Arsacides*, Leuven 1993. I followed his idea in the article: *Jewish Rebellion in Cyprus in 116/117 AD and Mesopotamia*, in: O. DREWNOŚKA (ed.), *Here & There. Across the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honour of Krystyna Łyczkowska*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 69–84 (here at 75–78).

⁵ This quotation comes from an excellent review of her book by Brent LANDAU, BMCR 2007.08.23.

⁶ M. PUCCI BEN ZEEV, *The Uprisings in the Jewish Diaspora, 116/117*, in: *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. IV: *The Late Roman – Rabbinic Period*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 93 f.

Unfortunately she did not explain if the same factors played similar role in case of the rebellion in Cyprus.

CYPRIOTE JEWRY BETWEEN THE FIRST JEWISH REBELLION
AND TRAJAN'S RULE

The Jews from Cyprus did not take part in the anti-Roman rebellion of AD 66–70. At least we do not have sources pointing in this direction⁷. However, some coins minted in the first and second year of the independent Jerusalem were found in Cyprus⁸. That may suggest that the island's trade contacts with Judaea were not yet cut in AD 67⁹. Whatever we say, the island remained quiet and even hosted the future emperor Titus in the year 69, when he visited the famous temple of Aphrodite in Palaepaphos¹⁰. It seems that Titus received a warm welcome on the island. There were no real Jewish opponents to the Roman administration operating in Cyprus during the rebellion in Jerusalem. Representatives of the Zealot movement, who escaped to Cyrenaica and Egypt after the destruction of the Temple, most probably did not reach Cyprus and did not inspire troubles¹¹. However, they or some of the participants of the Judaeian rebellion very probably came to the island first as slaves¹² purchased by the Greek population¹³, next sent by the Roman authorities to be used as miners¹⁴ in the emperor's copper mines¹⁵. We must not forget about people bought back and liberated by the Jews. The *Acts of the Apostles* mention family connections between the Jerusalem and Cypriot

⁷ Flavius Josephus reporting events in Jewish Diaspora after the rebellion does not even mention Cyprus. Cf. *BJ* VII 10 f.

⁸ Cf. A. DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS, *Jewish Coins Found in Cyprus*, Israel Numismatic Research I 2006, pp. 37–49.

⁹ Cf. D.H. COX, *Coins from Excavations at Curium: 1932–1953*, New York 1959, no. 200 (quoted after J.J. PRICE, *Jerusalem under Siege. The Collapse of the Jewish State 66–70 CE*, Leiden 1992, p. 242).

¹⁰ Cf. Tac. *Hist.* II 2–4.

¹¹ The absence of any such mention in Josephus' *War* is significant.

¹² Cf. Joseph *BJ* VI 9, 2 (414).

¹³ Very many of the rebels were crucified, some were sent to the Egyptian mines or to die in the arenas in the gladiator fights. Tall young men were selected for a future triumph in Rome. However, women and children (up to the age of seventeen) were usually sold as slaves. Cf. Joseph *BJ* VI, 9, 2 (417 f.).

¹⁴ If some rebels were sent to the Egyptian mines, it is possible that some were transported to the Cypriot mines, too.

¹⁵ These rich and very profitable mines were under the direct control of the emperor, who designated his overseer called *epi ton metallon*. Cf. Z.J. KAPERNA, *The Roman Administration of Cyprus in the Time of Paul's Visit*, The Polish Journal of Biblical Research VIII 2009, pp. 26 f.; and H. HAUBEN, *Herod the Great and the Copper Mines of Cyprus*, *AncSoc* XXXV 2005, pp. 185–188.

Jews several times¹⁶. If we take into consideration all that, newcomers might have imparted their messianic and independence tendencies to the local Jews¹⁷. The loss of the Temple¹⁸ and being denied access even to its ruins¹⁹ must have been an enormous offence to the Jewish population. The Jewish tax imposed after AD 70²⁰ and, what was worse, collected for the temple of Capitoline Jupiter in Rome certainly was an outrage to every faithful Jew. In addition to that, after the death of Agrippa II his kingdom was divided between two provinces, Judaea and Syria, in AD 92 (or 93)²¹ and their hopes of self-rule vanished²². Mesopotamia²³, a district in the Parthian Empire, remained the only area with some Jewish self-government. In such circumstances one can imagine there was a growing anti-Roman feeling among the local Jewish population. Viewed from the other side, the Greek population in Egypt and Syria often expressed their negative attitude to the presence of the Jews in the 1st century AD²⁴. The same could have happened on the island too, but we do not have such kind of sources.

TRAJAN'S INTEREST IN CYPRUS

We should now ask a question about Trajan's attitude to the island. Did he have any interest in quiet and peaceful Mediterranean island? It seems that he might have had. Some cities in the island certainly asked him for help and/or

¹⁶ Suffice it to mention St. Barnabas. Cf. *Acts* 4, 36 f.

¹⁷ On growing messianic attitudes in the Jewish diaspora, cf. M. HENGEL, *Messianische Hoffnung und politischer "Radikalismus" in der "jüdisch-hellenistischen Diaspora"*. *Zur Frage der Voraussetzungen des jüdischen Aufstandes unter Trajan 115–117 n. Chr.*, in: M. HENGEL, *Judaica et Hellenistica. Kleine Schriften*, vol. 1, Tübingen 1996, pp. 314–343. Cf. also T. RAJAK, *Jewish Millenarian Expectations*, in: A.M. BERLIN, J.A. OVERMAN (eds.), *The First Jewish Revolt. Archaeology, History, and Ideology*, London–New York 2002, pp. 164–188.

¹⁸ Even the Jewish Temple at Leontopolis was demolished, cf. Joseph *BJ* VII 9, 2 (421).

¹⁹ In Jerusalem the Temple precincts were changed into a military camp of the *Legio X Fretensis*. The Jews were allowed to see the remains of their Temple only on one day during the year.

²⁰ The humiliation connected with the payment of the tax is clearly expressed in Suet. *Dom.* 12.

²¹ On the position of Agrippa II after the rebellion, cf. E.M. SMALLWOOD, *The Jews under Roman Rule. From Pompey to Diocletian. A Study in Political Relations*, Leiden 1981 [= 1976], p. 354.

²² Especially as emperor Vespasian and his son Domitian kept hunting for every member of the David family line. Cf. Eusebius, quoting Hegesippus in *Church History* III 12 and 19. Cf. T.D. BARNES, *Legislation against the Christians*, *JRS* LVIII 1968, p. 35.

²³ On the Jews in Parthia, cf. J. NEUSNER, *A History of Jews in Babylonia*, pt. I: *The Parthian Period*, Leiden 1969 [= 1999]; IDEM, *The Jews East of Euphrates and the Roman Empire. Part 1: 1st to 3rd Centuries AD*, *ANRW* II 9, 1 (1976), pp. 46–69. The period of the rebellion in Mesopotamia is described in detail in SMALLWOOD, *Jews...* (n. 21), pp. 415–421. All the known sources were recently analyzed anew by PUCCI BEN ZEEV, *Diaspora...* (n. 3), pp. 191–217 (cf. chapter: Mesopotamia).

²⁴ Cf. J. MÉLÈZE-MODRZEJEWSKI, *Les Juifs d'Égypte. De Ramsès II à Hadrien*, Paris 1991, pp. 131–173.

reduction of taxes because they were ruined by the earthquake of AD 75 and were rebuilding slowly. Let us remember in this context that several statues of Trajan were certainly erected in different places on the island; there was a stele in Citium, a statue in Lapithos, a statue and dedication in the Temple of Apollo Hylates in Curium²⁵. It is also highly probable that it was Trajan who “erected a gymnasium or similar public building” in Carpasia, near the northeast tip of the peninsula of the same name²⁶. Such objects suggest that Trajan would have been appreciated for his generosity and friendly policy.

What is more, Trajan not only supported some civil building, but also partially financed the re-establishment of what MITFORD called “the most intelligible and impressive cult centre of which Cyprus can boast”, the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates (Apollo of Woodland). The sanctuary “bears the imprint of Trajan, whom Curium had the wit or luck seemingly in AD 101 to associate as Apollo Caesar with her own Apollo Hylates”²⁷. This dedication pleased the emperor, as Augustus had been indentified previously with Zeus in the Cypriote Salamis, Julia with the goddess Aphrodite, and Livia with the New Aphrodite²⁸. As a token of gratitude Trajan paid for the Kourion Gate and neighbouring building in the sanctuary (the so-called Southeast Building, or Palestre)²⁹. Diana BUITRON and David SOREN link Trajan also with the South Building, “which may well have served as a hostel for visitors to the Sanctuary”³⁰. They suggest then that the whole south part of the sanctuary “took its final and present form in the early years of the Emperor Trajan”. Let me add that parallel buildings were noticed in Palaepaphos (Kouklia) at the sanctuary of Aphrodite. Prof. Franz Georg MAIER observed that both the North Hall and the South Stoa in Kouklia have a “lay-out [...] closely related to similar buildings in the sanctuary of Hylates at Curium”³¹. He does not give an exact date of buildings in Kouklia, but they certainly date from the post-earthquake period (AD 76/77), so one can accept Trajan’s rule as the time of their construction. Unfortunately, this time we do not have an inscription suggesting even indirect financing by the emperor.

²⁵ C.C. VERMEULE, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, Cambridge, MA 1968, pp. 497 f.

²⁶ VERMEULE, *o.c.* (n. 25), p. 251. Cf. also K. NICOLAOU, *Karpasia*, in: R. STILLWELL *et al.* (eds.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton, NJ 1976, pp. 436 f.

²⁷ T.B. MITFORD, *The Cults of Roman Cyprus*, *ANRW* II 18, 3 (1990), p. 2184.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, n. 39.

²⁹ T.B. MITFORD, *The Inscriptions of Kourion*, Philadelphia 1971, p. 207, No. 108: “Trajan constructs the two remaining exedrae for Apollo Caesar and Apollo Hylates, the proconsul Q. Labierus Justus Cocceius Lepidus supervising the construction and performing dedication, January–June, A.D. 101”.

³⁰ D. BUITRON, D. SOREN, *Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates*, in: H. WYLDE SWINY (ed.), *An Archaeological Guide to the Ancient Kourion Area and the Akrotiri Peninsula*, Nicosia 1982, pp. 60 f.

³¹ F. G. MAIER, *Guide to Palaepaphos (Kouklia)*, Nicosia 2004, p. 49.

A POSSIBLE VISIT OF TRAJAN TO CYPRUS

T.B. MITFORD wholeheartedly supported the hypothesis that Trajan visited the island on the eve of the war with Parthia, in AD 114. He suggested that:

Trajan reached the Syrian Antioch on January 7, A.D. 114, by sea, travelling, Dio Cassius informs us (68, 17), “by way of Asia, Lycia and the adjacent peoples” (τῶν τε ἐχομένων ἔθνων). He embarked at a Pamphylian port, Attaleia or Side, or possibly the Lycian Patara [...] ³². His journey was leisurely, for he was in Caria in the autumn [...]. Can Cyprus, with which Trajan was seemingly sufficiently concerned to impose for its then proconsul his own nominee [...] ³³, be included among the “adjacent peoples”? Winter voyaging was in general shunned in the ancient world, and Cyprus lay athwart his sea route: did Trajan not strike out from the coast of Rough Cilicia to Arsinoe, follow the easy way along the southern coast to Salamis, and thence conclude his voyage? If he did, he cannot have failed to deviate these few hundred yards to visit the temple of which he was, as Apollo Caesar [...] ³⁴ in effect himself the god ³⁵.

However, we should say at once that the suggestive proposal of MITFORD, a visit by Trajan, remains unfounded. Roger S. BAGNALL and Thomas DREW-BEAR observed that there is no evidence for such a visit ³⁶ and put the phrase “a visit by Trajan” in inverted commas. G.W. BOWERSOCK in turn pointed to the evidence of Malalas, who said that Trajan had reached Seleucia in Pieria by December 113 mentioning his departure from Lycia in October 113. F.A. LEPPER accepted the Malalas information ³⁷. With these dates no spare time remained for a visit of emperor to Cyprus.

CYPRUS ON THE EVE OF REBELLION

We do not know very much about the situation in Cyprus in the period AD 70–115. The list of senatorial governors has many names missing ³⁸. The island remained secure and there was no legion stationed there. Taxes were paid regu-

³² Here MITFORD quotes L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* III 1946, p. 7.

³³ Here MITFORD invokes the inscription No. 87 of his monograph.

³⁴ Here MITFORD quotes the inscription No. 108 of his catalogue.

³⁵ MITFORD, *Inscriptions...* (n. 29), p. 218.

³⁶ R.S. BAGNALL, T. DREW-BEAR, *Notes on the History of Kourion*, Chronique d'Égypte XLIX, No. 97 January 1974, p. 192. What is more, they say: “one might prefer to believe that if Trajan actually did visit the sanctuary then such improvements [i.e. a pavement from the main road] would have been carried out before his arrival” (*l.c.*).

³⁷ AS noticed by BAGNALL and DREW-BEAR, *l.c.* (n. 36), n. 2.

³⁸ Cf. T.B. MITFORD, *Roman Cyprus*, *ANRW* II 7, 2 (1980), pp. 1301 f.

larly and men were supplied to the emperor's army auxiliaries³⁹. No troubles among the nationalities inhabiting Cyprus are known. It is meaningful that even the names of the months on Greek, Roman and Jewish documents appeared in all the languages⁴⁰, which might suggest some tolerance and a degree of amalgamation in Cypriot society.

The name of the last governor of Cyprus preceding the rebellion is known. He was Q. Seppius Celer M. Titius Sassius Candidus, probably promoted by Trajan directly from *legatus pro praetore* to proconsul on the eve of the Parthian War and Trajan's intervention⁴¹. That may mean that Cyprus was treated as an important location of military depots, which is not surprising, given the big ports at Nea Paphos, Salamis and Amathus. At the beginning of the 2nd century AD Rome did not have a military base in Cyprus, which was "no longer of a strategic stake in the Mediterranean sea"⁴². There was such a base in Syrian Seleucia just facing the island. However, the recent archaeological research, aerial photographs and underwater excavations revealed a well developed system of ports, harbours and anchorages all around Cyprus⁴³.

WHO REBELLED IN AD 116 AND WHY?

To some scholars, the great explosion of Jews from North Africa and Cyprus still remains an insoluble puzzle⁴⁴ especially as we must note a change in the Roman policy towards the Jews in the times of Nerva. It seems also from the *Acta Alexandrinorum* that on the eve of the Parthian war the emperor Trajan did his best to relieve the tensions between Greek and Jews in Alexandria, for

³⁹ Cf. KAPERΑ, *Roman Administration...* (n. 15), pp. 17–29.

⁴⁰ Cf. a horoscope of the Flavian period from Tremithus. See T.B. MITFORD, *Further Contributions to the Epigraphy of Cyprus*, AJA LXV 1961, p. 118, no. 18.

⁴¹ MITFORD, *Roman Cyprus* (n. 38), p. 1302.

⁴² C. BALANDIER, *The Defensive Network of Cyprus at the Hellenistic and during the First Centuries of the Roman Empire (3rd Century B.C.–3rd Century A.D.)*, Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus 2002, pp. 323–338 (here at 336).

⁴³ J.R. LEONARD, *Evidence for Roman Ports, Harbours and Anchorages in Cyprus*, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS, D. MICHAELIDES (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium "Cyprus and the Sea"*, Nicosia 1995, pp. 227–246; see map on 240 (fig. 11). Indirectly confirmed in this way was the proposal of C. MERIVALE, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, Paris 1865, vol. 8, pp. 166 f., who stressed "the proximity of Cyprus to Antioch"; he also "conjectured that the island was the [Roman] arsenal..."; quoted after W. HORBURY, *The Beginning of the Jewish Revolt under Trajan*, in: H. CANCIK, H. LICHTENBERGER, P. SCHÄFER (eds.), *Geschichte – Tradition – Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, Tübingen 1996, pp. 293 f. and n. 31.

⁴⁴ Very unfortunately, L. Flavius Arrianus' *Parthica* are not preserved. Cf. M.L. CHAUMONT, *Arrian*, in: E. YARSHATER (ed.), *Encyclopedia Iranica*, London–New York 1968 s.v.

which he was even accused of bias by the Greeks⁴⁵. Partiality during the hearing of the delegates of Alexandrian Jews and Greeks was one thing, but of course an independent (client) Jewish state or re-opening of the Temple was certainly out of the question for Trajan and even the Jews did not ask for that officially. Revoking the Jewish tax was also ruled out, especially in the time directly preceding a new war with Parthia, when the money was badly needed. However, it is significant that one of the well-known specialists on the Roman Egypt, Prof. J. MÉLÈZE-MODRZEJEWSKI, writing about the event, speaks of an “idylle entre les Juifs et le couple impérial”⁴⁶. But that was not enough to stop enmity of the Jews, as the course of events proved.

THE JEWS IN MESOPOTAMIA

We should remember that the Jewish colonists living east of the Euphrates were in close touch with Jerusalem and its Temple before AD 70. They paid the Temple tax regularly. Jerusalem Rabbis often visited them and kept up their orthodoxy. Philo of Alexandria (*Legatio ad Gaium* 216), the *Acts of the Apostles* (2, 9) and Josephus (*Antiquitates Judaicae* XVII 2, 2 [26]) all mention pilgrims from Mesopotamia. Luke describes them as “Parthians, Medes and Elamites; people from Mesopotamia”⁴⁷. It was to these peoples that Flavius Josephus addressed the Aramaic version of his Jewish War noting that “the Parthians, and the Babylonians, and the remotest Arabians, and those of our nation beyond Euphrates, with the Adiabeni, by my means, knew accurately both whence the war began, what miseries it brought upon us, and after what manner it ended” (*BJ* I 2, 6)⁴⁸. If Josephus decided to address his work to the Mesopotamian Jews, that means that their number and role in Parthia and the border areas dividing the two great empires was significant⁴⁹.

The Jews of Mesopotamia had lived there, first of all in Babylonia, since the exile. Their main center in the south of Iraq was Nehardaea on the Euphrates. Their colonies extended as far as Spasinou Charax near the Persian Gulf. There was an important Jewish community at Seleucia on the Tigris. Many Jewish citizens from that city moved to Ctesiphon, the winter capital of the Parthian rulers.

⁴⁵ Cf. J. MÉLÈZE-MODRZEJEWSKI, *o.c.*, (n. 24), pp. 156–161.

⁴⁶ IDEM, p. 161.

⁴⁷ A. JONES (ed.), *The Jerusalem Bible*, London 1971 (paperback edition), p. 137.

⁴⁸ Translation by W. WHISTON, *The Work of Josephus. Complete and Unabridged*, Peabody, MA 1987, p. 542. Cf. SMALLWOOD, *Jews...* (n. 21), pp. 417 f.; her reference to Josephus is here corrected.

⁴⁹ For a historical survey cf. F.G.B. MILLAR, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC–AD 337*, Cambridge, MA 2005, pp. 99–104.

In northern Mesopotamia a prominent role was played by Nisibis. Less influential cities were Edessa and Arbela. We also know of Jewish colonies in Iran proper, in Media and Elam, and that they reached Hyrcania, south of the Caspian Sea⁵⁰.

The Mesopotamian Jews received a lot of local privileges, including self-rule inside the Parthian province. They were good craftsmen⁵¹. They served as good warriors. We know that already Herod the Great invited five hundred cavalry archers led by a Babylonian Jew called Zamaris⁵² (who migrated to Syria and Batanaea, 9–6 BC), to use them as a barrier against infiltrating Nabataean robbers and to protect the Babylonian pilgrims going to the Jerusalem Temple⁵³. They were certainly good tradesmen and organizers of caravans going to the Mediterranean borders. Two branches of the international trade routes from India and China to the Roman Empire crossed Mesopotamia. On both of them we find important Jewish settlements involved in long-distance commerce. What is more, the Adiabene dynasty controlling the northern route was converted to the Mosaic religion. In the south of Mesopotamia, two brothers, Asineus and Anileus, Jews from of Nehardea district in Babylonia, controlled the area by force from c. 20 to 35 AD and even became official royal administration representatives⁵⁴ of Artabanus III (AD 11–37)⁵⁵. These examples show clearly that the Jews were well integrated with the Mesopotamian population and played an important part in society. Trajan's invasion, placing both the northern and the southern silk route under his military control, must have had far-reaching economic consequences for the Jews of Mesopotamia beside religious ones. As we know from Fronto's transmission, "cum praesens Traianus Euphrati et Tigridis portoria equorum et camelorum tribularet" (*Princ. hist.* 2, 17)⁵⁶.

DID THE PARTHIAN RULER INCITE THE JEWS?

The moment of Trajan's invasion of Armenia and Mesopotamia was certainly well chosen. The power of the Parthian ruler had been diminished by interior

⁵⁰ M. STERN, *The Jewish Diaspora*, in: S. SAFRAI, M. STERN (eds.), *The Jewish People in the First Century*, Assen 1974, pp. 170 f.

⁵¹ Joseph *AJ* XVIII 9, 1 (314) mentions incidentally Babylonian weavers of cloth. But we know that in Asia Minor the Jews were also well known as metal workers (goldsmiths), dyers, etc. Cf. M. SARTRE, *Wschód rzymski*, Wrocław–Warszawa 1997 [= *L'Orient romain*, Paris 1991], pp. 437 f.

⁵² SMALLWOOD called him "a man of wealth and consequence, high in the Parthian feudal structure" (*Jews...* [n. 21], p. 415).

⁵³ Cf. Joseph *AJ* XVII 1 f., 23–27; SMALLWOOD, *Jews...* (n. 21), pp. 98, 415.

⁵⁴ SMALLWOOD, *Jews...* (n. 21), p. 415.

⁵⁵ In fact it was Artabanus II. Cf. J. WOLSKI, *Arsace II et la généalogie des premiers Arsacides*, *Historia* XI 1962, pp. 136–145.

⁵⁶ Quoted after SMALLWOOD, *Jews...* (n. 21), p. 420, n. 127.

quarrels with the local aristocracy. The Roman emperor could feel offended by the appointment of the king of Armenia without his approval, which gave him a pretext for the invasion. The northern campaign of Trajan's army was very successful and the emperor was able to turn to the south, reaching the Persian Gulf at the mouth of the Tigris and the Euphrates⁵⁷. In a brief time Trajan attempted to organize three new provinces, calling them "Armenia", "Assyria" and "Mesopotamia". The Jews were trapped inside them. So we should not be surprised that these people, who had even had some self-rule, felt severely oppressed. If Trajan imposed the Jewish tax on them besides the regular taxes, such a view must have been common, indeed dominant. In this situation not much was needed to set off an explosion.

Jacob NEUSNER preferred to accuse the Parthians as the real instigators⁵⁸. We are not able to exclude the idea, but we do not have direct sources pointing in that direction. However, many indirect observations seem to support his view. Some other scholars, such as Józef WOLSKI, had argued for such a possibility for many years. WOLSKI described course of events in this way:

[In AD 115] Osroes launched a counteroffensive in many areas conquered by Rome. As a result the Roman troops in the cities taken were either killed or expelled. The surrender of enormous areas to the Romans without battle may have been a play to draw Trajan deep in the Parthian state, to weaken him, as Antiochus VII Sidates had formerly been weakened by garrisoning the cities, and to decisively defeat him. An important part in the events was played by a perfectly organized Parthian intelligence service, which the Roman, fighting in foreign territory, obviously lacked. The situation [for Trajan] was aggravated by simultaneous outbreak of the anti-Roman rebellion by the Jewish population. The rebellion started in Cyrenaica, but spread throughout the Middle East, which was his army's rear. Even if the sources lack relevant data, it is natural to conclude that the Parthian activity in the rear of Trajan's army and the outbreak of the Jewish rebellion were interconnected. We cannot of course be sure, but the long-time contacts between the Parthians and the Jews make the supposition plausible⁵⁹.

In this context WOLSKI recalls the previous known use of Jews in the fighting the Greeks in Seleucia by Artabanus II, and he reaffirms his view:

It is hard to speak decisively about it, but we cannot rule out the hypothesis that the rebellion was started at the instigation of the Parthians, who had long been on friendly terms with the Jews, viewing them as allies in their battle with the Greeks. There is one indisputable fact in favour of such a hypothesis: as the Romans were drowning the Jewish rebellion in blood, the Parthian counteroffensive began.

⁵⁷ On his route he took Ctesiphon, the capital of his enemy, king Chosroes.

⁵⁸ NEUSNER, *The Jews East...* (n. 23), p. 58, quoted by T.D. BARNES, *Trajan and the Jews*, *Journal of Jewish Studies* XL 1989, p. 161, n. 109.

⁵⁹ J. WOLSKI, *Imperium Arsacydów* ["The Empire of Arsacids"], Poznań 1996, pp. 202 f. (the English translation mine).

Prof. J. WOLSKI is certainly right in saying that the rebellion and Chosroes' (AD 109–128) immediate counteroffensive should be interpreted jointly⁶⁰. We should add that also the Jews of Cyrenaica, Egypt, Cyprus and Palestine would have been incited. It looks that the torch of rebellion was carried from Mesopotamia to the West. It was welcomed by the Jews of Cyrenaica, who immediately appointed their own king; next to move were the Egyptian Jews, then the Cypriot Jews, who also had a king-like leader, and finally the Jews in Palestine. We would suggest that if it had not been for the Parthian instigation and the movement of their army against the Romans, the Jews would not have risen. What created an explosive situation was the combination of several factors: a unique opportunity to take revenge for the defeat of the years AD 66–70 on the Romans, and on their Greek rivals, the fact that Roman armies were very far away and that the Messianic and Davidic traditions were alive and very popular. The fact that their brothers in Mesopotamia had been subdued and were likely to be oppressed by the Romans as they themselves were, was the trigger; a new rebellion flared up immediately. We know that Trajan was pursuing a very sophisticated propaganda policy: he was applauded by the Senate as Parthicus (Cassius Dio LXVII 28, 2)⁶¹. That could turn against him, by the way. His potential enemies were fast informed where he was and how far his armies were; in the last stage of the Roman invasion they reached shores of the Persian Gulf. Eventually Trajan had to resist both the counteroffensive of the Iranian princes and the rebelling Mesopotamians, first of all Jews.

A very similar proposal was put forward by T.D. BARNES in 1989: "In 116 [...] the Jews of Mesopotamia, Cyprus, Egypt and Cyrene rose against Rome primarily because they feared that Trajan's conquest of the Jewish communities of Mesopotamia posed a threat to the Jewish way of life"⁶². The cause of the rebellion was not messianism but historical events in Mesopotamia. BARNES also established the sequence of the risings: first Mesopotamia, next Libia, Egypt and Cyprus⁶³. The latter view was endorsed by FRANKFURTER⁶⁴, but rejected by

⁶⁰ Cf. J. WOLSKI, *Rzymska polityka na Wschodzie. Imperializm rzymski w konflikcie z imperia- lizmem irańskim* ["Roman Policy in the East. The Conflict Between Roman and Persian Imperialisms"], in: J. WOLSKI, T. KOTULA, A. KUNISZ (eds.), *Starożytny Rzym we współczesnych badaniach. Państwo – Społeczeństwo – Gospodarka* ["Ancient Rome in Contemporary Research. State – Society – Economy"], Kraków 1994, p. 97.

⁶¹ Cf. E.M. SMALLWOOD, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian*, Cambridge 1966, pp. 33 (*Fasti Ostienses*) and 49 (coins), quoted by PUCCI BEN ZEEV, *Diaspora...* (n. 3), p. 213, n. 94.

⁶² BARNES, *Trajan...* (n. 58), p. 162.

⁶³ Ibidem. Cf. evaluation of BARNES' article by PUCCI BEN ZEEV, *Diaspora...* (n. 3), p. 260.

⁶⁴ D. FRANKFURTER, *Lest Egypt's City be Deserted: Religion and Ideology in the Egyptian Re- sponse to the Jewish Revolt (116–117 C.E.)*, *Journal of Jewish Studies* XLVIII 1992, p. 203.

HORBURY⁶⁵. M. PUCCI BEN ZEEV recently has persuasively defended the view that the rebellion started almost simultaneously in different countries⁶⁶. The latter opinion means further support to J. WOLSKI's reconstruction of events.

Still we do not know the exact causes of the events. It is possible to interpret Cassius Dio as seeing their beginning in the racial problem in Alexandria or generally in Egypt and Cyrenaica, but that is not the real cause. It seems that we must now turn our eyes first of all to the general situation of the Jews in the Roman and Parthian empires and to evaluate properly the Jewish messianic tendencies, which were more and more popular and eventually led to the Bar-Kokhba rebellion in AD 132–135⁶⁷. Next, we have to view the events in a much wider political and military context. Both religious and political causes influenced the events. The discussion will certainly continue, as the known existing sources are not sufficient for a definitive historical explanation.

THE REBELLION IN CYPRUS

It has been generally accepted that Cyprus was not the first province to rebel. The accepted view is that everything started in Alexandria, where frequent quarrels erupted between the Greek and Jewish populations. The insurrection spread quickly throughout Egypt, then to other areas with dense Jewish colonies, i.e. Cyrenaica, Cyprus, Judaea, and Mesopotamia. Now we are able to propose a new view, which is that the rebellion broke out almost simultaneously. The news of Trajan's successes and the resulting danger to the Jews of Mesopotamia could have reached Cyprus both through official propaganda⁶⁸ which enraged the Jewish inhabitants and through direct contacts with their kinsmen from the Parthian areas. The island had direct trade contacts thanks to her export abilities. It is a well-known fact that copper in heavy plates was transported to India through Mesopotamia. D. MICHAELIDES has recently proved direct contacts of Cyprus with the Persian Gulf by studying imported shells of *Pinctada margar-*

⁶⁵ W. HORBURY, *The Beginnings of the Jewish Revolt under Trajan*, in: *Geschichte...* (n. 43), pp. 283–304 (here at 292).

⁶⁶ Cf. PUCCI BEN ZEEV, *Diaspora...* (n. 3), p. 262.

⁶⁷ I agree here with the view of J. CIECIELAĞ expressed in his book *Powstanie Bar Kochby 132–135 po Chr.* ["The Bar Kochba Revolt, AD 132–135"], Zabrze 2008, p. 50. It should not be forgotten that we know the names of the insurgent leaders. And what is more, some of them clearly called themselves kings.

⁶⁸ Cf. an internet site www.parthia.com/rome_trajan.htm concerning "Coins of Rome about Parthia: Trajan (A.D. 98–117)". Coins with Trajan's title 'Parthicus' were issued after February AD 116.

ritifera found on the island⁶⁹. The main trade route from India in Trajan's time ended in Seleucia and Caesarea. Ships leaving these ports often visited Cyprus on their way to the Greek ports and Rome.

Emperor Trajan had a big problem putting down the Jewish rebels. Marcius Turbo is mentioned as his general fighting in Egypt, Cyrenaica and Cyprus, and Lusius Quietus as the one active in the remaining eastern areas. They needed at least one year to quell the uprising (AD 116/117). The rebels' fighting spirit surprised both Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica* IV 2, 1 f.) and Cassius Dio (LXVIII 32, 1 f.), and their cruelty was terrifying.

Dio reports that "the Jews in the region of Cyrene [...] were destroying both the Romans and the Greeks. They would eat the flesh of their victims, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anoint themselves with their blood and wear their skins for clothing; many they sawed in two, from the head downwards; others they gave to wild beasts, and still others they forced to fight as gladiators" (*l.c.*)⁷⁰. The same would have happened in Cyprus, especially as the number of people killed on the island was higher than that in Cyrenaica! Usually historians try to excuse the Jews, claiming that the repulsive details were exaggerated by Dio. However, Appian, another Roman historian, also emphasized the rebel terror (Appian, *Liber Arabicus* F 19). The same was done by Eusebius (or editor of his text), who writes that "The Jews overthrew Salamis, a city of Cyprus, slaying the gentiles therein" (Jerome, *Chronicon*, CCXXIII Olymp.). Arrian in turn noticed that "Trajan was determined above all, if it were possible, to destroy the nation utterly, but if not, at least to crush it and stop its presumptuous wickedness" (Arrian, *Parthica*, apud *Suda*)⁷¹. Treating all of them as prejudiced against the Jews (which is in some way possible) is contradicted by similar ferocity in the time of the previous Jewish rebellion of AD 66–70. As regards Dio himself, he explicitly says that the rebels doubled the cruelty adding their own to that of the Romans. In the case of Cyprus, the island which had accepted them with a friendly attitude⁷² for several centuries, such conduct of the Jews remains inexplicable. Very recently James J. BLOOM, a military historian, described

⁶⁹ D. MICHAELIDES, *Cyprus and the Persian Gulf in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. The Case of Pinctada margaritifera*, in: V. KARAGEORGHIS, D. MICHAELIDES (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium "Cyprus and the Sea"*, Nicosia 1995, pp. 211–226.

⁷⁰ Translated by E. CARY (Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, vol. VIII: *Books 61–70*, Cambridge, MA–London 2005 [= 1925], p. 421).

⁷¹ The quotations following translations collected by PUCCI BEN ZEEV, *Diaspora...* (n. 3), ch. 2: "Literary sources", pp. 77–80, 86. Cf. also: L.H. FELDMAN, M. REINHOLD (eds.), *Jewish Life and Thought Among Greeks and Romans. Primary Readings*, Minneapolis 1996, ch. 9: "Revolts of the Jews against the Roman Empire", section: "The Lukuas-Andreas Rebellion (War of Quietus) (115–17 CE)", pp. 290–295.

⁷² Cf. Z.J. KAPERNA, *The Jewish Presence in Cyprus before AD 70*, *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia* VII 2009, pp. 33–44.

the “terrible vengeance of the Jewish mobs” as “not simply a tit-for-tat retaliation against pogroms conducted by the pagans but a holy war against their very foundations”⁷³. They destroyed pagan temples and killed priests!⁷⁴

The war ended with the loss of a great number of human lives. While the casualty numbers supplied by Cassius Dio are most probably exaggerated⁷⁵, they really might shock the reader: two hundred twenty thousand lost their lives in Cyrenaica and two hundred forty thousand were murdered in Cyprus! And it seems that the figures cover only the victims of the rebellion, not including the insurgents themselves⁷⁶. Dio singles out a certain Artemion from Cyprus as the leader of the Jewish uprising on the island. Very characteristically, we have here again a Jew with a Greek name⁷⁷.

Of the cities destroyed by the Jews Eusebius mentions only Salamis⁷⁸, but the number of casualties mentioned by Cassius Dio suggests that the rebellion spread over the whole island and remaining cities⁷⁹. When Salamis was rebuilt by Hadrian, its citizens addressed him with genuine enthusiasm⁸⁰ as their “saviour”⁸¹, father and benefactor⁸². The first term reappears in other inscriptions⁸³. However, despite very many years of excavations in Salamis nothing has been found to directly confirm the tragic event. The only traces might be the defaced figures

⁷³ J.J. BLOOM, *The Jewish Revolts Against Rome, A.D. 66–135: A Military Analysis*, Jefferson, NC 2010, p. 194.

⁷⁴ In the case of Salamis it was, I am sure, the Temple of Zeus for example. In the case of Cyrenaica, according to J. REYNOLDS (*Cyrenaica*, in: *CAH²*, vol. 11: *The High Empire, A.D. 70–192*, Cambridge 2000, p. 553), it was the Temple of Apollo, the Temple of Zeus and administrative buildings, statues (both of public figures as well as of gods).

⁷⁵ Contrary to S. APPLEBAUM, *Jews and Greeks in Ancient Cyrene*, Leiden 1979, p. 297: “the extensive devastation” of Cyprus has not “been demonstrated”. There is no evidence in the archaeological (and even in epigraphical) material that the island lost so many inhabitants. Still if we accept the figure diminished by S. MENARDOS (*Golgoi kai Ebraioi*, Athena XXII 1910, p. 424) to 1/10, i.e. 24,000 people, the Jewish rebellion could pose a serious threat to the population of Cyprus, certainly not very large then.

⁷⁶ We should remember that the aqueduct going to Salamis was able to supply water for 120,000 inhabitants. Cf. G. HILL, *A History of Cyprus*, Cambridge 1949, vol. 1, p. 242.

⁷⁷ Similarly, the king of the rebel Jews from Cyrenaica was one Lukuas.

⁷⁸ “They [rebels] ruined completely Salamis, city of Cyprus, after killing all the inhabitants”, Eus. *Chron.* II (PG XIX 555); Hieron. *Chron.*, p. 196 HELM; *vers. Arm.* 219; Syncellus 348A. Concerning the sources, see PUCCI BEN ZEEV, *Diaspora...* (n. 3), pp. 83–93.

⁷⁹ Such is the interpretation of APPLEBAUM, *o.c.* (n. 75), p. 207.

⁸⁰ Cf. T.B. MITFORD, *Notes on Some Published Inscriptions from Roman Cyprus*, British School of Athens Annual XLII 1947, p. 29.

⁸¹ Cf. *IGR* III 989 and MITFORD, *Notes...* (n. 80), p. 212, no. 47.

⁸² Cf. I.K. NICOLAOU, in: T.B. MITFORD, I. NICOLAOU, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis*, Nicosia 1974, pp. 119–123, inscriptions nos. 92 and 93.

⁸³ The inscriptions are briefly evaluated by APPLEBAUM, *o.c.* (n. 75), pp. 297 f.

of a Flavian emperor and another statue found in the ruins of the ancient city⁸⁴, and an over life-sized head of a Julio-Claudian prince found on the site of the Temple of the Olympian Zeus in Salamis plus an unfinished cuirassed statue from a commemorative monument in high relief from the quarries near Xylophagou⁸⁵. Damage of the first three objects and interruption of work on the fourth could be connected with the events in AD 116/117. That is not very much⁸⁶.

APPLEBAUM writes that “the excavations at Salamis have not yet detected many signs of the devastation testified to by Dio Cassius, but the reason may be the lack of interest in the event manifested by former investigators”⁸⁷. I do not think that is the reason. The explanation of lack of traces of the Jewish revolt in the city are, firstly, immediately following restoration of the objects destroyed and, secondly, small chances of preservation of any traces, if the great buildings of the city were not substantially damaged. So far we have one example of reparations from Salamis. It is connected with the theatre which supplied us with the inscription mentioned above⁸⁸.

To restore peace on the island, emperor Trajan sent to Cyprus a detachment of *Legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*, and C. Valerius Rufus, a tribune of the legion, was appointed as its commander⁸⁹. It was a mixed detachment of infantry and cavalry. The presence of at least one of these is confirmed by a very interesting find. It is a military inscription found halfway between Salamis and Leukosia, in the village of Knodara⁹⁰ (Knodhara) (*CIL* III 215)⁹¹. It mentions the men of *Cohors VII Breucorum* who came to Cyprus to suppress the rebellion⁹². They established

⁸⁴ V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Sculptures from Salamis*, Nicosia 1961, vol. 1, p. 48, no. 48, pl. XLIII; p. 48, no. 65, pl. LIV, 5.

⁸⁵ C.C. VERMEULE, *Greek and Roman Cyprus: Art from Classical Throughout Late Antique Times*, Boston 1976, pp. 71, 87 f., 93.

⁸⁶ Cf. Z.J. KAPERA, [review of:] APPLEBAUM, *o.c.* (n. 75), *Folia Orientalia* XXII 1981–1984, p. 329.

⁸⁷ APPLEBAUM, *o.c.* (n. 75), p. 297.

⁸⁸ KAPERA, [review...] (n. 86).

⁸⁹ DESSAU, *ILS 9491*, where we read among others: “missus cum vexillo ab imp. [...] Traiano [...] Cyprum in expeditionem”. See HILL, *o.c.* (n. 76), vol. 1, p. 242, n. 2.

⁹⁰ Now on maps of the Turkish Federated State this village is named Gönendere.

⁹¹ The text of the inscription, being a dedication of an altar, is as follows: “Genio / praesi[di] / et monim[enti] c[on]s[ec]rat[us] VII Bre[ucor]um / c[on]s[ec]rat[us] R[omanorum] eq[ui]tata cui pra[es]t[us] / M. Oclatius Ru[fus] / pr[ae]f[ectus] [c]on[stituit] a[ugustinus] P. Ael[io] C[on]s[ec]rat[us]”. Quoted by A. DOBO, *Inscriptiones extra fines Pannoniae Daciaeque repertae ad res earundem provinciarum pertinentes*, Budapest 1975, p. 85, no. 452. The beginning of the inscription was corrected recently to “genio praesidi et monium”. Also the name of the officer and the last two lines of the inscription was read anew in the Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg as: “M(arcus) Og[on]n[is]us Tir[on]i(?) pr[ae]f[ectus] c[on]s[ec]rat[us] a[ugustinus] P[ublius] Aemili[us]”.

⁹² The *cohors VII Breucorum* normally stationed on Rhine, near Mainz. After AD 85 it was transferred to Pannonia and fought against the Dacians. Cf. J.E. BOGAERS, *Cohortes Breucorum*, *Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* XIX 1969, p. 43.

a *praesidium* (a kind of a military fort) in the neighbourhood of the village, i.e. north-west of Salamis. Its localization during the rebellion suggests that it might have been a well chosen point for military control of central Mesaoria, close to the main routes on the island⁹³. In the opinion of S. APPLEBAUM, the creation of a permanent garrison is a proof that “fighting had taken place over a considerable area” of Cyprus before the defeat of the rebellion⁹⁴. Control of the road system was a must and it turned out to be necessary for the Roman army to maintain a small fort for a certain period in the eastern part of the island. The fort had the Kyrenia range behind it (from the north) and offered a good view of the central plain of Mesaoria (to the south).

THE RESULTS OF THE JEWISH REBELLION

The results of the Jewish anti-Roman and anti-Greek uprising in AD 116/117⁹⁵ were first of all disastrous for the Cypriot Jews. Let me stress once again that the number of people killed given by Cassius Dio is usually taken as a count of all the people murdered during the rebellion. But to me, it looks from the context as the number of not-Jewish population, most probably Greeks⁹⁶. So we should add to the 240,000 a considerable number of Jews who certainly were annihilated in revenge by the Roman army and by the surviving Greeks. Even if modern historians divide the number by ten, at least thirty to forty thousand people must have lost their lives. Dio added anecdotal information that Jews were no more allowed to land on the island. If a storm-driven Jew came to the Cypriot coast by chance, he was killed (LXVIII 32, 3), a terrible revenge on the part of the remaining inhabitants. Does that mean that all Jews were exterminated or expelled from Cyprus? Some authors, such as G. HILL, did not believe that the ban remained in force for long and claimed that Jewish colonies still existed⁹⁷. However, the earliest Jewish inscription he quoted was not from the second, but from the fourth century AD. The authors of the corpus of the *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* are convinced that this “ban [...] was evidently still operative” in the time of Cassius Dio (i.e. in the early third century)⁹⁸. It seems that the lack of epigraphic finds so

⁹³ Cf. map 10 at the end of the book by T. BEKKER-NIELSEN, *The Roads of Ancient Cyprus*, Copenhagen 2004.

⁹⁴ APPLEBAUM, *o.c.* (n. 75), p. 299.

⁹⁵ Such a date is offered by BARNES, *Trajan...* (n. 58), p. 159, following analysis of APPLEBAUM, *o.c.* (n. 75), pp. 297–299.

⁹⁶ Cf. PUCCI BEN ZEEV, *Diaspora...* (n. 3), p. 102: “[...] in Cyprus the Jewish attacks seemed to be directed not so much against the Roman government as against their Gentile neighbors”.

⁹⁷ HILL, *o.c.* (n. 76), vol. 1, p. 243.

⁹⁸ D. NOY, H. BLOEDHORN (eds.), *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, vol. III: *Syria and Cyprus*, Tübingen 2002, p. 213.

far confirms that there was at least a century's (if not nearly two centuries') gap in Jewish habitation in Cyprus. The known inscriptions are very few and dated much later, to the third or fourth century, so they concern the period of the Late Roman Empire⁹⁹.

REACTION OF THE ROMAN ADMINISTRATION

Unfortunately we do not know how the imperial authorities reacted after crushing the rebellion in Cyprus. We know the decisions taken in the case of Cyrenaica. Certainly both Trajan and Hadrian took similar steps towards Cyprus. The historians of the island tend to remember only the building activity of Hadrian in Cyprus. However, it is not excluded that the first decisions were already taken by Trajan in the last months of his life. Prof. PUCCI BEN ZEEV established that the rebellion ended in summer AD 117. Most probably, as it happened in Cyrenaica¹⁰⁰, the crops of the years AD 116 and 117 were lost. So the first act of the emperor was to solve the food supply problems of the remaining population of Cyprus¹⁰¹. Next, it was necessary to detach some soldiers to repair the island's roads and bridges. In the case of Cyrenaica that was an absolute must, as rebels from Cyrene for example had intentionally destroyed the only highway from harbour of Apollonia to the city, knowing that an invasion would come only by sea from ships transporting soldiers of the Roman general Marcus Turbo¹⁰². We cannot exclude a similar decision in the case of Cyprus. But let us say at once that among the Roman milestones in Cyprus we have not found even a single one from the period¹⁰³. And the most important question is this. When Cyrenaica was depleted, Trajan at once sent his soldier colonists, who promptly integrated with the remaining Greek and local population¹⁰⁴. Did he do the same with Cyprus? Certainly many land areas previously maintained by Jews were at his disposal and what is more, the areas around Salamis were owned by the emperor's administration¹⁰⁵. It is probable that their users also were killed during

⁹⁹ Ibidem, pp. 212–226 (passim).

¹⁰⁰ REYNOLDS, *o.c.* (n. 74), p. 553.

¹⁰¹ Cyprus was not a supplier of grain for the city of Rome. Strabo mentions that Cyprus produced "a sufficient supply of grain for its own use" (translation after P.W. WALLACE, A.G. ORPHANIDES, *Sources for the History of Cyprus*, vol. 1: *Greek and Latin Texts to the Third Century A.D.*, Albany–Nicosia 1990, p. 131). On the economy of the Roman Cyprus cf. T. BEKKER-NIELSEN, *o.c.* (n. 93), pp. 58–60; KAPERA, *Roman Administration...* (n. 15), pp. 23–27.

¹⁰² REYNOLDS, *o.c.* (n. 74), p. 553.

¹⁰³ Cf. BEKKER-NIELSEN, *o.c.* (n. 93), pp. 232–276 (Appendix: "Roman milestones from Cyprus").

¹⁰⁴ REYNOLDS, *o.c.* (n. 74), pp. 555, 557.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. BEKKER-NIELSEN, *o.c.* (n. 93), p. 60; MITFORD, *Roman Cyprus...* (n. 38), p. 1296, n. 30.

the rebellion and new colonists were necessary. It is worth adding that there was a 2,000 man Cypriot cohort called *cohors III Cypria c(ivium) R(omanorum)*, in AD 110. However, we do not know if any of them returned to Cyprus as colonists. In any case, the army's contribution to the Romanization of the island was limited¹⁰⁶. But, again in contrast to Cyrenaica, we do not have inscriptions confirming such a decision, even if it looks very necessary¹⁰⁷.

As it was reported above, Hadrian did his best to help Salamis to recover¹⁰⁸. Anthony R. BIRLEY remarks that an imperial visit to Cyprus cannot be excluded¹⁰⁹. In general, we can observe a slow but growing process of renovation of Cyprus during the second century. For example in Nea Paphos the south part of the so-called Villa of Theseus is built anew¹¹⁰. The first phase of reconstruction is dated to the years after AD 126¹¹¹, so still during Hadrian's time, and it was a part of a government building. Also Curium is developing, as shown by excavations in the city in the last few decades¹¹². In Amathus, during Hadrian's rule "the Romans intervened on an urban level by repairing the water supply system, public expression of which can be seen in the Nymphaeum reservoir and the fountain of the agora"¹¹³. All such examples enable us to suggest, again by analogy to Cyrenaica, that in the second century "the number of Roman citizens in the middle social range" would increase¹¹⁴ and that the island slowly recovered from the disaster. The island again exhibited its original vitality.

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¹⁰⁶ Cf. C.P. KYRRIS, *History of Cyprus*, Nicosia ²1996, p. 147.

¹⁰⁷ The fact that we do not have material sources concerning the Cypriot rebellion of the kind we have for Cyrenaica astonished G.R.H. WRIGHT, who noticed close similarities between Cyrenaica and Cyprus as Roman provinces, both in their history and their role during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, and pointed to their intensive interrelations. (Cf. his *Roman Cyprus and Roman Cyrenaica. An Architectural Contrast within Historical Parallels*, Thetis V/VI 1999, pp. 169–195). He even blamed the archaeologists dealing with Roman Cyprus, saying that "the Jewish Revolt has never been fashionable" and that "it would require close search to find mention of it in the archaeological reports" (G.R.H. WRIGHT, *Travel between Cyprus and Cyrenaica in Graeco-Roman Times*, Thetis VIII 2001, p. 108).

¹⁰⁸ V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Salamis in Cyprus. Homeric, Hellenistic and Roman*, London 1969, p. 195.

¹⁰⁹ A.R. BIRLEY, *Hadrian. Cesarz niestrudzony*, Warszawa 2002 [= *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*, London 2000], p. 13.

¹¹⁰ Cf. W.A. DASZEWSKI, *Nea Pafos*, in: W.A. DASZEWSKI, H. MEYZA (eds.), *Cypr w badaniach polskich* ["Cyprus in Polish Research"], Warszawa 1998, p. 10.

¹¹¹ S. MEDEKSZA, *Willa Tezeusza w Nea Pafos. Rezydencja antyczna* ["The Villa of Theseus in Nea Paphos. The Ancient Residence"], Wrocław 1992, p. 30.

¹¹² Cf. the description of the ruins in the *Guide de Kourion*, Nicosia 1987.

¹¹³ P. AUPERT (ed.), *Guide to Amathus*, Nicosia 2000, p. 34 (cf. also p. 103).

¹¹⁴ REYNOLDS, *o.c.* (n. 74), p. 557.

THE LIGHT OF THE CYPRIOT SUN IN THE POETRY
OF GEORGE SEFERIS

By

MICHAŁ BZINKOWSKI

George Seferis (1900–1971), the first Greek Nobel Prize winner for literature (1963), visited Cyprus several times during his diplomatic career. His subsequent sojourns in 1953, 1954 and 1955 that he made from Beirut where he had been posted, coincided with the time of the struggle for self-determination of the Greek population of the island. Later, as an ambassador to Great Britain (1957–1962) he eagerly strived towards the solution of the Cyprus dispute. His emotional attitude towards the island is visible in the collection of poems *Logbook III (Ημερολόγιο Καταστρώματος Γ')* first published in 1955 and inspired by his visits in Cyprus. Initially the collection appeared under the title *Κύπρον, οὗ μ' ἔθεσπισεν...* (“Cyprus, where it was ordained for me...”), which was a quotation from Euripides’ *Helen* (148). Its speaker is Teucer, the most famous and skilled archer in the Trojan war (Hom. *Il.* VIII 265 ff.; XII 329 ff., 364 ff.), who – according to the instructions of Apollo’s oracle – had to sail until he reached Cyprus where he was to settle (Eur. *Hel.* 148–150). The words from the ancient play placed as the title out of context may underline the personal attitude of the poet to the island¹. However, in 1962 Seferis removed this title and placed it as a motto in one of the most significant poems in the *Logbook III*, “Helen”. The whole collection is dedicated “to the people of Cyprus, in memory and love” (Στον κόσμο της Κύπρου. Μνήμη και Αγάπη) and consists of the poems written mostly during his two winter visits in 1953 and 1954, the time of crucial decisions concerning the island’s future when the autonomy under a constitution proposed by the British administration was eventually rejected².

The visit in Cyprus is for Seferis a sort of revelation of “a place where the miracle still functions” (όπου το θαύμα λειτουργεί ακόμα)³, as he writes in his

¹ ΚΡΙΚΟΣ-DAVIS 1994: 28.

² BEATON 2004: 205.

³ MARONITIS 1987: 160; VITTI 1994: 241; BEATON 2003: 293.

diaries. Here he found still existing traditional Greek Orthodox rural community that he remembered from his childhood spent in a small village of Urla near Smyrna in Asia Minor, where he was born⁴ and, as some say, found the ancient harmony and balance⁵. However, one would be deeply disappointed expecting in the poems of the collection inspired by Cyprus a return to the mythical Arcadia of lost childhood. The island may rather seem to be the last stop in the obsessive search for the authenticity of a real life that haunted Seferis from his earliest poems. The mythical journeys of Odysseus and the Argonauts that the poet vainly strove to finish drifting on “the broken planks from voyages that never ended”⁶ (σπασμένα ξύλα από ταξίδια που δεν τέλειωσαν, *Mythistorema* 10) now seem to have ended on the island bathed in the Cypriot light. The landscape and people of Cyprus have linked the fruitless past with the hope for future, the first so evident sign of hope in the poetry obscured almost completely by sorrow of a contemporary man looking for “the other life, beyond the statues” (την άλλη ζωή, / πέρα από τα αγάλματα, *Mythistorema* 5).

In the present paper I concentrate on a specific Cypriot imagery that permeates the whole *Logbook III* collection, paying special attention to the light of the sun, one of the key concepts in Seferis’ thought, that seems to reveal its true nature on Aphrodite’s island. Using as an example the poem *Agianapa* I opening the whole collection I will try to approach the complexity and ambiguity of the symbol of the light that in Greek traditions gains a special meaning almost unrecognizable for the Western European reader not knowing the original Greek text.

Agianapa I (*Αγιάναπα*, A’) constitutes a good example of a new type of poetics Seferis uses in his Cypriot poems⁷. The title alludes to a real-life holiday resort at the eastern tip of the southern coast of Cyprus that in Seferis’ times was a small sleepy fishing village. Before visiting Engomi the poet spent the morning at Agianapa on the deserted beach with a monastery, photographing his wife Maro⁸. However, the reality of the place dissipates in the poem into reflections on the authenticity of the light now seen as if for the first time⁹:

And you see the light of the sun, as the ancients used to say.
And yet I thought I was seeing all these years

⁴ BEATON 2004: 205.

⁵ CAPRI-KARKA 1985: 169.

⁶ All translations of Seferis’ poems are those by Edmund KEELEY and Philip SHERRARD (SEFERIS 1995). The original passages are quoted after SEFERIS 2000.

⁷ MARONITIS 1987: 161 uses the adjective αποκαλυπτικός (‘disclosing, revealing’) with reference to this poem to underline that during his sojourn on the island the poet realized fully the aliveness of mythology he had used.

⁸ BEATON 2003: 311.

⁹ KRİKOS-DAVIS 1994: 105 regards this poem as “the most comprehensive poetic statement of light as a key concept in Seferis’ thought”.

walking between the mountains and the sea
 coming across men in perfect armour;
 strange, I didn't notice that I saw their voices only.

The phrase the poem starts with, βλέπω το φως του ήλιου ("I see the light of the sun"), is used nowadays as a synonym to "to be born" and brings a lot of connotations in Greek tradition. Besides, it is a Homeric expression, as the protagonist of the poems underlines ("as the ancients used to say"), meaning "to be alive". However, in the Ancient Greek prototype the phrase is rather ominous, because it is uttered by Thetis about her son Achilles in her speech presaging her son's death (Hom. *Il.* XVIII 61)¹⁰. Thus, following the mythological allusions, we could say that in Seferis' poem there is a vivid correspondence between light and life¹¹.

The cited line had appeared in the poet's diary of summer 1946, the time he created one of his most mysterious and obscure poems, *Thrush*¹², also being a sort of revelation¹³. Moreover, he realized the nature of Greek light even earlier, in 1944, when he returned to liberated Greece after three and a half years of exile¹⁴. As he writes in his diaries, "there must be something in the light that makes us like this" (πρέπει να υπάρχει μέσα στο φως κάτι που μας κάνει έτσι)¹⁵. For Seferis the Greek light is inseparably connected with the mentality of the people and its inclination to create abstract ideas¹⁶.

In *Agianapa I* the initial phrase undoubtedly constitutes the starting point for contrasting the past with the present that reveals something completely new or rather unexpectedly in a new disguise¹⁷. The "miracle" (το θαύμα) mentioned

¹⁰ KRIKOS-DAVIS 1994: 105; CAPRI-KARKA 1985: 187.

¹¹ KRIKOS-DAVIS 1994: 110.

¹² MARONITIS 1987: 161 expresses an opinion that in *Thrush* Seferis' searching for the synthesis of myth and history reached a dead end. In the first line of *Agianapa I* he sees a continuation of the key idea of "Thrush", namely "angelic and black light" (αγγελικό και μαύρο φως).

¹³ BEATON 2003: 311. Quoted and translated by CAPRI-KARKA 1985: 187. Από το ημερολόγιο του '46: It is worth quoting the entry, although it may complicate the interpretation even further and does not seem to have much in common with *Agianapa I*, being expressed in a completely different context: "And I see the light of the sun as the ancients used to say. I could analyse this sentence and reach the most secret love. But in order to say what you want to say, you must create another language and nourish it for many years with what you have loved, what you have lost, what you'll never find again. For the time being [...] I know some languages and I know a little of how to read hieroglyphics. But I am a deaf-mute. It is no longer easy among whores and goats".

¹⁴ KRIKOS-DAVIS 1994: 106.

¹⁵ Seferis, *Δοκιμές*, Β', pp. 14 f.

¹⁶ KRIKOS-DAVIS 1994: 106f.

¹⁷ According to KRIKOS-DAVIS (1994: 105), the identification of the poet with the speaker of the poem is evident by the shift from the second person singular to the first person in the second line. MARONITIS 1987: 161 regards the first line as gnomic as well as ironic, for the next verse casts doubt on the previous feeling.

above is a revelation of forgotten truth, veiled in the past in a sort of “an armour” (πανοπλίες)¹⁸ that may symbolize here the impossibility of contact with true reality and the hidden nature of light¹⁹. Seferis comments the discovery of the freshness of Cyprus in such a way: “It was a revelation of a world and it also was the experience of a human drama, which – no matter what the dictates of our daily associations are – measures and judges our humanness”²⁰. The experience of “human drama” seems to be universal rather than just an allusion to the plight of the Cypriots, as some scholars tend to interpret it²¹. As KRİKOS-DAVIS convincingly states, apart from the personal experience, the poet’s aim is to “introduce an insight he is afforded into a truth of human existence”²².

Seferis’ contact with the island forces him to reevaluate his views about the people he had met before²³. He realizes that in reality he had seen only their voices, which symbolically may suggest that he did not see the people and that the light he had seen was just an illusion. In the past the light turned out to be a sort of a trap and by no means was a source of cognition and knowledge. Everything he had experienced was just a trick, which is attested by the subsequent verses:

It was the blood that forced them to talk, the ram
that I slaughtered and spread at their feet;
but the red carpet was not the light.

In Seferis’ manner the quoted passage is full of veiled mythical references known from his earlier poems. The blood and the ram alludes to one of the most favourite motifs of the poet, Odysseus’ descent into the underworld known as *nekylia* used several times in his poetry, each time in a situation when the protagonist finds himself in a state of total idleness and stagnation; without any contact with the living ones he turns to the dead for advice²⁴. However, here the poet uses this motif somewhat inversely – the ritual of evocation of ghosts is intended

¹⁸ CAPRI-KARKA 1985: 187 and KRİKOS-DAVIS 1994: 111 see here an allusion to Cavafy’s *Aimilia-nos Monai, Alexandrian, A.D. 628–655*: Με λόγια, με φυσιογνωμία, και με τρόπους / μια εξαίρεση θα κάμω πανοπλία / και θ’ αντικρύζω έτσι τους κακούς ανθρώπους / χωρίς να έχω φόβον ή αδυναμία.

¹⁹ Earlier poems often feature the motif of blindness of people unable to face the sun, like for example in “Thrush”: “Countries of the sun yet you cannot face the sun/ Countries of men yet you cannot face man” (Χώρες του ήλιου και δεν μπορείτε ν’αντικρίσετε τον ήλιο / Χώρες του ανθρώπου και δεν μπορείτε ν’αντικρίσετε τον άνθρωπο).

²⁰ Quoted by CAPRI-KARKA 1985: 170, *Journal E*, 64.

²¹ CAPRI-KARKA 1985: 170.

²² KRİKOS-DAVIS 1994: 105.

²³ PETROPOULOS 2000: 130.

²⁴ See for instance the following poems: *Reflections on a foreign line of verses* (Πάνω σ’έναν ξένο στοιχείο), *Mythistorema 9* and *Mythistorema 24*, *Stratis Thalassinos Among the Agapanthi* (Στράτης Θαλασσινός ανάμεσα στους αγαπάνθους) and *Thrush* (Κίχλη).

to communicate with the living, not with the dead²⁵. Another mythical symbol is a mention of “the red carpet” (το κόκκινο χαλί) referring to the well-known scene from Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon*, where Clytemnestra spreads the red carpet for Agamemnon coming back from the Trojan war. The colour of the carpet presages the slaughter of Agamemnon that follows. In Seferis’ poem the imagery drawn directly from ancient mythology no doubt underlines the failure of the past experience on one hand, and the awareness of the lack of authenticity of the previous life or deceptiveness of past experiences on the other²⁶. It is very enticing to see in the passages quoted above hidden allusions to the actual situation of the Cypriots who had been deceived in a way by British false promises and futile bloodshed. However, in my opinion, taking into account the universality of the symbols that had already been used by the poet in different context, such an interpretation is not tenable²⁷.

The next part of the second stanza is usually omitted by commentators, probably because of the simple fact that it is too obscure to be explained in a satisfactory way:

Whatever they told me I had to recognize by touch
as when they hide you at night, hunted, in a stable
or when you finally attain the body of a full-breasted woman
whatever they told me: fur and silk.

In my view this part of the poem not only elaborates the idea expressed in the first part but concretizes the context implicitly suggested in the first lines. The protagonist returns to the past, placing his experiences in a sort of a timeless event returning when the situation may be the same as he had experienced it. This is no doubt the experience full of, let us say, “palpable” and “sensual” feelings. The idea of a seeming fulfillment is undermined by the last line of the quoted passage, where an image of the “skin” (“fur” in Keeley’s translation)²⁸ and “silk” (δορά και μετάξι) appears suggesting that all of this was just a surface of things, not the light that he is now circled with. Extending the consideration we could say that in the past perception was possible only through the sense of touch²⁹.

²⁵ KRIKOS-DAVIS 1994: 112.

²⁶ MARONITIS 1987: 162 reads the quoted passage as a rejection of the ways of using mythology in earlier poems.

²⁷ CAPRI-KARKA 1985: 187 f.

²⁸ Seferis used here a rare word for ‘skin’ – δορά of ancient Greek origin instead of a more common δέρμα what KEELEY undoubtedly tried to render by using “fur”. Noteworthy, the ancient word originates from the verb δέρω (δείρω) ‘to skin’. Thus, the implication in Seferis’ poem is that what he touched was indeed not the real, alive “skin” but just a “ripped off skin”, which underlines that his past experiences were rather far from authentic fulfillment.

²⁹ KRIKOS-DAVIS 1994: 113. She evokes at this point a passage from Sophoclean *Oedipus Tyrannus* (371).

The last stanza is heavy with mythical and, one could even say, biblical imagery³⁰ in the form of symbols mutually permeating one another:

Strange, here I see the light of the sun; the gold net
 where things quiver like fish
 that a huge angel draws in
 along with the nets of the fishermen.

Timelessness turns to reality by mention of the concrete place, “here” (εδώ), namely in the sands of the beach in Agianapa. The Cypriot light twinkling in the fishermen’s nets dragged from the sea is simultaneously real as well as mythical. The image suddenly bursts into a biblical dimension that broadens the perspective of a single beach in the morning light. The suggestive and undoubtedly powerful image of the angel-fisherman seems to be a sort of epiphany of the total light³¹. It reminds me somehow of the ominous verses from Seferis’ mystic poem *Thrush* that he finished in October 1946. There the imagery of light, strongly connected with the yearning for love, turned into the apocalyptic vision of absolute silence, of nature suddenly petrified as if all the sound and movement had come to a standstill because of some unknown power. The same timelessness as in *Agianapa* I was in *Thrush* a vision far from the authenticity of the Cypriot light. Let me cite a passage from the last part of *Thrush*, *The light* (Το φως):

the heart of the Scorpion has set,
 the tyrant in man has fled,
 and all the daughters of the sea, Nereids, Graeae,
 hurry toward the shimmering of the rising goddess:
 whoever has never loved will love,
 in the light;
 and you find yourself
 in a large house with many windows open
 running from room to room, not knowing from where to look out first,
 because the pine trees will vanish, and the mirrored mountains, and the chirping of birds
 the sea will empty, shattered glass, from north and south
 your eyes will empty of the light of day
 the way the cicadas all together suddenly fall silent.

³⁰ KRIKOS-DAVIS 1994: 113 sees here a reminiscence of the *Revelation of John* (19, 17).

³¹ The idea expressed by CAPRI-KARKA 1985: 188 (who, following SAVVIDIS, suggested that at this point it is possible to draw a parallel between the Greek word for angel άγγελος and for Englishman Άγγλος and thus to link the “huge angel” with the English rulers of the island) seems to be rather odd and far-fetched to me. The light imagery of the earlier Seferis’ poems confirms that we deal with one of the concepts that frequently occur in the poetical *œuvre* of our author. VAYENAS 1996: 202 suggests that the picture has its source in Sikelianos’ *Ο Δαίδαλος στην Κρήτη*.

What both visions of the light seem to share is for me the cosmic dimension of the phenomenon³². In *Thrush* it was both “angelic and black light” (αγγελικό και μαύρο φως), the light absorbing the darkness in a sort of a cyclical dance of different elements constituting the whole existence. In Seferis’ vision cosmic light transcends the borders of human existence and encompasses the pairs of the opposites, good and evil, love and hate, life and death³³. Let us come back to *Agianapa* I, where the imagery of light returns, in my opinion, in the same universal meaning. It is both unifying and contradictory, which can be seen in the symbolic scene of dragging the net from the sea. On the one hand the mythical angel reveals to us something that had been hidden in the depths of the sea, on the other the fish are caught in a trap and thus condemned to death³⁴. Noteworthy at this point is an image from another poem in the collection *Logbook III, Euripides the Athenian* that deals with the same imagery of an existential drama³⁵:

He saw the veins of men
as a net the gods made to catch us in like wild beasts:
he tried to break through it.

In order to see the exceptionality of Seferis’ light, let us see briefly, without entering into a detailed analysis, the usage of light imagery in other poets of the same generation. The presence of the mystery of light permeates the whole poetry of one of the most recognizable poets of the 20th century Greece, Noble Prize Winner in Literature in 1979, Odysseus Elytis, called “the poet of the Aegean Sea”. From his early poems the motif of light together with a sort of intoxication with the beauty of the sea with all its aspects are the key characteristics of his poetics. The light turns out to be something touchable, the element of nature that one does not contemplate as an external miracle but coexists and fills up with, like in the well-known fourth part of his composition *Sun the First* (*Ο ήλιος ο πρώτος*, 1943):

Drinking the sun of Corinth
Reading the marble ruins
Striding across vineyards and seas
Sighting along the harpoon

³² KAPSOMENOS 2002: 132.

³³ KAPSOMENOS 2002: 132. KRIKOS-DAVIS 1994: 107 f. Another example of such an ambiguity of light and darkness may be found in one of Seferis’ best known and recognizable poems *King of Asini* (*Ο βασιλιάς της Ασίνης*).

³⁴ KAPSOMENOS 2002: 135. MARONITIS 1987: 163 sees in the image of the angel reminiscences of the mythological motives he had previously used that now coexist with the living mythology of Cyprus, namely with the simple fisherman dragging the nets.

³⁵ MARONITIS 1987: 163 notices that there is a change in ancient sources of inspiration in the Cypriot poems for now the main source is Eurypides rather than Homer, Aeschylus or Sophocles as before.

A votive fish that slips away
 I found the leaves that the sun's psalm memorizes
 The living land that passion delights in opening³⁶.

The sun is the all-embracing sort of a substance whose presence could be felt in every element of the Greek landscape and that everyone could share by drinking (πίνοντας). It is as well a revelation of something divine, manifesting itself in metaphysical music (ο ψαλμός του ήλιου), leaving everywhere its touchable traces. Such “metaphysics of the sun” is evident in Elytis' greatest poem *Worthy It Is* (*Το Άξιον Εστί*, 1959), its title referring to a Byzantine hymn. A long poem, about eighty-eight pages, is composed in accordance with strict formal pattern and a complex scheme based on numbers three and seven³⁷. Taking as a starting point Christ's Passion, Elytis alludes to the moments of the Second World War that for the Greeks are the most crucial. The metaphysical light that is also filled with obvious religious meaning starts the first part of the composition (*Η Γένεσις*):

In the beginning the light. And the first hour
 when lips still in clay
 try out the things of the world

Combining the beginning of the Old Testament with the first words of *Saint John's Gospel*, Elytis managed to accomplish a unique effect of underlining the creative power of the Greek language together with the powerful impact the light has on the Greek landscape which is expressed by the sensual imagery.

The phrase *Άξιον Εστί* from a Byzantine hymn that starts the last part of the poem (*Το Δοξαστικόν*) is used to stress the creative role of the poetic language that victoriously triumphs at the end just like the resurrected Christ. The light, similarly to the beginning of the above quoted first part of the poem, seems to have sensual dimension that is revealed in the symbolic words of a prayer written on stones just like the mentioned “lips in clay” (τα χείλη στον πήλο):

Worthy is the light and man's first
 prayer engraved on the rock.

The unique Greek light is perceived in a different manner in the poetry of Yannis Ritsos (1909–1990) belonging to the same 1930s generation as Elytis and Seferis. The whole Greek past abounding in tragic events and struggle of the nation to survive returns in Ritsos' best known poem *Greekness* (*Ρωμιοσύνη*) written in 1945–1947 and published in 1954³⁸ that became famous partly due to

³⁶ Translated by Edmund KEELEY and Philip SHERRARD.

³⁷ BEATON 2004: 210.

³⁸ BEATON 2004: 181.

the music composed by Mikis Theodorakis and based on the portions of the poem. The heroes of wars and ordinary people are presented within the context of unchangeable and severe Greek landscape³⁹ overwhelmed by sunlight:

These trees are not content under any less sky,
these stones are not content under any stranger's step,
these faces are not content without their sun,
these hearts are not content without justice.

Here the land is hard, like silence,
it hugs the scorched boulders to itself,
clutches in the light its orphan olive trees, its vines,
grinds its teeth. There's no water. Only sunlight.
The path loses itself in the sunlight and the shape from the sheepfold is iron⁴⁰.

It seems to me that the second stanza is Ritsos' answer to analogous picture created by Seferis in poem 10 from the *Mythistorema* (*Μυθιστόρημα*) cycle, where the bareness of the Greek landscape appears with the same intensity. However, in Seferis' dry land there is no light, the place seems to be closed in a sort of a static image of idleness:

Our country is closed in, all mountains
the day and night have the low sky as their roof.
We have no rivers, we have no wells, we have no springs,
only a few cisterns – and these empty – that echo, and that we worship.

To the emptiness and dryness of Greek landscape Ritsos adds the only element that the Hellenic ground abounds with, namely the light (*μονάχα φως*) that encompasses every single element of the visible world and is a hallmark of Greece. However, the light in Ritsos' poem is somehow ominous, as if it kept all the things in a sort of an enclosure. It turns to marbles all the living things, like in the following verses:

The trees, the rivers and the voices turn to stone in the whitewash of the sun
The root collides with the marble. The dust-covered cord.
The mule and the rock. They're panting. There is no water.
Everyone thirsts. For years now everyone chews on a mouthful of sky
To chase the bitterness.

These are, no doubts, the images of a destructive power, not only of the heat but of the war, to which Ritsos alludes in the subsequent verses, dense with the symbolic pictures of death.

³⁹ BEATON 2004: 181 f.

⁴⁰ Translated by Avi SHARON.

The light imagery in such a context reminds me also one of the best known poems of Takis Sinopoulos (1917–1981) who is one of the most recognizable poets of the same post-war generation. His poetry written during the most crucial times in Modern Greek history is stamped with the poet's experiences and haunted with the apocalyptic visions of war. The light imagery appears in his first published poem *Elpenor* in which the poet evokes the youngest Odysseus' companion, the one who lost his life falling from the roof of Circe's palace. That was his soul that appeared the first in front of Odysseus during his necromancy (Hom. *Od.* XI 51–83)⁴¹. In the Sinopoulos poem the mythical figure is mingled with the reminiscences of the ghosts of the poet's friends that were killed during the war⁴². The destructive power of the light interweaves here with the silence of dead landscape bringing to mind the images of the underworld:

Landscape of death. Sea turned to stone, black cypress trees,
low seashore ravaged by salt and light,
hollow rocks, the implacable sun above them,
and neither the water's rolling nor a bird's wing,
only an endless, dense, unwrinkled silence⁴³.

Thus, Seferis' usage and perception of light imagery in comparison with the contemporary Greek poets belonging to the generation of the thirties is rather exceptional and deeply personal. The poem *Agianapa* analysed above reveals the poet's authentic sensation of transcendence he had been looking for in vain before. The revelation of the Cypriot sun is thus a sort of experience that I would call the experience of the wholeness of the phenomena – whatever they consist of and whatever symbolic level of interpretation we take into account (personal, poetical or historical). As Beaton rightly notices, the search for the transcendent moment, one of the characteristic and constant features of Seferis' poetry, found its full dimension in Cypriot poems⁴⁴. The sun of Aphrodite's island encompasses all the mythological elements obsessively returning in earlier Seferis' poetry that, as he realized, he had perceived somehow superficially, using only the senses of touch and hearing. In the light of dawn on the beach in *Agianapa* he discovered the missing sense of vision. *Angelic and black light* from *Thrush* in Cyprus turned into the golden net (χρυσό δίχτυ) in which all the things that until now were not authentic, finally become visible in all their glory.

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⁴¹ More on the subject with reference to Seferis see my recent paper: BZINKOWSKI 2010.

⁴² BEATON 2004: 195 f.

⁴³ Translated by Kimon FRIAR.

⁴⁴ BEATON 1983: 27.

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ZU ARISTOTELES' REZEPTION DER VORSOKRATISCHEN
PRINZIPIENLEHREN (*PH.* I 4, 187 A 12–26)

TEIL 1*

By

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ABSTRACT: The article offers an examination of the Aristotelian classification of the natural philosophers in *Physics* I 4, 187 a 12–26. It focuses on such problems as the criterion of the division, the unity of the second group of the thinkers, the meaning of the phrase ἐν καὶ πολλά, the authorship of the intermediate-substance theory, the role of the notion of the opposites, and the function of the division in Aristotle's argumentation in *Physics* I.

Im ersten Buch der *Physik*, das der Zahl und Identität der ersten Prinzipien der Natur gewidmet ist, beruft sich Aristoteles mehrmals auf seine Vorgänger und versucht, ihre Lehren in sein theoretisches Raster einzuordnen¹. Dazu nimmt er

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¹ Zur methodologischen Bedeutung dieser Vorgehensweise s. *Top.* I 2, 101 a 34–b 4; vgl. *EN* VII 1, 1145 b 2–7. Vgl. dazu W. WIELAND, *Die aristotelische Physik. Untersuchungen über die Grundlagen der Naturwissenschaften und die sprachlichen Bedingungen der Prinzipienforschung bei Aristoteles*, Göttingen 1970, S. 101–110; S. MANSION, *Le rôle de l'exposé et de la critique des philosophies antérieures chez Aristote*, in: eadem (hrsg.), *Aristote et les problèmes de méthode*, Louvain 1961, S. 35–56; G.E.L. OWEN, *Tithenai ta phainomena*, ibidem, S. 83–103; A. ELZINGA, *Some Remarks on a Theory of Research in the Work of Aristotle*, *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Wissenschaftstheorie* V 1974, S. 9–38; T. IRWIN, *Aristotle's First Principles*, Oxford 1988, S. 3–72; Ch. LONG, *Saving ta legomena: Aristotle and the History of Philosophy*, *The Review of Metaphysics* LX 2006,

u.a. zwei Einteilungen ihrer Lehren vor. Mit der ersten, als traditionell geltenden Einteilung (*Ph.* I 2, 184 b 15–22) unterscheidet er theoretisch zwischen der Annahme eines einzigen (unbewegten bzw. bewegten, d.h. unveränderlichen bzw. veränderlichen) Prinzips und der Annahme mehrerer (der Zahl nach begrenzter bzw. unbegrenzter) Prinzipien² und klassifiziert die Vorsokratiker dementsprechend als Monisten bzw. Pluralisten³. Im Gegensatz dazu zielt die zweite Einteilung (*Ph.* I 4, 187 a 12–26), die uns im Folgenden interessieren wird, offensichtlich nicht auf die Erschöpfung der theoretisch möglichen, sondern auf die Klassifizierung der wirklich vorhandenen Prinzipienlehren; sie scheint zudem nach einem anderen Kriterium durchgeführt zu sein. Der Versuch, dieses Kriterium genau zu erfassen, führt jedoch in Schwierigkeiten; unklar sind auch andere Fragen, die sich bei der Lektüre des Textes stellen. Im vorliegenden Teil des Aufsatzes wird untersucht, ob und wie sich diese Schwierigkeiten unter Zugrundelegung einer bestimmten Deutungshypothese lösen lassen, die von den modernen Interpreten als evident vorausgesetzt wird (s. unten Punkt 1.1), die aber nicht alternativlos ist, wie der Blick auf die antiken Kommentare zur Stelle zeigt. Worin die alternativen Interpretationsvorschläge des Themistios, Philoponos und Simplikios bestehen, wird separat im zweiten Teil des Textes diskutiert⁴. Dort wird auch ein Vergleich zwischen den beiden Interpretationsweisen durchgeführt.

1. PROBLEME DER INTERPRETATION

1.1. Der Text und die moderne Auffassung seiner Struktur

Von der ersten, oben erwähnten Einteilung der älteren Prinzipienlehren in *Ph.* I 2, 184 b 15–22 ist die Klassifikation der Denker in *Ph.* I 4, 187 a 12 ff. durch eine

S. 247–267. Zur Diskussion über die in *EN VII 1* beschriebene Methode s. neuerdings J. MANSFELD, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1145 b 2–6, in: C. NATALI (hrsg.), *Aristotle: Metaphysics and Practical Philosophy. Essays in Honour of Enrico Berti*, Louvain-La-Neuve–Paris–Walpole, MA 2011, S. 165–175 (hier auch Verweise auf die frühere Literatur).

² Schematisch kann die Einteilung von *Ph.* 184 b 15–22 folgendermaßen dargestellt werden:

(1) Ein einziges Prinzip		(2) Mehrere Prinzipien					
(1.1) unbewegt	(1.2) bewegt	(2.1) der Zahl nach begrenzt				(2.2) der Zahl nach unbegrenzt	
		zwei	drei	vier	etc.	(2.2.1) homogen	(2.2.2) heterogen
Parmenides, Melissos	die Naturphilosophen (Luft, Wasser)					Demokrit	

³ Zu den Vorläufern der aristotelischen Einteilung (bes. Gorgias und Platon im *Sophistes*) s. J. PALMER, *Classical Representations and Uses of the Presocratics*, in: P. CURD, D.W. GRAHAM (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Presocratic Philosophy*, Oxford 2008, S. 531–540.

⁴ Zu Aristoteles' Rezeption der vorsokratischen Prinzipienlehren (*Ph.* I 4, 187 a 12–26). Teil 2 (*Themistios, Philoponos, Simplikios*).

ausführliche Auseinandersetzung mit den Eleaten getrennt, die in *Ph.* 184 b 15 f. als Anhänger einer einzigen, unbewegten ἀρχή bezeichnet werden⁵. Diese Diskussion abschließend (187 a 10 f.) stellt Aristoteles fest, dass die von den Eleaten vertretene Konzeption des einzigen Seienden inakzeptabel sei, und geht zu einer anderen, aber in gewisser Hinsicht ähnlichen Auffassung des Seienden über⁶:

(α) [187 a 10–11] ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐν εἶναι τὸ ὄν ἀδύνατον, δῆλον. (β) [a 12] ὡς δ' οἱ φυσικοὶ λέγουσι, δύο τρόποι εἰσίν. (γ) [a 12–13] οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ποιήσαντες τὸ ὄν⁷ σῶμα τὸ ὑποκείμενον, (δ) [a 13–14] ἢ τῶν τριῶν τι (ε)

⁵ In *Ph.* I 2, 184 b 22–25, d.h. zwischen der ersten Einteilung und der Diskussion mit den Eleaten, stellt Aristoteles fest, dass diejenigen Denker, die nach der Zahl der ὄντα suchen, eine ähnliche Untersuchung durchführen wie diejenigen, die nach der Zahl der ἀρχαί suchen, weil sie im Grunde auch nach Elementen und Prinzipien des Seienden fragen. Vermutlich rechtfertigt Aristoteles mit dem Verweis auf die früheren Denker, die, wie er zeigt, im Grunde nach der Zahl der ἀρχαί suchten, seine eigene Suche nach der Zahl der Prinzipien (so u.a. W.D. ROSS, *Aristotle's Physics. A Revised Text with Introduction and Commentary*, Oxford 1936, S. 460 f.), oder er rechtfertigt durch die Gleichsetzung von ὄντα mit ἀρχαί, dass er die älteren Klassifikationen der Lehren über τὰ ὄντα zu einer Klassifikation der Lehren über die ἀρχαί umformt (so J. PALMER, o.c. (Anm. 3), S. 539; J. MANSFELD, *Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Simplicius on Anaximander*, *Φιλοσοφία* XXXII 2002, S. 32 f.). Zur Bedeutung und Funktion dieser Stelle, die schon in der Antike unterschiedlich verstanden wurde (vgl. Alexander ap. Simplicius, *In Ph.* 45. 15–23; Philop., *In Ph.* 26. 16–20; Simplicius, *In Ph.* 45. 23–46. 8), s. ROSS, o.c., S. 460 f.; T.M. HORSTSCHÄFER, *Über Prinzipien. Eine Untersuchung zur methodischen und inhaltlichen Geschlossenheit des ersten Buches der Physik des Aristoteles*, Berlin–New York 1998, S. 38–40; O. GIGON, *Die Struktur des ersten Buches der aristotelischen Physik (184 a 10–187 b 7)*, *Museum Helveticum* XXIII 1966, S. 136; H. CHERNISS, *Aristotle's Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy*, Baltimore 1935 (New York 1971), S. 1 f.

⁶ Text nach Ross, o.c. (Anm. 5); zu ὄν in 187 a 13 vgl. die nächste Anm.

⁷ ὄν in *Ph.* 187 a 13 ist in den Kodizes und bei Philoponos überliefert, nach Ross zu athetieren (vgl. Komm. von Ross, o.c. (Anm. 5), S. 482). Wird es beibehalten (so u.a. *Aristoteles' Acht Bücher Physik*, Griechisch und Deutsch mit sacherklärenden Anmerkungen, hrsg. von C. PRANTL, Leipzig 1854; *Aristotle, The Physics*, with an English translation by P.H. WICKSTEED and F.M. CORNFORD in two volumes, Vol. I, London 1929 (1980); *Aristote, Physique*, texte établi et traduit par H. CARTERON, Paris 1952; *Aristóteles, Física*, texto revisado y traducido por J.L.C. MARTÍNEZ, Madrid 1996), und die Verbindung von τὸ ὄν mit σῶμα abgelehnt (s. ROSS, o.c. (Anm. 5), S. 482; vgl. PRANTL, o.c., S. 23: „Die Einen nämlich machen den existierenden, zu Grunde liegenden, Körper zu Einem“), bieten sich hinsichtlich der Auffassung von ἐν zwei Konstruktionen des Satzes an, abhängig davon, ob ἐν direkt mit σῶμα verbunden („die einen machen das Seiende zu einem einzigen Körper, der zugrunde liegt“) oder als selbständiges Prädikatsnomen verstanden wird („die einen machen das Seiende zu Einem, nämlich zu einem zugrunde liegenden Körper“). Vgl. die Übersetzungen von H.G. APOSTLE (*Aristotle's Physics*, Translated with Commentaries and Glossary, Bloomington–London 1969, S. 13: „Some of them posit being to be one underlying body – either one of the three or [...]“), A. LAKS (*Diogène d'Apollonie. La dernière cosmologie présocratique*, Édition, traduction, et commentaire des fragments et des témoignages, Lille 1983, S. 6: „[...] les uns, faisant de l'unique corps existant, le substrat, l'un des trois éléments ou [...]“) und G. COUGHLIN (*Physics, Or Natural Hearing*, Translated and Edited by [...], South Bend, Ind., 2005, S. 6: „For some, making being one underlying body, either a certain one of the three or [...]“) einerseits und die Übersetzungen von CARTERON (o.c., S. 36: „[...] les uns, posant l'unité de l'être, corps-substance qui est soit l'un des trois éléments, soit [...]“), MARTÍNEZ (o.c., S. 15: „Unos convierten en una sola cosa a lo que-es, al cuerpo subyacente, ya sea éste uno los tres elementos o [...]“) und WICKSTEED, CORNFORD (o.c., S. 41: „Those

[a 14–15] ἢ ἄλλο ὃ ἐστὶ πυρὸς μὲν πυκνότερον ἀέρος δὲ λεπτότερον, (ζ) [a 15–16] τᾶλλα γεννωσὶ πυκνότητι καὶ μανότητι πολλὰ ποιούντες (η) [a 16–20] (ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἐναντία, καθόλου δ' ὑπεροχὴ καὶ ἔλλειψις, ὥσπερ τὸ μέγα φησὶ Πλάτων καὶ τὸ μικρόν, πλὴν ὅτι ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ποιεῖ ὕλην τὸ δὲ ἐν τὸ εἶδος, οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐν τὸ ὑποκείμενον ὕλην, τὰ δ' ἐναντία διαφορὰς καὶ εἶδη)· (θ) [a 20–21] οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐνούσας τὰς ἐναντιότητας ἐκκρίνεσθαι, ὥσπερ Ἀναξίμανδρος φησὶ, (ι) [a 21–23] καὶ ὅσοι δ' ἐν καὶ πολλὰ φασὶν εἶναι, ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας· (κ) [a 23] ἐκ τοῦ μίγματος γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐκκρίνουσι τᾶλλα. (λ) [a 23–25] διαφέρουσι δὲ ἀλλήλων τῶ τὸν μὲν περίοδον ποιεῖν τούτων, τὸν δ' ἄπαξ, (μ) [a 25–26] καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄπειρα, τὰ τε ὁμοιομερῆ καὶ τὰναντία, τὸν δὲ τὰ καλούμενα στοιχεῖα μόνον.

An dieser Stelle, der eine ausführliche Auseinandersetzung mit Anaxagoras' Lehre von der unendlichen Zahl der Prinzipien (*Ph.* I 4, 187 a 26–188 a 18) folgt, werden die Naturphilosophen⁸ als Anhänger einer von der eleatischen verschiedenen Version des Monismus eingeführt. Eine vorwegnehmende Erwähnung dieser Auffassung findet sich (abgesehen von *Ph.* 184 b 15–18) schon in *Ph.* 186 a 19–22, wo Aristoteles in seiner Auseinandersetzung mit Melissos die letzterem zugeschriebene These, das Seiende sei τῶ εἶδει ... ἐν, ablehnt und als einzige erwägenswerte Variante des Monismus die These erwähnt, das Seiende sei ἐν dem Stoff nach; anschließend bemerkt er, dass es tatsächlich Naturphilosophen (τῶν φυσικῶν τινες) gab, die annahmen, das Seiende sei οὕτως ... ἐν (vgl. οὕτως ἐν in *Ph.* I 4, 187 a 10 = (α)). Auch in *Metaphysik* I 5, 986 b 10–17 werden die Eleaten in dieser Hinsicht mit den Naturphilosophen verglichen; hier heißt es, dass sich die Eleaten „anders äußern“ als manche der Naturphilosophen, die ein einziges Seiendes annehmen (οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν φυσικολόγων ἐν ὑποθέμενοι τὸ ὄν ..., ἀλλ' ἕτερον τρόπον οὗτοι λέγουσιν). In der Begründung dieser These wird der Unterschied explizit genannt: „... denn jene fügen <zum Einen> die Bewegung hinzu, insofern sie doch das All erzeugen, diese dagegen behaupten, es sei unbewegt“ (Übers. T. SZLEZÁK)⁹.

An unserer Stelle wird nicht explizit gesagt, worin der mit οὕτως ἐν (α) und ὡς δ' (β) ausgedrückte Kontrast zwischen dem Monismus der Eleaten und dem der Naturphilosophen besteht. Stattdessen werden die Positionen der

of the one school reduce existence to unity by positing a single underlying substance – whether one of the familiar three, or [...]” andererseits.

⁸ Welche Denker als φυσικοί (vgl. schon *Ph.* I 2, 184 b 17 und I 3, 186 a 20) gelten können, wird von Aristoteles nirgendwo genau definiert. H. BONITZ (*Index Aristotelicus*, in: *Aristotelis Opera*, ed. Academia Regia Borussica, Vol. V, Berlin 1870, S. 835) bestimmt sie (u.a. mit Bezug auf *Ph.* I 2, 184 b 17, I 3, 186 a 20 und I 4, 187 a 12) als „philosophi Socrate superiores, inprimis Ionici, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Leucippus, Democritus“; Ross (o.c. (Anm. 5), S. 459, ad *Ph.* 184 b 17) präzisiert, dass sie den Eleaten und den Pythagoreern gegenübergestellt werden. Diese Auffassung hat in der Forschung breite Akzeptanz gefunden und soll für *Ph.* I 4, 187 a 12 auch in der vorliegenden Untersuchung angenommen werden.

⁹ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ προστιθέασιν κίνησιν, γεννῶντές γε τὸ πᾶν, οὗτοι δὲ ἀκίνητον εἶναι φασὶν (Arist. *Metaph.* I 5, 986 b 16 f.).

Naturphilosophen sogleich nach zwei Arten (τρόποι) unterschieden (β) und entsprechend zwei Gruppen von Denkern zugeschrieben (οἱ μὲν [...] οἱ δ' [...]). Nach der modernen Auffassung dieser Einteilung wird die erste Gruppe in den Sätzen (γ) bis (η), die zweite in (θ) bis (κ) charakterisiert¹⁰: Die Vertreter der ersten Gruppe nehmen eines der drei Elemente (Wasser, Luft, Feuer¹¹) oder einen Stoff zwischen Feuer und Luft als Substrat an und lassen daraus das andere (τᾶλλα (ζ)) durch die Gegensätze Verdünnung und Verdichtung (πυκνότητι καὶ μανότητι (ζ)) entstehen; nach der zweiten Gruppe sondern sich (ἐκκρίνεσθαι (θ), ἐκκρίνουσι (κ)) die im Einen enthaltenen Gegensätze (ἐναντιότητες (θ)); vgl. τᾶλλα in (κ)) aus diesem aus. Aristoteles nennt namentlich keine Vertreter der ersten, von ihm auch an anderen Stellen erwähnten Gruppe¹², er hat aber wahrscheinlich Denker wie Thales und Anaximenes im Sinn (vgl. *Metaph.* I 3, 983 b 18–984 a 8, wo er die Anhänger der einzelnen Prinzipien Wasser, Feuer und Luft namentlich aufzählt); Platon wird hier – *pace* CHARLTON¹³, der ihn zu dieser Gruppe rechnet – den Naturphilosophen nur „angehängt“, und zwar deshalb, weil er als Prinzip das Gegensatzpaar τὸ μέγα–τὸ μικρόν annimmt¹⁴, das sich nach Aristoteles ebenso wie die Gegensätze der Naturphilosophen unter das Gegensatzpaar ὑπεροχὴ καὶ ἔλλειψις subsumieren lässt¹⁵. Der zweiten Gruppe werden nach dieser Auffassung Anaximander, Empedokles und Anaxagoras zugeordnet.

1.2. Das Problem des Kriteriums der Einteilung

Auf ein erstes Problem der Interpretation unserer Stelle stößt man schon bei dem Versuch, die Grundlage der Einteilung der Naturphilosophen präzise zu bestimmen. Es steht fest, dass das Gemeinsame der beiden Gruppen in der Annahme

¹⁰ Der alternativen, antiken Auffassung der Einteilung (vgl. Teil 2 dieses Aufsatzes, s. oben Anm. 4) folgt in der modernen Forschung teilweise P.H. WICKSTEED (WICKSTEED, CORNFORD, *o.c.* (Anm. 7), S. 41 mit Anm. c; seine Interpretation wird jedoch von F.M. CORNFORD abgelehnt).

¹¹ Zur Erde vgl. Arist. *Metaph.* I 8, 989 a 5 ff.

¹² Die Gruppe wird von Aristoteles in verschiedenen Kontexten erwähnt (ihre Vertreter aber nirgendwo namentlich identifiziert), und zwar wegen des von ihr postulierten Monismus (*De cael.* III 5, 303 b 10 ff.), der Anerkennung der Bewegung (*Metaph.* I 5, 986 b 10–17), der Auffassung der Genesis als qualitativer Veränderung (*De gen. et corr.* I 1, 314 a 6–11; 314 b 1–4; *De gen. et corr.* II 1, 328 b 33–329 a 1), der Annahme des Substrats für die Gegensätze (*Ph.* I 6, 189 b 2–11), der Betrachtung von Übermaß und Mangel als der ersten Unterschiede des Substrats (*Metaph.* I 9, 992 b 4–7), der Auffassung der Unterschiede des Substrats als Prinzipien (*Metaph.* I 4, 985 b 10–12) sowie der Annahme zweier Prinzipien und des Einen als Substrats (*De gen. et corr.* II 3, 330 b 9–13).

¹³ W. CHARLTON, *Aristotle Physics. Books I and II*. Translated with Introduction, Commentary, Note on Recent Work, and Revised Bibliography, Oxford 1992, S. 63.

¹⁴ Zu diesen Begriffen s. K. GAISER, *Platons ungeschriebene Lehre*, Stuttgart 1968, S. 522 mit Anm. 45.

¹⁵ Zu dieser Subsumption vgl. K.M. SAYRE, *Metaphysics and Method in Plato's Statesman*, Cambridge 2006, S. 149 f.

eines ursprünglichen ἔν liegt, das – anders als das der Eleaten – eine Vielheit nicht ausschließt, weil es τὸ ἐξ οὗ (im breiten Sinne des „Ursprungs“) der vielen entstehenden Dinge ist. Die Frage, was die Gruppen unterscheidet, nach welchem Kriterium also die Einteilung genau durchgeführt wird, ist dagegen schwieriger zu beantworten. Diese Schwierigkeit scheint zumindest auf den ersten Blick vor allem aus der mangelnden Parallelität in der Darstellung der beiden Gruppen zu resultieren. Die erste Gruppe erhält eine klare Charakteristik, die erstens die von ihren Vertretern jeweils angenommenen Stoffe (δ–ε) und zweitens den von ihnen postulierten Prozess der Entstehung der Vielheit aus diesen Stoffen (ζ) präzise bestimmt; zusätzlich wird bemerkt (η), dass die diesen Prozess ausmachenden Veränderungen, Verdünnung und Verdichtung, als Gegensätze aufzufassen sind. Mit Blick auf die zweite Gruppe wird dagegen nur der Prozess der Entstehung der Vielheit näher charakterisiert und als ἔκκρισις bestimmt. Welche Stoffe von den Vertretern der zweiten Gruppe angenommen werden, bleibt offen; stattdessen wird zunächst nur von einem ἔν gesprochen (θ), dann plötzlich von ἔν καὶ πολλά (ι) und im nächsten Satz von einem μίγμα (κ). Unklar ist dabei, wie sich diese Begriffe zueinander verhalten: Ist mit ἔν καὶ πολλά (ι) dasselbe gemeint wie mit ἔν (θ)? Wenn ja: Ist damit für alle Vertreter der zweiten Gruppe ein μίγμα (κ) gemeint? Wenn nein: Wie verhält sich die Bedeutung von μίγμα (κ) zu der von ἔν (θ) einerseits, zu der von ἔν καὶ πολλά (ι) andererseits? In (θ) wird dagegen die entstehende Vielheit unerwarteterweise – was in Bezug auf die erste Gruppe nicht der Fall ist – spezifiziert (vgl. die allgemeinen Bezeichnungen τᾶλλα und πολλά in (ζ)), und zwar als die Gegensätze (τὰς ἐναντιότητας), die für die erste Gruppe nur parenthetisch erwähnt zu werden scheinen. Es ist nicht klar, ob diese Spezifizierung sich auf die gesamte Gruppe oder nur auf den direkt danach genannten Anaximander bezieht. Sind die mit den Zusätzen ὥσπερ Ἀναξίμανδρος φησι (θ) und ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας (ι) wiedergegebenen Auffassungen überhaupt als eine Charakteristik der gesamten Gruppe zu verstehen?

In der modernen Forschung wird die Frage nach dem Kriterium, das der Einteilung der Denker an unserer Stelle zugrunde liegt, unterschiedlich beantwortet. Nach CHARLTON¹⁶ besteht es in der Auffassung der Materie: Während die erste Gruppe „intrinsically uniform matter, e.g. water, air, or fire“¹⁷ postuliere, sei für die zweite Gruppe die Materie „intrinsically diverse or multiform“¹⁸ – so entspreche diese Einteilung ganz derjenigen in *De gen. et corr.* II 1, wo ebenfalls zwischen den Anhängern von „a single type of matter“ und von „several kinds

¹⁶ CHARLTON, *o.c.* (Anm. 13), S. 63 f.

¹⁷ Das in (ε) genannte Mittelding wird von Charlton in seinem Kommentar zu der Stelle nicht erwähnt.

¹⁸ Ähnlich schon F. BÜSGEN, *Über das Apeiron des Anaximander*, Wiesbaden 1867, S. 5 f.

of matter" differenziert werde¹⁹. Im Gegensatz dazu stellt GIGON²⁰ fest, dass es an unserer Stelle nicht „auf die Zahl der ἀρχαί als solche an[kommt], sondern auf die Art ihrer Beziehung zur kosmischen Vielheit“; dementsprechend nimmt er an, dass es die Art der Entstehung aus dem Einen (qualitative Veränderung vs. Aussonderung) ist, die die beiden Gruppen unterscheidet²¹. Dieses Kriterium lässt sich erweitern, und zwar zu „qualitativer Veränderung durch die Wirkung der *Gegensätze* vs. Aussonderung der *Gegensätze*“, wenn die Spezifizierung des Ausgesonderten in (θ) als Gegensätze auf alle Vertreter der zweiten Gruppe angewandt wird. Diese Auffassung, die auch bei GIGON erkennbar ist²², lässt sich z.B. der Bemerkung von BOSTOCK entnehmen: „the older physicists are said to *generate* things [...] from their single body by applying *opposites* or by separating *opposites* out of it“²³. Die beiden von CHARLTON und GIGON genannten Punkte finden sich kombiniert schon bei ROSS²⁴, der die Einteilung nach zwei Kriterien durchgeführt sieht: zum einen nach der Auffassung der Materie (eines der Elemente bzw. das Zwischenelement vs. „something indefinite in which all definite kinds of matter are potentially present“, „undifferentiated mixture“), zum anderen nach der Art der Entstehung der Dinge (Verdichtung und Verdünnung des Elements vs. Aussonderung aus der Mischung²⁵). Auch HORSTSCHÄFER²⁶ zufolge werden die zwei Varianten des „naturphilosophischen Monismus“ sowohl im Hinblick auf die Auffassung der ursprünglichen Einheit als auch auf die Art der Entstehung der Vielheit²⁷ unterschieden. Abweichend von ROSS glaubt er jedoch, dass die Einheit der zweiten Gruppe inhomogen ist und die Vielheit aktual (und nicht nur potentiell) in sich enthält, und subsumiert die Lehre des Anaximander

¹⁹ Zum Verhältnis zwischen der Einteilung in *Ph.* I 4 und der in *De gen. et corr.* I 1 s.u. Anm. 35.

²⁰ GIGON, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 150.

²¹ Ähnlich H.-G. GADAMER, *The Beginning of Philosophy*, New York 2001 (dt. Ausg. 1996), S. 76 und schon E. ZELLER, *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Erster Teil, 7. Aufl., Leipzig 1923, S. 278, Anm. 1 (vgl. S. 276).

²² „...und auch für die gesamte zweite Gruppe werden die ἐναντιότητες in Anspruch genommen“ (GIGON, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 150).

²³ D. BOSTOCK, *Aristotle on the Principles of Change in Physics I*, in: M. SCHOFIELD, M.C. NUSSBAUM (ed.), *Language and Logos. Studies in Ancient Greek Philosophy Presented to G.E.L. Owen*, Cambridge 1982, S. 180 (Hervorhebung: Verf.). Ähnlich U. HÖLSCHER, *Anaximander und die Anfänge der Philosophie*, in: H.-G. GADAMER (ed.), *Um die Begriffswelt der Vorsokratiker*, Darmstadt 1968 (Wege der Forschung, IX), S. 100 f.

²⁴ ROSS, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 481 f.

²⁵ Das sich Aussondernde bei der zweiten Gruppe bezeichnet ROSS, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 482 allgemein als „sensible things“, ohne auf den Begriff der Gegensätze zu rekurrieren.

²⁶ HORSTSCHÄFER, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 126 f.

²⁷ Ähnlich wie ROSS (vgl. die vorige Anmerkung) spricht hier HORSTSCHÄFER nicht explizit von den Gegensätzen.

unter die entsprechend interpretierte Formel ἓν καὶ πολλὰ („Eines und Vieles“), die in (i) Empedokles und Anaxagoras zugeschrieben wird.

1.3. Die Frage nach Bezug und Sinn von ἓν καὶ πολλὰ

Die oben erwähnte, u.a. von HORSTSCHÄFER postulierte Subsumption der Lehre des Anaximander unter die Formel ἓν καὶ πολλὰ führt zu den oben (1.2) schon berührten Fragen, ob die durch ἓν καὶ πολλὰ ausgedrückte Annahme tatsächlich auch Anaximander zuzuschreiben ist und wie sie genau zu verstehen ist. Bevor weiter unten (2.1) die letztere Frage behandelt wird, soll hier zunächst auf die erstere eingegangen werden.

Aus dem oben gegebenen Überblick über die modernen Interpretationen wird ersichtlich, dass ἓν καὶ πολλὰ als eine Beschreibung einerseits der Mischung (ROSS), andererseits einer Einheit, die die Vielheit auf eine undifferenzierte Weise enthält (HORSTSCHÄFER), gedeutet wird. Es ist dabei kein Zufall, dass ROSS, der die Deutung der Formel als Bezeichnung einer Mischung vertritt, nirgendwo explizit feststellt, dass die Formel auch Anaximander zuzuschreiben ist, während HORSTSCHÄFER, der sie auch Anaximander zuschreibt, sie in Bezug auf Anaximander nicht als Bezeichnung einer Mischung deutet²⁸. Letztere Deutung hätte nämlich bei einer Zuschreibung an Anaximander schwer zu akzeptierende Konsequenzen: Während sich die Mischungen des Anaxagoras und Empedokles in der Gesamtheit ihrer Elemente erschöpfen (sie sind nur Mischungen der Elemente und nichts darüber hinaus) und somit adäquat als ἓν καὶ πολλὰ – zugleich „Eines“ und „Vieles“, abhängig von der gewählten Perspektive – beschrieben werden können, trifft diese Beschreibung auf das die Gegensätze enthaltende Eine des Anaximander offensichtlich nicht zu, weil dieses (auch unter der Annahme, dass die Gegensätze in ihm mischungsartig enthalten sind) durch die Gegensätze nicht konstituiert wird, sondern darüber hinaus ein eigenes Sein hat, so dass ἓν und πολλὰ in Anwendung auf dieses Eine nicht als zwei Bezeichnungen desselben Designats fungieren können. Die von HORSTSCHÄFER vorgeschlagene Deutung von ἓν καὶ πολλὰ könnte sich dagegen als mit der Zuschreibung an Anaximander vereinbar erweisen; doch bevor man diese Möglichkeit untersucht, ist zu fragen, ob eine solche Zuschreibung der Intention des Aristoteles entspricht. Die Worte καὶ ὅσοι δ' in (i) (καὶ ὅσοι δ' ἓν καὶ πολλὰ φασιν εἶναι) sind nämlich weit eher im Sinne von „und auch [d.h. zusätzlich zu Anaximander] all diejenigen, die...“ als im Sinne von „und überhaupt alle [d.h. Anaximander eingeschlossen], die...“ zu verstehen²⁹. Dies zeigt, dass die Annahme von ἓν καὶ πολλὰ von Aristoteles

²⁸ HORSTSCHÄFER vermeidet es, den Begriff der „Mischung“ in Bezug auf Anaximander zu verwenden (vgl. *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 126, 129), auch wenn in seinem Schema der Einteilung (S. 127) als die Hauptannahme der gesamten zweiten Gruppe das „Gemisch“ (in Anführungszeichen) fungiert.

²⁹ Vgl. F. LÜTZE, *Ueber das ATEIPON Anaximanders. Ein Beitrag zur richtigen Auffassung desselben als materiellen Principes*, Leipzig 1878, S. 63, Anm. 17. Doch auch die zweite Deutung

selbst als eine für Empedokles und Anaxagoras, *nicht* jedoch für Anaximander charakteristische These angeführt wird³⁰. Demnach wäre diejenige Deutung von ἓν καὶ πολλὰ vorzuziehen, die erklärt, warum die Annahme von ἓν καὶ πολλὰ Aristoteles zufolge für die Lehren des Empedokles und des Anaxagoras spezifisch ist (dazu vgl. unten 2.1).

1.4. Die zweite Gruppe der Naturphilosophen. Anaximander und das Mittelding.

Ist die Annahme von ἓν καὶ πολλὰ (ι) spezifisch für Empedokles und Anaxagoras, dann stellt sich allerdings die Frage, wozu sie überhaupt erwähnt wird. Ihre Erwähnung kann kaum dazu dienen, die Zuordnung des Empedokles und Anaxagoras zur zweiten Gruppe zu begründen (vgl. (κ)), wenn die Annahme – der eben akzeptierten Auffassung zufolge – nicht von allen Vertretern der Gruppe geteilt wird (und sich auch nicht als eine Variante der in (θ) genannten, offenbar für alle Vertreter der Gruppe distinktiven Annahme verstehen lässt). Überdies scheint sie dem Monismus, der an unserer Stelle als grundlegende Annahme der Denker beider Gruppen erscheint, überhaupt zu widersprechen (zwar zeichnet sich der Monismus der Naturphilosophen dadurch aus, dass er, wie oben erwähnt, die Genesis und die Vielheit nicht ausschließt, mit dem πολλὰ der Formel sind aber offensichtlich die zahlreichen Prinzipien gemeint und nicht die sekundär entstandenen Dinge, die im Falle der ersten Gruppe der Monisten als πολλὰ bezeichnet werden³¹). Werden aber Empedokles und Anaxagoras an unserer Stelle nicht als Monisten eingestuft, dann stellt sich die Frage, ob sie überhaupt unter

wird gelegentlich vertreten (s. M.C. STOKES, *One and Many in Presocratic Philosophy*, Cambridge 1971, S. 271, Anm. 8). Sprachlich lässt sie auch ZELLER, *o.c.* (Anm. 21), S. 278, Anm. 1 zu, der jedoch argumentiert, dass Anaximander nicht in καὶ οὔτοι (κ) eingeschlossen sein könne, weil er die einzige sei, mit dem die οὔτοι verglichen werden könnten, und daher auch nicht zu ὅσοι δ' ἓν καὶ πολλὰ φασι εἶναι gerechnet werden könne. Dieses Argument gilt nach STOKES, *o.c.*, S. 271, Anm. 8 nicht, wenn καὶ οὔτοι sich nicht auf die Unterscheidung zwischen Anaximander und der Gruppe ὅσοι δ'... als solchen, sondern auf „distinction between, on the one hand, the individual men Anaxagoras and Empedokles and, on the other, the different individual Anaximander“. STOKES' Auffassung überzeugt jedoch deshalb nicht, weil bei ihr die Subsumption der Anhänger von ἓν καὶ πολλὰ unter die zweite Klasse von Denkern unbegründet bleibt (begründet wird nur die Zugehörigkeit der individuellen Denker Empedokles und Anaxagoras zu dieser Klasse). Darum ist die Interpretation vorzuziehen, der zufolge mit (κ) die Zugehörigkeit von Empedokles und Anaxagoras zur zweiten Gruppe als Vertreter von ἓν καὶ πολλὰ begründet wird – zumal in diesem Satz eine Explikation von ἓν καὶ πολλὰ gegeben wird.

³⁰ So ausdrücklich HÖLSCHER, *Anaximander* (Anm. 23), S. 104; ZELLER, *o.c.* (Anm. 21), S. 278, Anm. 1; H.B. GOTTSCHALK, *Anaximander's Apeiron*, *Phronesis* X 1965, S. 38 f.; 44; P. SELIGMAN, *The Apeiron of Anaximander. A Study in the Origin and Function of Metaphysical Ideas*, London 1962, S. 41.

³¹ Darum ist die Auffassung GIGONS (*o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 149), dass sich auch die Monisten der ersten Gruppe unter die Formel ἓν καὶ πολλὰ einfügen lassen (ἓν ποιήσαντες πολλὰ ποιούντες), unplausibel.

die hier vorgenommene Einteilung fallen oder aber dem Anaximander aus irgendwelchen Gründen „angehängt“ werden.

Diese Zweifel gewinnen weitere Nahrung dadurch, dass die Zusammenstellung des frühen Milesiers mit den beiden Posteleaten ziemlich überraschend wirkt³². Während die Naturphilosophen der ersten Gruppe, die ein einziges Element bzw. Zwischenelement annehmen und die Vielheit durch dessen Verdünnung und Verdichtung entstehen lassen, an zahlreichen anderen Stellen von Aristoteles' Schriften erwähnt werden³³, so dass ihre Erwähnung an unserer Stelle – abgesehen von der Frage der historischen Akkuratheit der aristotelischen Darstellung ihrer Lehren³⁴ – als unproblematisch gelten kann, lassen sich für die Darstellung der zweiten Gruppe keine genauen Parallelen aus dem *Corpus Aristotelicum* anführen³⁵. Zwar findet sich in der *Metaphysik* eine weitere Stelle, an der Anaxagoras,

³² Vgl. P.H. WICKSTEED (WICKSTEED, CORNFORD, *o.c.* (Anm. 7), S. 41 mit Anm. c), der Anaximander in seiner Übersetzung der Stelle der ersten Gruppe von Naturphilosophen zuordnet und kommentiert: „The association of Anaximander with the first school, in the translation, cannot be justified by the text. But I follow Philoponus in thinking that a rearrangement is necessary, and that the text cannot be accepted as sound in its present form“.

³³ S. oben Anm. 12.

³⁴ Dazu s. z.B. D.W. GRAHAM, *Explaining the Cosmos. The Ionian Tradition of Scientific Philosophy*, Princeton–Oxford 2006, S. 50–66. Zur Frage der historischen Richtigkeit der Zuschreibung der Verdichtungs- und Verdünnungstheorie an die gesamte Gruppe der Monisten vgl. CHERNISS, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 49 f. und W.K.C. GUTHRIE, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, Vol. I: *The Earlier Presocratics and the Pythagoreans*, Cambridge 1962, S. 120 f.; s. auch Simpl., *In Ph.* 149. 28–150. 4 und J. BARNES, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, Vol. 1, London–Henley–Boston 1979, S. 316, Anm. 5 zur Interpretation der Simplicios-Passage.

³⁵ Oft wird hier auf die Einteilung der Vorsokratiker in *De gen. et corr.* I 1 verwiesen, wo Aristoteles zwischen den Monisten, die qualitative Veränderung eines einzigen Stoffs annehmen, und den Pluralisten (Empedokles, Anaxagoras, Leukipp und Demokrit), die das Entstehen und Vergehen auf die Verbindung und Trennung der Elemente zurückführen, unterscheidet. Die zweite Gruppe der *De gen. et corr.*-Stelle umfasst jedoch – im Gegensatz zu *Ph.* I 4 – nicht Anaximander, was damit zu erklären ist, dass er nicht als „Pluralist“ bezeichnet werden kann (HÖLSCHER, *Anaximander* (Anm. 23), S. 101), während an der Physikstelle Leukippos und Demokrit fehlen (ob sie zu den Vertretern der Gruppe gerechnet werden könnten, ist nicht unmittelbar klar). Offensichtlich handelt es sich in *De gen. et corr.* und an der Physikstelle – trotz manchen modernen Interpreten wie z.B. CHARLTON (*o.c.* (Anm. 13), S. 63–65), der die monistische Perspektive der Physikstelle völlig ausblendet und sie von der *De gen. et corr.*-Stelle aus deutet – nicht ganz um dieselbe Einteilung: In *De gen. et corr.* wird die zweite Gruppe durch die Idee der Verbindung und Trennung der Elemente, in *Ph.* dagegen durch die Annahme des Heraustretens aus dem Einen gekennzeichnet. Dem Passus aus *Ph.* scheint demnach eine kosmogonisch-monistische Perspektive zugrunde zu liegen (Entstehung aus einer ursprünglichen Einheit), dem aus *De gen. et corr.* eine pluralistische und auf die Gegenwart bezogene (Entstehung der zusammengesetzten Dinge aus den vielen Elementen). Die erste Gruppe der Denker der *De gen. et corr.*-Stelle ist deswegen mit der ersten Gruppe der Physikstelle identisch, weil in ihrem Fall die beiden Perspektiven dasselbe Bild ergeben: die Entstehung der Dinge durch ἀλλοίωσις eines einzigen Urstoffs (dennoch fällt auch hier ein wichtiger Unterschied in der Perspektive auf: die Gegensätze, die an der Physikstelle in einer langen Parenthese kommentiert werden, werden an der *De gen. et corr.*-Stelle nicht einmal erwähnt).

Empedokles und Anaximander gemeinsam genannt werden³⁶, jedoch ist die Physikstelle insofern singular, als sie Anaximander explizit Monisten wie Thales oder Anaximenes, mit denen er traditionell (wenn auch bei Aristoteles nie explizit³⁷) zusammen gruppiert wird, gegenüberstellt, während sie Empedokles und Anaxagoras, die bei Aristoteles sonst generell als Pluralisten gelten³⁸, ausdrücklich als Vertreter einer Variante des Monismus erscheinen lässt.

Überraschend ist jedoch nicht nur die Tatsache, dass Anaximander zur zweiten Gruppe der Naturphilosophen gezählt wird, sondern auch, dass das Mittelding, das ihm schon in der Antike zugeschrieben wurde, gleichzeitig in (ε) genannt wird (ἄλλο ὃ ἐστὶ πυρὸς μὲν πυκνότερον ἄερος δὲ λεπτότερον), d.h. in einem Satz, der – nach der angenommenen Interpretation des Textes (vgl. oben 1.1) – die Positionen der ersten Gruppe der Naturphilosophen charakterisiert. Aristoteles nennt zwar nirgendwo explizit Anaximander als Anhänger der von ihm an neun weiteren Stellen³⁹ erwähnten Konzeption des Mitteldings, jedoch legen drei dieser Stellen den Gedanken an Anaximander sehr nahe: In *De gen. et corr.* II 1, 329 a 8–13 scheint das Mittelding mit dem „Unendlichen, das manche als Prinzip ansetzen“ (τὸ ἄπειρον τοῦτο, ὃ λέγουσιν ἅπαντες εἶναι τὴν ἀρχήν) gleichgesetzt zu werden; in *De gen. et corr.* II 5, 332 a 20–25 wird es mit dem von „einigen“ (τινες) angenommenen „Unendlichen“ und „Umgebenden“ (τὸ ἄπειρον καὶ τὸ περιέχον) identifiziert; in *De cael.* III 5, 303 b 12 f. ist von dem Mittelding die Rede, „das nach manchen [Philosophen] alle Himmel umgibt und unendlich ist“ (ὃ περιέχειν φασὶ [sc. ἔνιοι] πάντα τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἄπειρον ὄν). Da diese Ausdrücke sehr stark

³⁶ Es handelt sich um *Metaph.* XII 2, 1069 b 20–24, wo Anaxagoras, Empedokles, Anaximander und Demokrit mit der Annahme eines ursprünglichen ἐν in Verbindung gebracht werden; von der Physikstelle unterscheidet sich diese Stelle jedoch erheblich darin, dass an ihr der Begriff der Potentialität eine wichtige Rolle spielt, der an der Physikstelle nicht vorkommt.

³⁷ Aristoteles nennt Anaximander an keiner Stelle namentlich gemeinsam mit Thales und Anaximenes (in Ps.-Arist., *De Meliss.*, *Xenophan.*, *Gorg.* 975 b 21–25 wird Anaximander mit Thales verwechselt).

³⁸ S. z.B. *De gen. et corr.* I 1, 314 a 11–12; *Metaph.* I 3, 984 a 8–16; so auch in dem der Einteilung folgenden Textabschnitt *Ph.* I 4. Zur monistischen Interpretation des Anaxagoras und Empedokles bei Aristoteles vgl. dagegen bes. *Metaph.* I 8, 989 a 30–b 21 und *De gen. et corr.* I 1, 315 a 17–25.

³⁹ *Ph.* I 6, 189 b 3; III 4, 203 a 18; III 5, 205 a 27; *De gen. et corr.* II 2, 328 b 35; II 5, 332 a 20–22; *De cael.* III 5, 303 b 12 u. 303 b 14–15; *Metaph.* I 7, 988 a 30–31; I 8, 989 a 14–15. Das Mittelding kommt an diesen Stellen in drei Varianten vor: Es wird zwischen Feuer und Luft (*De gen. et corr.* II 2, 328 b 35; *Metaph.* I 7, 988 a 30–31; *De gen. et corr.* II 5, 332 a 20–22), zwischen Luft und Wasser (*Ph.* III 4, 203 a 18; *Ph.* III 5, 205 a 27; *De cael.* III 5, 303 b 12; *Metaph.* I 8, 989 a 14–15; *De gen. et corr.* II 5, 332 a 20–22) und einmal zwischen Wasser und Feuer (*Ph.* I 6, 189 b 3) eingeordnet (in *De gen. et corr.* II 5, 332 a 20–22 werden beide ersten Varianten nebeneinander genannt). Ob es sich an allen diesen Stellen um eine und dieselbe Theorie handelt, ist nicht ganz unumstritten (vgl. dazu GIGON, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 150 f.; M. WHITBY, *Quasi-elements in Aristotle*, *Mnemosyne* XXXV 1982, S. 225–247).

an Anaximanders Begrifflichkeit erinnern⁴⁰ und die Konzeption des Mitteldings für keinen anderen Denker bezeugt ist, ist die Annahme, dass Aristoteles hier wiedergibt, was er für Anaximanders Theorie hält, sehr plausibel (zumal man sonst glauben müsste, dass Aristoteles Anaximanders Lehre in der *Metaphysik* kein einziges Mal erwähnt, dafür aber zweimal eine unbekannte Doktrin des Mitteldings⁴¹). Dieser Annahme, die auch von den antiken Kommentatoren geteilt wird (was – wie KAHN⁴² bemerkt – davon zeugt, dass auch Theophrast keinen besseren Kandidaten für das Konzept des Mitteldings erwähnte), steht jedoch die Einteilung der Naturphilosophen in *Ph.* I 4, 187 a 12–26 offenbar im Wege. Für zahlreiche Forscher ist sie ein eindeutiger Beleg dafür, dass Anaximander in Aristoteles' Sicht kein Anhänger des Mitteldings war⁴³. Will man diese einfache Konsequenz vermeiden⁴⁴, bedarf es einer Erklärung dafür, warum hier die Lehre des Anaximander – laut Aristoteles ein Anhänger des Mitteldings – von der Annahme des Mitteldings nicht nur abgetrennt, sondern ihr sogar gegenübergestellt wird. Eine u.a. von KAHN und GRAHAM vorgeschlagene Lösung besteht in der Annahme, dass Aristoteles auch bei der Erwähnung des Mitteldings Anaximander im Sinn hat, dass er ihn also in der Einteilung zweimal, d.h. in beiden Gruppen, erwähnt⁴⁵. Einen anderen Weg, der als eine Kompromisslösung angesehen werden kann, wählen diejenigen, die zwar der These von der doppelten Erwähnung Anaximanders an der Physikstelle nicht zustimmen, aber trotzdem an der Auffassung festhalten, Aristoteles habe an

⁴⁰ Zu περιέχειν vgl. v.a. Hippolyt. 12 A 11 (1) D.–K. und Arist. *Ph.* III 4, 203 b 10–15.

⁴¹ Ch. KAHN, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology*, New York 1960, S. 44.

⁴² KAHN, o.c. (Anm. 41), S. 44 f.

⁴³ J. PALMER, *Parmenides and Presocratic Philosophy*, Oxford 2010, S. 338, Anm. 18; M. CONCHE, *Anaximander. Fragments and Témoignages*, Texte grec, traduction et commentaire, Paris 1991, S. 93 f.; A. MADDALENA, *Ionici. Testimonianze e frammenti*, Firenze 1963, S. 81 f.; C.J. CLASSEN, *Anaximander*, Hermes XC 1962, S. 164; SELIGMAN, o.c. (Anm. 30), S. 37; ROSS, o.c. (Anm. 5), S. 482; CHERNISS, o.c. (Anm. 5), S. 49, Anm. 199, u.a. So schon F.D.E. SCHLEIERMACHER, *Über Anaximandros. Vorlesung II Nov. 1811*, Abhandlungen der philosophischen Klasse der Königlich-Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften aus den Jahren 1804–1811, Berlin 1815, S. 103f.

⁴⁴ Sie ist insofern unplausibel, als sie erstens den Stellen zuwiderläuft, an denen Aristoteles das Mittelding Anaximander zuschreiben scheint, und zweitens keinen besseren Kandidaten für die Annahme des Mitteldings vorweisen kann: Die Hypothesen, das Mittelding sei dem bei Sextus Empiricus (*Adv. math.* 9. 360) als Anhänger der Luft erwähnten, sonst unbekanntem Idaios von Himeria (ZELLER, o.c. (Anm. 21), S. 337; D.–K. 63) oder den nicht näher bestimmten Anhängern des Anaximenes (ROSS, o.c. (Anm. 5), S. 482 f.; CONCHE, o.c. (Anm. 43), S. 92) zuschreiben, können nicht überzeugen.

⁴⁵ GRAHAM (o.c. (Anm. 34), S. 20, Anm. 55; S. 31, Anm. 15; S. 55 f.): Die doppelte Erwähnung Anaximanders resultiere daraus, dass ihn Aristoteles sowohl als Monisten als auch als Pluralisten betrachte; KAHN (o.c. (Anm. 41), S. 46): Der Grund für die Erwähnung des Mitteldings in (ε) sei der, dass „Aristotle was not ready to separate Anaximander altogether from the other monists“. In diesem Sinne auch W. FROHN (*The Sources of Alexander of Aphrodisias for the Presocratics*, Quebec 1980, S. 42f.): Die Aufzählung des Mitteldings des Anaximander unter den Stoffen der Anhänger der Verdünnungs- und Verdichtungstheorie sei eine aristotelische Korrektur von Anaximanders Genesis-Lehre – als ein Monist hätte er diese Theorie, nicht die Ekkrisis-Lehre, vertreten sollen.

den anderen Stellen, wo das Mittelding erwähnt wird, durchaus Anaximander im Sinn; dass in *Ph.* I 4, 187 a 14 das Mittelding nicht mit ihm assoziiert werde, resultiere daraus, dass das aus Anaximanders Philosophie herausgelöste Konzept des Mitteldings neben den Grundelementen Wasser, Luft und Feuer vollständigkeitshalber genannt werde⁴⁶.

Trotz aller oben geäußerten Zweifel ist die Überzeugung, dass Anaximander, Empedokles und Anaxagoras gemeinsam zur zweiten Gruppe der Monisten gerechnet werden, in der modernen Forschung *communis opinio*. Die verschiedenen Auffassungen der Forscher hinsichtlich der Frage, was die Vertreter der Gruppe miteinander verbindet, lassen sich den oben unter 1.2. genannten Antworten auf die Frage nach dem Kriterium der Einteilung entnehmen. Als das verbindende Element der Vertreter der zweiten Gruppe erweisen sich entsprechend entweder 1) die „multiforme“ Materie (CHARLTON) oder 2) der Prozess der Aussonderung *der Gegensätze* (GIGON, BOSTOCK)⁴⁷ oder 3) die potentielle Mischung bzw. eine die aktuelle Vielheit enthaltende Einheit (ἓν καὶ πολλὰ) und zugleich der Prozess der Aussonderung *der Vielheit* (ROSS, HORSTSCHÄFER)⁴⁸. Noch mehr gemeinsame Punkte schreibt den Denkern der zweiten Gruppe CHERNISS⁴⁹ zu, und zwar 4) erstens die Annahme einer (potentiellen, homogenen) Urmischung (ἓν), zweitens die der Aussonderung der Gegensätze aus dieser und drittens die Auffassung des Seienden als ἓν καὶ πολλὰ („... existent things are both one and many“).

Dass die Annahme der ἔκκρισις aus der ursprünglichen Materie sowohl von Anaximander als auch von Empedokles und Anaxagoras postuliert wird, ist offensichtlich (vgl. (θ, κ)). Für die Frage, was die Denker der zweiten Gruppe darüber hinaus verbindet, kommt also – nach dem Ausschluss der Annahme von ἓν καὶ πολλὰ (s. oben 1.3) – v.a. eine gemeinsame Auffassung des Urstoffs in Betracht, und zwar entweder als einer ursprünglichen Vielheit (die „multiforme“ Materie von Charlton) oder als einer die Vielheit enthaltenden Einheit („inhomogene Einheit“ von HORSTSCHÄFER) oder schließlich als einer (potentiellen bzw. aktuellen) Urmischung. Würde sich eines dieser Konzepte als allen Denkern der zweiten Gruppe gemeinsam erweisen, dann wäre zugleich, zumindest in gewissem Sinne, das fehlende Pendant zu der Charakteristik des Urstoffes der ersten Gruppe von Denkern (vgl. (γ–ε)) gefunden, was für die Frage nach dem Kriterium der Einteilung von Bedeutung sein könnte.

⁴⁶ G.S. KIRK, J.E. RAVEN, M. SCHOFIELD, *The Presocratic Philosophers. A Critical History with a Selection of Texts*, Cambridge 1983, S. 112; G.S. KIRK, *Some Problems in Anaximander*, *Classical Quarterly* IL 1955, S. 27; HORSTSCHÄFER, o.c. (Anm. 5), S. 127 f.

⁴⁷ So auch PALMER, *Classical Representations* (Anm. 3), S. 540; G.E.R. LLOYD, *The Hot and the Cold, the Dry and the Wet in Greek Philosophy*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* LXXXIV 1964, S. 95 f.; F.M. CLEVE, *The Philosophy of Anaxagoras*, New York 1973, S. 141 f.

⁴⁸ Ähnlich wie ROSS (die potentielle Mischung) auch L. TARÁN, *Monism and Presocratic Philosophy*, in: A. BAECHLI, K. PETRUS (Hrsg.), *Monism*, Frankfurt a. M.–London 2003, S. 17.

⁴⁹ CHERNISS, o.c. (Anm. 5), S. 50; S. 220, Anm. 12.

Außerdem bleibt die u.a. von GIGON, BOSTOCK und HÖLSCHER angenommene These zu prüfen, dass es bei allen Vertretern der Gruppe die Gegensätze sind, die aus dem Urstoff ausgesondert werden. Da die Gegensätze auch für die erste Gruppe der Naturphilosophen postuliert werden (η), wäre damit (neben dem Monismus) eine weitere Gemeinsamkeit zwischen den beiden Gruppen gefunden, was für die Interpretation der gesamten Stelle entscheidend sein könnte.

* * *

Das bisher Gesagte („Probleme der Interpretation“) zusammenfassend lässt sich feststellen, dass von den zahlreichen, sich bei der Interpretation unseres Textes stellenden Fragen bisher nur die nach dem Status der Annahme ἓν καὶ πολλά als beantwortet gelten kann (die Zuschreibung nur an Anaxagoras und Empedokles). Von den übrigen soll im Folgenden die nach der Einheit der zweiten Gruppe als positiv beantwortet angenommen werden, wie es dem Konsens der modernen Forschung entspricht (diese Hypothese ist freilich, wie in der Einleitung angedeutet, nicht alternativlos; sie wird von den antiken Aristoteles-Kommentatoren nicht vorausgesetzt; dazu s. Teil 2). Im Folgenden seien die übrigen Frage, d.h. die nach dem Sinn von ἓν καὶ πολλά (2.1), die nach den konkreten Gemeinsamkeiten, auf die sich die vorausgesetzte Einheit der zweiten Gruppe der Naturphilosophen stützt (2.2) und die nach dem Status der Gegensätze sowie nach der Funktion der Einteilung (2.3), in den Blick genommen. Schließlich soll versucht werden, aufgrund der gewonnenen Interpretation der Stelle das oben unter 1.4 skizzierte Problem des Mitteldings nach Möglichkeit zu klären (2.4) und im Resümee (3) neben der Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse die sich aus der gesamten Untersuchung ergebende Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Kriterium der Einteilung zu formulieren.

2. VERSUCH EINER INTERPRETATION

2.1 Die Bedeutung des Ausdrucks ἓν καὶ πολλά

Sprachlich gesehen kann ἓν καὶ πολλά im AcI ἓν καὶ πολλά ... ὅσοι entweder als Prädikatsnomen („dass [X] Eines und Vieles ist“)⁵⁰ oder als Subjekt zu εἶναι

⁵⁰ Vgl. R.P. HARDIE, R.K. GAYE (*Aristotle, Physics*, in: J. Barnes (ed.), *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, Vol. 1, Princeton 1991, S. 7): „all those who assert that what is is one and many“; APOSTLE (*o.c.* (Anm. 7), S. 13): „those who say that what exists is one and many“; CHARLTON (*o.c.* (Anm. 13), S. 8): „those who say that it is both one and many“ und J. SACHS (*Aristotle's Physics. A Guided Study*, New Brunswick 1995, S. 234): „those who say things are both one and many“; vgl. auch ROSS (*o.c.*, Anm. 5), S. 341): „those who make existing things one and many“ und CARTERON (*o.c.* (Anm. 7), S. 36): „ceux qui posent l'unité et la multiplicité des êtres“.

(„dass Eines und Vieles sind“, bzw. „dass es Eines und Vieles gibt“)⁵¹ aufgefasst werden⁵². Unter Annahme der einen wie der anderen Konstruktion ist aus dem Kontext τὸ ὄν bzw. τὰ ὄντα⁵³ zu subintelligieren: unter Annahme der ersten als Subjekt des AcI, der entsprechend mit „dass <das Seiende> Eines und Vieles sei“ zu übersetzen ist; unter Annahme der zweiten ebenfalls als Subjekt des AcI, das durch ἓν καὶ πολλὰ als Attribute näher bestimmt wird: „dass es eines und vieles <Seiende> gibt“. In beiden Fällen ergibt sich die Aussage, dass Empedokles und Anaxagoras das Seiende als Eines und Vieles bestimmen. Entscheidend ist also nicht die grammatische Konstruktion des Satzes, sondern die Frage, was hier unter „Seiendem“ zu verstehen ist.

Wie oben erwähnt, wird dabei häufig an die Urmischungen des Empedokles und Anaxagoras gedacht, die abhängig von der gewählten Perspektive als eine Einheit oder als eine Vielheit charakterisiert werden können. Eine andere (v.a. bei der zweiten Konstruktion des Satzes nahe liegende) Möglichkeit wäre, den Ausdruck ἓν καὶ πολλὰ so zu verstehen, dass nicht eine und dieselbe Entität (sc. die Urmischung) als ἓν wie auch als πολλὰ charakterisiert wird, sondern als ἓν die als Einheit aufgefasste Urmischung, als πολλὰ die vielen, sich aus ihr aussondernden bzw. schon ausgesonderten Elemente. Die beiden Interpretationen der Phrase unterscheiden sich *prima facie* u.a. in Hinsicht auf die jeweils vorzuziehende Bedeutung von ἓν. Bei der ersten wird die Beschreibung der Mischung als ἓν mit dem Zusatz καὶ πολλὰ dahingehend eingeschränkt, dass die Einheit nicht mehr als eine reine Einheit, sondern als eine Einheit vieler Elemente präsentiert wird; das Seiende wird also als eine nur lose, von vielen Elementen konstituierte Einheit beschrieben. Der Begriff ἓν hätte hier demnach den abgeschwächten Sinn einer Einheit, die genauso gut als Vielheit beschrieben werden kann, die also eine

⁵¹ A. FAIRBANKS (*The First Philosophers of Greece. An Edition and Translation of the Remaining Fragments of the Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, New York 1898, S. 9): „who say that unity and multiplicity exist“; KIRK, RAVEN, SCHOFIELD (o.c. (Anm. 46), S. 111): „all who say there are one and many“; H.G. ZEKL (*Aristoteles' Physik. Vorlesung über Natur, übersetzt, mit einer Einleitung und mit Anmerkungen*, Bd. 1, Hamburg 1987, S. 19): „alle die, die in ihrer Lehre Eins und Vieles setzen“; MARTÍNEZ (o.c. (Anm. 7), S. 16): „los que ... afirman que existe lo uno y lo múltiple“; HORSTSCHÄFER (o.c. (Anm. 5), S. 125): „die sagen, daß es Eines und Vieles gibt“; COUGHLIN (o.c. (Anm. 7), S. 6): „whoever says one and many are“; vgl. PRANTL (o.c. (Anm. 7), S. 23): „welche von einem 'Einen und Vielen' sprechen“.

⁵² Gelegentlich scheint ἓν als Subjekt, πολλὰ als Prädikatsnomen aufgefasst zu werden, vgl. R. HOPE (*Aristotle's Physics. Newly Translated by [...], with an Analytical Index of Technical Terms*, London 1961, S. 10): „all those who declare the ‚one‘ to be ‚many‘“ und K. LEŚNIAK (*Arystoteles, Fizyka*, in: *Arystoteles, Dzieła wszystkie*, Bd. 2, Warszawa 2003, S. 33): „ci wszyscy, co twierdzą, że ‚jedność‘ jest ‚wielością“.

⁵³ So teilweise auch die Überlieferung (ἓν καὶ πολλὰ εἶναι τὰ ὄντα, s. ROSS, o.c. (Anm. 5), App. z.St.) sowie C. PRANTL, *Aristotelis Physica*, recensuit [...], Lipsiae 1879, S. 7 und CARTERON, o.c. (Anm. 7), S. 36; vgl. H. DIELS, *Zur Textgeschichte der Aristotelischen Physik*, in: *Kleine Schriften*, Darmstadt 1969, S. 212 (= Abhandlungen der Kgl. Pr. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1882, Phil.-hist. Kl. I, S. 16). Vgl. die oben in Anm. 50 angeführten Übersetzungen des Satzes.

aktuelle Vielheit in sich schließt. Bei der zweiten Interpretation der Phrase, nach der die Urmischung als ἓν beschrieben und der Begriff der Vielheit nur auf die sich aus ihr aussondernden Elemente angewandt wird, kann ἓν als eine Einheit im strengen Sinne aufgefasst werden (der abgeschwächte Sinn von ἓν wäre aber auch hier möglich). Im Kontext der aristotelischen Theorie der Mischung würde es sich hier also um eine Mischung im technischen Sinne handeln, d.h. um eine μίξις von Elementen, die ein nur potentielles Sein haben und erst durch ἀλλοίωσις ausgesondert werden; eine solche Mischung kann als ἓν im strengeren Sinne bezeichnet werden⁵⁴.

Bevor wir genauer prüfen, ob diese Bedeutungsunterscheidung das Verständnis der Physikstelle fördern kann, lohnt es sich zu fragen, ob der bei der zweiten Bedeutung vorzuziehende technische aristotelische Begriff der Mischung von nur potentiell existierenden Elementen in den Sätzen (ι-κ) überhaupt vorliegen kann, was schon im 19. Jh. postuliert⁵⁵ und z.B. von ROSS⁵⁶, CHERNISS⁵⁷, McDIARMID⁵⁸, HEIDEL⁵⁹ und TARÁN⁶⁰ bejaht wurde. Im *Corpus Aristotelicum* finden sich in der Tat einige Stellen, an denen die Mischungen des Empedokles und des Anaxagoras als Mischungen potentiell existierender Elemente gedeutet werden⁶¹. Zwischen unserer Stelle und diesen Stellen lässt sich jedoch ein wesentlicher Unterschied feststellen: An letzteren korrigiert Aristoteles die älteren Doktrinen durch die Einführung der Kategorie der Potentialität, die den Vorsokratikern – so die grundsätzliche Überzeugung des Aristoteles – noch nicht bekannt war; ihre Mischungen waren rein mechanische Mischungen⁶². An der Physikstelle deutet

⁵⁴ S. De *gen. et corr.* I 10 und die dort gegebene Definition der Mischung: ἡ δὲ μίξις τῶν μικτῶν ἀλλοιωθέντων ἕνωσις (328 b 22).

⁵⁵ LÜTZE, *o.c.* (Anm. 29), S. 91; 105.

⁵⁶ ROSS, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 482 f. Ross nimmt jedoch zugleich die erste der beiden oben erwähnten Deutungen der Phrase ἓν καὶ πολλά, d.h. „Eines und Vieles“ als Beschreibung der Urmischung, an, auch wenn ἓν καὶ πολλά für die Beschreibung einer Mischung nur potentiell existierender Elemente wenig geeignet scheint – die Einheit und die Vielheit scheinen in der so interpretierten Phrase auf gleicher Stufe zu stehen, was bei der potentiellen Mischung nicht der Fall ist. Der Ausdruck ἓν καὶ πολλά bezeichnet nach ROSS (*o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 483) „a indeterminate mixture which is (...) actually one and potentially many“.

⁵⁷ CHERNISS, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 50 f.; S. 55 u.a.

⁵⁸ J.B. McDIARMID, *Theophrastus on the presocratic causes*, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology LXI 1953, S. 100 f.

⁵⁹ W.A. HEIDEL, *Qualitative Change in Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie XIX 1906, S. 346 f.

⁶⁰ TARÁN, *o.c.* (Anm. 48), S. 17.

⁶¹ S. z.B. *Metaph.* XII 2, 1069 b 20–24; vgl. *Metaph.* I 8, 989 a 30–b 21.

⁶² Vgl. z.B. *Metaph.* IV 5, 1009 a 22–36; *Metaph.* XI 6, 1063 b 24–30; *De gen. et corr.* II 7, 334 a 26–30. Aristoteles' Lehre von der Potentialität der Mischung wird von ihm als eine Überwindung der früheren, mechanischen Doktrinen entwickelt; seine These, dass die durch die Kleinheit bedingte Nichtwahrnehmbarkeit der Elemente der Zusammensetzung noch kein Definiens von μίξις

nichts darauf hin, dass hier eine Korrektur dieser Art vorliegt; der in Bezug auf Anaximander verwendete Ausdruck ἐνούσας, dessen Bedeutung nicht weiter spezifiziert wird, legt zudem das aktuelle Enthaltensein der Gegensätze in dem Einen nahe⁶³. Außerdem macht die Darstellung der Doktrin des Anaxagoras im folgenden Textabschnitt *Ph.* 187 a 31–b 1 deutlich, dass die von ihm postulierte Mischung *Ph.* I 4 zufolge eine Mischung aktueller Elemente ist.

Ein genauerer Blick auf den aristotelischen Text zeigt, dass die oben vorgeschlagene theoretische Unterscheidung zwischen den beiden möglichen Bedeutungen von ἐν καὶ πολλά auf die Physikstelle nicht im Sinne einer eindeutigen Entscheidung über die Frage angewendet werden kann, welche der beiden Bedeutungen der Phrase in (ι–κ) tatsächlich vorliegt. Die Stelle scheint vielmehr eine eigene Dynamik aufzuweisen, durch die sich die Phrase ἐν καὶ πολλά dem Leser abhängig vom gewählten Bezug unterschiedlich präsentiert:

1) Liest man den Satz (ι) καὶ ὅσοι δ' ἐν καὶ πολλά φασιν εἶναι, ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας zunächst nur im Lichte des vorausgehenden Textes, v.a. der Aussage (θ) οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐνούσας τὰς ἐναντιότητας ἐκκρίνεσθαι, ὥσπερ Ἀναξίμανδρος φησι, dann führt er vor allem einen Kontrast zwischen Anaximander (sowie der ersten Gruppe der Naturphilosophen) einerseits und Empedokles und Anaxagoras andererseits, d.h. zwischen der Annahme von ἐν und der von ἐν καὶ πολλά ein, ohne dass sich das mit der Phrase ἐν καὶ πολλά Bezeichnete identifizieren lässt: ἐν und πολλά werden hier zunächst nur in ihrer Abstraktheit aufgefasst. Bei dieser Perspektive kann die Zugehörigkeit der beiden Posteleaten zu den Monisten der zweiten Art als unbegründet erscheinen.

2) Eine teilweise Auflösung des Kontrasts bringt der Satz (κ) ἐκ τοῦ μίγματος γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐκκρίνουσι τᾶλλα, der die Zugehörigkeit der Posteleaten zu den Monisten der zweiten Gruppe begründen soll. Dies geschieht durch den Verweis auf den Urzustand, den die Posteleaten mit der Urmischung identifizieren. Das μίγμα wird hier dementsprechend als ἐν aufgefasst, was eine Parallelität zu dem ursprünglichen ἐν des Anaximander herstellt. Die Parallelität ist umso stärker, als auch das ἐν des Anaximander eine innere Differenzierung (vgl. ἐνούσας) aufweist. Die Auffassung der Urmischung als einer Einheit kann die zweite der oben unterschiedenen Interpretationen von ἐν καὶ πολλά nahe legen (ohne dass damit die Mischung als eine „chemische“ interpretiert werden muss): Der Begriff πολλά wird nur auf die sich aus der Urmischung aussondernden τᾶλλα, nicht auf die Urmischung als solche bezogen.

ist (vgl. *De gen. et corr.* I 10, 328 a 12–16), scheint u.a. gegen Empedokles (vgl. οὗτ' [...] διείδεται 31 B 27.1 D.–K.) und Anaxagoras (οὐδὲν ἔνδηλον ἦν ὑπὸ σμικρότητος, 59 B 1 D.–K.) gerichtet zu sein. Zum Verhältnis zwischen den vorsokratischen, in der Auffassung von Aristoteles immer noch mechanischen Lehren von der Mischung und der Doktrin des Aristoteles s. F. SOLMSEN, *Aristotle's System of the Physical World. A Comparison with his Predecessors*, Ithaka, New York 1960, S. 368–378.

⁶³ So auch HORSTSCHÄFER, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 126 mit Anm. 4.

3) Der Umstand, dass der ursprüngliche Stoff in (κ) explizit als Mischung charakterisiert wird, sowie die Tatsache, dass Aristoteles in diesem Satz nicht von πολλά, sondern von τᾶλλα spricht, was einen sekundären Status des Ausgesonderten suggerieren kann (analog zu τᾶλλα in (ζ); die Korrektur dieser Vermutung in Bezug auf (κ) kommt erst in (μ)), legen die Möglichkeit nahe, den Ausdruck ἓν καὶ πολλά auf die Urmischung selbst zu beziehen, d.h. ihn in der ersten der oben unterschiedenen Bedeutungen zu interpretieren: Der ursprüngliche Stoff wird demnach zugleich als ἓν und als πολλά betrachtet.

Auch wenn die These von der Koexistenz der beiden Bedeutungen der Phrase ἓν καὶ πολλά an der Physikstelle zunächst wenig befriedigend scheinen mag, spricht für sie die Beobachtung, dass die beiden Bedeutungen sich in diesem Kontext nur sehr wenig voneinander unterscheiden. Der Grund hierfür ist darin zu sehen, dass im Fokus der Darstellung zugleich zwei Momente stehen: erstens der Urzustand, in dem der Urstoff (ἓν) und die Elemente (πολλά) nur logisch zu unterscheiden sind, weil der Urstoff durch die Elemente konstituiert wird und sich in ihnen erschöpft (ἓν καὶ πολλά in der ersten Bedeutung), und zweitens der Prozess der Aussonderung, in dem es zu einer Differenzierung in ἓν und πολλά kommt. Dieser doppelte Blick, der für die gesamte Darstellung der Monisten in *Ph.* I 4, 187 a 12–26 charakteristisch ist, ermöglicht es, die Phrase ἓν καὶ πολλά in beiden der genannten Bedeutungen zu interpretieren.

Ein antikes Zeugnis, das für die Interpretation von (ι) von erheblicher Bedeutung sein kann, ist bisher nicht berücksichtigt worden. Der aristotelische Satz ἓν καὶ πολλά φασιν εἶναι erinnert, v.a. unter Annahme seiner ersten grammatischen Konstruktion („[...] sagen, dass <das Seiende> Eines und Vieles sei“), an Platons Darstellung der Antworten der früheren Philosophen auf die Frage nach der Zahl der seienden Dinge im *Sophistes* (242 c 4 ff.), wo von den „ionischen und sizilischen Musen“ berichtet wird, dass sie behaupten (λέγειν) ὡς τὸ ὄν πολλά τε καὶ ἓν ἐστίν. Platon bietet zwei Deutungen dieses Satzes, die den oben unterschiedenen Auffassungen des hier in Rede stehenden aristotelischen Satzes ungefähr entsprechen: Entweder wird mit ihm dem Seienden die Eigenschaft zugeschrieben, zugleich Eines und Vieles zu sein (hier scheint Platon an Heraklit zu denken: διαφερόμενον γὰρ ἀεὶ συμφέρεται, φασὶν αἱ συντονώτερα τῶν Μουσῶν), oder es wird angenommen, dass die Prädikate „Eines“ und „Vieles“ dem Seienden abwechselnd in zwei immer wieder aufeinander folgenden Zuständen zukommen – der so gedeutete Satz drückt nach Platon die Lehre des Empedokles aus: αἱ δὲ μαλακώτεροι [sc. Μοῦσαι] τὸ μὲν ἀεὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν ἐχάλασαν, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοτὲ μὲν ἓν εἶναι φασὶ τὸ πᾶν καὶ φίλον ὑπ’ Ἀφροδίτης, τοτὲ δὲ πολλά καὶ πολέμιον αὐτὸ αὐτῷ διὰ νεϊκός τι⁶⁴. Die beiden Deutungen der Annahme τὸ ὄν πολλά τε καὶ

⁶⁴ „[...] die weicheren [sc. Musen] aber lassen nach, daß sich dies immer so verhalten solle, und sagen, abwechselnd sei das Ganze bisweilen *eines* und durch Aphrodite befreundet, dann wieder *vieles* und sich selbst feindselig erregt durch den Streit“ (Übers. F. SCHLEIERMACHER).

ἔν ἐστιν werden von Platon mit Worten formuliert, die dem originalen Wortlaut der Aussagen der Vorsokratiker ähneln: zu Heraklit vgl. 22 B 10 D.–K.⁶⁵; zu τοτὲ μὲν ἔν εἶναί φασι τὸ πᾶν [...] τοτὲ δὲ πολλά (*Sophist.* 242 e 1 f.) vgl. 31 B 17 D.–K. des Empedokles: τοτὲ [...] ἔν [...] ἐκ πλεόνων, τοτὲ δ' αὖ [...] πλέον' ἐξ ἐνός. Im Falle des Anaxagoras lässt sich zwar kein analoges Beispiel anführen (es wäre vermutlich an ὁμοῦ πάντα zu denken, zur Gleichsetzung mit ἔν vgl. *Metaph.* XII 2, 1069 b 20 f.), aber es ist durchaus wahrscheinlich, dass beiden Philosophen schon in der Akademie mit der an ihre eigene Ausdrucksweise angelehnten Formel ἔν καὶ πολλά die doppelte Annahme eines ursprünglichen ἔν und der sich daraus aussondernden Elemente zugeschrieben wurde und dass sich Aristoteles in (i) eben dieser Formel bedient, so wie er in *Ph.* I 2, 184 b 15–22 auf eine schon relativ lange Tradition der Klassifizierung der philosophischen Lehren in Hinsicht auf die Zahl der ὄντα zurückgreift⁶⁶.

Nun stellt sich die Frage, ob die Abhängigkeit des Aristoteles von der Tradition in diesem Punkt notwendigerweise impliziert, dass nicht nur die Formel ἔν καὶ πολλά als solche, sondern auch deren von Platon in *Sophist.* 242 e 4–243 a 2 für Empedokles angenommene Bedeutung, die als ein spezieller Fall der zweiten der beiden oben unterschiedenen Bedeutungen der Phrase betrachtet werden kann (ἔν und πολλά beziehen sich hier nicht nur auf die Urmischung resp. die Elemente, sondern zugleich auch auf zwei verschiedene Weltzustände), von Aristoteles an der Physikstelle übernommen wird. Gegen diese These spricht, dass Aristoteles in seinen Vorsokratiker-Interpretationen generell recht eigenständig ist: Seine Deutungen sind stets am jeweiligen Kontext orientiert, so dass sie sogar untereinander stark divergieren. Es ist demnach durchaus denkbar, dass Aristoteles der Phrase, auch wenn sie in der Tradition schon verankert war, einen neuen Sinn zuschreibt, der seinen eigenen Zielen entspricht. Entsprechend muss der Kontext der Stelle, und nicht die Verwendung der Phrase bei Platon, als Grundlage für die Erschließung ihrer Bedeutung bei Aristoteles dienen. Darum besteht keine Notwendigkeit, auf die oben vorgeschlagene doppelte Deutung der Phrase zugunsten der zweiten Deutung zu verzichten oder die zweite Deutung gemäß der platonischen Deutung zu präzisieren, zumal letztere angesichts von (λ) (τὸν δ' ἄπαξ) auf Anaxagoras nicht wirklich zutreffen kann.

Die Abhängigkeit des Aristoteles von der ihm vorausgehenden doxographischen Tradition könnte aber auf eine andere Weise für den Sinn der Phrase in (i) von Bedeutung sein. Wie oben (1.3) festgestellt, wird die Phrase bei Aristoteles als etwas für Empedokles und Anaxagoras, nicht aber für Anaximander Charakteristisches angeführt, und ihre Interpretation muss diesen Umstand erklären. Die Auffassung, dass es sich bei ἔν καὶ πολλά um eine von Aristoteles

⁶⁵ συνάψεις ὅλα καὶ οὐχ ὅλα, συμφερόμενον διαφερόμενον [...], καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἔν καὶ ἐξ ἐνός πάντα (22 B 10 D.–K.).

⁶⁶ Zu dieser Tradition s. PALMER, *Classical Representations* (Anm. 3).

aus der bereits vorhandenen doxographischen Tradition übernommene Phrase handelt, erfüllt diese Bedingung auch dann, wenn Aristoteles ἐν καὶ πολλά in etwas veränderter Weise interpretiert. Es wird mit ihr nicht nur verständlich, warum die Formel nur Empedokles und Anaxagoras, nicht aber Anaximander zugeschrieben wird, sondern auch, warum Aristoteles diese Phrase so verwendet, als ob sie zur *Identifizierung* einer bestimmten Gruppe von Denkern diene (καὶ ὅσοι δ' ἐν καὶ πολλά φασιν εἶναι). Auch in Bezug auf die Funktion der Phrase erweist sich Aristoteles jedoch als eigenständig: Einerseits dient die Phrase dazu, die gemeinte Gruppe von Denkern zu identifizieren, andererseits zeigt sich, dass ihre Funktion primär kontextbedingt ist: Auch wenn sie zunächst die Erwähnung ihrer Anhänger im Kontext des Monismus als problematisch erscheinen lässt, ermöglicht sie es schließlich, dieselben Denker, die gemäß der Einteilung von *Ph.* I 2, 184 b 15–22 als Pluralisten einzustufen sind, tatsächlich als eine Art Monisten zu klassifizieren und in die Einteilung der Monisten einzuschließen.

2.2 Die Gemeinsamkeiten der Denker der zweiten Gruppe

Wie oben gesehen, wird die Frage, worin das Gemeinsame der Naturphilosophen der zweiten Gruppe – neben der Theorie der *Ekkrisis* – besteht, in der Forschung unterschiedlich beantwortet. Auch wenn man von der bereits verworfenen Zuschreibung von ἐν καὶ πολλά an alle Denker der Gruppe absieht, bleibt noch zu erwägen, ob das Gemeinsame in der Auffassung des Urstoffs als einer ursprünglichen materiellen Vielheit, einer die Vielheit enthaltenden Einheit oder einer (potentiellen bzw. aktuellen) Urmischung besteht (zur Frage der Annahme der Gegensätze s. unten 2.3).

Dass die Konzeption der Urmischung an der Physikstelle auch Anaximander zugeschrieben wird, mag der Satz (κ) ἐκ τοῦ μίγματος γὰρ καὶ οὔτοι ἐκκρίνουσι τᾶλλα nahe legen (dabei wäre im Lichte des oben in 2.1 Gesagten an eine Mischung aktueller, nicht potentieller Elemente zu denken). Es wurde jedoch in der Forschung mit Recht bemerkt, dass die Auffassung, die Gemeinsamkeit zwischen den Lehren der οὔτοι und der in (θ) dargelegten Doktrin des Anaximander sei die Annahme des μίγμα, weder zwingend noch überzeugend ist⁶⁷. In der Darstellung der Lehre des Anaximander (οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐνούσας τὰς ἐναντιότητας ἐκκρίνεσθαι, ὥσπερ Ἀναξίμανδρος φησι) ist von einer Mischung nicht die Rede. Der Ausdruck ἐνούσας bedeutet zwar, dass die Gegensätze in dem Einen

⁶⁷ U.a. HÖLSCHER, *Anaximander* (Anm. 23), cit., S. 102; CONCHE, *o.c.* (Anm. 43), S. 96; LÜTZE, *o.c.* (Anm. 29), S. 63. Selbst wenn in *Metaph.* XII 2, 1069 b 20–22 der Urstoff des Anaximander als Mischung aufgefasst wird (was nicht zwingend ist, wenn man den Genitiv „Ἀναξίμανδρου“ auf „τὸ ... ἐν“ bezieht und „τὸ μίγμα“ als Apposition zu „Ἐμπεδοκλέους (sc. τὸ ... ἐν)“ versteht: „das Eine des Anaxagoras, das des Empedokles, die Mischung, und das des Anaximander“; zur Syntax und Interpunktion vgl. die Diskussion bei D. CHARLES, *Metaphysics Λ 2: Matter and Change*, in: M. FREDE, D. CHARLES (ed.), *Aristotle's Metaphysics Lambda. Symposium Aristotelicum*, Oxford 2000, S. 106–109), kann dies auf die Physikstelle nicht einfach übertragen werden.

enthalten sind, aber darin ist noch nicht die Vorstellung einer Mischung impliziert: Die Gegensätze können in dem Einen z.B. so enthalten sein wie zwei Menschen in einem Raum, ohne dass das Eine deshalb eine Mischung wäre.

Zu erwägen bleiben die beiden vorsichtigeren Hypothesen, nach denen es – neben der Theorie der *Ekkrisis* – die Annahme einer ursprünglichen materiellen Vielheit bzw. die Auffassung der Materie als einer die Vielheit enthaltenden Einheit ist, die die Denker der zweiten Gruppe miteinander verbindet und von denen der ersten Gruppe unterscheidet. Von diesen beiden Formulierungen ist die zweite vorzuziehen bzw. die erste um den Begriff der (die Vielheit umfassenden) Einheit zu ergänzen: Wie oben schon erwähnt (s. Anm. 36), wird bei der ersten Formulierung die monistische Perspektive der Physikstelle zu Unrecht ausgeblendet. Der (zugegebenermaßen nur eingeschränkte) Monismus des Empedokles und Anaxagoras wird jedoch mit der ihnen zugeschriebenen Formel $\epsilon\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ deutlich zum Ausdruck gebracht und zur Grundlage für die Einbeziehung der Posteleaten in die Einteilung der monistischen Lehren gemacht.

Es lässt sich nun in der Tat nicht bestreiten, dass nicht nur die (als mechanisch aufzufassenden) Urmischungen der Posteleaten, sondern auch das Eine des Anaximander, sofern es die Gegensätze in sich enthält ($\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\tau\iota\acute{\omicron}\tau\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma$), eine innere Differenzierung aufweisen. Dass dieser Unterschied zwischen den beiden Gruppen der Monisten an unserer Stelle nicht nebensächlich ist, sondern einen wesentlichen Zug der aristotelischen Charakteristik ihrer Lehren bildet, zeigt die Position des vorangestellten $\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ in dem Satz (θ) $\omicron\iota\ \delta\prime\ \epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\tau\iota\acute{\omicron}\tau\eta\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\kappa\kappa\rho\iota\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$: Sie schafft einen Kontrast zu den Lehren der ersten Gruppe, nach denen die Vielheit erst durch die Prozesse der Verdichtung und Verdünnung entsteht. Daraus ergibt sich auch, worin die in (κ) zum Ausdruck gebrachte Parallelität zwischen den Posteleaten und Anaximander besteht: $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\acute{\iota}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\ \epsilon\kappa\kappa\rho\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$, d.h. auch diese Philosophen teilen – mit ihrer Annahme einer Urmischung – die Ansicht, dass die Vielheit ($\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$) in dem Urstoff bereits enthalten ist und aus diesem nur ausgesondert wird. Demnach ist es tatsächlich die Annahme des $\mu\acute{\iota}\gamma\mu\alpha$, die die Parallelität erzeugt (nicht zufälligerweise steht auch in diesem Satz der Ausdruck $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\acute{\iota}\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ voran), jedoch nicht in dem Sinne, dass sie selbst die Gemeinsamkeit ist, sondern dass sie die auch von Anaximander vertretene Annahme einer im Urstoff enthaltenen ($\epsilon\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$) und sich aus ihm aussondernden Vielheit impliziert. Die Inhomogenität des als $\epsilon\nu$ aufgefassten Urstoffs ist also ein gemeinsamer Zug der Prinzipienlehren der zweiten Gruppe der Naturphilosophen, der diese Lehren von denen der ersten, ein homogenes ursprüngliches $\epsilon\nu$ postulierenden Gruppe unterscheidet. Entsprechend kann die angenommene Auffassung der Materie neben der Genese der Vielheit als ein zweites Kriterium der Zugehörigkeit zu der ersten bzw. zweiten Gruppe der Naturphilosophen dienen.

2.3 Das Problem der Gegensätze. Die Funktion der Einteilung

Die bisher festgestellte Ähnlichkeit zwischen den Vertretern der zweiten Gruppe von Denkern hinsichtlich der innerlichen Differenziertheit der Materie könnte als eine rein formale erscheinen, und zwar in dem Sinne, dass mit ihr weder eine Ähnlichkeit hinsichtlich der Art der Differenziertheit noch hinsichtlich der Identität der in ihr enthaltenen Vielheit konstatiert wird. Der Satz (θ) οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐνούσας τὰς ἐναντιότητας ἐκκρίνεσθαι, der *prima facie* die distinktiven Züge der Lehren der gesamten zweiten Gruppe angibt, enthält jedoch auch eine inhaltliche Charakteristik dieser Vielheit: Es handelt sich hierbei um die Gegensätze. Damit wird die Frage nach dem Status der Gegensätze aufgeworfen: Sind die ἐναντιότητες allen Denkern der zweiten Gruppe – und damit auch allen an der Physikstelle behandelten Naturphilosophen – gemeinsam?

Vergleicht man Aristoteles' Beschreibungen der beiden Gruppen miteinander, dann kann diese Auffassung als wenig plausibel erscheinen. Während nämlich für die erste Gruppe in einer längeren Parenthese (η) explizit festgestellt wird, dass es sich bei πυκνότης und μανότης um Gegensätze handelt (ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἐναντία), diese unter ein allgemeineres Gegensatzpaar subsumiert (καθόλου δ' ὑπεροχὴ καὶ ἔλλειψις), mit den Gegensätzen Platons verglichen (ὥσπερ τὸ μέγα φησὶ Πλάτων καὶ τὸ μικρόν) und in diesem Vergleich näher bestimmt werden (διαφορὰς καὶ εἶδη), findet sich für die zweite Gruppe außer der allgemeinen Feststellung οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐνούσας τὰς ἐναντιότητας ἐκκρίνεσθαι (θ) keine vergleichbare Erläuterung oder Begründung dieser These. Da der Feststellung die Worte ὥσπερ Ἀναξίμανδρός φησὶ folgen, würde man um so mehr erwarten, dass ihre Geltung auch für die im Anschluss genannten Denker Empedokles und Anaxagoras erwiesen wird. Dazu würde sich sehr gut der Satz (κ) eignen, der diesen Anschluss rechtfertigt, also – wie wir sahen – auf das Gemeinsame zwischen den Posteleaten und Anaximander verweist. In diesem Satz ist jedoch nur unspezifisch von den sich aus der Mischung aussondernden τᾶλλα die Rede. Auffallenderweise gibt sich Aristoteles auch bei der Explikation dieses Ausdrucks in (μ) keine Mühe, „die übrigen Dinge“ als Gegensätze zu erweisen: Im Falle des Anaxagoras werden zwar τᾶλλα als τὰ ὁμοιομερῆ καὶ τὰναντία, also teilweise in der Tat als Gegensätze bestimmt, im Falle des Empedokles wird aber ausdrücklich nur von den Elementen (τὰ καλούμενα στοιχεῖα) gesprochen. Die Erläuterungen in (μ) dienen *prima facie* überhaupt nicht dem Zweck, darauf zu verweisen, dass die Annahme der Gegensätze beiden Lehren gemeinsam wären; ihre offensichtliche Funktion scheint im Gegenteil darin zu bestehen, die Unterschiede zwischen Anaxagoras und Empedokles (vgl. διαφέρουσι in (λ)) aufzuzeigen (bei Anaxagoras ἄπειρα, bei Empedokles τὰ καλούμενα στοιχεῖα μόνον). Aber auch die Gegensätze des Anaximander werden an unserer Stelle nicht näher erläutert⁶⁸. Das alles lässt

⁶⁸ Vgl. Simpl., *In Ph.* 150. 24 f., der die Gegensätze des Anaximander als θερμὸν ψυχρὸν ξηρὸν ὑγρὸν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, also mit Rückgriff auf die konventionellen aristotelischen Gegensatzpaare,

die These, dass die Annahme der Gegensätze dem Wortlaut von (θ) gemäß von Aristoteles als eine Gemeinsamkeit der Denker der zweiten Gruppe präsentiert wird, als fraglich erscheinen.

Der weitere Kontext der Physikstelle legt jedoch das Gegenteil nahe. Bekanntlich ist der Begriff der Gegensätze in *Physik* I von zentraler Bedeutung. Darum kann erstens bezweifelt werden, ob Aristoteles sich dieses Begriffes hier in so unpräziser Weise bedienen würde, wie es die Interpretation postuliert, nach der er ihn in (θ) dem Wortlaut nach allen Vertretern der zweiten Gruppe, tatsächlich aber nur Anaximander (und in (μ) beiläufig auch Anaxagoras) zuschreibe. Zweitens stellt sich die Frage, ob es angesichts der zentralen Bedeutung des Begriffes in *Ph.* I plausibel ist, die Erwähnungen der Gegensätze in (η), (θ) und (μ) als beiläufige bzw. ergänzende Nebenbemerkungen zu betrachten. Diese beiden Einwände werfen die Frage auf, welche Funktion die Erwähnung der Gegensätze in *Ph.* I 4, 187 a 12 ff. in dem weiteren Kontext dieser Stelle hat, und führen damit zu der grundlegenden Frage nach der Funktion dieser Passage und der in ihr enthaltenen Einteilung der Naturphilosophen im Rahmen des ersten Buches der *Physik* – eine Frage, die eine eingehendere Behandlung verdient.

Aristoteles beginnt seine Untersuchung der Prinzipien der Natur in *Ph.* I mit der schon erwähnten Klassifikation der Prinzipienlehren (*Ph.* 184 b 15–22), die nach dem Kriterium der Zahl der angenommenen Prinzipien in zwei Hauptgruppen (ein Prinzip – mehrere Prinzipien) und weitere Untergruppen eingeteilt werden. Diese Einteilung bietet einen passenden Ausgangspunkt für seine eigene Frage nach der Zahl der Prinzipien (vgl. [...] πότερον δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ πλείους εἰσὶν [sc. αἱ ἀρχαί]. μίαν μὲν γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε, ὅτι [...], ἀπείρους δ', ὅτι [...], *Ph.* I 6, 189 a 11 f.). Warum Aristoteles in Kap. 4 die vorsokratischen Lehren erneut einteilt, und zwar auf eine neue, von der ersten – wie die obigen Überlegungen zeigen – verschiedene Weise, ist nicht unmittelbar ersichtlich. Die Kernaussagen der Kapitel 2–6 von *Ph.* I lassen sich wie folgt zusammenfassen:

– Kap. 2: Die früheren Philosophen nahmen ein Prinzip oder mehrere, der Zahl nach begrenzte (1, 2, 3, 4 etc.) bzw. unbegrenzte (homogene oder heterogene bzw. gegensätzliche) Prinzipien an;

– Kap. 3: Es ist unmöglich, ein einziges Seiendes eleatischer Art zu postulieren;

– Kap. 4: Die Naturphilosophen postulieren ein einziges Seiendes als Ursprung, aus dem eine Vielheit entsteht bzw. sich aussondert (hier die Einteilung der Naturphilosophen und die Erwähnung der Gegensätze); die Lehre des Anaxagoras von einer unendlichen Zahl von Prinzipien ist abzulehnen;

– Kap. 5: In gewisser Übereinstimmung mit allen früheren Denkern, die die Gegensätze als Prinzipien ansetzten, ist anzunehmen, dass die Prinzipien der

expliziert (vgl. HÖLSCHER, *Anaximander* (Anm. 23), S. 96 f.; U. HÖLSCHER, *Die milesische Philosophie und die Lehre von den Gegensätzen*, Philologus XCVI 1944, S. 185).

Natur gegensätzlich sind⁶⁹; die Gegensätze sind eine unentbehrliche Bedingung jeder Entstehung;

– Kap. 6: Die Frage nach der Zahl der Prinzipien lässt sich folgendermaßen beantworten: Die Annahme eines einzigen Prinzips ist abzulehnen, weil die Prinzipien gegensätzlich sind (vgl. das Ergebnis von Kap. 5); ebenso die Annahme einer unendlichen Zahl von Prinzipien (vgl. Ergebnis von Kap. 4); anzunehmen ist ein Gegensatzpaar sowie ein drittes Prinzip, nämlich das Substrat (wie es auch die erste Gruppe der Naturphilosophen aus der Einteilung von *Ph.* I 4 vertrat).

Die auffällige Stellung der Einteilung zwischen der Auseinandersetzung mit den Eleaten, d.h. mit der Annahme eines einzigen Seienden, und der mit Anaxagoras, d.h. mit der Annahme einer unendlichen Zahl von Prinzipien⁷⁰, legt zunächst die Vermutung nahe, dass die Einteilung v.a. eine zwischen diesen beiden Punkten vermittelnde Rolle spielt. Dem eleatischen Monismus am nächsten steht der Monismus der ersten Gruppe der Naturphilosophen, d.h. die Annahme eines Einen, aus dem eine Vielheit entsteht; am entgegengesetzten Ende, dem Pluralismus am nächsten, stehen die Theorien des Anaxagoras und Empedokles, die noch nicht als Pluralismus (wie in der der Einteilung folgenden Diskussion), sondern zunächst als ein stark abgeschwächter Monismus, d.h. als die Annahme eines einzigen, jedoch mit der Vielheit materiell identischen Prinzips betrachtet werden. In der Mitte zwischen diesen beiden bzw. insgesamt vier Doktrinen (dem Monismus der Eleaten, dem relativ „reinen“ Monismus der ersten Gruppe der Naturphilosophen, dem abgeschwächten, eine Vielheit einbeziehenden Monismus der Naturphilosophen und dem unmittelbar nach der Einteilung thematisierten Pluralismus) steht die Lehre des Anaximander von der Einheit und Vielheit: Hier ist die Vielheit weder mit der Einheit materiell identisch noch erst aus dieser entstanden, sondern in dieser auf eine unbestimmte Weise enthalten.

Der Überblick über die Kernaussagen der einzelnen Kapitel zeigt überdies, dass an unserer Stelle zwei neue und für die folgenden Ausführungen wesentliche Motive ins Spiel kommen. Das erste ist das Motiv der γένεσις einer Vielheit (*Ph.* I 4, 187 a 15), mit dem sich der Schwerpunkt der Gedankenführung des Aristoteles wesentlich verlagert: Was ihn im Folgenden interessiert, sind nicht mehr die Prinzipien der physischen Dinge als solcher, sondern die Prinzipien der Veränderung, v.a. der Entstehung, dieser Dinge⁷¹. Die Einführung des Begriffs

⁶⁹ Zum Unterschied zwischen diesen beiden Thesen s. HORSTSCHÄFER, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 167–169.

⁷⁰ Wie BOSTOCK, *o.c.* (Anm. 23), S. 181 feststellt, interessiert sich Aristoteles in *Ph.* I 2–4 mehr für die Zahl als für die Identität der vorsokratischen Prinzipien.

⁷¹ Diesen Punkt betont mit Recht BOSTOCK, *o.c.* (Anm. 23), S. 179 f.; vgl. GIGON, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 136 u. 150, dessen Gegenüberstellung zwischen der (vorher zentralen) Frage nach der „Zahl der ἀρχαί“ und der (in *Ph.* I 4 in den Vordergrund tretenden) nach der „Art ihrer Beziehung zur kosmischen Vielheit“ weniger überzeugt, weil die Frage der Zahl der Prinzipien auch in *Ph.* I 4 immer

der γένεσις macht also sicherlich einen wichtigen Aspekt unserer Stelle und ihrer Funktion aus; die Funktion der *Einteilung* der Naturphilosophen wird durch sie jedoch nicht ausreichend erklärt, da dieser Begriff ebenso gut ohne die Einteilung eingeführt werden könnte (auch wenn die Einteilung zugegebenermaßen sehr deutlich zwei mögliche Arten der γένεσις veranschaulicht).

Das zweite neue, für *Ph. I* ebenfalls wesentliche Motiv, das an unserer Stelle eingeführt wird, sind die Gegensätze. Die ersten Worte, die der unmittelbar nach unserer Stelle geführten Diskussion mit Anaxagoras in *Ph. I 4* folgen, lauten: πάντες δὴ τὰναντία ἀρχὰς ποιοῦσιν [...] (*Ph. I 5*, 188 a 19). Den Eindruck, den sie hervorrufen, beschreibt zutreffend HORSTSCHÄFER⁷²: „Die Behauptung, daß ‚also (δὴ) alle die Gegensätze zu Prinzipien machen‘ [...], überrascht zunächst aufgrund seines konklusiven Charakters, denn bisher ist ja noch nicht gezeigt worden, daß alle die Gegensätze zu Prinzipien machen“. Vor dieser Behauptung wurde der Begriff der Gegensätze, abgesehen von dem kurzen Argument gegen den Monismus in *Ph. I 3*, 186 a 21, nur bei den beiden Einteilungen der Lehren der Vorsokratiker erwähnt: zunächst sehr kurz in *Ph. I 2*, 184 b 22, wo die Annahme einer unbegrenzten Zahl gegensätzlicher (ἐναντίας) (bzw. der Art nach verschiedener und gegensätzlicher)⁷³ Prinzipien von anderen Prinzipienlehren theoretisch unterschieden wird, dann viermal an unserer Stelle (*Ph. I 4*, 187 a 16, 19, 20, 25). Die Hypothese, dass die Grundlage für die Kap. 5 eröffnende Feststellung hier gelegt wird, ist demnach ernsthaft in Erwägung zu ziehen.

In *Ph. I 4*, 187 a 12–26 die *einzig*e Grundlage für diese Feststellung zu sehen, ist natürlich angesichts des generalisierenden Charakters letzterer (vgl. πάντες) einerseits und der Beschränkung von *Ph. I 4*, 187 a 12–26 auf die φυσικοί (mit Platon in der Parenthese (ἦ)) andererseits kaum möglich. Vor einer näheren Untersuchung dieses Problems sei noch einmal die oben vorläufig verneinte Frage aufgeworfen, ob Aristoteles die Gegensätze allen Vertretern der zweiten Gruppe der Naturphilosophen zuschreibt. Die oben geäußerten Zweifel hinsichtlich dieser These entsprangen der Beobachtung, dass erstens die in (θ) erwähnten Gegensätze nicht wie die der ersten Gruppe zusätzlich kommentiert und zweitens nicht in Bezug auf alle drei Hauptvertreter der Gruppe explizit genannt werden (im Falle des Empedokles ist nur von den Elementen die Rede)⁷⁴.

noch zentral ist. Vgl. *Ph. I 7*, 191 a 3–4, wo Aristoteles seine bisherige Untersuchung mit den Worten zusammenfasst: πόσαι μὲν οὖν αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν περὶ γένεσιν φυσικῶν, καὶ πῶς ποσά, εἴρηται.

⁷² HORSTSCHÄFER, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 166.

⁷³ Dazu s. ROSS, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 460.

⁷⁴ In der Forschung wird die These, dass die Gegensätze von Aristoteles für die gesamte zweite Gruppe der Naturphilosophen postuliert werden, u.a. von PALMER, *Classical Representations* (Anm. 3), S. 540, TARÁN, *o.c.* (Anm. 48), S. 17, BOSTOCK, *o.c.* (Anm. 23), S. 180, CLEVE, *o.c.* (Anm. 47), S. 141 f., SELIGMAN, *o.c.* (Anm. 30), S. 41, GIGON, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 150, LLOYD, *o.c.* (Anm. 47), S. 95 f., HÖLSCHER, *Die milesische Philosophie* (Anm. 68), S. 184, HÖLSCHER, *Anaximander* (Anm. 23), S. 101, CHERNISS, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 50 und LÜTZE, *o.c.* (Anm. 29), S. 57–67 vertreten. Keiner

Allerdings stellen diese Zweifel, v.a. der mit der ersten Beobachtung verbundene, keine eigentlichen Argumente gegen die Annahme der erwähnten These dar. Auch die Empedokles betreffende Beobachtung verliert an Bedeutung, wenn man die nahe liegende Hypothese in Betracht zieht, dass Aristoteles seine eigene Überzeugung, der zufolge die vier Elemente mit gegensätzlichen Qualitäten versehen und damit einander gegensätzlich sind (s. v.a. *De gen. et corr.* II 1–4), auf die Elemente des Empedokles projiziert. Aristoteles zeigt sich in der Tat an mehreren Stellen überzeugt, dass seine These von der Gegensätzlichkeit der Elemente breit akzeptiert ist; so schreibt er z.B. dem anonymen Anhänger eines Stoffs *παρὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα* (vermutlich mit Anaximander zu identifizieren) eine Argumentation zu, die auf der Annahme der Gegensätzlichkeit der Elemente basiert (ἔχουσι γὰρ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐναντίωσιν, οἷον ὁ μὲν ἀήρ ψυχρός, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ ὑγρόν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ θερμόν, *Ph.* III 5, 204 b 26–28) und geht auch bei der Bewertung der früheren Elementenlehren unbefangen von dieser Annahme aus (πῦρ γὰρ ἦδη καὶ γῆ καὶ ἀήρ καὶ ὕδωρ μετ' ἐναντιότητων συμπεπλεγμένα ἐστίν, *Ph.* I 6, 189 b 4–5). In Bezug auf Empedokles stellt Aristoteles in *De gen. et corr.* II 1 ausdrücklich fest, dass dieser die Lehre von den gegensätzlichen Qualitäten der Elemente teile (ὥσπερ καὶ φησὶν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς „ἥλιον μὲν λευκὸν ὀρᾶν καὶ θερμόν ἀπάντη, ὄμβρον δ' ἐν πᾶσιν δνοφόντά τε ῥιγαλέον τε“, vgl. 31 B 21.3–5 D.–K.; *De gen. et corr.* II 1, 314 b 20–22)⁷⁵. Von besonderer Bedeutung für unsere Frage ist die Darstellung der empedokleischen Lehre von der Aussonderung der vier Elemente aus dem Einen, die Aristoteles in *De gen. et corr.* I 1 zur Grundlage seiner Auseinandersetzung mit Empedokles' Ablehnung einer gegenseitigen Umwandlung der Elemente macht: Der Prozess der Entstehung der Elemente aus dem Einen bestehe in der Trennung des Einen durch die konträren Qualitäten (ὥστ' ἐξ ἐνός τινος δῆλον ὅτι διαφοραῖς τισι χωριζομένων καὶ πάθειν ἐγένετο τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ τὸ δὲ πῦρ, καθάπερ λέγει τὸν μὲν ἥλιον λευκὸν καὶ θερμόν, τὴν δὲ γῆν βαρὺ καὶ σκληρόν, *De gen. et corr.* I 1, 315 a 8–11)⁷⁶. In Bezug auf den so interpretierten Prozess könnte man sowohl von der Aussonderung der Elemente (= der mit gegensätzlichen Qualitäten versehenen Teile des Einen) als auch von der Aussonderung der Gegensätze (sei es im Sinne konträrer Qualitäten, sei es im Sinne mit diesen Qualitäten versehener Elemente) sprechen.

dieser Forscher erklärt jedoch explizit, welche Gegensätze Aristoteles im Falle des Empedokles im Sinne gehabt haben könnte; vgl. lediglich CHERNISS, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 55.

⁷⁵ Zu der Frage, inwieweit Aristoteles' Auffassung historisch zutrifft, s. KAHN, *o.c.* (Anm. 41), S. 127.

⁷⁶ Zur Interpretation der Stelle s. Philop., *In De gen. et corr.* 19. 13–26 und H. JOACHIM, *On Coming to Be and Passing Away, A revised text with introduction and commentary*, Hildesheim–New York 1970, S. 68 f.

Dass Aristoteles in (μ) nicht explizit erläutert, dass die Elemente des Empedokles – als gegensätzlich – unter die ἐναντιότητες von (θ) fallen, hängt mit der oben erwähnten Funktion von (μ) zusammen: Dieser Satz dient nicht dem Zweck, die Gültigkeit von (θ) für Empedokles und Anaxagoras nachzuweisen, sondern dem, die Lehren dieser Denker kontrastiv zu charakterisieren. Aristoteles hält es offensichtlich für wichtiger, den für seine folgenden Ausführungen (v.a. *Ph.* I 4, 188 a 17–18; I 6, 189 a 15–17) entscheidenden Kontrast zwischen unendlicher und endlicher Zahl der Prinzipien aufzuzeigen, als das aus seiner Sicht Selbstverständliche zu erklären.

Wenn Aristoteles das Konzept der Gegensätze an der Physikstelle der gesamten zweiten Gruppe und damit beiden Gruppen der Naturphilosophen zuschreibt, dann erweist sich diese Stelle – vorausgesetzt, dass der Begriff der φυσικοί in (β) alle früheren Philosophen außer den Eleaten, Pythagoreern und Platon umfasst⁷⁷ – für die Feststellung πάντες δὴ τάναντία ἀρχὰς ποιοῦσιν (*Ph.* I 5, 188 a 19) in der Tat als grundlegend. Aristoteles nimmt auf ihn explizit Bezug, wenn er in demselben Satz die erste Gruppe der Naturphilosophen aus der Einteilung von *Ph.* I 4, 187 a 12–26 erwähnt (οἱ μανὸν καὶ πυκνόν, *Ph.* I 5, 188 a 22)⁷⁸. Dies impliziert nicht, dass dort auf die Naturphilosophen der zweiten Gruppe nicht Bezug genommen wird: Indem er Parmenides mit seiner *Doxa*-Lehre von zwei gegensätzlichen μορφαί, dann die Anhänger der Verdünnung und Verdichtung und schließlich Demokrit mit seinen unterschiedlichen Gegensätzen („das Volle – das Leere“ sowie „oben-unten“, „vorne-hinten“, „gewinkelt-winkellos“, „gerade-rund“) nennt, bezieht sich Aristoteles der Reihe nach auf die früher (*Ph.* I 2, 184 b 15–22; I 4, 187 a 12–26) unterschiedenen Typen von Prinzipienlehren, also den Monismus der Eleaten (Typ 1.1 gemäß der ersten Einteilung in *Ph.* I 2, 184 b 15–22), den Monismus der Naturphilosophen (Typ 1.2 nach *Ph.* I 2, 184 b 15–22) und den Pluralismus der Naturphilosophen (Typ 2 nach *Ph.* I 2, 184 b 15–22)⁷⁹. Dabei geht es ihm in *Ph.* I 5, 188 a 19 ff. offensichtlich nicht um eine erschöpfende Begründung der generellen These, sondern lediglich darum, ihre Gültigkeit für einige zweifelhafte Fälle jeweils mit einem Beispiel zu bestätigen. Daher werden v.a. die Monisten (Typ 1.1 und 1.2), bei denen die Annahme der Gegensätze erst erschlossen werden muss, ausdrücklich genannt. Anaxagoras und Empedokles werden aber auch darum nicht namentlich erwähnt, weil der gesamte diesem Satz unmittelbar vorausgehende Passus (*Ph.* 187 a 26–188

⁷⁷ So u.a. ROSS, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 481, vgl. S. 459; GADAMER, *o.c.* (Anm. 21), S. 76; TARÁN, *o.c.* (Anm. 48), S. 17, Anm. 44. Zum Begriff φυσικοί vgl. auch oben, Anm. 8.

⁷⁸ πάντες δὴ τάναντία ἀρχὰς ποιοῦσιν οἳ τε λέγοντες ὅτι ἐν τὸ πᾶν καὶ μὴ κινούμενον (καὶ γὰρ Παρμενίδης θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν ἀρχὰς ποιεῖ, ταῦτα δὲ προσαγορεύει πῦρ καὶ γῆν) καὶ οἱ μανὸν καὶ πυκνόν, καὶ Δημόκριτος τὸ πλήρες καὶ κενόν, ὧν τὸ μὲν ὡς ὄν τὸ δὲ ὡς οὐκ ὄν εἶναι φησιν· ἔτι θέσει, σχήματι, τάξει. ταῦτα δὲ γένη ἐναντίων· θέσεως ἄνω κάτω, πρόσθεν ὀπίσθεν, σχήματος γεγωνιωμένον ἀγώνιον, εὐθὺ περιφερές (*Arist. Ph.* I 5, 188 a 19–26).

⁷⁹ Zu den in *Ph.* I 2, 184 b 15–22 unterschiedenen Typen von Prinzipienlehren s. oben, Anm. 3.

a 18) den Prinzipien des Anaxagoras gewidmet ist und mit einem Vergleich mit Empedokles' Prinzipienlehre endet. Stattdessen nennt Aristoteles Demokrit, der bei der Einteilung nicht erwähnt wurde und dessen Zugehörigkeit zu der zweiten Gruppe der Naturphilosophen nicht evident ist⁸⁰, der aber neben Anaxagoras eine der beiden Varianten der Prinzipienlehren des Typs 2.2 (sc. 2.2.1) repräsentiert (vgl. *Ph.* I 2, 184 b 21 f.).

Es kann also durchaus angenommen werden, dass die wichtigste (wenn auch nicht die einzige) Funktion der Einteilung der Naturphilosophen in *Ph.* I 4, 187 a 12–26 darin besteht, die Feststellung in 188 b 34 ff., sofern diese die Naturphilosophen betrifft, vorzubereiten: Um die Gegensätze bei den unter Typ 1.2, 2.1 und 2.2 eingeordneten Naturphilosophen nachzuweisen, wird auf ihre Lehren die kosmogonische Perspektive angewandt, bei der sie sich meist als Anhänger eines ursprünglichen ἔν einerseits und der Gegensätze andererseits erweisen; dies führt zu einer gegenüber *Ph.* I 2, 184 b 15–22 veränderten Klassifizierung ihrer Prinzipienlehren, der nicht die Zahl der Prinzipien, sondern die Rolle der Gegensätze im Prozess der γένεσις zugrunde liegt. In diesem Lichte erweist sich schließlich auch die lange Parenthese (η) über Platons Gegensätze (τὸ μέγα καὶ τὸ μικρόν) als mehr denn nur eine exegetische Randbemerkung: Auch Platon gehört zu den πάντες von *Ph.* 188 a 19; sein Gegensatzpaar wird später in *Ph.* I 5, 189 a 8 unter anderen Beispielen der Gegensätze wieder angeführt.

2.4 Anaximander und das Mittelding

Ausgehend von den oben festgestellten Funktionen unserer Einteilung kann der Versuch unternommen werden, das notorisch schwierige und vielleicht beim heutigen Kenntnisstand nicht endgültig lösbare Problem des Mitteldings in *Ph.* I 4, 187 a 14–15 (unter der Voraussetzung, dass dieses von Aristoteles grundsätzlich Anaximander zugeschrieben wird) zumindest teilweise zu klären⁸¹. Wie wir sahen, hat die Einteilung der Naturphilosophen u.a. eine vermittelnde Funktion: Sie ermöglicht einen eleganten und bruchlosen Übergang vom eleatischen Monismus über den naturphilosophischen Monismus zum Pluralismus. Die Pluralisten Anaxagoras und Empedokles werden in der Einteilung vorübergehend

⁸⁰ Dass Aristoteles Demokrit aufgrund seiner Annahme der (einzigen) Leere und der (vielen) Atome zu den Anhängern von ἔν καὶ πολλά rechnet, wie in *Simpl.*, *In Ph.* 22. 7 f. (vgl. dagegen *In Ph.* 154. 23–25) behauptet wird, ist unwahrscheinlich, weil die Leere, obwohl real und Prinzip, ein Nichtseiendes ist (vgl. *Arist. Metaph.* I 4, 985 b 3 ff.). In *Metaph.* XII 2, 1069 b 22–23 wird Demokrit hinsichtlich der Auffassung der Materie mit Anaxagoras, Empedokles und Anaximander in Verbindung gebracht, die genaue Grundlage dafür ist jedoch unklar (zu der Stelle s. CHARLES, *o.c.* (Anm. 67), S. 97–103 u. 106–110). An anderen Stellen stellt Aristoteles eine Analogie zwischen Demokrit und der ersten Gruppe der Naturphilosophen her (s. *Metaph.* I 4, 985 b 10–13; vgl. die monisierenden Interpretationen in *Ph.* III 4, 203 a 33–203 b 2, *Metaph.* VIII 2, 1042 b 11–15, *De cael.* II 7, 275 b 29); seine Zugehörigkeit zu dieser Gruppe ist jedoch ausgeschlossen.

⁸¹ Zu einer alternativen Lösung des Problems vgl. Teil 2 des Textes (s. oben Anm. 4).

als Vertreter des modifizierten, naturphilosophischen Monismus betrachtet, was durch die Analogie ermöglicht wird, die Aristoteles zwischen ihren Doktrinen und der Lehre des Anaximander entdeckt bzw. konstruiert. So steht die Lehre des Anaximander direkt in der Mitte zwischen dem strikten Monismus der Eleaten, dem die Vielheit aus dem Einen ableitenden Monismus der ersten Gruppe der Naturphilosophen, dem eine ursprüngliche Vielheit einbeziehenden Monismus der Posteleaten und dem reinen Pluralismus: Im Fall des Anaximander ist die Vielheit, wie gesagt, weder mit der Einheit materiell identisch noch erst aus dieser entstanden, sondern in dieser auf eine unbestimmte Weise enthalten. Aus dieser Perspektive erweist sich die abstrakte Wiedergabe der Theorie Anaximanders als erklärbar: Der höchsten strukturellen Funktion dieser Theorie entspricht ihre geringste inhaltliche Konkretisierung. Es ist eben diese Funktion der Erwähnung Anaximanders, die möglicherweise eine hypothetische Erklärung für die Tatsache liefern könnte, dass das Konzept des Mitteldings an unserer Stelle bei den Lehren der ersten Gruppe der Naturphilosophen und nicht bei der Doktrin Anaximanders erwähnt wird: Da die materielle Identität des anaximandrischen Einen für die Funktion der Aussage von (θ) irrelevant ist, kann Aristoteles das Ergebnis seiner (anderswo und für andere Zwecke durchgeführten) Untersuchung der qualitativen Identität des Stoffes des Anaximander von dieser Aussage separieren und das „Zwischenelement“ vollständigkeithalber neben den anderen Elementen der ersten Gruppe der Naturphilosophen erwähnen.

Anaximander wird jedoch in *Ph.* I 4, 187 a 20 f. nicht nur von der Annahme des Mitteldings getrennt, sondern auch zum Vertreter der $\gammaένεσις$ durch Aussonderung aus dem Einen gemacht – ein Konzept, das hier der Verdünnungs- und Verdichtungstheorie, die sonst mit der Annahme des Mitteldings verbunden wird⁸², gegenübergestellt wird. Falls man also davon ausgeht, dass Anaximander, als Anhänger des Mitteldings, von Aristoteles grundsätzlich auch als Vertreter der Verdünnungs- und Verdichtungstheorie betrachtet wird, muss unsere Stelle als Ausnahme hiervon angesehen werden: Anaximander wird hier diese Theorie eindeutig abgesprochen. Die oben durchgeführte Untersuchung der Funktion der Einteilung kann diesen Umstand lediglich mit einem Hinweis auf die Eigenart der Stelle erklären: Sowohl die Funktion der Vermittlung zwischen Monismus und Pluralismus als auch die des Nachweises der Gegensätze für die Naturphilosophen – und vor allem die Verbindung beider Funktionen – verleihen der Einteilung einen stark vom Kontext bedingten, okkasionellen Charakter, aufgrund dessen sie auch Inhalte umfassen kann, die von den Aussagen des Aristoteles an anderen Stellen möglicherweise abweichen. Um eine relativ einheitliche Gruppe von Denkern zu konstruieren, die ein ursprüngliches $\epsilonν$ und die Aussonderung der Gegensätze aus ihm annehmen, macht Aristoteles von einer weniger geläufigen Interpretation Gebrauch, bei der einerseits die Posteleaten, meist als Pluralisten

⁸² Arist. *Ph.* I 6, 189 a 34–b 10; *De cael.* III 5, 303 b 13–16.

betrachtet, zu Monisten werden, andererseits Anaximander, sonst als Vertreter der Verdichtungs- und Verdünnungstheorie angesehen, als Anhänger der *Ekkrisis* der Gegensätze eingeordnet wird. Die Frage, welche der beiden Sichtweisen im Falle des Anaximander die richtigere ist, ist hierbei müßig: Mit ihrer bildlichen Vielfalt und begrifflichen Uneindeutigkeit bot Anaximanders Kosmogonie vermutlich für jede der beiden Deutungen gleich viele bzw. gleich wenige Anhaltspunkte⁸³.

3. RESÜMEE

Die obigen Ausführungen hatten zum Ziel, die aristotelische Einteilung der Naturphilosophen in *Ph.* I 4, 187 a 12–26 unter der Voraussetzung der in der modernen Forschung allgemein akzeptierten Auffassung des einschlägigen Textes, nach der die erste Gruppe von Denkern in den Sätzen (γ) bis (η), die zweite in (θ) bis (κ) charakterisiert werden, zu untersuchen. Als problematisch erschienen v.a. die Fragen (1) nach dem Kriterium der Einteilung, (2) nach der Grundlage der Einheit der zweiten Gruppe, (3) nach Bedeutung und Status von ἓν καὶ πολλά, (4) nach der Funktion der Einteilung und (5) nach der Trennung des Anaximander von der Annahme des Mitteldinges. Die Ergebnisse der durchgeführten Untersuchung zusammenfassend lässt sich erstens konstatieren, dass die Einteilung nach dem doppelten Kriterium der inneren Struktur des als ἓν aufgefassten Urstoffs (Homogenität vs. Inhomogenität im Sinne des Enthaltenseins der Gegensätze) und der Art der Entstehung der Vielheit (durch Verdichtung und Verdünnung vs. durch Aussonderung der Gegensätze) durchgeführt wird (1). Die zweite Gruppe von Denkern, deren Zusammengehörigkeit die Voraussetzung unserer Untersuchung war, ist entsprechend durch die Annahme des Einen im Sinne einer in sich differenzierten Materie (die qualitative Identität des Urstoffs ist dabei von sekundärer Bedeutung und lässt sich im Falle des Anaximander überhaupt nicht feststellen) und durch die Annahme der Aussonderung aus dem Einen gekennzeichnet (2), während die Annahme von ἓν καὶ πολλά (in ihrer doppelten Deutung als Beschreibung der Urmischung oder einerseits des mischungsartigen Einen und andererseits der Vielheit der Grundelemente) als spezifisch für Empedokles und Anaxagoras zu betrachten ist (3). Als beiden Gruppen gemeinsam erweist sich das Konzept der Gegensätze, was v.a. für die Frage der Funktion der Einteilung im Kontext des ersten Buches der *Physik* entscheidend ist (4). Neben dem Nachweis der Gegensätze für die Naturphilosophen und der Einführung des Begriffs der Genesis hat unsere Stelle wahrscheinlich auch eine vermittelnde Funktion und ist überhaupt als stark von ihrem Kontext geprägte

⁸³ Zu einer möglichen Grundlage der *Ekkrisis*-Interpretation vgl. Ps.-Plut., *Strom.* 2 (12 A 10 D.-K.); s. dazu KAHN, *o.c.* (Anm. 41), S. 57, HÖLSCHER, *Anaximander* (Anm. 23), S. 105–110, ZELLER, *o.c.* (Anm. 21), S. 295 f., Anm. 1.

und daher nur an dieser Stelle anzutreffende Aussage des Aristoteles zu betrachten, was den Umstand, dass Anaximanders Lehre – der Angelpunkt der *ad hoc* konstruierten Monisten-Gruppe – anders als sonst interpretiert wird, zumindest teilweise erklärt (5)⁸⁴.

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⁸⁴ Inwiefern sich die hier präsentierte Interpretation der Stelle aus der angenommenen Voraussetzung hinsichtlich der Struktur der Einteilung ergibt und welche Lösungen von den antiken Kommentatoren (die eine andere Auffassung des aristotelischen Textes annehmen) vorgezogen werden, wird, wie oben erwähnt, in Teil 2 des Textes gezeigt werden.

PERFECT FORMS OF THE VERB ΛΕΓΩ

By

ELWIRA KACZYŃSKA

The Greek language records two alternative perfect forms derived from the verb λέγω ‘to gather, select, count, calculate’, secondarily ‘to speak, call’ (ABRAMOWICZÓWNA 1962: 18; LIDDELL, SCOTT 1996: 1033 f.; MONTANARI 2003: 1171 f.). Some of the forms show the onset εἴλ-, while the others λέλ-:

- ind. perf. II act. εἴλοχα (also in compound verbs with the prefix κατ-, συν-) along with the subsequent λέλεχα or λέλεγα;
- ind. perf. med.-pass. εἴλεγμαι (attested in compounds) along with λέλεγμαι.

The forms λέλεχα, λέλεγα and λέλεγμαι, having the post-Homeric meaning ‘to speak, call’, are universally regarded as historically later than the forms εἴλοχα and εἴλεγμαι which preserve the original meaning ‘to gather’. In terms of morphology, both the groups of the perfect forms indicate the perfect reduplication, consisting in the repetition of the onset consonant of the root extended by the vowel *-e-* before the lexical morpheme. The forms λέλεχα, λέλεγα and λέλεγμαι are therefore assumedly derived from the Proto-Greek archetype *λελεγ-, while the alternative forms εἴλοχα and εἴλεγμαι seem to go back to the possible original *hε-hλεγ- (from the previous *σε-σλεγ-) or *Fε-Fλεγ-.

Linguists derive the Greek verb λέγω from the Indo-European root which is commonly reconstructed in the form *leǵ- ‘to gather / sammeln, auflesen’ (POKORNY 1959: 658; RIX 2001: 397). With regard to this, they assume that the forms including the perfect reduplication *λελεγ- represent the regular and expected development, whereas the alternative forms were derived under the influence of the verb λαμβάνω: perfect εἴληφα (FRISK 1962: 77; CHANTRAINE 1974: 625: „analogique de εἴληφα”; ALONI 2004: 216: „pf. εἴλοχα (forma analogica su εἴληφα)”).

The verb λαμβάνω has two alternative perfect forms as well: ind. perf. II act. εἴληφα (in Attic dialect), εἴλᾱφα (in Doric dialect), the subsequent forms: λελάβηκα (Hdt., Epidauros, Tegea), ind. perf. med.-pass. εἴλημμαι (Attic prose, Ar.), but also λέλημμαι (trag.), λέλαμμαι (Hdt., Hp., Ionian). The dialectal forms (e.g. Gk. Hom. ἔλλαβον, Aegin. ληαβών, Attic ληάβετος and εἴληφα) point

to the consonantal cluster **sl-* in the onset (HOFMANN 1950: 172; FRISK 1962: 77; SIHLER 1995: 490; JUREWICZ 1999: 122; RIX 2001: 566, s.v. **sleh₂g^u-*). In view of the foregoing, linguists unanimously agree that the forms εἴληφα (< εἴλαφα < *h₁e-h₁āφα < Proto-Indo-European **se-sleh₂g^u-h₂e*) and εἴλημμα (< *h₁e-h₁λαβ-μαι < Proto-Indo-European **se-sleH₂g^u-moi*) demonstrate the original character, while λελάβηκα, λέλημμα (λέλαμμα) having the secondary genesis (BOISACQ 1916: 553; FRISK 1962: 77; CHANTRAINE 1974: 616).

The hitherto findings are briefly summed up by SIHLER (1995: 490): „The perfects εἴληφα (λαμβάνω ‘take’) and εἴμαρται (μείρομαι ‘get one’s share’) come regularly from **he-slap^h-* (**se-slabh-*), **se-smr-*. From these the *ei-* spread to roots that never began with **s*: εἴληχα (λαγχάνω ‘obtain by lot’), and συν-εἴλοχα, συν-εἴλεγμαι (συνλέγω ‘gather’; and note that λέγω ‘say,’ originally the selfsame verb, has regular morphology).”

With reference to the aforementioned analysis, it must be clearly emphasized, though, that, contrary to SIHLER’S and other linguists’ opinions, the Greek verb λέγω, synonymous with the Latin *legō* ‘to gather, take off, tear off, pick, roll up, look through, read’ (PLEZIA 1998: III 339 f.), could contain the consonantal cluster **sl-* or **ul-* in the onset. Both the referenced consonantal clusters are in the onset position reduced to Greek λ-, Lat. *l-* (RIX 1992: 76 f.; SIHLER 1995: 171; MEISER 2006: 112), e.g.

(1) Greek dial. (Hesych.) λείμακες ‘naked snails’, Lat. *līmāx* (m. and f.) ‘snail’ vs. Pol. *ślimak* (< Proto-Indo-European **slei-meh₂k-s*); cf. Old Norse *slīm* adj. ‘thin, slim’, Old Eng. *slīm*, Old German *slīmen* ‘clean’; Lat. *līmus* m. ‘slime, mud, dirt’ (< **sleimos*).

(2) Greek λῆνος, Doric λᾶνος n. ‘wool’ (< *Fλᾶνος), Lat. *lāna* f. ‘wool’ (< **ulānā*) vs. Gothic *wulla* ‘wool’, Pol. *welna* f., Welsh *gwlan* ‘wool’.

For Greek λέγω and Latin *legō*, etymologists quote the *tertium comparationis* in the form of the Albanian compound verb (*verbum compositum*) *mb(ë) ledh* ‘to gather, clean up crops’ (Aor. *mbloodh*), demonstrating the Albanian prefix *mbë* corresponding to Greek ἀμφι- and Latin *amb-* (WALDE, HOFMANN 1938: 780; POKORNY 1959: 658; RIX 2001: 356; OREL 1998: 251; BEEKES 2010: 841 f.). So, the Albanian verb is synonymous with Greek ἀμφιλέγω, Doric ἀμφιλλέγω ‘to dispute about, dispute, question’ (LIDDELL, SCOTT 1996: 92). The Albanian counterpart is of great importance for the reconstruction of the original form of the Indo-European root as it shows the palatal character of the velar consonant appearing in the root (Albanian *dh* < Proto-Indo-European **ǵ*). Besides, unlike the Greek *verbum compositum* having the figurative sense, the Albanian verb preserved the original meaning ‘to gather’. Therefore, both the phonetics and semantics provide sufficient evidence that the Albanian word was not a borrowed verb.

The Albanian phoneme *l* (pronounced like Polish *l* or *lʹ*) stems from the geminate **ll* in the intervocalic position, as found in numerous Latin loan-words (e.g. Alb. *ngjalë* ‘eel’ < Lat. *anguilla*; Alb. *bulë* ‘bud’ < Lat. *bullā*; Alb. *kāl* (Rom.

kal) ‘horse’ < Lat. *caballus*; Alb. *qelë* ‘priest’s house’ < Lat. *cella*; Alb. *fjalë* ‘word, speech, tale’ < Lat. *fabella*; Alb. *gjel* ‘cock’ < Lat. *gallus*, etc.), whereas the Albanian phoneme *ll* (pronounced like Polish *ł*) comes from the single liquid consonant in the same position (e.g. Alb. *engiëll* (dial. *êjill*) ‘angel’ < Lat. *angelus*; Alb. *prill* ‘April’ < Lat. *aprīlis*; Alb. *buell* ‘bull’ < Lat. *būbalus*; Alb. *qiell* ‘sky’ < Lat. *caelum*; Alb. *kallm* ‘reed, straw’ < Lat. *calamus*; Alb. *kallënduor* ‘calendar’ < Lat. *calendārium*; Alb. *këndellë* ‘candle’ < Lat. *candēla*, etc.)¹. The pre-Albanian geminate **ll* (whence Alb. *l*) could point to an original consonantal cluster (e.g. **sl*, **ul*, also **ln* or **lg̃*)², however not to the single Proto-Indo-European phoneme **l*.

The Latin lexical material offers no possibility of determining the original form of the Indo-European root (Lat. *legō* may continue not only the Indo-European root **leg̃-*, but also **sleg̃-* or **uleg̃-*). For this reason, the Greek data must be taken into consideration.

The Greek lexical material indicates quite convincingly that the Indo-European root began with some consonantal cluster. Let us consider consecutively the confirmed forms:

1. Gr. Att. ἀμφιλέγω, Dor. ἀμφιλλέγω ‘to dispute, dispute about’ can be explained in two different ways: on the one hand, the referenced compound verb may contain the rare Greek prefix ἀμφί adv. ‘from both sides, on both sides, around, round, from all sides’ (e.g. cf. Gr. ἀφισ-βητέω ‘to go separate ways, disagree’), while on the other hand – the Greek common prefix ἀμφί adv. ‘on both sides, around, round’ (< Proto-Indo-European **h₂mbhi*). The geminate -λλ-, confirmed in the Doric dialect, needs clarification. Unfortunately, we have no possibility of deciding whether the Greek *verbum compositum* goes back to the Proto-Indo-European **h₂mbhis-leg̃-* (according to the traditional interpretation, that is what the universally accepted pre-form would look like), or to **h₂mbhisleg̃-* (alternatively, even to **h₂mbhi-uleg̃-*). The Albanian counterpart *mb(ë)ledh* ‘gather, clean up crops’ does not resolve the problem of the alternative, either, although there is no doubt that the Albanian *-l-* goes back to a kind of geminate.

2. The perfect form εἴλοχα might be derived from the reduplicated pre-form **se-slog̃-h₂e*, which goes back to the Proto-Indo-European root **sleg̃-*, showing a regular apophonic variant (with the vocalism **-o-*) as well as the aspiration of the velar consonant **g̃* in the proximity of the laryngeal sound **h₂*. The aforementioned derivation of εἴλοχα is fully understandable in the light of the

¹ See especially PEDERSEN (1895: 535–551). Examples of the Albanian borrowings from Latin are quoted after HAARMANN (1978: 200–271).

² DEMIRAJ (1997: 52, 55) derives the Albanian intervocalic *-l-* from IE. **-ln-* (e.g. Alb. *dal* ‘to go out’ = Gk. θάλλω ‘to bloom’ < IE. **dhalnō*), as well as from IE. **-lg̃-* (e.g. Alb. *mjel* ‘to milk’ = Gk. ἀμέλω ‘id.’ < IE. **h₂melg̃ō*).

perfect form εἴληφα (Dor. εἴλᾱφα), which is a continuation of the pre-form *h₁elāpha (< Proto-Indo-European *se-sleh₂g^h-h₂e). There is absolutely no doubt that the perfect forms λέλεχα and λέλεγα are secondary both in their structure and meaning (referring only to the sense ‘to speak’). The regular perfect form, derived from the root *leĝ-, would sound **λέλοχα (< Proto-Indo-European **le-loĝ-h₂e), which form is not in fact confirmed. Therefore, the perfect form εἴλοχα should be deemed original and archaic, whereas the forms λέλεχα and λέλεγα – secondary and analogous.

3. The Aeolian form (Alcaeus, Fr. 204, 2) ἐπίλλογος m. (RODRÍGUEZ SOMOLINOS 1998: 219, 247; LIDDELL, SCOTT 1996: Suppl. 127) corresponds to the Attic-Ionian form ἐπίλογος. The Aeolian geminate -λλ- remains inexplicable if the word in question stems from the traditionally reconstructed Proto-Indo-European pre-form *h₁epi-loĝos. The geminate in the Aeolian dialect must represent some consonantal cluster (*σλ or *Fλ). So, in our attempt to clarify the genesis of the Aeolian ἐπίλλογος, it is necessary for us to assume the archetype *h₁epi-sloĝos or *h₁epi-uloĝos. Thereby, the Indo-European root must have sounded *sleĝ- or, alternatively, *uleĝ-. The Aeolian form rules out the traditional reconstruction *leĝ-.

CONCLUSION

The internal analysis of the Greek material shows that there are such Greek forms as, e.g., Aeolian ἐπίλλογος, Attic εἴλοχα, which clearly evidence that the onset of the Greek verb λέγω included originally the consonantal cluster *sl- (or *ul). The Proto-Indo-European verbal root *leĝ- ‘gather’ is therefore hard to keep up in the light of the Greek data. The alternative reconstruction *sleĝ- (or *uleĝ-) is much better-grounded.

THE ROOT NOUN *SLEĜ-S F. ‘GATHERING, COLLECTION’

Other Indo-European languages (except for Greek, Albanian and Latin) show no evident verbal signs which might verify the traditional reconstruction *leĝ- or the reconstruction *sleĝ- suggested by me. It seems, though, that the Indo-European languages demonstrate the root noun which seems to come down to the archetype *sleĝ-s:

Latin *lĕx*, gen. sg. *lĕgis* f. ‘(legal) formula; contract, arrangement, law; resolution; regulation, rule’ probably represents the root noun whose original meaning was ‘collection’ (of legal rules, principles), relating directly to the Latin verb *legō* ‘gather, take off, tear off, pick, roll up, look through, read’ (BÜCHELER apud WALDE 1910: 424 f.; MERINGER apud MULLER 1926: 233; DE VAAN 2008: 337).

The foregoing derivation is not ruled out by the etymologists; for instance, the French linguists (ERNOUT, MEILLET 1951: 631, s.v. *lēx*) state: „Il est possible, mais non évident, que ce nom appartienne à la racine de lat. *legō*”. A similar position is maintained by WALDE, HOFFMANN (1938: 789), who nonetheless voice reservations about the semantic aspect.

In my opinion, exact equivalents of the Latin lexeme appear not only in Italic (cf. Marrucianian *līxs* nom. sg. ‘law’, Oscan *līgud* abl. sg., *līgis* abl. pl. ‘law’ and so on), but also in Old Indic, cf. Sanskrit *sraj-* f. (nom. sg. *sraḥ*, instr. sg. *srajā*, loc. sg. *sraji*) ‘wreath of flowers, garland, chaplet worn on the head, any wreath or garland, circle, series, chain’ (MONIER-WILLIAMS 1999: 1274), as well as *srajā-* f. ‘wreath of flowers / Blumenkranz’ (MAYRHOFER 1964: 553; 1996: 784). The Sanskrit noun might be derived straight from the Proto-Indo-European root **sleg-* ‘gather’ and could indicate ‘garland, wreath’ as a ‘collection (of flowers)’. Manfred MAYRHOFER considers the etymology of the Sanskrit word to be doubtful: “Nicht überzeugend erklärt” (MAYRHOFER 1964: 553); “Nicht sicher gedeutet” (MAYRHOFER 1996: 784).

If we accept that the Sanskrit appellative corresponds to the Latin word and refers to the verbal root meaning the activity of ‘gathering’, then the initial *sr-* makes it possible to independently call for the improved reconstruction of **sleg-* ‘to gather’ (instead of **leg-*).

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FAMILY MATTERS:
REMARKS ON THE REPRESENTATION OF FAMILY TIES
IN THE DYNASTIC PROPAGANDA OF THE PTOLEMIES

By

AGNIESZKA FULIŃSKA

When considering the Macedonian rule in Egypt, we must bear in mind the situation in that country, which differed from other provinces conquered by Alexander and afterwards ruled by his generals. In Egypt Alexander was greeted as the one who liberated the country from unholy Persian rule (HÖLBL 2001: 77), and, according to our sources, the local priesthood accepted him as the son of Ammon (Plut. *Alex.* 27), which in political terms translated to naming him the pharaoh, legitimate ruler of Egypt. Divine legitimacy was the most important trait of the king, whose primary role was to guarantee the maintenance and constant renewal of cosmic harmony which in turn was reflected in the social order (KOENEN 1993: 39), and ethnicity was of very little consequence for the Egyptians, who had no problems with accepting foreign dynasties, as long as they complied to the ages-long traditions of the state. Therefore, in order to establish his legitimacy in Egypt, Ptolemy's first move was to show his close ties with Alexander – which he did, both by establishing the official cult of the *ktistes* after kidnapping the funerary procession and bringing the body to Egypt¹, and also by means of what was supposed to become one of the dynasty's most powerful tool of propaganda: his coins. Satrapal issues of Ptolemy Soter show portraits of Alexander in elephant scalp on the obverse, and the first clearly propagandistic royal issue shows deified Alexander in a quadriga of elephants on the reverse, while Ptolemy's own portrait appears on the obverse (MØRKHOLM 1991: 63 f.). Only slightly later Alexander almost completely disappears from the coinage to be replaced by various members of the dynasty, among whom the most prominent places would be held by Ptolemy I for standard silver issues and his daughter Arsinoe II for large gold and silver denominations.

¹ The most exhaustive recent discussion of ancient sources concerning the burial in Alexandria from the archaeological point of view, together with further bibliography, is given by ADRIANI 2000: 5–22.

The history of the Ptolemies is also a long list of complicated family ties, including a number of incestuous unions, which provoked a very wide range of reactions from the highest praise to deepest contempt. The way in which the official propaganda made use of family bonds within the dynasty shows to what extent the public image of the rulers was influenced not only by the Greek or Macedonian traditions, but also by the requirements of the local mentality. The blending of Greek and Egyptian elements in Ptolemaic Egypt has recently become a growing interest for scholars of various fields; this paper aims at outlining some aspects of the use of family ties in the royal propaganda (as reflected first of all on royal coins and in official art, supported by textual evidence), and making preliminary assessments of how these two traditions shaped certain notions presented in art.

FATHERS AND SONS: CHILDREN OF THE GODS

It is disputable to what extent Ptolemy I exploited his possible ties with the Argead dynasty. Our main Roman source for such claims is Curtius Rufus, who in his *Historia Alexandri* (IX 8, 33) speaks about the controversies concerning his parentage and rumours that he may have been illegitimate son of Philip: “Sanguine coniunctus erat, et quidam Philippo genitum esse credebant: certe pelice eius ortum constabat”; likewise Pausanias (I 6, 2): Πτολεμαῖον Μακεδόνες Φιλίππου παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Ἀμύντου, λόγῳ δὲ Λάγου νομίζουσι: τὴν γὰρ οἱ μητέρα ἔχουσαν ἐν γαστρὶ δοθῆναι γυναῖκα ὑπὸ Φιλίππου Λάγῳ. These statements notwithstanding, we have no proof that such rumours were contemporary; besides, we also have an exactly opposite story in Justin (XIII 4, 10), who says: “Prima Ptolemaeo Aegyptus et Africae Arabiaeque pars sorte euenit, quem ex gregario milite Alexander uirtutis causa prouexerat”, portraying Ptolemy as a common soldier (therefore most likely of humble, or at least non-aristocratic origins), raised in rank due to his virtues². By all means the official patronym of the king was Λάγου with no pretensions to the descent from Philip. It does not imply, however, that Ptolemy did not perceive himself as (half-) brother of the *ktistes*: much as we have Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου for the Greeks, in Egypt he is in the first place the son of the god Ammon (or Zeus-Ammon in Alexandria). The latter descent is much easier to claim, and even if it was not the idea of Soter himself, we can easily trace it in only slightly later testimonies, those from the reign of his son, Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

² The discrepancy between these accounts makes an interesting separate case for the study of reception of Alexander's companions and Hellenistic kings; a thorough discussion of the extant sources, together with arguments against Ptolemy's use of the Argead connections, is given by COLLINS 1997.

Theocritus, the court poet of Philadelphus, included the following passage in his *Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Theocr. 17, 13–27):

ἐκ πατέρων οἷος μὲν ἦν τελέσαι μέγα ἔργον
 Λαγείδας Πτολεμαῖος, ὅτε φρεσὶν ἐγκατάθοιτο
 βουλάν, ἂν οὐκ ἄλλος ἀνὴρ οἷός τε νοῆσαι.
 τῆνον καὶ μακάρεσσι πατὴρ ὁμότιμον ἔθηκεν
 ἀθανάτοις, καὶ οἱ χρύσεος θρόνος ἐν Διὸς οἴκῳ
 δέδμηται· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος φίλα εἰδῶς
 ἐδριάει, Πέρσαισι βαρὺς θεὸς αἰολομίτρας.
 ἀντία δ' Ἡρακλῆος ἔδρα κενταυροφόνοιο
 ἴδρυται στερεοῖο τετυγμένα ἐξ ἀδάμαντος·
 ἔνθα σὺν ἄλλοισιν θαλίας ἔχει Οὐρανίδησι,
 χαίρων υἰωνῶν περιώσιον υἰωνοῖσιν,
 ὅττι σφέων Κρονίδης μελέων ἐξείλετο γῆρας,
 ἀθάνατοι δὲ καλεῦνται εἰοὶ νέποδες γεγαῶτες.
 ἄμφω γὰρ πρόγονός σφιν ὁ καρτερός Ἡρακλείδας,
 ἀμόφτετοι δ' ἀριθμεῦνται ἐς ἔσχατον Ἡρακλῆα.

From his ancestors what a man for bringing to completion a mighty deed was Ptolemy, son of Lagos, whenever he laid down in his heart a plan, the like of which no other man could have conceived. Him the father made equal in honor even to the blessed immortals, and a golden throne is built for him in the house of Zeus; beside him, kindly disposed, sits Alexander, the god of the dancing diadem, who brought destruction to the Persians. Facing them is established the seat of centaur-slaying Heracles, fashioned from solid adamant; there he joins in feasting with the heavenly ones and rejoices exceedingly in the grandsons of his grandsons, for the son of Kronos has removed old age from their limbs, and his very own descendants are called immortal. Both have as ancestor the mighty son of Heracles, and both trace their family back in the end to Heracles.

(trans. by R. HUNTER)

The text presents “double parentage” for Ptolemy Soter: he is called *Lageidas* in accordance with his patronym, but the whole passage is in fact devoted to his divine ancestry, which through Heracles – the mythical ancestor of the Argeads – leads directly to Zeus. Theocritus does not elaborate on how exactly Ptolemy should be related to the Temenid dynasty and therefore to Heracles and Zeus, but we may assume that it must be on the mother’s side rather than father’s (cf. the Adulis inscription of Ptolemy Euergetes, *OGIS* 54, line 4: τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ πατρὸς Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Διός, and also the Satyros list of the ancestry of Arsinoe, Soter’s mother; Theoph. *Ad Autol.* II 7), which, however, leaves us with the mysterious *patēr* in the text, who does not seem to be identical with Lagos, and may be either a metonymy for a more distant ancestor, or an indication at divine “siblinghood” with Alexander as the pharaoh – son of Ammon/Zeus. If we add to it the telltale symbol chosen by Ptolemy to represent his dynasty: an eagle on a thunderbolt, the programme appears more obvious.

Moreover, there are traces of a legend about Ptolemy’s childhood, possibly fabricated in the Hellenistic times:

ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος Ἀρσινόῃ ὀμιλήσας, εἶτα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ κατέλιπεν ἔγκαρπον, καὶ ὄγε τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα ἀγεται.

(*Suda* s.v. ἔγκαρπον, ε 74)

Philippos had a liaison with Arsinoe, but then left her fruit-containing by him, and he took Olympias as his wife³.

ὁς Ἀρσινόην ἔγημε τὴν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σωτῆρος μητέρα. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον οὐδέν οἱ προσήκοντα ἐξέθηκεν ἄρα ὁ Λάγος ἐπ' ἀσπίδος χαλκῆς. διαρρεῖ δὲ λόγος ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ὅς λέγει ἀετὸν ἐπιφοιτῶντα καὶ τὰς πτέρυγας ὑποτείνοντα καὶ ἑαυτὸν αἰωροῦντα ἀποστέγειν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄκρατον ἀκτίνα, καὶ ὅτε ὕοι, τὸν πολὺν ὑέτον: τοὺς γε μὴν ἀγελαίους φοβεῖν ὄρνιθας, διασπᾶν δὲ ὄρτυγας καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶ παρέχειν τροφήν ὡς γάλα.

(*Suda* s.v. Λάγος, λ 25)

It was he who married Arsinoe, the mother of Ptolemaios the Saviour. This Ptolemaios, not related to him at all, Lagos in fact exposed upon a bronze shield. And a story is current out of Macedonia that says an eagle used to visit [him] and, stretching down its wings while raising itself, protected him both from the direct ray of the sun and, whenever it rained, from heavy rain. It would terrify the ordinary birds, tear apart quails, and offer their blood to him as food, like milk.

This legend points at several archetypal elements of a myth: we have an exposed child, whose legitimate royal parentage is challenged, as in the case of many heroes, starting with Gilgamesh, but the boy survives thanks to divine intervention. In the case in question the intervening deity was certainly Zeus, since the protector of the baby was the sacred bird of the king of Olympus. Such claims would make Ptolemy a hypothetical brother of Alexander, both as son of Philip and as son of Zeus: the latter of far more importance for the Egyptian frame of mind, since it makes him a legitimate heir to the throne. Moreover, in Egyptian theological concepts of royalty the pharaoh by the power of his office became the son and living representative of Ammon, and it is known from Egyptian documents that Ptolemy Soter was considered legitimate pharaoh, after undergoing all necessary ceremonies and obtaining the Horus and throne names, since 304 BC (ŁUKASZEWICZ 2006: 42).

The choice of the eagle for the dynastic symbol does not constitute a break with the Macedonian tradition, since there is monetary evidence for the use of the very same image, an eagle on a thunderbolt, by Alexander on his bronzes (BELLINGER 1979: 27–29), also the Zeus from the most common silver types of Alexander is Zeus Aetophoros. The legend of being shielded by a bird's wings (as seen in *Suda* λ 25), possibly linked to the choice of “coat of arms”, may also be “translated” into meanings pertaining to Egyptian imagery: one of the

³ Translations of the *Suda* are taken from the *Suda* OnLine project (<http://www.stoa.org/sol/>), status as of July 2011.

most popular representations of Horus as the royal protector was that of a falcon shielding the king with its wings; also the protective goddesses Isis and Hathor were commonly presented as women spreading their winged arms around or above the figure of the pharaoh. Therefore a legendary matter concerning the birth of the founder of the dynasty may be intelligible both for the Greek and Egyptian audience, in both cases within their particular frames of mind.

This claim at divinity was furthered by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who established official cult of both his parents, organized games and processions to commemorate their death, and built a temple in which he erected chryselephantine statues of Soter and Berenice I (Theocr. 17, 121–125: *μοῦνος δὲ προτέρων τε καὶ ὦν ἔτι θερμὰ κονία | στειβομένα καθύπερθε ποδῶν ἐκμάσσειται ἴχνη, | ματρὶ φίλα καὶ πατρὶ θυώδεας εἴσατο ναούς· | ἐν δ' αὐτοῦς χρυσῶ περικαλλέας ἡδ' ἐλέφαντι | ἴδρυται πάντεσσι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄρωγούς.*). The queen's cult is also mentioned in Theocr. 15, 100 ff., when the celebration of the Adonia, led by her daughter Arsinoe II, is described. Of particular interest is the hint at chryselephantine, since it is generally agreed that this particular technique was reserved in Greece for statues of gods (LAPATIN 2001: 5 and 120 f. on the Ptolemaic chryselephantine statuary; for the discussion on to what extent the use of the technique *implied* divinity see CARNEY 2007: 35, n. 32); it was, however, allegedly Philip II who erected such statues of living persons in the Philippeum in Olympia for the first time (Paus. V 17, 4)⁴, which makes the case even more interesting.

Ptolemy II not only commemorated his parents by public celebrations and apotheosis, but also issued a series of coins, which clearly stated his dynastic programme. On one side of these coins jugate busts of Soter and Berenice were placed, and on the other – likewise composed busts of Philadelphus and his late second wife and full sister Arsinoe II. After a very short issue bearing the legend ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ on the Philadelphoi side (SVOR. 934) a pattern was established, and continued until the last occurrence of this type in the coinage of Ptolemy V Epiphanes: on the obverse⁵ were presented the busts of the current ruler and his deceased and deified wife with the legend ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ, while on the reverse remained the busts of their parents with the legend ΘΕΩΝ (SVOR. 603 and *passim*; cf. MØRKHOLM 1991: 103 f.).

Modern historians (BURSTEIN 1982: 211 f.; CARNEY 1987: 429) argue that Philadelphus' incestuous marriage, which will be discussed later in this paper,

⁴ This notion has recently been challenged on archaeological grounds (see CARNEY 2007: 60, n. 101); however, the presence of such statues of kings in Alexandria might add to the discussion in favour of Pausanias' tradition.

⁵ The attribution of the obverse and reverse is arbitrary in this case, and based on the Hellenistic pattern for royal issues: the ruler's head on the obverse, a protective divinity on the reverse; normally, legends appear on reverses only.

aimed first and foremost at strengthening his own (and his children's) position, since Ptolemy Soter left a number of progeny by at least three women: the hetæra Thais, Antipater's daughter and the official royal wife Eurydice, and finally Berenice whose only son was chosen to co-rule and succeed the king (for a full list see OGDEN 1999: 68). OGDEN (1999: 75) goes as far as suggesting that the "dynastic" issue was intended to show that Berenice's children were the only legitimate heirs to Ptolemy Soter but much as this notion may have had a part in the royal propaganda, to make it its main element seems too far-fetched. First, we hardly hear about serious fights for power or troubles with succession, especially in the light of Argead history, the not-so-far in time succession after Alexander, and also what the Lagid dynasty would face a few generations ahead; then, the scholar himself admits that Eurydice's sons were dead short after the marriage of the Philadelphi, therefore at least ten years prior to the minting of the issue. In 261/260 the competition with Philadelphus' half-brother would be history, and the arguments about the symbolic rivalry with Ceraunus over Arsinoe II, who at the time of her marriage to her full brother was formally their half-brother's widow, seem weak: Ceraunus, despite all his ambition and alleged cruelty (Justin XXIII 2), never contended for his father's kingdom, concentrating his efforts on the rule in Macedon, therefore hardly constituted a serious political enemy for Ptolemy II. The meaning of the "dynastic" issue seems to go much further than sibling squabbles.

This series of coins, consisting mostly of large denominations in gold, together with all other celebrations in the names of his parents, allowed Philadelphus to stress the continuity of the royal rule, and also emphasize the divine descent of himself and his sister-wife as children of the gods, and therefore also relatives of the main Macedonian divinity in Alexandria: the city's founder Alexander, son of Ammon. Both these notions were crucial for the Egyptian religious views of monarchy, but the dynastic continuity obviously formed an important part of Macedonian mentality, too, judging by the status of the Argeads in the kingdom, and the empire's dissolution after the extinction of the family: the death of Alexander IV prompted the emancipation of the satrapies and the adoption of royal titles by their rulers. Nonetheless, the idea of continuity was different in both traditions; the Egyptians expected an unbroken line of pharaohs to guarantee the cosmic order of Maat, and their actual descent from one another was considered of less consequence, while for the Macedonians it was the clan ruler position of the strongest of the Argeads that constituted dynastic family power. It is worth noting that until the time of Alexander the Argead rulers had not used the title of *basileus* (CARNEY 1991), possibly because of their strive to achieve the status of Hellenes who were hostile towards the monarchic ideas, but the beginning of Hellenism, right after the deaths of the last Argeads sees an emergence of such titles, which may support the hypothesis about them being an adaptation or translation of oriental royal nomenclature.

Far more controversial for the Greeks must have been the deification of the members of the family, if we consider the unwelcome reception of Alexander's claims at divinity; on the other hand there is strong evidence for ancestors' cult in Macedonia, and Curtius (IX 6, 26 and X 5, 29) twice mentions Alexander's plans of apotheosis of both his parents: "mihi maximus laborum atque operum meorum erit fructus, si Olympias mater immortalitati consecretur, quandoque excesserit uita", "gloriae laudisque ut iusto maior cupido, ita ut iuueni et in tantis sane remittenda rebus; iam pietas erga parentes, quorum Olympiada immortalitati consecrare decreverat, Philippum ultus erat" (cf. HAMMOND 2000: 150–152; WORTHINGTON 2008: 200 f.). Apparently there was less reluctance towards posthumous deifications than for lifetime acts of this kind, hence probably the cautious stance of Philadelphus in proclaiming his own divine status: Athenaeus (V 197c–203b) in his account of the *pompē* in honour of Ptolemy Soter and Berenice I does not mention the apotheosis of the current ruler. However, from one generation later the Ptolemies would describe themselves as gods ever since the beginning of their reigns.

SIBLINGS AND SPOUSES: *HIEROS GAMOS*

The Ptolemies did go further in exploring the Egyptian royal tradition and incorporating it into their dynastic practice, and accordingly to Egyptian habits the family ties played a major role here. What is worth emphasizing, these habits were in most cases alien, and even abominable to the Greeks, which shows how important the legitimization of rule was to the Macedonian kings. In Egypt, a major role in the image of the dynasty was ascribed to royal women – which was one of the elements that would be unthinkable for the Greeks and the Macedonians; we remember the famous statement of Alexander about his mother's ambitions, noted by Plutarch (*Alex.* 68; likewise Diod. XIX 11, 9): "The Macedonians would not suffer the rule of a woman". In Egyptian tradition, however, the royal mother or wife could play a number of important roles: from being the living representation of various goddesses (which includes titles such as the royal consort, the protectress of the king and his symbolic sister, the living goddess – all these alien to the Hellenic tradition) to the very mundane and political role of a regent during her son's childhood or husband's absence, and even co-ruler.

The major shift in the imagination and image of the dynasty comes with Ptolemy Philadelphus, son of Ptolemy Soter and his second wife, Berenice, and more precisely with his second marriage to his full sister, Arsinoe, known as Arsinoe II Philadelphus, who after a turbulent life as wife first to Lysimachus of Thrace and then to her half-brother Ptolemy Ceraunus, for a very short time ruler of Macedonia, fled back to Alexandria, where she deposed her brother's first wife

(and at the same time her own first husband's, Lysimachus' daughter, also named Arsinoe) and married him around the year 278/276. We know very little about this marriage, apart from such facts as that it did not produce offspring, and that Arsinoe II adopted the children from her brother's first marriage who formally were also her step-grandchildren. OGDEN (1999: 74) quotes a demotic inscription which suggests that Arsinoe I, who was sent away from Alexandria to Koptos, never lost the title of the "chief royal wife", which also may shed some light on the character of the sibling marriage. We also know that Ptolemy II had several mistresses, some of whom were awarded divine honours (which was not unseen earlier, as we learn from the case of Harpalus; see CARNEY 2000: 30–32), so we might tentatively assume that the union was purely formal. There is a passage in Theocritus 17 about "his noble partner, than whom no better wife embraces her young husband in the halls, loving with all her heart her brother and her husband" (17, 128–130, trans. by R. HUNTER), which may belong to the domain of rhetorics, being a standard *topos* of the encomium. It does, however, command attention in the context which will become clearer in a short time: according to Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.* 12 = *Mor.* 356A) Osiris and Isis were a model of extraordinary divine affection, united already in their mother's womb (Ἴσιον δὲ καὶ Ὅσιριν ἐρῶντας ἀλλήλων καὶ πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι κατὰ γαστρὸς ὑπὸ σκότῳ συνεῖναι). Moreover, both the predecessors and successors of the Philadelphoi served as models of ideal love: Soter and Berenice I (Theocritus) and Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II (Callimachus).

Of the greatest consequence in this context is the passage of the *Encomium* that follows (131–134):

ὦδε καὶ ἀθανάτων ἱερὸς γάμος ἐξετέλεσθη
 οὓς τέκετο κρείουσα Ῥέα βασιλῆας Ὀλύμπου·
 ἔν δὲ λέχος στόρνυσιν ἰαύειν Ζηνὶ καὶ Ἥρῃ
 χεῖρας φοιβήσασα μύροις ἔτι παρθένος Ἴρις.

In this manner too was accomplished the sacred marriage of the immortals whom Queen Rhea bore as kings of Olympus: it is one bed that Iris, to this day a virgin, prepares for Zeus and Hera, when she has cleansed her hands with perfumes.

(trans. by R. HUNTER)

What needs to be stressed here, is that however the marriage of the Olympian gods was considered a *hieros gamos*, it never served as model for the royal marriages among the Greeks; the idea of divine incest – brother–sister marriage within the royalty – is, however, present both in Persian⁶ and Egyptian cul-

⁶ SPOONER (1966: 55 f.) suggests that the case of the Achaemenids royal incest could have been adopted from local traditions of the conquered lands and therefore "may be seen in the same light as the Ptolemaic incestuous unions in Egypt, as designed to help reconcile an alien dynasty by adopting customs which the people would expect from an indigenous one". It was allegedly Cambyses who performed this kind of union for the first time in the history of the dynasty (Hdt. III 31), but

ture, in the latter being in fact one of the religious foundations of the pharaonic rule⁷. The historical sources give us what may seem a respectively short list of incestuous marriages among Middle-Eastern royalty, especially when compared to popular notions on the subject⁸; nonetheless, what really matters here is not the actual practice of incest, but the conviction of the contemporaries that it was a custom among Persians and Egyptians. It is therefore worth noting that for the ancient writers both the Egyptians and Persians were exemplary of incest practice⁹; Diodorus (I 27) emphasized the divine origin of Egyptian royal incest: νομοθετῆσαι δέ φασι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γαμεῖν ἀδελφὰς διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐν τούτοις τῆς Ἰσιδος ἐπίτευγμα [“The Egyptians also made a law, they say, contrary to the general custom of mankind, permitting men to marry their sisters, this being due to the success attained by Isis in this respect”, trans. by C.H. Oldfather], while Pausanias (I 7, 1) commented on the marriage of the Philadelphi: οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρσινόης ἀδελφῆς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρασθεὶς ἔγημεν αὐτήν, Μακεδόσιν οὐδαμῶς ποιῶν νομιζόμενα, Αἰγυπτίοις μὲντοι ὧν ἦρχε [“This Ptolemy fell in love with Arsinoe, his full sister, and married her, violating herein Macedonian custom, but following that of his Egyptian subjects”, trans. by W.H.S. Jones].

The royal couple in Egypt represented in the first place the divine couple of Osiris and Isis, whose re-union symbolised the return of harmony after the reign of chaos, and even if the full sibling marriages were not compulsory for the kings and scarcer than it may seem, they were most certainly never considered an act of abomination, unlike among the Hellenic peoples. According to the socio-anthropological analyses (see i.a. ADAMSON 1982; SHAW 1992; AGER 2005) the Greeks, e.g. the Athenians, accepted half-sibling marriages, even if not enthusiastically, while the Macedonians certainly accepted unions between close relatives, as for instance the marriage of Alexander's full sister Cleopatra to their maternal uncle shows, but apparently incest had no divine sanction here, unlike in other cultures, including Egypt and possibly Persia (cf. SCHEIDEL 2002; AGER

this notion has been challenged recently in the view of other sources (cf. DILLERY 2005: 395, also for refutation of possible Egyptian influence on Persian customs). In any case the tradition had been established in Persia long before Alexander and his Successors.

⁷ For a sociological analysis of possible explanations of the origins of this custom see MIDDLTON 1962: 608–610; from the point of view of Ptolemaic propaganda, however, the mythological/religious context, accepted by the ancient writers, is more important than any modern anthropological notion.

⁸ For a full list of such unions see ADAMSON 1982: 90 f.; in Egypt there are 14 attested full sibling marriages over the period of ca. two thousand years, with a definite peak of their popularity dating to the 18th and 19th Dynasties, in Achaemenid Persia three such marriages are attested over the period of two hundred years. The number may not be high, but it is not negligible, either, and together with other incestuous marriages (half-siblings, parent/child, aunt, uncle/nephew, niece) does constitute a case.

⁹ For the remarks on the Persians see Ael. *NA* VI 39; Dio Chrys. 10, 29 f.; Sext. Emp. *Pyrr*: III 23.

2006; FRANSEN 2009: 24 and 89). As far as full sibling marriage is concerned, however, “the Greeks clearly had a notion that it was abhorrent to the gods” (AGER 2005: 3).

That also the Greeks of Alexandria did not exactly accept what they apparently perceived as the royal antics, is best shown by the sad fate of the poet Sotades, who was reputedly condemned to death for the open criticism of the marriage (Plut. *De lib. ed.* = *Mor* 11a and Ath. XIV 620f–621a quote the line that allegedly earned him the sentence: εἰς οὐχ ὀσίην τρυμαλιῆν τὸ κέντρον ὠθεῖς). It is worth noting that the earlier marriage of Arsinoe to her half-brother, Ptolemy Ceraunus, did not seem to provoke critical comments from the ancient authors, which would corroborate the hypothesis that it was the full-sibling union which crossed the boundaries of what was acceptable for the Greek mind.

Whatever the motives behind this incestuous union, it was certainly perfectly exploited by Philadelphus, in particular after the death of his wife/sister ca. 270/268 (see CADELL 1998). Around the year 261/260 Philadelphus launched a full scale propaganda, in which he included both his deceased parents and his sister-wife, who from now on until almost the end of the dynasty would be the focal point in the ruler cult – again an element quite alien to the Greeks, who very rarely included women in their ancestral or heroic cults. We should, however, bear in mind the aforementioned hints at Alexander’s intention to deify both his parents, as well as the presence of women’s statues in the Philippeum, and generally higher status of aristocratic women in Macedonia, as archaeologically attested by burials (cf. for instance the tomb of “Eurydice” in Vergina; DROUGOU, SAATSATOGLOU-PALIADELI 2005: 183–186)¹⁰. The extent of the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphus, however, exceeded anything that had been seen anywhere both earlier in the Greek world and later in the Hellenistic kingdoms, and its most important aspect is that she became the protective goddess of the dynasty, identified with Isis-Aphrodite (cf. for instance testimonies in Posidippus 116 and 119), while one of her cult titles remained Thea Philadelphus, attested on numerous private votive tablets (BURSTEIN 1982: 202). What is even more interesting, is the fact that from now on, whether the spouse was the sister of the king or not, she would use the title of the “royal sister and wife”, as can be seen for instance in the inscriptions mentioning Berenice II Euergetis, wife of Ptolemy III (*OGIS* 61: βασιλίσσα Βερενίκη ἡ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνή; see BINGEN 2007: 32), one of the few queens whose family ties with the dynasty were not so very close, as she was only the king’s distant cousin. Moreover, MODRZEJEWSKI (1955: 433) observes that in earlier Egyptian poetry the word “sister” could have the meaning of “beloved”, which clearly points at the ambiguity

¹⁰ Also recent, as yet unpublished archaeological finds from the royal necropolis in Vergina show the long established high position of Macedonian aristocratic women; for an overview of current research in the field see KOTTARIDI 2011.

of the term; FRASER (1972: 217) seems to adopt an over-cautious, let alone moralistic stance when he explains the title Philadelphus in terms of purely “fraternal love” and symbolic union, but whatever the actual character of the marriage as such, it certainly evoked the divine/royal incest. Such attitude in scholarship may be derived from Theocritus’ encomiastic mode, and therefore disregard the local traditions that stood behind what was acutely pointed out by BURTON (1995: 3): “The Ptolemaic family’s enterprising manipulations of Greek cultural norms, as exemplified by Arsinoë’s strikingly successful dynastic career in Egypt, would have presented many challenges to artistic imagination and tact”.

To fully understand the reasons for such incestuous unions and their meaning in the legitimization of the rule, we must look further than just the political role of the king. The most important, most primordial function of the pharaoh was the constant preservation of the harmony of the universe (the Maat), whose embodiment – as the incarnation of the goddess, the personified Maat – was the queen, also in iconography (the feathers of Maat constitute frequently a part of the queens’ headdresses, also in Ptolemaic times): “The royal women are compositionally interchangeable with the goddess Maat. Their role as companion of the king echoes that of the relationship between Ra and his daughter, between the creator and the principle of cosmic order” (TROY 1986: 64). AGER (2005: 21) argues that the myth of Isis and Osiris (or Zeus and Hera) is only the surface image – very useful in the visual or textual propaganda – of the true archetypal and sacred dimension of the unity of the universe:

Royal incest should be seen in the light of this powerfully creative incest of the cultural imagination. Royalty is liminal state, at the boundaries of the society, and perhaps at the borders between human and divine. By committing incest, by stepping beyond those bounds, royalty evokes that creative power. [...] By indulging in an act representative of chaos, royalty may deliberately provoke and flirt with disaster, only to overcome it and restore the order necessary for the continuance of society.

We have seen this idea converted into poetic language in Theocritus, who may have flirted with the Egyptian myth of Osiris and Isis, disguising it in the Greek costume of Zeus and Hera (at the same time preserving its deeper meaning for the Hellenized Egyptian reader), but how did it translate into the language of arts? Representation of this concept posed no problem at all for Egyptian art: the pharaoh and his wife had been portrayed in divine attire and with divine attributes as early as the Old Kingdom, and Ptolemaic Egyptian style art does not differ significantly from these representations (see STANWICK 2002: 43–47). It was far more difficult to grasp this idea by the means of Greek art, however, and much as we may see Greek style sculptural portraits of the Ptolemies with divine attributes, the most interesting case is presented on the coins.

As has been mentioned before, around the year 261/260 Ptolemy Philadelphus launched two very important issues consisting of large denominations in gold and

silver. At this point it should be stressed that the “dynastic” series, apart from being a direct statement of divine ancestry – not through Ammon or Alexander, but the king’s own deified parents – the series’ iconography shows the importance of the queen’s presence by her husband’s side, a concept unknown in the Greek world and never before represented on coins¹¹. This model would be imitated later in the Seleucid kingdom (Cleopatra Thea and her husbands) and Rome, and, interestingly enough, also on coins that show deities: Zeus and Dione in Epirus, Sarapis and Isis on coins of Ptolemy III, the Dioscuri.

Unlike the jugate heads type, the second series was dedicated entirely to the deceased queen; it shows the portrait of Arsinoe on the obverse, and a *dikeras* – the double cornucopia, a new attribute, developed especially for the cult of the queen (Ath. XI 497b–c) – together with the legend ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ on the reverse. This type would be minted as long as until the time of Ptolemy XII Auletes in the name of a number of subsequent queens: Berenice II, Arsinoe III, Cleopatra I, Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III, Cleopatra Selene (wife of Ptolemy IX Soter II), and finally Cleopatra Tryphaena (SvOR. 1061 and 1062; 1120 and 1163–1165; 1241, 1242 and 1374; 1498; 1499 and 1500; 1726; 1841 resp.).

Cleopatra VII was the only queen never to mint this issue, but it is hard to decide whether this was intended as breaking with the tradition of Arsinoe II being at the centre of the dynastic cult, and to establish Cleopatra as the most important living goddess (Nea Isis), or whether it was simply due to the fact that Cleopatra VII did not mint gold coins at all, and after Ptolemy III’s short continuation of the silver decadrachms these issues were solely gold octadrachms (with one exception of gold tetradrachm for Cleopatra III). The only allusion or connection to Arsinoe’s cult on the last Cleopatra’s coins is the *dikeras* present on the Paphos bronze issue showing the ruling queen in the guise of Isis/Aphrodite with Horus/Eros/Caesarion (SvOR. 1874).

Thus, the cult of Arsinoe was established as the central point for the royal women, and all queens that followed partook in her divinity, becoming on the mythical, sacred level the sisters of their husbands, whether, like Arsinoe III or the later Cleopatras, they were real siblings, or, like Berenice II and Cleopatra I, only more or less distant cousins. For Cleopatra I, daughter of Antiochus III, therefore a very distant relative of the Ptolemies, and her husband Ptolemy V, the titulature goes as follows in one of the demotic texts: “Pharaoh Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the father loving gods, with his sister, his wife Queen Cleopatra, the manifest gods” (PESTMAN 1967: 42). Even Cleopatra Berenice, who in her lifetime was wife of her uncle, Ptolemy X Alexander I, and her first

¹¹ The most important of extremely rare early examples of jugate representation dates to the time of satrapal campaign of Balacros and Perdicas against Laranda, ca. 324/323 BC, and shows two male heads (SNG France 2311).

cousin, Ptolemy XI Alexander II, as well as co-ruler of her own father Ptolemy IX Soter II (HÖLBL 2001: 212), was always referred to as “wife and sister”.

The statues of the “divine siblings” (*Theoi Adelphoi*) were placed in temples all over Egypt, becoming the *Synnaoi Theoi* for both local deities and Alexander, a notion quite popular in the pharaonic times (NOCK 1930: 4–16). Such practice is again known from the pharaonic times, and most likely served first of all the unification of Alexandrian cults with the Egyptian tradition (it is worth noting that the cult of city founders is largely unknown in Egypt, unlike in Greece, so this aspect of Alexander’s heroization or divinization was alien to the Egyptian mind). After the Philadelphoi the other royal couples would join the gods in their temples, forming a long line of divine rulers. The artistic epitome of the latter are several Egyptian style monuments, for instance the Edfu relief from the temple of Horus, on which Ptolemy IV makes offerings to Horus and his deified ancestors, back to Ptolemy Soter and Berenice I (see QUAEGBEUR 1978: 247 f.).

An interesting case of a complicated family situation which influenced the royal titlature can be observed at the beginning of the decline of the dynasty, in the time of Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III, mother and daughter, who for several years were formally two wives of Ptolemy VIII, brother of the former and maternal uncle of the latter. Since Cleopatra II’s first husband (and father of Cleopatra III) was the much beloved in Alexandria Ptolemy VI, while their younger brother was generally hated by the people, there was a lifelong rivalry between the siblings, as well as mother and daughter, which resulted in the division of titles: Cleopatra II retained the title of “queen-sister”, ἡ ἀδελφή, while Cleopatra III was called on inscriptions and papyri “queen-wife”, ἡ γυνή (HÖLBL 2001: 195 f.). Even though the latter title seems to bestow actual political power, the former, being more important from the religious point of view, reflects Cleopatra II’s actual position: for much of the time of the difficult co-rule of the Philometores trio she apparently held the upper hand, ruling for 57 years.

MOTHERS AND SONS: RULING QUEENS

As has been mentioned before, apart from introducing the cult of his sister/wife, Ptolemy II also established the cult of his (and his wife’s) own parents, first of all by organising a huge ceremony, the Ptolemaea in the memory of Soter and Berenice I, which would later become a cyclic event in Alexandria (MACURDY 1932: 43; HÖLBL 2001: 94). The Dionysiac *pompē* or procession which formed a major part of the celebrations, included gilded statues of Alexander and of the king’s parents. In the aforementioned account of this event preserved in Athenaeus (V 197c–203b) there are mentions of temples dedicated to these deities; also the discussed earlier “dynastic” issue shows Soter and Berenice as protective gods of the ruling couple. It is not certain whether the Ptolemaia were

organized for the first time in 282, following the death of Ptolemy Soter, or later, in 279, when Berenice died; with the latter event, and subsequent deification of the late queen, another celebration was for certain connected – the Adonia organized by her daughter, Arsinoe, and described in Theocritus 15 (*The Adoniazusai*). Whatever the exact chronology of these festivals, both these occasions celebrated the parents of the ruling couple. This aspect of dynastic continuity was probably more important for the Macedonians, for whom the idea of kingship had been very much connected with the continuity of the Argead house¹², than for the Egyptians, who had been accustomed to constant shifts of power within the pharaonic families; as long as the rule continued and received divine sanction, the actual parentage was less important, since the king's association was in the first place with the gods.

The continuing tradition of the title Philometor points at the role of the mothers as regents during the childhood of the heirs, at legitimate descent in case of ruling or co-ruling queens, while together with Philopator it hints at the divine qualities of the previous generations, rather than at true affection, especially that the dynasty's history in the 2nd century was not a paragon of perfect family relationship. In one case, that of Ptolemy VI, for whom his mother Cleopatra I was regent for several years, the title Philometor was almost certainly given by the queen, since in the early texts only very simple titulature appeared, while the title Philometor was added only after Ptolemy V's death, when Cleopatra I rose to eminence as the actual ruler, as attested by the telltale demotic formula (PESTMAN 1967: 46): “the pharaohs Cleopatra the mother, the manifest goddess, and Ptolemy son of Ptolemy, the manifest god” (son of Ptolemy being the translation of the patronym)¹³.

The divine parentage seems to have received more attention than the biological ancestry; the Hathoric/Isiac aspect of the queens makes a case for complex incest. The inscriptions accompanying the Edfu relief describe Berenice I as the “god's mother”, which makes a counterpoint to Hathor's and Isis' epithet of “the king's divine mother”. Even though it is usually Isis who is evoked in the Ptolemaic inscriptions, the goddess seems to share many aspects with Hathor, who ever since early pharaonic times was perceived as an archetype of the female, as well as the royal spouse and mother, who combined two endogamic relationships, being at the same time the mother, daughter and companion to Ra,

¹² Whatever the actual practice of succession (see a recent discussion by MITCHELL 2007 for various arguments and bibliography), Curtius (X 6, 10–13) probably conveys genuine feelings for the dynastic continuity which became particularly important in the Hellenistic age.

¹³ AS WHITEHORNE (2001: 86) rightly observes, the order which puts Cleopatra's name in the first place, before that of her son's, is prevalent in demotic texts, while the Greek inscriptions and papyri seem to prefer the son–mother order, not excluding, however, the other version. It may reflect the delicate matter of a woman's position in both traditions: easily acceptable in the role of regent or even ruling queen for the Egyptians, hardly tolerable in this position by the Macedonians.

and the spouse and mother to Ra-Horus (TROY 1986: 53 f.). Thus she became the personification of all aspects of the feminine and helped to form the archetype of *hieros gamos*. By the Hellenistic times both Hathor and Isis were syncretised with Aphrodite, therefore the identification of the queens with the goddess was in a way triple, and both in its religious meaning and in iconography it retained the traits of the three. Arsinoe II was depicted in Egyptian style temple and votive reliefs with a number of variations of composite crowns, in their iconography and meaning alluding to many deities and their aspects (DILS 1998; NILSSON 2010); some of the combinations are believed to have been designed specifically for the queen's divine cult. For instance a relief from Tanis (British Museum, inv. No. EA 1056) combines the attributes of many divinities: the vulture cap (featuring the symbol at Nekhbet the protectress, worn by Isis in her royal aspect), the red crown of Lower Egypt, the full Isis crown (the ostrich feathers symbolizing Maat, the solar disc, the cow's horns), and ram horns.

Among the first generations of the Ptolemies there is one instance when a separate cult is confirmed in the sources for a prematurely deceased child: the daughter of Ptolemy III and Berenice II, also named Berenice, who died in her childhood, was announced a goddess on her own, protectress of her parents (KOENEN 1993: 28) – almost as a female counterpart of Horus/Harpocrates who was the traditional protective deity of the pharaohs. The association of the queens-mothers with Isis, however, gave additional legitimacy to their sons, stressing their position as incarnations of Horus. The character of Arsinoe's deification and her role as a dynastic deity also added to the sacred legitimacy of the Ptolemies: since she was named "daughter of Ammon" (SMITH 1988: 40), she became the symbolic sister of Alexander, thus constituting the link not only with the Egyptian god but also with the divine founder and patron of the dynasty. All her "progeny" was therefore related to Alexander through Ammon, and this link may have formed a counterpart of the alleged descent of Ptolemy Soter from Zeus. Since Zeus and Ammon were one both in the Hellenistic religious frame of mind, and in the legends of Alexander (the "Pseudo-Callisthenes" romance tradition) which by all probability originated from the Alexandrian court and intellectual circles (STONEMAN 1991: 10 f.), the Zeus/Ammon related "siblingship" of Arsinoe Philadelphus and Ptolemy Soter reflected the complex relationships between Egyptian deities.

In the later period of the Ptolemaic rule in Egypt a shift in the perception and exploitation of the mother-son relationship within the royal house can be observed. Much as the queens of the dynasty used to play a major role in the political affairs of the state, it is with the dominating figure of Antioch III's daughter, Cleopatra I Syra, that we begin to see the passing of power from the hands of men into the hands of women. Cleopatra I expanded her influence and position beyond that of the king's divine consort (OGDEN 1999: 86), but it would be her granddaughter, Cleopatra III, who – probably in some kind of opposition to her unpopular husband but also in collaboration with him against her enormously

popular mother – managed to assume for the first time a lifetime title of “living Isis” (as *Isis megalē mēter theōn*), and, moreover, the formal title of the “royal calf” for her son, who according to a temple legend was supposed to be born on the day when the sacred bull Apis died (WHITEHORNE 2001: 124 f.). It was also Cleopatra III who chose for her sons the dynastic names of *Alexandros* and *Soter* – clearly referring to the divine ancestors of the dynasty. She was therefore the first Ptolemaic ruler who appreciated the power of the image of the goddess as mother – a mother to Horus the pharaoh – and not only wife and sister (cf. WHITEHORNE 2001: 96 f.), and fully exploited it in her propaganda.

Unfortunately, no certain portraits of the early Cleopatras are preserved, so it is almost impossible to say to what extent these associations were translated into art. Nonetheless, the few images in round sculpture and glyptic with the characteristic “corkscrew” hairstyle (e.g. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. No. Ma 3546; Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. No. J 745), as well as the eminence of the image of a similar Isis/Demeter representation on the 2nd century bronzes, may be indicative of the growing importance of the goddess as associated with the royal women.

The last Ptolemaic queen, Cleopatra VII, who after two quite unfortunate (and probably ill-fated from the beginning) formal marriages with her brothers – sole female rule was not widely accepted by both Greeks and Egyptians – eventually made her son Ptolemy XV Caesarion formal co-ruler, and officially exerted power in his name, in the long tradition of royal mothers acting as regents. She was the only queen to portray herself on her coins with her son; the earlier issue of Ptolemy VI (British Museum, inv. No. 1978-10-21-1) bears the portraits of the young king and his mother on the obverse and reverse respectively. The already mentioned Paphos issue of Cleopatra VII (SVOR. 1874) is the only monetary example of the exploitation of both the relationship between a ruling mother and her minor son, and its associations with the goddess Isis/Aphrodite represented as a mother suckling her child. The little bronze of the last and greatest queen of the Ptolemaic dynasty sums up the three centuries long history of binding the family relationships of the kings, queens and their progeny with the ancient traditions of the direct link between royalty and divinity in Egypt.

On a stele from the Louvre (E 27113) Cleopatra VII was also portrayed either as a pharaoh worshipping the suckling Isis, or as the goddess being worshipped by her brother or son as pharaoh (the image does not allow for certainty as far as identification of the persons present goes), and the stele combines the purely Egyptian style of representation with a Greek inscription – a fine and telltale example of the ultimate merging of all the elements: the Greek and the Egyptian, the royal and the divine, the masculine and the feminine.

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INDIVIDUAL NATIVITY, “BEGINNING OF LIFE” CONTROVERSY
AND OTHER PROBLEMS: PROEM AND STRUCTURE OF BOOK
THREE OF THE *TETRABIBLOS**

By

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Composition of individual nativity and problems involved in respective theory and practice of horoscopy, such as e.g. definition of the individual beginning of life (and, implicitly, the conception versus birth controversy), are of necessity among the issues of particular interest to one trying to uncover the mechanisms of Ptolemy’s exposition in the *Tetrabiblos*. The complexities involved in the subject, closely related to anti-astrological debate current among the intellectuals of Greco-Roman world since the Hellenistic era, gain fundamental importance as the author of the *Tetrabiblos* tries to invest astrology with scientific (or Aristotelian) robes: indeed, the justification of the theory that individual *indoles*, *mores* and, consequently, actual choices of a human being may be effectively motivated by fully external circumstances (or to put it more precisely, by stellar circumstances) at a single moment in time (and this, effectively, is the main premises of the genethliology), seems to demand considerable argumentative skills. In making such an attempt one is forced to navigate the somewhat treacherous waters of ancient predestination theory, epistemology issues and, indeed, the soul-lore.

* This study forms a part of a much larger study devoted to the exploration of Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos*, with particular emphasis on Book Two and in many points relates to my article published in “Eos” XCVIII 2011. I would like to thank the anonymous reader for “Eos” for his valuable suggestions and critical insight.

The translation of the *Tetrabiblos* quoted throughout is that of the Loeb edition (Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, edited and translated by F.E. ROBBINS, Cambridge, MA. 1940). As for the Greek, I employed Simonetta FERABOLI’s edition (Claudio Tolomeo, *Le previsioni astrologiche*, a cura di S. FERABOLI, Vicenza 1985); hence, chapter and paragraph numbers are given according to this source.

Regardless of the stand we take with regard to GIANNANTONI’s contentions concerning the post-Carneadean origin of the polemic (cf. GIANNANTONI 1994), Cicero’s testimony in *De fato* 15 f. leaves us in no doubt concerning the pervasiveness of the respective arguments among the late Republican intellectuals.

As for the conception vs. birth issue, the dilemma is clear enough: should an astrologer follow the naturalist line and assume that the stellar influence is at its most powerful at the moment of foetus-formation (which would leave him open to the charges of imprecision and charlatanry¹) or should he assume the more practical (and effective) approach and base his investigation upon the birth-time (a step possibly hampering the explanation derived from the Aristotelian *De generatione* and yet, the practicality notwithstanding, exposing its supporter to charges of imprecision and self-contradiction). The choice made by Ptolemy himself will necessarily be influenced both by the intrinsic biases of the lore when regarded as a scientific enterprise (understood as Aristotelian *episteme*) and by his personal preferences. Hence, the choice and the theoretical support adduced in its defence must be of particular interest to anyone bent upon uncovering the principles organizing the *Tetrabiblos*.

The relevant discussion seems late in coming, being found as far as Book Three of the *Tetrabiblos*. Still, this postponement is easily explained once we realize that this book opens the discussion of genethliology: hitherto, the exposition was limited to the basic tenets of the doctrine (according to Ptolemy) and then, to the universal (mundane) prognostication. It is only after the presentation of the principles and of the general application of his theory that Ptolemy comes to the possibly most complex issue related to astrology, namely the individual prognostication². The ground for the exposition has been carefully prepared – Book Two drew to a close with a discussion of singular meteorological events that serve to define fate of a given locality or region, events limited in time, yet influencing the *periechon* for considerable periods of time (II 14), and prior to this, a close correspondence was established between the stars and the general *indoles* and *mores* of various ethnic groups (II 2–4). Furthermore, Ptolemy's argumentative skills brought about acceptance of the sway exercised by more spectacular celestial phenomena as well as by the first *noumenia* of the year. By the opening of Book Three, the reader of the *Tetrabiblos* is well acquainted with the concept of deep elemental relationship between sublunary (and human) nature and the surrounding world – in the essence, we are influenced by the elements of cold, dry, humid and hot in a manner resembling that so manifestly characteristic of our surroundings.

Thus, in Book Three, a time has come to introduce and defend the concept of individual *thema*. Defence of the possibility of such individualized prognostication,

¹ The conception theory comes under the scrutiny of Sextus in *AM* V 50–89; the philosopher manifestly enjoys exposing the contradiction between the alleged importance of the Ascendant point (to be established with the utmost precision) and the empirical impossibility of establishing the conception time.

² Interestingly, one may note that this order (from the general to the individual) reflects the principle of the priority of *causae maiores* asserted in *Tetrabiblos* II 1.

involving (among others) the effective assertion of the individual (or, possibly individualizing) influence of the heavenly bodies, is intrinsically connected with at least three highly controversial issues: the birth vs. conception debate (when precisely is the human individuality formed, defined and brought to fulfillment?), the epistemic issue (can we pinpoint the actual formative moment once we establish which it is to be?), and, finally and implicitly, the free will problem (are the decisions we seem to make ours, or are they pre-formed at the same moment that our life starts?). Strikingly, Ptolemy remains abreast of all three issues, and the opening chapters of Book Three of his *Tetrabiblos* bear witness to his argumentative skills in the manipulation of the problems involved. Coming on the heels of the universal exposition of Book Two, chapters III 1–4 come as a development of theories contained in this latter, relying on the principle so persuasively defended in the exposition of astrological chorography, i.e. on the assumption that human nature is shaped by the effective mixture of four elements. Yet, we need to realize that several things are at stake at this point: while it was relatively easy to argue in favour of some general features and changes having their origins in the movement and respective positions of the stars, the implications of an individual horoscope may seem at best daunting. First, there is the contingency issue: after all, one of the principal differences between astronomy and astrology lies in this latter having to allow for the contingencies (*endechomena*)³. Linked to the basic assumption that a human is a cause of his own actions, the premises formulated in *Tetrabiblos* I 1 allow for something bordering on accidental motion, thereby acquitting any educated and careful astrologer of the blame should his *thema* prove inadequate. Still, acceptance of contingencies necessarily reflects on possibilities of prognostication: in fact, Ptolemy is known to have emphasized that a nativity establishes the overall tendencies but is not necessarily true in the sense associated with the word in the predestination debates of his era⁴. To quote the relevant passage of the *Tetrabiblos*:

καὶ τῶν σπερμάτων γὰρ κατὰ γένος ὑποκειμένων τῶν αὐτῶν (οἷον ἀνθρωπίνων) καὶ τῆς τοῦ περιέχοντος καταστάσεως τῆς αὐτῆς, παρὰ τὸ τῶν χωρῶν διάφορον πολὺ καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς οἱ γεννώμενοι διήνεγκαν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἱ δὲ τροφαὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθη πάντων τῶν προκειμένων ἀδιαφόρων ὑποτιθεμένων συμβάλλονται τι πρὸς τὰς κατὰ μέρος τῶν βίων διαγωγάς.

(I 2, 19)

For if the seed is generically the same, human for example, and the condition of the ambient the same, those who are born differ much, both in body and soul, with the difference of countries. In addition to this, all the aforesaid conditions being equal, rearing and customs contribute to influence the particular way in which a life is lived.

³ Cf. KOMOROWSKA 2009.

⁴ Cf. FREDE 2003 or BOBZIEN 1998: 97–119.

Thus, it is not stars alone (or at least not the stars directly) that decide our course of life: breeding and education contribute to our individual *indoles*, hence effectively influencing our life choices. Still, one may note, such a notion of fate, understood in terms of natural endowment, inclusive of the concept of natural preservation of species (humans breed humans, etc.), seems, at least at the very first glance, to agree with the view not unknown in the period, namely with the idea that one may still modify his natural disposition, a concept so succinctly invoked by Alexander of Aphrodisias in his *De fato*:

While the nature and fate of each individual does not have a free passage in all things, but some things come to be contrary to it as well, the prophets reveal the things that come to be in accordance with fate, as indeed do the physiognomist. At any rate, when Zopyrus the physiognomist said certain extraordinary things about the philosopher Socrates which were very far removed from his chosen manner of life, and was ridiculed for this by Socrates' associates, Socrates said that Zopyrus had not been in fact mistaken; *for he would have been like that as far as his nature was concerned, if he had not, through the discipline that comes from philosophy, become better than his nature.*

(VI 171, 9–17, transl. by R.W. SHARPLES)

In the essence, what Ptolemy does in the opening chapters of his work is to allow for modifications parallel to those that are implied in the text of Alexander, i.e. to make room for the possibility of posterior influence affecting and modifying, possibly even thwarting an otherwise natural development. Moreover, in his acknowledgement of the power exercised by the everyday circumstance, and hence, by the actual education, Ptolemy appears to embrace the notion of ethical dispositions being shaped through actual practice, a notion so well known from Aristotle's ethical writings and quite popular among the contemporary Peripatetics, indeed, forming the underlying principle of Aspasius' *Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics* and Alexander's *On fate*⁵. In allowing for this element of development and evolution, he clearly strives to preserve the human *autoteleia* in the sense of causality regarding one's own actions. Clearly, this introduces into the astrological practice an element of uncertainty: if human individual is endowed with free will, one has to make allowances for the eventuality (albeit not very likely) he will act contrary to his established or predefined nature; which, in turn, would render an astrological prognosis open to errors⁶ – yet, simultaneously, it would vindicate its validity as far as the discovery of the given,

⁵ In the latter case, the idea of *habitus* results in a profound rift in the treatise; indeed, it seems questionable whether the well entrenched *habitus* do actually allow for the freedom of action – a point raised by DONINI 1987. On the Aristotelian influences in Ptolemy's writings, cf. BOLL 1894. For the possible Platonic elements, see TAUB 1994: 19–38 *et al.*

⁶ One may mention that for Alexander a sage may act contrary to his nature precisely in order to refute the theory of predestined character (*De fato* 29). Hence, Ptolemy's reservations would immunize the astrological discipline against the charge of occasional deficiency/failure.

inborn nature is concerned (after all, Zopyrus is right as far as his assertions concern Socrates' natural dispositions). Thus, in chapter I 2 Ptolemy sides, quite manifestly, with the idea predominating in his time (fate as parallel to nature): in this context, it might be of particular interest to consider the theories he espouses in *Tetrabiblos* III 1–3. Yet, to understand his intention (not to mention his achievement), one would need to invoke the assumptions standing behind the contemporary astrological lore, assumptions that among other demands, call for acceptance of overwhelming, all-encompassing force of destiny, for the existence of demonic forces closely involved in the fulfillment of its will, and sometimes, for the possibility of divine intervention in behalf of particular individual⁷. Quite clearly, such a theory remains far from what Ptolemy had in mind when composing the introductory chapters of the *Tetrabiblos*: neither his allegations concerning the element of contingency intrinsic to the sublunary affairs, nor his claim that human nature can be modified through circumstances such as e.g. education seem to agree with Vettius Valens' more radical view of astrological prognosis. Neither, one may note, does he make any references to intermediate beings, whether helpful or intent on harm – as it stands, his world is that of *Metaphysics* Lambda, with the outer spheres influencing the universe below. Instead, his concept allows for the variable, for the uncertainty, in which it preserves the division of the universe derived ultimately from Plato, that is the division into the realm of the regular and the immutable (celestial spheres) and that which is far from regular and, hence, remains subject to accidental motion either because of the presence and the interference of the matter (as postulated by the Platonists) or because of the distance separating our sphere (i.e. the sublunary world) from the realm of original source of motion (which is the Aristotelian explanation). Simultaneously, the same concept preserves the potentially autonomous nature

⁷ The most obvious source of comparative data is the thick manual fathered by Vettius Valens, the *Anthologiarum libri*. Albeit far from philosophical consistency where the doctrine of fate is concerned, it seems to indicate that most events do happen regardless of human will: supporting this theory with the famous lines attributed to Cleanthes, the Antiochene claims that even daemonic help remains powerless when faced with a preordained event (IX 12), and that an individual is as a matter of fact very much in a condition of a helpless slave confronted by a cruel and capricious master (V 6; VI 1, 4–6). Moreover, according to his very words, fate is *ametatheton*, immutable, its decree coming necessarily true regardless of our feelings in the matter (V 6, 4). As a result, the possibility of knowing the future (and therefore, of getting to know our individual fate) is a way to reconcile ourselves to the inevitable and as such, remains a gift of the divine providence, intended to assuage the possible calamities. Yet, the basic premises of Valens serve to facilitate the assertion that a well prepared individual nativity does disclose all the mysteries of the respective individual's future: moreover, a *thema* constructed and interpreted by a qualified (this is a tricky point, as qualified alludes to the moral as well as professional qualifications) astrologer is bound to prove true. In fact, an ideal prognosis would necessarily come true (after all, it discloses what has already been decided), even if we allow for the small margin of personal contribution to the individual life (such as, e.g. the basic assent to the order of the universe). For a detailed discussion of the issue, see KOMOROWSKA 2004: 294–334.

of human action, i.e. renders a man capable of acting outside of what for Valens would constitute the dictates of fate.

It seems clear that the assumptions made in Book One, while they were of considerable use in the exposition of the universal astronomy within Book Two, might have hampered the argument in favour of the individual *thema*. Yet, the basic principle of the influence seems acceptable (if not self-manifest) enough: humans are linked to the stars by the presence of elements in their very constitution: the prevalence of hot tends to produce those of violent temper, quick intellect, etc. while, by contrast, the prevalence of the wet may result in melancholic disposition, etc.⁸ The basic principle being as it is, it seems reasonable to ask whether the careful, gradual development of the *synoikeiosis* doctrine in the exposition of the universal astrology does not contribute to the reader's acceptance of the tenet that a similar principle might be taken as an explanation of individual characteristics. Indeed, as we observe the careful move from the interest in the regions of the world, through the nations inhabiting different lands and cities, to the fate of an individual, we realize that Ptolemy is making a gradual descent from the universal level (of which the pinnacle is the prognostication of the celestial movement that is the theme of the *Syntaxis*) to the level of individuality, from *ta katholou* to *ta kath' hekaston*⁹, at the same time describing the arrangement of the universe in terms resounding of the Aristotelian doctrine of movement. Moreover, yet another point of notice, the exposition of Book Two serves to introduce and, subsequently, reinforce the very notion of *thema* as related to a precise time-point, an assumption that will necessarily become essential in the development of the genethliology argument: as entire regions are affected by a single event for months to come, while entire cities have their destiny laid out by the moment of origin (or, for that matter, by the ruler's birth date), we are affected by the circumstances of our birth. In fact, having read his way through the preceding two books of the *Tetrabiblos*, Ptolemy's reader is likely to begin Book Three in a frame of mind quite inclined to accept the tenet of individualized stellar influence: long exposition concerning the sway exercised by the heavenly bodies over increasingly particularized events on earth has prepared him for an

⁸ It seems advisable to remember the somewhat similar notion manifest in Alexander of Aphrodisias' *De anima*, where the humoral imbalance is portrayed as reflected in the corresponding qualities of the soul (13, 5).

⁹ Two points need stressing at this point: first, the presence of the *descensus* as a notion is hardly limited to Ptolemy – together with the Aristotelian idea of *scala naturae* it forms an organizing principle of Pliny's *Naturalis historia* (on the *scala*, cf. BEAGON 2005: 20; on the *descensus*, cf. HÜBNER 2002) and, possibly even more importantly, of Manilius' *Astronomica* (cf. HÜBNER 1984: 242–268) It should be noted, however, that contrary to FAZZO 1991 I do not take Book Two to be a purely polemical or argumentative tool – to the contrary, I believe that the concept of *descensus* is of paramount importance for the ideological (or philosophical) content of the *Tetrabiblos*.

easy acceptance of the fundamental tenets of genethliology. Yet, a catch emerges: when is the human being actually being shaped by the stars?

Typically enough, the proem of Book Three opens with a reference to the already discussed material. And as it was in the case of the general proem, it explains the assumptions underlying the disposition of the study:

ἔφωδευμένης ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν τῆς περὶ τὰ καθόλου συμπτώματα θε-
ωρίας, ὡς προηγουμένης καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κατακρατεῖν δυναμένης τῶν περὶ ἕνα
ἕκαστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς φύσεως ἀποτελουμένων, ὧν τὸ
προγνωστικὸν μέρος γενεθλιαλογικὸν καλοῦμεν...

(III 1, 1)

As in what precedes we have presented the theory of universal events, because this comes first and for the most part has power to control predictions which concern the special nature of any individual, the prognostic part of which we call genethliological art...

Clearly, the emphasis lies on the transition from the branch concerning the whole to that concerning the individual; this “priority” of the *universalis* will be further stressed by the assertion of her (relative) self-sufficiency, as Ptolemy argues that the causes productive of major modifications of the sublunary world do of necessity influence the individual, while those inherently related to the individual do not necessarily hold sway over the general: “...except that universal conditions are greater and independent, and particular ones not similarly so”¹⁰. Nonetheless, the Alexandrian is quick to note that the basic principle of influence is identical to that ruling the universal prediction: ἐπειδὴπερ καὶ τῶν καθόλου καὶ τῶν καθ’ ἕνα ἕκαστον συμπτωμάτων αἰτία μὲν ἢ τῶν πλανωμένων ἀστέρων ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης κινήσεις (“for the cause both of universal and of particular events is the motion of the planets”, III 1, 1). Thus, the influence exercised by the stars on individual matters relies on the very principles that motivated their power over the general modifications of the *periechon*. This is all the more interesting given that the genethliology exposition will, as we know, fall into two parts: the first will refer to the discovery of natural dispositions (in the wider sense of this word), the other will deal more explicitly with the issues related to what we would nowadays call human fortunes. The division is interesting not only as far as it may reflect the idea that the nature of an individual is his fate as this latter was espoused by some of contemporary philosophers, but also because it is implicitly anticipated in the internal, much less obvious, division of Book Two. The subtle shift in emphasis, from the general influence on the character of the described regions in II 2–4 to the actual modifications of the *periechon*, manifested through events of physical, social, or political nature,

¹⁰ Interestingly, this subordinates genethliology to the *universalis* much in the fashion of astrology as being dependent on astronomy in I 1, 1.

from something permanent to the momentary, remains parallel to the shift in the genethliology exposition as Ptolemy turns from the considerations of the human nature to discuss the possible changes bound to appear in an individual's life. The discussion, interestingly, will be divided between two separate books of his work, the "natural" *indoles* forming the focus of Book Three while the actual life course will be discussed in the fourth, final book of the *Tetrabiblos*.

In this context, one cannot help but notice Ptolemy's observation concerning the most manifest difference between the two branches of astrology: where the *thema universale* has no precise starting point (one cannot decide which time-point will be constituent of the ἀρχή), it is notably easier (albeit the point may prove controversial) to mark the beginning of individual existence. Or, to put it in a slightly different terms, while the universal prognosis may start with various time-points such as a ruler's birth date, foundation day when known, the first new moon of a given year etc., a necessity due to the fact that we cannot place the precise moment in which the world (the city, the state, etc.) came into existence, we are in considerably better position to know the starting point of a given individual's life. Once again, it seems, Ptolemy bows to the needs of practice, to the possibilities of knowledge. Yet, at the same moment, one's attention may be caught by his almost casual assertion that we do not know the universal ἀρχή, the original starting point of the universe as we know it: this is certainly interesting claim, for we do know that some astrological dogmas were actually grounded in the *thema mundi* (division into diurnal and nocturnal planetary houses "looks back" to that original placement of the planets). Certainly, the full discussion of the problem is to be found in Firmicus' massive work, yet given his references to Hermes, Anubio, and most prominently Aesculapius and his *Myriogenesis* it seems reasonable to assume that he inherited the *thema* (which he treats with utmost scepticism) from much earlier sources¹¹. This in turn would suggest that Ptolemy either remains unaware of the existence of the *thema* (which seems unlikely given the overall level of his familiarity with the anti-astrological polemic), or he consciously downplays the issue: in this latter case we would be faced with a quite successful attempt to foil the possible charges produced by the sceptics. At the same moment, this reticence may stem from the practical necessities of his project alone: to introduce a possibility (even slight) of the world-*thema* would damage the tenets underlying the prognostication methods described in the second part of Book Two, and be likely to obscure the differentiation of the genethliology (we would be faced with two disciplines based on the very same principle, with the single moment of origin dogma deeply entrenched in both branches of astrology).

¹¹ Firm. Mat. *Math.* III 1, 2. For the astrological doctrines involved in the composition of the *thema*, cf. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ 1899: 185–187; BOLL 1903: 234, 373. For the "anthropological" issues involved in the interpretation, see KOMOROWSKA 2011.

THE VARIOUS, YET INTERDEPENDENT CAUSES

Linked to the above discussion are Ptolemy's considerations concerning the sequence and mutual relationships of causes at work at the critical moment of conception/birth. Basically, he acknowledges the fact that a human would be subject to the celestial influence throughout his life: in this, he draws upon the "physical" argument so prominent in Books One and Two, which suggests a stable, constant relationship between the sublunary and the celestial spheres; yet, continuing the line ultimately dependent on the generation principle so manifest in I 2, he asserts that the influence of the *periechon* remains most pervasive and powerful at the moment of coming to be. In this, he preserves the principal tenet of genethliology, endowing the nativity sky the utmost power in the shaping of human character and, consequently, life. Still, it is interesting to note that in spite of so many assertions being made to the contrary by modern students of astrology¹² he is inclined to allow for the later influence. To quote:

Τῶν δὲ καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ μίαν καὶ πολλὰς, μίαν μὲν τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ συγκρίματος ἀρχὴν, καὶ ταύτην γὰρ ἔχομεν, πολλὰς δὲ τὰς κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς τῶν περιεχόντων πρὸς τὴν πρώτην ἀρχὴν ἐπισημασίας συμβαινούσας, προηγουμένης μέντοι τῆς μιᾶς ἐνθάδε εἰκότως, ἐπειδήπερ αὕτη καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποτελεῖ.

(III 1, 2)

In predictions affecting individual men, however, we have both one and many starting points. The one is the beginning of temperament itself, for this we have; and the many are the successive significances of the ambients which are relative to this first beginning, though to be sure the single starting point is naturally in this case greatest importance because it produces the others.

Thus it would seem that what is in Ptolemy's mind is the type of *thema* described in Hephaestio's manual (III 41)¹³: the prognostication based on the comparative study of two charts, one of which corresponds to the constellations of birth time, while the other describes the present. Such a comparative *thema* would certainly preserve the basic principles formulated in I 2, and would, beyond any doubt, privilege the nativity chart as establishing a reference point to

¹² One may invoke Geoffrey CORNELIUS' condemnation of Ptolemy's lack of interest in the horary astrology in his *The Moment of Astrology: The Origins of Divination*, London 1994.

¹³ Interestingly, for Hephaestio such a *thema*, in spite of its obvious affinities with the nativity, qualifies as a *katarche*, which prompted me to emphasize the uniqueness of his treatment in KOMOROWSKA 1999 (it needs to be emphasised, though, that Hephaestio's approach stands out only when considered from the point of view of katarchoscopic literature: the comparative enquiry is mentioned by a large number of sources, yet usually in the discussion of genethliology). For the philosophical literature, the term seems late in coming: entirely absent from Aristotle's works, the verb makes its appearance in the *De mundo* (399a15), where it serves to describe the beginning of motion that set by the coryphaeus is then repeated by the chorus.

any further enquiry. The question remains what happens to the more *ad hoc* investigations, so characteristic of the katarchoscopy: on one hand we may safely assume that this validity should be accepted on basis of the overall influence of the *periechonta*, which would be behind the possible successes or failures of possible ventures. On the other hand, however, there is a possibility that the presupposed priority and dominance of the nativity would prove hampering to the investigation conducted (with respect to an individual) without a reference to his nativity *thema*.

Once again it becomes an imperative to remember that in distinguishing between two possible implementations of genethliology (inborn characteristics vs. actual events of life), Ptolemy repeats, with reference to the lore, the differentiation he has successfully introduced with respect to the *universalis*. Indeed, a profound conceptual link seems to exist between the idea that the current stellar positions influence what is the result of the nativity sky and the tenet known from II 1, namely the theory that the *universalis* may be able to reveal not only the affinities that link the natural characteristics of certain lands but also indicate the possible changes in the *periechonta* that may result from the occurring constellations. In both cases, one may say, we are dealing with two prognostication levels: while dealing with the first we are searching for the stable features of the world, while approaching the other we are faced with the changeable. This is a division both reasonable when considered against the wider context of astrology and, one may note, particularly apt in a lore which was introduced as dependent on one that is interested in the immutable, but also as one that touches upon the world of change and disorder.

At this point it seems reasonable to turn to Ptolemy's discussion of the basics of the individual *thema*: the starting point. It is noteworthy that in the opening passage, he seems to acknowledge the importance of conception, admitting that if one knows the precise moment the conception occurred, it would be advisable to construct the *thema* on this foundation:

ἀρχῆς δὲ χρονικῆς ὑπαρχούσης τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τέξεων φύσει μὲν τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν σποράν, δυνάμει δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀποκύψιν ἐκτροπῆς, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἐγνωκότεων τὸ τῆς σπορᾶς καιρὸν ἦτοι συμπτωματικῶς ἢ καὶ παρατηρητικῶς, ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον προσήκει πρὸς τε τὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ιδιώματα κατακολουθεῖν, τὸ ποιητικὸν τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἀστέρων σχηματισμοῦ διασκεπτομένους· ἅπαξ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τὸ σπέρμα ποιὸν πῶς γενόμενον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ περιέχοντος διαδόσεως, κἂν διάφορον τοῦτο γίνηται κατὰ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς τῆς σωματοποιήσεως χρόνους, αὐτὸ τὴν οἰκείαν μόνην ὕλην φυσικῶς προσεπισυγκρῖνον ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τὴν αὔξησιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἕξομοιοῦται τῇ τῆς πρώτης ποιότητος ιδιοτροπίᾳ.

(III 2, 1 f.)

Since the chronological starting point of human life is naturally the very time of conception, but potentially and accidentally the moment of birth, in cases in which the very time of conception is known either by chance or by observation, it is more

fitting that we should follow it in determining the special nature of body and soul, examining the effective power of the configuration of the stars at that time. For to the seed is given once and for all at the beginning such and such qualities by the endowment of the ambient; and even though it may change as the body subsequently grows, since by natural process it mingles with itself in the process of growth only matter which is akin to itself, thus it resembles even more closely the type of its initial quality.

The passage establishes the importance of the conception time by invoking its temporal priority and the effectiveness of the qualities that are contained in the very seed; the powers contained in the latter become all the more important once we realize the fact that they influence the foetal growth, thus effectively shaping the human that will only come into full existence at the moment of birth. Yet, even at this point Ptolemy acknowledges the principal obstacle faced by anyone supporting the primacy of conception time: the ultimate difficulty of defining the exact point in time in which the conception occurred¹⁴. This difficulty notwithstanding, he emphasizes the fact that ever since conception certain preferences are operative in the growing life: with time, these preset preferences and traits become more pronounced owing to gradual assimilation of the like element. Hence, the foetal growth follows the pattern preset at the conception moment, thus contributing to the development of certain predefined set of characteristics.

Yet, even recognizing the predominant ignorance of the humans as far as this moment is concerned, Ptolemy is quick to follow his admission with a seemingly illogical conclusion that one would do much better to use the birth moment as his starting point, particularly as it constitutes the true beginning of the *human* life (thus opposing the latter to foetal existence). Below, I quote his argument in its entirety:

ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν μὴ γινοσκότων, ὅπερ ὡς ἐπίπαν συμβαίνει τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἐκτροπὴν ἀρχῇ καὶ ταύτῃ προσανέχειν ἀναγκαῖον, ὡς μεγίστη καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ μόνῳ τούτῳ τῆς πρώτης λειπομένη τῷ δι' ἐκείνης καὶ τὰ πρὸ τῆς ἐκτέξεως δύνασθαι προγινώσκεισθαι. καὶ γὰρ εἴ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἂν τις εἴποι, τὴν δὲ ὥσπερ καταρχὴν, τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῆς τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ δεύτερον, ἴσον δὲν καὶ μᾶλλον τελειότερον τῇ δυνάμει, σχεδόν τε δικαίως ἐκείνη μὲν ἂν ὀνομάζοιτο σπέρματος ἀνθρωπίνου γένεσις, αὕτη δὲ ἀνθρώπου· πλεῖστα τε γὰρ τότε προσλαμβάνει τὸ βρέφος, ἢ μὴ πρότερον, ὅτε κατὰ γαστρὸς ἦν, προσῆν αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἴδια μόνῃς τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, ὃ τε σωματώδης σχηματισμός. κἂν μὴδὲν αὐτῷ δοκῇ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐκτεξιν περιέχον εἰς τὸ τοιῶδε εἶναι συμβάλλεσθαι, αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ κατὰ τὸν οἰκεῖον τοῦ περιέχοντος σχηματισμὸν εἰς φῶς ἐλθεῖν συμβάλλεται. τῆς φύσεως μετὰ τὴν τελείωσιν πρὸς τὸ ὁμοίτυπον κατάστημα τῷ κατ' ἀρχὰς διαμορφώσαντι μερικῶς τὴν ὁρμὴν τῆς ἐξόδου ποιουμένης, ὥστε εὐλόγως καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἠγεῖσθαι δηλωτικὸν εἶναι τὸν κατὰ τὴν

¹⁴ One may think of Sextus' terse remarks concerning the various methods by which the beginning of pregnancy was sought (*AM V* 58–64).

ἐκτροπήν τῶν ἀστέρων σχηματισμόν, οὐχ ὡς ποιητικὸν μέντοι πάντως, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης κατὰ φύσιν ὁμοιότατον δυνάμει τῷ ποιητικῷ.

(III 2, 3 f.)

But if they do not know the time of conception, which is usually the case, we must follow the starting point furnished by the moment of birth and give to this our attention for it too is of great importance and falls short of the former only in this respect – that by the former it is possible to have foreknowledge also of events preceding birth. For if one should call the one “source” and the other, as it were, “beginning”, its importance in time, indeed, is secondary, but it is equal or rather even more perfect in potentiality, and with reasonable propriety would the former be called the genesis of human seed, the latter the genesis of a man. For the child at birth and his bodily form take on many additional attributes which he did not have before, when he was in the womb, those very ones indeed which belong to human nature alone; and even if it seems that the ambient at the time of birth contributes nothing toward his quality, at least his very coming forth into the light under the appropriate conformation of the heavens contributes, since nature, after the child is perfectly formed, gives impulse to its birth under the configuration of similar type to that which governed the child’s formation in detail in the first place. Accordingly, one may with good reason believe that the position of stars at the time of birth is significant of the things of this sort, not, however, for the reason that it is causative in the full sense, but that of necessity and by nature it has potentially very similar causative power.

Several points deserve mention when considering this passage. First, Ptolemy emphasizes the fact that the majority of people remain ignorant of the time of conception, which, due to its manifest character, makes birth a natural starting point of any astrological considerations; second, he alleges that *de facto* it is the birth that constitutes the true beginning of human life. This latter he achieves by differentiating between something that is important φύσει and something of which the significance is δυνάμει¹⁵. Then, he emphasizes that though the temporal priority belongs indisputably to the conception, it is not this particular priority that ultimately counts for the purposes of astrological prognosis (for practical reasons alone, this priority results unattainable). In fact, Ptolemy advocates the use of the *effective* beginning of life, the one impressed on the human mind as the start of their actual existence, namely individual birth¹⁶.

Interestingly, one may well wonder about the actual meaning of the δυνάμει expression. In a striking way, Ptolemy presupposes a contrast between the φύσει

¹⁵ One wonders whether “potentially” (reflecting the Aristotelian use as confirmed in the *Physics* or *Metaphysics*) is the best choice for the English equivalent. The argument would be far more consistent should we take *dynamei* as reflecting the usage of the term with reference to the effective power of the stars/*periechonta*, in which case it would simply imply that though the conception precedes the birth by order of nature, the practical power of nativity appears far superior.

¹⁶ Ptolemy’s decision to obey the claims of common sense seems particularly apt given his theoretical choices on the *Peri kriteriou* treatise, justifiably termed by LONG 1989 “epistemology for practising scientist”.

and the δυνάμει, linking the one to the temporal, and the other to actual (effective/significative) priority, commenting at the same moment that while the conception is an ἀρχή, the actual birth should be considered a καταρχή of life¹⁷. This is an interesting point to make, as it presupposes a clear and legible distinction between the two nouns, a fact particularly striking in light of the fact that καταρχή is also a *Fachwort* employed to denote the beginning of action or activity that would be used for the prognostication purposes in the branch of astrology never explicitly mentioned by the Alexandrian, namely the katarchoscopy¹⁸. Yet, in *Tetrabiblos* III, the term may be taken to denote what FERABOLI calls *origine secundaria*, and hence, to be taken as subsidiary of the real beginning of life, if we agree that the latter can be understood as the purely vegetative existence of the foetus¹⁹; still, one may note that it may also be the “origin proper”, the very beginning of proper life that is indicated with the word in question; this, would certainly agree with the remaining part of Ptolemy’s argument. The real challenge is posed by the question whether there is a relation parallel to that between those occurring between the major and the secondary cause, this latter being ultimately dependent on that former: this would necessarily damage his principal assumption that birth can be meaningful from the astrological point of view. Still, such an assumption would anticipate the forthcoming assertion concerning the existence of an essential connection existing between the two moments in time (the point discussed in III 2, 4, and gaining particular emphasis in the work of Censorinus): in that case, this connection would justify the employment of the birth constellation, as of nature endowed with considerable importance in the determination of the future characteristics of the newborn individual²⁰. After all, the birth constitutes the natural outcome of conception, being effected only after

¹⁷ The issue is further complicated by the semantic problems linked to ROBBINS’ choice of words: in translating ἀρχή as “source” he forgoes number of alternate possibilities, among which one may mention “principle”. This latter would come particularly handy as it would present us with an image of “principle” and “effective/actual beginning”, which quite likely is what Ptolemy intended.

It is important to notice, as rightly highlighted by FROMMHOLD (2004: 26 f.) that Ptolemy remains unique in his subtle and nuanced treatment of the controversy; while this is hardly the place to discuss the nature and causes of this uniqueness, one may reasonably assume certain connection between such a balanced stand and the necessity to maintain the “probabilistic” tone of the argument (the technique is hardly different from that employed in his *On the criterion*, cf. LONG 1989, or for that matter, BOLL 1894).

¹⁸ It is crucial to remember that Dorotheus’ work, known to us through the Arabic version of Umar al-Farukhan, devotes considerable attention to the study of multiple and varied kinds of *katarchai* (some striking methodological parallels, discussed by KOMOROWSKA 2000: 43–57, 143–152 as well as HÜBNER 2003, do however emerge in the work), which would suggest the branch was relatively popular also in Ptolemy’s lifetime, a fact credibly confirmed by the tale of the astrologer Diogenes contained in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* II.

¹⁹ FERABOLI 1989: 183.

²⁰ The notion of such a connection, its importance and the implementation of the so called Petorris-rule, were studied by FROMMHOLD 2004.

the nature (*physis*) brought the relevant process to its conclusion: indeed, even should we claim (and Ptolemy seems to take particular care to distance himself from such an approach²¹) that the circumstances of birth have no bearing on the development of human *indoles*, there remains the indisputable connection between the latter and the conception, the connection manifested, *inter alia*, in the similarity of stellar arrangement existing between the relevant moments in time.

Still, possibly the most important point made by Ptolemy concerns the character of the conception influence, as he asserts that at that point the stellar influence is limited to shaping of the human as far as its species related properties are concerned (it marks, after all, the beginning of human foetus). The precise formal traits, such as the individual body shape (Socrates *qua* Socrates, not Socrates as a man) are instead conferred on the newborn by the birth constellation. Hence: the influence at the moment of conception relates to our becoming members of the species (which agrees to the basic assumptions of I 2), while the later one endows us with *individualized* dispositions we carry throughout our life – to employ the peripatetic terms, the proper individual form, the form that differentiates him or her from all the other members of the species is bestowed upon the human being at the moment of birth. To invoke once again the exact wording of the relevant passage:

Πλεῖστα τε γὰρ τότε προσλαμβάνει τὸ βρέφος, ἂ μὴ πρότερον, ὅτε κατὰ γαστρὸς ἦν, προσῆν αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἴδια μόνης τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, ὃ τε σωματώδης σχηματισμός.

(III 2, 3)

The concept that human foetus acquires distinctive shape (and not only shape) characteristics only in the moment of birth is certainly worth our attention.

One should remember at this point that in the contemporary thought the foetal status seems to have been at best ambiguous – the existence of a treatise, wrongly attributed to Galen and known as *Ei ζῶιον τὸ κατὰ γαστρὸς* (*An animal sit...*) seems to indicate that the question whether the embryo was or was not ensouled was far from settled²². Indeed, just by looking at the treatise as compared to the

²¹ Cf. *Tetrabiblos* III 2, 4 with its direct opposition between the semblance and actual truth.

²² The issue was recently studied by CONGOURDEAU 2007. Even without the Jewish-Christian tradition, the picture resulting from the study is an impressive and varied one – yet, the author is quick to point that for the major part of ancient writers, the embryo resembles – at least where its ensoulment is concerned – a plant (2007: 289–294). And this prevalence of such an opinion in the ancient world, indicative of the fact that Ptolemy could count on the fact that his argument would be supported by some authoritative works on the subject, seems sufficient for the present purpose. Even more importantly, a number of names can be invoked in support of the opinion that the soul (as in animal soul) enters the human body only at the birth moment – among the supporters of the theory one may name Empedocles, Diogenes of Apollonia, Herophilus, and, for the later authors, Tertullian (*De anima* 25, 2); similarly Jamblichus maintained that the soul enters the body once it acquired the

authentic works of Galen we get a glimpse of the potential intricacies characteristic of this controversy. As we know, Galen himself set the *tempus animationis* at the moment of the first heartbeat²³, indicating that this latter is indispensable for the existence of what we call *animantia* – the activity of the heart, as the source of heat, being decisive in the preservation of human life, it is hard to conceive a being as ensouled before this activity begins²⁴. Then, there is also the matter of sensory privation: the foetus, being totally severed from the external world, remains unable to exercise his potential sensory abilities, which in turns disables any potential reasoning (*De foetuum formatione* 6, IV 700 K.). In fact, even in infancy the vegetative soul seems to prevail: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῖς μὲν τῆς θρεπτικῆς ψυχῆς ἐνεργείαις τὰ βρέφη ῥωμαλεωτάταις χρῆται (ibid. 673 K.) while the other powers are activated with the development of different sensory organs: σὺν γὰρ τοῖς ὀργάνοις τελειούμεναι αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις ἐνεργοῦσι (ibid., 674 K.). Unable to think, consider and judge, the newborn child activates his appetitive soul before the rational – in the essence, the period of infancy does not qualify as rational life: one can easily assume that the soul powers are even more limited before the actual birth.

Clearly, the solution to the problem of the true beginning of human life was far from easy: one may also note the possibly important issue of breathing, as the most visible manifestation of life²⁵. Manifestly, the infant starts breathing only *after* it is born, which may have provided additional support for Ptolemy's preference. In view of the above, it seems all the more interesting that instead of dwelling on the issue of life, Ptolemy chose to discuss the issue of shape and characteristics – yet it might be that his argument is related to the same tenet that guided Galen in his assertion concerning the development of the soul as being contemporary with the development of bodily parts, and the predomination of the vegetative faculties during the pregnancy. Still, the predominant impression is that in his approach the question of life appears to be settled: yet, it is the quality

appropriate faculties (*De anima* 31). For an extended discussion cf. CONGOURDEAU 2007: 295–297. Additionally, it should be noted, the issue remains somewhat unclear in the works of Aristotle: though there is little doubt that the embryo is endowed with vegetative soul, the question of its intellectual development remains highly controversial (on the issue cf. BERTI 2008); further complications are raised by the fact that by Ptolemy's time the original Aristotelian bipartition would often melt into the Platonic tripartite arrangement (as attested e.g. in Alexander of Aphrodisias' *De anima*, passim).

²³ On the issue cf. WAGNER 1914: XVI (with notes).

²⁴ Still, the anonymous author of the *An animal sit...* supports the radically opposed theory, maintaining that: δῆλον οὖν κὰν τούτω ὡς ἅμα τῇ τοῦ σπέρματος εἰς τὴν μήτραν ἑκακοντίσει συγκατέσπειρεν ὁ τῶν ὄλων δημιουργὸς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἵνα τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν διοικοῦσαν αὐτὸ δύναιμι ἐχῆ (4, XIX 168 K. = 8, 24–9, 2 W.).

²⁵ Significantly enough it is the cessation of breathing that decisively marks the end of life in Valens, *Anthologiae* IX 1, 11 f.

of life, in fact the very individuality of this latter that seems to be shaped by the stars of birth time.

At the same moment, to understand Ptolemy's position we may also refer to a passage of Alexander of Aphrodisias' *Quaestiones*. Namely, when discussing Aristotle's position on the nature of seed, he notes:

τὸ γὰρ σπέρμα δυνάμει ἔμψυχον τῷ δύνασθαι γενέσθαι τοιοῦτο σῶμα, οὗ ἡ ψυχὴ τελειότης ἐστὶ, καὶ ὧ τὸ εἶναι τούτῳ, ὃ ἐστὶ, παρὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστίν.
(II 26, 145; p. 77, 31–33 B.)

For the seed is ensouled in potentiality since it is able to come to be a body of this particular sort, of which the soul is the perfection, and which derives from the soul its being what it is.

(transl. by R.W. SHARPLES)

It is in the exact moment when the inherent potentiality realizes that seems to mark the beginning of *animal* in this passage: hence, should we refer the concept to Ptolemy's assertion that the birth marks the beginning of the human life, we acquire some understanding of the emphasis our author puts on the shape: the assumption of the proper form and assumption of sensory capacities characteristic of *ens animatum* (seen as a realization of potentiality hitherto unactivated) would certainly facilitate the assumption that it is the birth that should be taken into the account when considering the nature/character/future of an individual.

MANIFESTNESS: THE REPETITIVE PATTERN?

Yet another interesting point is that there seems to be a close connection between the visibility or self-manifestness of the ἔκτροπή as the starting point of life and its importance²⁶ – in fact, it seems that the δυνάμει importance is intrinsically connected (at least in Ptolemy's intent) with the general preference the public displays for the birth date. Thus, the possible suggestion could be that Ptolemy is building his argument (shaky as it may appear) on the premises very similar to those which served him so well in the defence of the actuality of stellar influence. Birth is generally considered to be the beginning of human life (one must bear in mind probability of miscarriage), the major part of people does not know the conception time, so it seems perfectly rational to rely on the birth date for the prognostication purposes. Certainly, this is not a master argument, yet it is endowed with some fascinating features that bring it close to that developed

²⁶ One wonders at the employment of the term: in Soranus' work ἔκτροπή, never referring to the actual birthing, denotes distortion of tissue characteristic of *lapsus uterinus* (IV 23, 9; 24, 45 BURGUIÈRE *et al.*); the word is also rare in Aristotle, who employs cognate verb when describing the removal of poison from the body of certain animals (*Hist. an.* X 621a7).

in Book One: it makes use of general opinion and it relies on the observable phenomenon. Moreover, there is something familiar in Ptolemy preferring something that is within the reach of human intellect to something necessarily elusive: in a way, he did it when extolling mathematical sciences at the cost of theology in *Syntaxis* I 1. The ungraspable elements are again left alone, the visible and graspable ones giving us an approximation, a shadow of those naturally prior and unavailable matters. Certainly, to draw a strict parallel would be dangerous, yet it is the similarity of the method employed that attracts attention: in both cases the unknowable is suppressed in favour of that which lies within the limits of the human reason. In fact, Ptolemy will argue that the birth *thema*, the nativity, does effectively indicate the conception arrangement – the visible furnishing us with a partial approximation of the hidden and unavailable.

Regardless of the familiar (as in mirroring those known from Books One and Two) patterns discernible within the argument, the above should not be taken as a proof of Ptolemy's originality in reference to the solution to the conception vs. birth problem. Patently a subject of a raging debate (the arguments of Sextus would be effective only if there were the actual controversy²⁷), the issue was discussed (albeit briefly) by Valens and left profound traces in the fourth century work of Censorinus, *De die natali*. In spite of its posterior date, this little treatise provides us with compendious data of older origin, bearing witness to the encyclopaedic rather than purely astrological interest of its author²⁸. Characteristically, this largely doxographic work devotes considerable space to the discussion of the intrinsic bound that exists between the time of birth and that of conception: the two, argues Censorinus with reference to his numerous sources, are naturally connected, the universal nature having arranged them in such a manner that the birth cannot occur until the stellar constellations are not favourable²⁹. The point of particular import that the later arrangement reflects the nature of the original one, and consequently, the *thema* based on the arrangement at the moment of birth is more than conclusive.

Now, such an arrangement may seem at best risky: first, Ptolemy maintains the temporal rather than effective priority of the conception time, then proceeds to point out that human life starts only with birth, and now, he invokes the idea that the sky of the birth time reflects the constellation of the conception. Yet, should one look closer, the argument appears perfectly reasonable: first, there would be the issue of the soul – what is the status of foetus as this latter is

²⁷ On the issues involved in the exegesis of Sextus *AM* V, cf. JANAČEK 1964.

²⁸ On reading the *De die natali*, one immediately notices the “doxographic” character of the work, which tends to enumerate views, methods and theories without any commitment to one particular standpoint.

²⁹ *De die natali* 7–13; ch. 8 remains particularly interesting owing to its description of astrological doctrines.

concerned? It is generally assumed that the soul would be born to life, as born together with a newly born human – in such an interpretation, the birth would be a true birth of a human as ensouled being. It seems highly likely that Ptolemy, regardless of his reticence on the subject of the soul and related matters, was deeply aware of the tradition possibly supportive of his claim. It is instructive to note the basic assumption behind the scheme that allows for the link between the two points in time: it is in the nature of the universe that the birth should happen when the celestial constellation responds to the conditions set by the one at the time a being was conceived. The two remain inextricably linked, yet the prognostic power of the later one is backed by the common assumptions, theoretical concerns and practical use. All these three contribute to the elevation of the birth moment: a human being acquires his individual characteristic and begins his *bios* only when out of the uterus. Hitherto, it may appear, it was possessed of life force, the nature having arranged for the birth at the propitious or, to put it more adequately, proper moment. Paradoxically, one may suggest that the suppression of conception where the matters of prognostications are concerned is possible because of the basic rationality of the world.

THE CAVEAT (*TETRABIBLOS* III 10)

The time has come to consider a brief passage occurring in *Tetrabiblos* III 10, with its specific provisions concerning the sequence in which an astrologer should proceed when interpreting a nativity chart. As it was already mentioned, the provision concerns the necessity to obtain an answer to the question “how long will he/she live” before one continues the reading. The exact wording of the passage is given below:

Τῶν δὲ μετὰ τὴν γένεσιν συμπτωμάτων ἡγεῖται μὲν ὁ περὶ χρόνων ζῶης λόγος, ἐπειδὴ περ κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον γελοῖόν ἐστι τὰ καθ’ ἕκαστα τῶν ἀποτελουμένων ἐφαρμόζειν τῶ μηδ’ ὄλως ἐκ τῆς τῶν βιωσίμων ἐτῶν ὑποστάσεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποτελεστικούς αὐτῶν χρόνους ἦξοντι.

(III 10, 1)

The consideration of the length of life takes the leading place among inquiries about events following birth, for, as the ancients say, it is ridiculous to attach particular predictions to the one who, by the constitution of the years of his life, will never attain at all to the time of the predicted events.

Clearly, the passage implies that a methodological error, such as a failure to account for what concerns the *zoe*, the life-force enabling an individual life, may lead to a gross distortion of the whole *thema*. Thus, the passage, though endowed with potentially apologetic value where its practical use is concerned, is paradoxically demonstrative of the importance of the *dynamis* at work at the

birth moment for any further development of the newborn individual. Necessary presence of malefics, being intrinsically contrary to the life-bestowing qualities of heat and humidity, being endowed with a power to quench the life-force at its very beginning, the chart manifests, among other things, the individual's life-potential (*Tetrabiblos* III 19). Manifestly, though the argument may appear specious in the light of the particulars of a *thema* being open to misinterpretation, the passage returns to fundamental premises inherited by Ptolemy from Aristotle³⁰, namely to the assumption that the external conditions necessarily influence what comes to be. Moreover, one may wonder whether Ptolemy himself would not link this insistence on the priority of the very investigation concerning infancy survival to his concern for the *causae maiores* being prior to those of more individual character.

THE STRUCTURE

Finally, a time has come to consider, albeit briefly, the organization of the material within Book Three – as it will be soon manifest, it displays features highly characteristic of Ptolemy's expository style. Should we want to outline the contents of this particular entity, the resulting picture would be more or less the following:

1. Proem	Introductory matters, diaeresis of astrology and of genethliology	
2. Birth vs. conception		
3. Ascendant grade		
4. Subdivision of matter		
5. Parents	Family milieu	
6. Siblings		
7. Male vs. female	Actual birth	Sex of the child
8. Twins		Untypicalities of birth
9. Deformed birth		
10. Infancy death		
11. Length of life	Issue of life-force	
12. Bodily set and temperament	The individual as shaped by the <i>thema</i>	Body
13. Chronic illness		Soul
14. "Personality"		
15. Mental illness		

³⁰ Cf. *Tetrabiblos* I 2; on the importance of Aristotelianism in Ptolemy's worldview, see BOLL 1894; on the influence exercised by the Aristotelian philosophy of science over the introductory chapters of the *Tetrabiblos*, cf. e.g. KOMOROWSKA 2009.

The emerging pattern seems quite obvious, even though it may be said that the progression manifests itself only once we consider the actual contents of the work. Ptolemy establishes the principles of the lore (genethliology), marking the importance of the Ascendant point (it may be important to note that its particular nature corresponds to the individual nature of human that is born under this grade), proceeds through the data of only indirect importance for the *thema* (still, it is useful to note he does acknowledge the possibility of inferring some data concerning the family milieu of an individual based on his *thema natale*, a concession possibly endangering the basic principle of his astrology), and then turns to what may constitute a test of astrological competence, but is in reality a reflection of the considerations portrayed in III 2, that is on the *ante nativitatem ipsam* influence: birthing of twins, deformed children, and of infants whose life-force is too weak to let them outgrow the infancy itself. It is only after dealing with the issue of birth (an issue of considerable importance given the position of birth time within the methodological scheme) that he turns to the discussion of life expectation, thus completing the chapters on the stellar influence decisive for the strength and aptitude of life force (III 8–10). At the same time, the life-expectation chapter (III 11), while continuing the issue of the preceding one, albeit with respect to strikingly different conditions, opens the way toward further investigation, comprising what may be called the effects of the stellar influence in human life (III 12–15): these, however, are carefully divided between the physical and psychic manifestations, with separate chapters on effects of pronounced destructive influences i.e. on what can be conceived as “flawed” in the formation of individual’s nature as an effect of excess or scarcity of one of the elemental influences.

In sum, the third book of the *Tetrabiblos* displays manifest traces of a careful arrangement of matters, an arrangement whose principles mirror those employed in the preceding books, and are, in turn, characteristic of the *Tetrabiblos* as a whole: in turning his attention to the problems involved in composition of individual nativity Ptolemy follows a procedure tested in the prior considerations. In starting from the natural endowment of the child, he relies on his reader awareness of the principles Aristotle formulated in the *De generatione*; in his work these may be summarized in the following form: natural conditions prevalent at the very beginning of life contribute to physical and psychic structure of a human being. Then, in emphasizing the importance of birth, he aptly employs the widespread notion of human being coming into existence only at the moment of birth (human, tripartite soul becomes active only upon birth regardless of the possible prior subsistence of the vegetative part), even as he admits the multiple uses of conception time and its temporal primacy over the birth (he is nevertheless quick to highlight the intrinsic, natural connection between the two). By referring to these universally recognized theories, Ptolemy is able to provide a strong support to the possibility of individual prognostication – in fact,

the possibility of revealing the future *indoles* of a newborn human emerges as a natural consequence of the world arrangement. Still, one notes that the book deals only with the immediate circumstances of birth – it is in the last, fourth book that Ptolemy faces the greatest challenge of individual horoscopy, namely the prognostication of individual fortunes.

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LES ÉLÉMENTS AUTOBIOGRAPHIQUES
DANS LES TROIS *PASSIONS* AFRICAINES DU III^e S.¹

Par

MAREK STAROWIEYSKI

Parmi les nombreux textes présentant les martyrs africains, trois *Passions* – celle de Perpétue et Félicité, de Montanus et Lucius et enfin de Jacobus et Marianus – renferment d’importants fragments autobiographiques². Dans cet article, nous nous pencherons sur ces fragments, car ils constituent un élément probablement unique dans la littérature hagiographique de l’antiquité chrétienne. On ne les trouve pas dans les autres *Passions* d’autres régions et d’autres pays. En plus, ils n’étaient pas, semble-t-il, étudiés ensemble, même dans la grande histoire de l’autobiographie de G. MISCH³.

Ces fragments autobiographiques contiennent aussi bien des éléments narratifs sur la vie des prisonniers qui attendent le martyre, importants pour l’histoire, que des descriptions de leurs visions qui caractérisent si bien le monde spirituel des futurs martyrs. Nous admettons l’authenticité de ces trois *Passions* ainsi que de leurs fragments autobiographiques, car, nous semble-t-il, il n’y a aucune raison d’en douter; sans nier pour autant la possibilité de leur remaniement.

On affirme que la *Passion de Montanus et Lucius* et celle de *Marianus et Jacobus* dépendent de la *Passion de Perpétue et Félicité*. La dépendance dans le domaine linguistique est sûre et résulte du fait que cette *Passion* fut lue et commentée en Afrique et que nos deux auteurs l’ont bien connue; de même la

¹ Cf. M. STAROWIEYSKI, *Autobiografie męczenników afrykańskich w III w.*, dans: B. IWASZKIEWICZ-WRONIKOWSKA, D. PRÓCHNIAK (éds.), *Sympozja kazimierskie poświęcone kulturze późnego antyku i wczesnego chrześcijaństwa*, Lublin 2004, pp. 111–126 (en polonais).

² Nous employons les abréviations suivantes:

PMar – *Passio Mariani et Iacobi*

PMont – *Passio Montani et Lucii*

PPerp – *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*.

³ G. MISCH, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, Bd. 1: *Das Altertum*, 2, Frankfurt/M. ³1950, p. 519: il ne parle que de la *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité*.

dépendance des *Actes de Cyprien* est avérée, bien que les deux *Passions* soient écrites un ou deux ans après le martyre de l'évêque de Carthage. Nous ne pouvons pas oublier non plus que ces trois *Passions* s'inscrivent dans un laps de temps d'un demi siècle et dans une zone géographique assez restreinte; il serait donc assez étrange qu'elles n'aient pas d'éléments communs. La même description des conditions de vie dans les trois prisons résulte du fait que les martyrs étaient enfermés dans des prisons assez semblables à Carthage ou à Lambèse.

Mais les différences entre ces trois *Passions* sont à ce point évidentes qu'il serait, semble-il, assez difficile de parler d'une dépendance littéraire de ces trois textes, car nous constatons que les personnages y sont différents, qu'ils ont aussi des visions différentes et autrement liées avec le texte de leurs *Passions*, enfin, différente est aussi la manière de les écrire. Autre est le style de l'auteur dans la *Passion de Perpétue et Félicité*, qui a bien su insérer les fragments autobiographiques, autres sont les auteurs des deux autres textes, des personnes plutôt simples qui ne savent pas bien écrire et qui emploient une rhétorique primitive et artificielle.

Les trois textes parlent des visions et de l'activité du Saint Esprit; nous y rencontrons rigorisme et enthousiasme à l'égard du martyre⁴. De ce fait fut tirée la conclusion que ces textes relèvent du montanisme qui a fortement influé sur le milieu africain à cet *age of anxiety*. Est-ce que cela suffit pour déclarer qu'ils sont montanistes? Tout d'abord, nous possédons trop peu d'informations sur le montanisme pour prouver que ces textes étaient montanistes, deuxièmement, les mentions sur l'activité du Saint Esprit ne dépassent pas les normes de l'orthodoxie et enfin, troisièmement, il est bien connu que l'attente de la mort provoquait et provoque une certaine fièvre psychologique et des visions – le fait est bien prouvé.

Il faut donc traiter ces trois textes comme trois ouvrages originaux, indépendants et authentiques, mais liés entre eux et provenant des milieux orthodoxes, ce qui nous donne une image pittoresque des chrétiens prisonniers et martyrs africains du III^e s.

I. LES TEXTES

1. *La Passion de SS. Perpétue et Félicité* (sous l'empereur Septime Sévère, Carthage, année 202)⁵.

⁴ P. ex. *PPerp* 1; 16; *PMont* 3; *PMar* 1.

⁵ Les éditions plus importantes: H. MUSURILLO, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, Oxford 1972, pp. 106–130 (avec la traduction anglaise); A.A.R. BASTIAENSEN, dans: *Atti e Passioni dei martiri*, Milano 1987, pp. 107–147, 412–452 (avec la traduction italienne); J. AMAT, *Passion de Perpétue et Félicité. Suivi des Actes*, Paris 1996 (Sources Chrétiens 417; avec la traduction française, commentaire, bibliographie); J. LEAL, *Acta latinas de mártires africanos*, Madrid 2009, pp. 57–137 (avec la traduction espagnole, bibliographie); M. FORMISANO, E.CANTARELLA, *La passione di Perpetua e*

La *Passion de SS. Perpétue et Félicité*, chef-d'œuvre de la littérature hagiographique⁶, est composée de deux parties essentielles, précédées par une introduction et terminée par une brève apostrophe aux martyrs.

La première occupe environ la moitié de la *Passion*. Elle est composée de sept fragments autobiographiques d'un seul trait: les six premiers sont écrits par Vibia Perpetua, jeune aristocrate locale; le dernier est de Saturus, laïc et chef du groupe des futurs martyrs emprisonnés. Les fragments de Perpétue se succèdent dans l'ordre chronologique et montrent comment elle a supporté l'emprisonnement (*suo sensu*)⁷. Ils sont de deux types: les narrations qui parlent de son séjour en prison et de sa condamnation et les descriptions détaillées de ses visions⁸; le fragment des mémoires de Saturus contient la description de sa vision. Tous ces fragments sont écrits d'une manière vivante et très pittoresque.

Les fragments autobiographiques sont divisés de manière suivante:

1. Narration de Perpétue. Rencontre avec son père, description de la prison intérieure, de ses ténèbres et de sa sortie de cette prison [1–3].

2. Vision de Perpétue. Saturus prie Perpétue d'interroger Dieu sur leur sort. Le lendemain, elle a une vision: elle monte sur une échelle gardée par un dragon; elle entre ensuite dans le jardin où un vieillard lui offre du fromage [4].

3. Narration de Perpétue. Rencontre avec son père pendant l'interrogatoire et la sentence de mort [5/6].

4. Vision de Perpétue. Perpétue voit son frère Dinocrate mort, qui souffre terriblement de la soif dans l'au-delà; elle prie pour lui, et grâce à sa prière le garçon

Felicitia, Milano 2008 (avec la traduction italienne, introduction, bibliographie). Autres éditions cf.: BHL 6634–6637; BHLns 6633, 6633b, 6634; 6635.

Il existe une immense littérature; les bibliographies dans les éditions de J. AMAT; J. LEAL; M. FORMISANO et E. CANTARELLA. Cf. P. MONCEAUX, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, t. 1, Paris 1901 (1966 repr.), pp. 70–96; H. DELEHAYE, *Passions des martyrs et les genre littéraires*, Bruxelles 1966 (Subsidia hagiographica 13B), pp. 49–55; J. FONTAINE, *Tendances et difficultés d'une prose chrétienne naissante: l'esthétique composite de la 'Passio Perpetuae'*, dans: IDEM, *Aspects et problèmes de la prose d'art latine au III^e siècle: La genèse des styles latins chrétiens*, Torino 1968, pp. 69–97; M. KACZMARKOWSKI, *Struktura pionowa tekstów: Passio sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis, Passio sanctorum Iacobi i Passio sanctorum Montani et Lucii*, VoxP XI/XII 1991/1992, t. 20/23, pp. 213–221; E.R. DODDS, *Pagani e cristiani in un epoca di angoscia*, Firenze 1993, pp. 47–53; J.N. BREMMER, *Perpetua and Her Diary: Authenticity, Family and Visions*, dans: W. AMELING (éd.), *Märtyrer und Märtyrerakten*, Stuttgart 2002, pp. 79–120 (bibliographie).

J'utilise la traduction française de A. HAMMAN, *La geste du sang*, Paris 1953, pp. 70–86.

⁶ DELEHAYE, *o.c.* (n. 5), p. 49.

⁷ *PPerp* 2, 3.

⁸ Sur les visions des martyrs cf. E. LE BLANT, *Les persécutions et les martyrs*, Paris 1893, pp. 89–97; P. COURCELLE, *Les Confessions de S. Augustin dans la tradition littéraire*, Paris 1963; M. DULAËY, *Le rêve dans la vie et la pensée de St. Augustin*, Paris 1973 (particulièrement importantes pp. 41–47); G. MERTENS, *Les premiers martyrs et leur rêves*, RHE LXXXI 1986, pp. 5–46; IDEM, *Les rêves dans les passions des martyrs. Analyse narrative*, Augustinianum XLIV 2004, pp. 269–319; M. DULAËY, *Songes–Rêves*, dans: M. VILLER (éd.), *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, t. XV, Paris 1988, coll. 1060–1066.

peut avoir la joie de se désaltérer. La vision est interrompue par la description du transfert des prisonniers dans la prison militaire [7/8].

5. Narration de Perpétue. Attente de la mort. Une nouvelle rencontre avec son père [9].

6. Vision de Perpétue. La lutte et la victoire que Perpétue remporte sur l'Égyptien [10].

7. Vision de Satorus⁹. Les anges le transportent avec d'autres martyrs dans un jardin où ils rencontrent d'autres martyrs et où a lieu la réconciliation entre l'évêque Optât et le prêtre Aspasius [11–13].

Les visions, qu'elles soient de Perpétue ou de Satorus, sont très vives et pittoresques, mais assez librement liées au contexte de la *Passion*.

Tous ces fragments furent écrits de la main propre («Haec ordinem totum martyrii sui iam hinc ipsa narravit, sicut conscriptum manu sua et suo sensu») de Perpétue et Satorus¹⁰. Il ne faut toutefois pas prendre cette expression à la lettre et d'une manière restrictive: dans l'antiquité on exprimait ainsi plutôt la paternité de l'ouvrage que l'acte lui-même de l'écrire. Il est donc possible que cela signifie aussi la dictée, ce qui était à l'époque une coutume courante.

Dans la deuxième partie de la *Passion*, nous trouvons la description du sort des martyrs et leur martyre; cette partie est écrite par un anonyme, auteur de l'ouvrage entier. Elle a été écrite sur mandat (*mandatum*) de Perpétue et de son *fideiconsultum*, c'est-à-dire que Perpétue a donné à l'auteur une exacte recommandation de ce qu'il devait écrire et comment il devait procéder¹¹. C'est donc en quelque sorte la suite de son autobiographie. Ainsi l'ouvrage se compose de fragments autobiographiques, de la description de son martyre et du martyre de ses compagnons, écrite suivant ses indications; nous pouvons donc dire que toute la *Passion de Perpétue et Félicité* a un caractère personnel évident et porte marque de la personnalité de la jeune martyre.

Il existait – semble-t-il – un journal de Perpétue; il contient une description de sa vie en prison et de ses visions. De ce journal, l'auteur de la *Passion* a choisi les plus importants fragments (*insigniores visiones*)¹², et les a placés suivant l'ordre dans lequel ils étaient écrits¹³. Quels étaient les critères de son choix? Est-ce que l'auteur intervenait dans le texte en choisissant les fragments pour les insérer dans la *Passion*? Nous ne le savons pas bien que ce soit possible. Nous ne savons

⁹ «Satorus visionem suam edidit quam ipse conscripsit» *PPerp* 11. Cf. J.N. BREMMER, *The Visio of Satorus in the Passio Perpetuae*, dans: F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, G.P. LUTTIKHUIZEN (éds.), *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rom: Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst*, Leiden–Boston 2007, pp. 55–73.

¹⁰ *PPerp* 2, 1; 14, 1.

¹¹ *PPerp* 16, 1; LEAL, *o.c.* (n. 5), p. 127.

¹² *PPerp* 14, 1.

¹³ *PPerp* 3, 3.

pas non plus si un journal de Sатурus existait, bien que nous ayons la description de sa vision.

Mais il y a encore un autre aspect de ces mémoires de prison de Perpétue. Dans la littérature romaine, il n'y a que trois œuvres écrites par les femmes: quelques pièces de poésie de Sulpicia dans le *corpus* de Tibulle (I^{er} siècle après J.-C.) où elle décrit son amour, le journal de Perpétue et, enfin, plus tard, au IV^e siècle, le journal de voyage en Terre Sainte d'Egérie. Dans cette situation, le journal de Perpétue acquiert une valeur tout à fait spéciale pour comprendre le monde spirituel des femmes dans l'antiquité.

La *Passion de Montanus et Lucius* (sous l'empereur Valérien [les persécutions concernaient tout particulièrement le clergé], Carthage, année 259)¹⁴.

Cette *Passion* ainsi que la suivante présentent les faits qui ont eu lieu à peu près un demi siècle plus tard et elle a une autre structure que la *Passion de Perpétue et Félicité*. Du point de vue formel, elle est composée de deux parties (lettre et martyre), du point de vue du contenu – de trois (lettre, martyre de Montanus et Lucius, martyre de Flavien).

En ce qui concerne l'authenticité de ce texte, P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALLIERI donne des arguments *pro et contra*¹⁵.

La première partie de cette *Passion* contient une *Lettre des confesseurs emprisonnés à la communauté de Carthage* [1–11]. Ce texte a plutôt la forme d'une homélie autobiographique que d'une lettre. Son style est très marqué par la rhétorique. Bien que ce soit la lettre des *omnes in carcere*¹⁶, son auteur était probablement l'un des confesseurs, Flavien, un rhéteur populaire à Carthage et aimé par ses élèves qui essayèrent de le sauver par tous les moyens licites ou illicites, recourant même au mensonge – comme le dit l'auteur en employant une *amicitia inimica*¹⁷. La lettre est typiquement autobiographique et écrite à la première personne. Elle décrit les souffrances des chrétiens emprisonnés qui attendent le martyre. L'auteur présente les raisons pour lesquelles il a écrit cette lettre. En

¹⁴ Les plus importantes éditions: MUSURILLO, *o.c.* (n. 5), pp. 414–437; F. DOLBEAU, *La Passion des Saints Lucius et Montanus. Histoire et édition du texte*, REAug XXIX 1983, pp. 39–82; LEAL, *o.c.* (n. 5), pp. 211–251 (bibliographie).

Autres éditions: BHL 6009 suiv.; BHLns.

Cf. P. ALLARD, *Les dernières persécutions du III^e s.*, Paris 1898, pp. 120–134; MONCEAUX, *o.c.* (n. 5), t. 2, Paris 1902 (1966 repr.), pp. 165–178; P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALLIERI, *Scritti agiografici*, t. 1, Città del Vaticano 1962, pp. 199–292 (avec l'édition du texte); IDEM, *Note agiografiche* 3, Studi e Testi XXII 1909, pp. 3–31, 111–114; DELEHAYE, *o.c.* (n. 5), pp. 55–59; X. DUPUIS, *Hagiographie ancienne et histoire: exemple de la Passion du Lucius et de Montanus*, REAug XLIX 2003, pp. 253–265; KACZMARKOWSKI, *o.c.* (n. 5).

J'emploie la traduction française de HAMMAN, *o.c.* (n. 5), pp. 150–165.

¹⁵ *O.c.* (n. 14), pp. 219–224.

¹⁶ *PMont* 12.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

décrivant leurs souffrances, elle doit donner aux futures générations le témoignage et l'exemple de la grandeur de Dieu. Le but est donc plutôt d'édifier les fidèles que de les informer.

Ce témoignage des prisonniers est complété par un auteur anonyme de la seconde partie, car, comme il affirme, les auteurs de la lettre, par modestie, n'ont pas donné toutes les informations. De plus, Flavien a exigé (*hoc nobis iniunxit*)¹⁸ que la lettre soit complétée par une description détaillée du martyr. Cet auteur anonyme est l'ami et probablement l'élève de Flavien. Il était le témoin oculaire de son martyr et de celui de ses compagnons¹⁹. Cette partie de l'œuvre est aussi écrite dans un style rhétorique plein d'acclamations; J.B. DE ROSSI y voit des ressemblances avec le style de Commodien²⁰. Il parle en premier lieu du martyr de Montanus et de Lucius, et puis il passe au martyr de Flavien. Dans cette partie, l'auteur a ajouté à la description de son martyr celle des visions que lui a dictées Flavien. Nous pouvons donc traiter ces fragments aussi comme fragments autobiographiques de Flavien, sous forme de prolongement de la lettre.

La *Passion* contient les descriptions des souffrances et du séjour en prison des autres martyrs ainsi que quatre visions: celle de Renus (la vision des futurs martyrs [5]), celle du prêtre Victor (le Christ sous forme d'un enfant prédit son martyr [7]), celle de Quartillosa, femme et mère de martyrs (vision de son fils qui lui prédit le martyr et des jeunes hommes qui offrent une coupe de lait [8]) et enfin celle de Montanus (transporté dans un jardin, il voit une tâche sur lui-même, résultat d'un différend avec le prêtre Julien [11]). Dans la deuxième partie de la *Passion*, nous pouvons trouver aussi des visions de Flavien, dictées par lui-même et écrites à sa demande: une conversation avec l'évêque Cyprien (on est un an après son martyr), la vision d'un homme qui lui prédit sa décapitation et enfin la vision de l'évêque Successus, dernièrement martyrisé, qui lui prédit son martyr prochain et lui demande de se réconcilier avec le prêtre Julien (ces trois visions se trouvent au chapitre 21).

Exception faite de la première partie (lettre des martyrs), les fragments autobiographiques de cette *Passion* contiennent, en grande partie, les descriptions de visions qui sont beaucoup moins longues que dans la *Passion de Perpétue* et ne constituent qu'une petite partie de cet ouvrage; ils sont aussi moins pittoresques et, contrairement à ce que l'on trouve chez Perpétue, sont bien insérés dans le texte de la *Passion*. Ce qui est typique à ces deux *Passions* est le fait que toutes les deux parlent des querelles entre les prêtres et de la nécessité d'une mutuelle réconciliation.

¹⁸ *PMont* 12; 21.

¹⁹ *PMont* 19: «Illic nos in latere eius constituti eramus ita ut manus manibus teneremur».

²⁰ *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* 1880, pp. 66–68.

3. *La Passion de Marianus et Jacobus* (sous l'empereur Valérien, Lambèse, Numidie, année 259)²¹.

Nous voilà devant un troisième type d'autobiographie. Son auteur n'est pas seulement un témoin oculaire décrivant les événements, mais il y participe²². LENAIN DE TILLEMONT le considère comme élève de S. Cyprien. Nous avons ici affaire à un ouvrage autobiographique où l'auteur écrit une fois à la première personne – quand il est avec les martyrs et participe à leur sort; quand il est un témoin des événements, il écrit à la troisième personne. L'auteur est arrêté avec des membres du clergé et ensuite libéré, probablement parce qu'il est laïc et que la persécution sous Valérien ne concerne que le clergé. Dans cette situation, les emprisonnés lui demandent de décrire leur martyre afin qu'il serve d'exemple à la postérité.

Dans cette *Passion*, nous trouvons aussi des descriptions de quelques visions, encore plus neutres que dans la *Passion* précédente. C'est la *double vision* de Jacobus et Marianus. Marianus raconte sa vision d'un tribunal où participe aussi St. Cyprien qui le conduit à une source d'eau vive [6]. Jacobus, entendant ce récit, se rappelle une vision récente qu'il avait quelques jours plus tôt, au cours de laquelle il a vu un homme qui lui demandait de le suivre [7].

Intéressante est la vision d'un ascète laïque, Emilien, qui raconte la rencontre avec son frère-païen avec lequel il discute au sujet de la foi [8]. À la fin de cet ouvrage, nous trouvons enfin la vision de Jacobus qui participe avec Marianus à un festin de l'évêque Agapius, déjà martyrisé [11]. À la fin de la *Passion*, nous avons une scène étrange: les martyrs, juste avant leur mort, ont des visions et les communiquent aux fidèles et les complètent mutuellement. À la fin, Marianus prononce des prophéties [12].

En ce qui concerne l'auteur de cette *Passion*, nous pouvons dire seulement que c'est un homme simple et non éduqué, mais plein de bonne volonté. Il essaye d'écrire une œuvre littéraire mais le résultat est entaché de rhétorique mauvaise et artificielle; de plus, l'ouvrage constitue un ensemble assez chaotique. Du point de vue littéraire, nous avons à faire à un ouvrage assez faible et sans valeur littéraire.

²¹ Les plus importantes éditions: MUSURILLO, *o.c.* (n. 5), pp. 194–213; LEAL, *o.c.* (n. 5), pp. 179–209 (bibliographie). Autres éditions: BHL 131 suiv. (Agapius et cet.); BHLns.

Cf. ALLARD, *o.c.* (n. 14), pp. 135–139; MONCEAUX, *o.c.* (n. 5), pp. 153–165; FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *Note...* (n. 14), pp. 7–73; J. ARONEN, *Marianus' Vision in the Acta of Marianus and Jacobus. An Analysis of Style, Structure and Composition*, WS XCVII 1984, pp. 169–186.

S. Augustin, *Sermo* 284 (= MIGNE, *PL* XXXVIII, 1288–1293); cf. *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, t. 1, Roma 1930, p. 719; M. SIMONETTI, *La Passione di Mariano e Giacomo e il sermone 284 di san-t'Agostino*, Orpheus IV 1957, pp. 76–82 (*sermo* plus ancienne que la *passion*); DELEHAYE, *o.c.* (n. 5), pp. 59–62; KACZMARKOWSKI, *o.c.* (n. 5).

J'utilise la traduction française de HAMMAN, *o.c.* (n. 5), pp. 137–149.

²² *PMar* 1; 4.

II. CONCLUSIONS

1. Autobiographie

Nous pouvons constater que nous avons ici trois différents ouvrages où l'élément autobiographique est traité d'une manière différente bien qu'on y trouve des fragments semblables. Dans ces trois ouvrages, nous avons deux types de fragments autobiographiques: les récits des passions et des visions des martyrs. Dans la *Passion de Perpétue et Félicité*, les éléments autobiographiques remplissent presque la moitié de cet ouvrage bien composé et constituent un bloc thématique. Nous trouvons ici les deux types de fragments autobiographiques mentionnés plus haut, bien qu'ils jouent un rôle différent: les narrations constituent une partie harmonieusement liée à l'ensemble de l'ouvrage, tandis que les visions de Perpétue et de Saturus dans la *Passion de Perpétue* sont plutôt indépendantes de l'action.

Dans la *Passion de Montanus et Lucius*, la première partie de l'ouvrage est autobiographique: c'est une lettre-homélie, écrite dans un style rhétorique, qui contient le récit de la passion des martyrs. Les visions de Flavien et des autres martyrs qui se trouvent dans la seconde partie de la *Passion* sont plus courtes et moins significatives, mais elles sont strictement liées au fil de la narration.

Il semble que les visions sont les plus importants éléments autobiographiques pour les auteurs de ces *Passions* et qu'elles sont considérées comme une partie fondamentale de ces ouvrages. Il semble aussi que l'auteur de la *Passion de Pèrpetue et Félicité* utilise le mot «vision» pour désigner l'ensemble de la *Passion*.

Du point de vue formel nous avons deux sortes de textes sur les visions: de longues et assez complètes descriptions, telles qu'elles se trouvent dans la *Passion de Pèrpetue et Félicité* et quelques-unes dans deux autres textes; les autres visions ne sont que des résumés des visions, comme celles de Remus ou de Flavien dans la *Passion de Montanus et Lucius*. Enfin, dans les deux derniers textes on ne trouve que quelques mentions de visions.

La *Passion de Marianus et Jacobus* est une autobiographie plutôt descriptive; les courtes descriptions des visions n'y jouent pas un rôle aussi important que dans les *Passions* précédentes.

2. Mise en écrit

En lisant ces textes nous nous trouvons devant un fait assez inattendu: pour les martyrs, écrire leur passion et exprimer par écrit leurs expériences spirituelles constitue quelque chose d'extrêmement important: ils les décrivent eux-mêmes ou ils exigent que les autres les décrivent. On le voit particulièrement dans la *Passion de Perpétue et Félicité* où l'auteur de ce texte note les visions des martyres en prison bien qu'elles ne soient pas directement liées à l'action de la *Passion* et à la description du martyr.

On ne peut pas douter que les martyrs dont nous parlons savaient écrire, qu'ils étaient capables d'exprimer leurs sentiments et de décrire leur situation.

Les doutes sur la capacité de savoir écrire de Perpétue, exprimés par certains chercheurs, sont inadmissibles: bien que les femmes à l'époque fussent souvent analphabètes, ce ne fut certainement pas le cas de Perpétue, issue d'une noble famille, femme d'une certaine culture qui a reçu une bonne éducation (*liberata liter instituta*)²³, connaissait et parlait même le grec²⁴. Ces doutes sont donc injustifiés.

Mais est-ce qu'il était possible d'écrire en prison? St. Paul, St. Ignace d'Antioche, St. Cyprien²⁵ écrivaient des lettres en prison; Eusèbe de Césarée nous parle des lettres écrites dans les prisons²⁶. Certainement pas dans les ténèbres de la prison intérieure où Perpétue et les autres martyrs passèrent un certain temps²⁷. Mais le reste du temps, ils étaient dans l'autre partie de la prison où il y avait de la lumière et où ils pouvaient écrire bien que cela ne fût pas très facile. Les vifs contacts avec l'extérieur permettaient de faire passer aux prisonniers le matériel pour écrire et ensuite de faire sortir les textes écrits à l'extérieur; plusieurs textes sur les martyrs nous parlent des diacres qui visitaient les prisonniers, prenaient soin d'eux et les aidaient – le cas où les diacres ont fait sortir Perpétue et Félicité de la prison intérieure contre de l'argent²⁸ est emblématique – et leur apportaient l'Eucharistie; le temps ne manquait pas aux prisonniers pour écrire leur passion et leurs visions. En outre, les martyrs recevaient des visites de beaucoup d'autres personnes²⁹. Les prisonniers écrivaient ces textes eux-mêmes comme le confirment les auteurs de nos *Passions*. Mais ces affirmations ne signifient pas qu'ils devaient les écrire *manu propria*. Les expressions employées peuvent être comprises aussi dans le sens où ils étaient leurs auteurs, c'est-à-dire qu'ils les ont écrites ou dictées, comme c'était la coutume à l'époque. La seconde solution était aussi possible.

Il est sûr que Perpétue écrivait un journal. Est-ce que Saturus l'écrivait aussi en prison ou a-t-il seulement écrit ou dicté cette vision? Nous ne pouvons rien dire³⁰.

Comment ces journaux ont-ils été utilisés? La lettre à la communauté de Carthage qui figure dans la *Passion de Montanus et Lucius* a été employée dans sa totalité et insérée dans cette *Passion*. En ce qui concerne la *Passion de*

²³ *PPerp* 2, 1.

²⁴ *PPerp* 13.

²⁵ *Lettres* 22; 23; 31, et cet.

²⁶ *Historie ecclésiastique* V 3, 4 (lettres des montanistes); VI 11, 5 (martyrs d'Alexandrie). Cf. aussi MIGNE, *PL* CXIV, 408 (Lucien d'Antioche).

²⁷ *PPerp* 3; *PMont* 4. Ils n'utilisent pas l'expression *prison intérieure* mais ils parlent des ténèbres.

²⁸ *PPerp* 3.

²⁹ *PPerp* 9; 16; *PMont* 4; 9.

³⁰ «Saturus visionem suam edidit quam ipse conscripsit», *PPerp* 11.

Perpétue et Félicité, l'auteur a fait le choix³¹ du journal de Perpétue, mais nous ne savons rien de plus sur la forme du journal de la jeune martyre sauf le fait que s'y trouvait la description du séjour en prison et les visions. Nous ne savons pas non plus quels étaient les critères selon lesquels l'auteur de la *Passion* a choisi ces fragments et comment il a utilisé le journal. Nous ne savons pas non plus si l'auteur de l'ouvrage a remanié le texte ou non et, éventuellement, quels changements il a introduit. Dans la *Passion de Montanus, Lucius et leurs compagnons*, l'auteur affirme qu'il devait compléter les informations des martyrs car, par modestie, ils les ont omises³². Les visions de Flavien ont été reprises presque au dernier moment avant son martyre, on peut dire la même chose des autres visions des martyrs que l'on trouve dans cette *Passion*.

L'examen de ces trois *Passions* nous permet de constater que les martyrs ont demandé eux-mêmes à décrire leurs expériences, leurs souffrances et leurs visions³³. Dans le cas de Perpétue, nous savons qu'elle a demandé que son journal soit transcrit fidèlement comme l'a écrit l'auteur de la *Passion*; la terminologie employée prouve que la demande fut formulée en termes assez fermes³⁴.

En concluant nous pouvons dire que nous ne savons rien sur la façon d'écrire les *Passions* ni sur l'utilisation des matériaux autobiographiques de nos auteurs.

3. Le but

L'insistance des martyrs pour que leur expérience soit exprimée en paroles nous étonne. Pourquoi cette insistance? Dans les trois *Passions*, nous trouvons des explications plus ou moins semblables. Leur but est de transmettre leurs expériences aux futures générations, «car elles attestent la grâce de Dieu et édifie les hommes [...] de sorte qu'ils ne soient plus pusillanimes ni méfiants à l'égard de la grâce»³⁵, car ils sont un exemple de la bonté de Dieu. Et «les exemples anciens nous ont servi de modèles; tirons aussi notre profit des exemples nouveaux»³⁶. Elles sont donc écrites pour témoigner, mais aussi pour édifier les fidèles: on les considère comme un service rendu à la postérité. Et c'est pour cette raison justement que les martyrs ont insisté pour que leurs souffrances et leur martyre soient décrits fidèlement et transmis aux générations futures.

³¹ «Hae visiones insigniores ipsorum martyrum beatissimorum Staturi et Perpetuae», *PPerp* 14. On ne parle ici que de visions, mais on peut prendre cette expression comme *pars pro toto*.

³² *PMont* 12

³³ P. ex. *PMar* 1: les martyrs «in notitiam fraternitatis per nos venire iusserunt».

³⁴ «Mandatum sanctissimae Perpetuae, immo fideicommissum eius exsequimur», *PPerp* 16. Sur l'expression *fideicommissum*, cf. LEAL, *o.c.* (n. 5), p. 127.

³⁵ *PPerp* 1; *PMont* 1; 10; *PMar* 1.

³⁶ *PMont* 22.

Mais il reste une question. Pourquoi trouvons-nous seulement dans le milieu africain des éléments autobiographiques dans les actes des martyrs? Je crois que la solution est assez simple: les martyrs dans ces deux *Passions*, celles de Montanus et Lucius et de Marianus et Jacobus ont subi par exemple l'influence du journal de Perpétue et l'ont imité. Ils décrivent eux-mêmes aussi, comme elle, leurs expériences physiques et spirituelles de prison avant leur martyre, ce que l'on peut constater dans le style et dans les formulations. Les martyrs écrivent donc leurs propres mémoires et souvenirs et les transmettent aux autres. Mais là se termine l'imitation: elle se limite uniquement à la forme; le contenu, bien qu'il renferme, comme chez la martyre de Carthage, la description du séjour en prison et les visions, demeure assez différent. Ainsi la *Passion* de la célèbre martyre de Carthage devient un modèle pour les autres *Passions* où les martyrs introduisent leurs propres expériences, leur propre mode de perception et leur personnalité.

Mais est-il habituel que dans les autres provinces de l'Empire romain les prisonniers, futurs martyrs, décrivent leur vies, leur souffrances, leurs visions dans les prisons – écrivent donc une sorte d'autobiographie? Il serait peut-être intéressant de relire toute la littérature sur les martyrs de ce point de vue.

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DAS MITTELALTERLICHE THEATER IN SICHT DER THEORETISCHEN UND CHRONISTISCHEN SCHRIFTEN

Von

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In Mittelalter wurde Wissenschaft nicht definitiv beschrieben und aufgeteilt. Mehrere mittelalterliche Denker – in Praxis Theologe und Philosophen – versuchten den Wissenstand in Rahmen einer universellen Systematik darzustellen¹. Das meist verbreitete System stützte sich auf die *septem artes liberales*, aber es umfasste nicht alle damaligen Wissenschaften und Künste. Das mittelalterliche Wissen über Theaterwesen wurde nicht in diese Rahmen einbezogen. Selbstverständlich ist das kein Vorwurf; das ähnliche Schicksal teilt auch die Geschichte, die als eine „Hilfswissenschaft“ der Theologie verstanden wurde (SCHMALE 1985: 204).

In diesen ziemlich begrenzten Rahmen funktionierten das Theater und die Dramatik auf zwei Grundebenen: (1) als *scientia*, die erforscht und gelehrt wurde, und (2) als ein interessantes *curiosum* für breiteres Publikum. Unbedingt muß man an eine theatralische Praxis (vor allem eine Darstellungspraxis) denken, aber in meinem Beitrag wird diese letzte Perspektive nur eine ergänzende Funktion erfüllen.

Die ersten theoretischen Versuche, das Theater zu definieren, stammen aus der Wende des Altertums und des Mittelalters. Sie stellten ein oberflächliches und vereinfachteres Bild des alten Theaters dar. Das europäische Bewusstsein wurde tief durch Meinungen Isidors von Sevilla geprägt. Seine Feststellungen wurden lange Jahrhunderte erwähnt und wiederholt². Neben den „technischen“ Informationen wie: Schauspieler und ihre Kategorien oder eine Etymologie der Wörter *theatrum*, *amphitheatrum*, *scaena*, findet man auch halbfabulöse

¹ Diese Problematik wurde schon mehrmals erforscht. Aus den wichtigsten Arbeiten soll man erwähnen: GILSON 1987; CROMBIE 1961; KNAPE 1984; in der polnischen Wissenschaft TATARKIEWICZ 1972; MICHALOWSKA 2007.

² Dazu NICOLL 1977: 56.

Erläuterungen, die das Theater mit *lupanaria* assoziieren³. Solche Feststellungen wirkten auf nächste Generationen der Denker und ihre Spure sind auch in „minder wissenschaftlichen“ Schriften – wie Predigebücher – zu finden⁴.

Mit dem Zeitlauf wurde das Theater immer interessanter für damalige Theoretiker. Die Beweise solcher Interessen liefern verschiedene *summae*, *tractatus*, *commentarii* oder andere Schriften. Es ist keine Überraschung, dass die Mehrheit von ihnen in 12. Jahrhundert geschrieben wurden. Die Zeit der „Prärenaissance“ war die Epoche der neuen Ideen und kritischer Bewertungen der bisher existierenden Meinungen und Anschauungen⁵. Deswegen kann man verstehen, warum die Theologe und Philosophen als erste Forscher auftraten. Die Literaturwissenschaft in unserem modernen Sinne existierte nicht: sie wurde in diverse Wissensbereiche aufgeteilt. Andererseits verfügten die mittelalterlichen Denker über ein notwendiges theoretisches Instrumentarium, um die Literatur zu forschen. Dank ihrer Arbeit und ihren Schriften sind die Forscher heutzutage imstande, die Grundzüge der mittelalterlichen Theorie der Literatur zu rekonstruieren⁶.

Ein Denker jener Zeit, Hugo de Sancto Victore, in seinem *Didascalion* die Theaterwissenschaft so definierte:

Theatrica dicitur scientia ludorum a theatro quo populus ad ludendum convenire solebat, non quia in theatro tantum ludus fieret, sed quia celebrior locus fuerat caeteris. Fiebant autem ludi alii in theatris, alii in atriis, alii in gymnasiis, alii in conviviis, alii in fanis. In theatro gesta recitabantur, vel carminibus, vel larvis, vel personis, vel oscillis. In atriis chores ducebant et saltabant. In gymnasiis luctabantur. In amphicircis cursu certabant vel pedum, vel equorum, vel curruum. In arenis pugiles exercitabantur. In conviviis rhythmis et musicis instrumentis et odibus psallebant, et alea ludebant.

(MIGNE, *PL* CLXXVI 762)

³ „De theatro. Theatrum est quo[d] scena includitur, semicirculi figuram habens, in quo stantes omnes inspiciunt. Cuius forma primum rotunda erat, sicut et amphitheatri, postea ex medio amphitheatro theatrum factum est. Theatrum autem ab spectaculo nominatum ἀπὸ τῆς θεωρίας quod in eo populus stans desuper atque spectans ludos contempleretur. Idem vero theatrum, idem et prostibulum, eo quod post ludos exactos meretrices ibi prostarentur. Idem et lupanar vocatum ab eisdem meretricibus, quae propter vulgati corporis levitatem lupae nuncupabantur: nam lupae meretrices sunt a rapacitate vocatae, quod ad se rapiant miseros et adprehendant. Lupanaria enim a paganis constituta sunt ut pudor mulierum infelicitium ibi publicaretur, et ludibrio haberentur tam hi qui facerent quam qui paterentur“ (Isid. *Etyim.* XVIII 42); „De Scena. Scena autem erat locus infra theatrum in modum domus instructa cum pulpito, qui pulpitus orchestra vocabantur; ubi cantabant comici, tragici atque saltabant histriones et mimi“ (ibidem, 43).

⁴ Dazu siehe LEWAŃSKI 1959: 169–171.

⁵ Das Phänomen des 12. Jhds. wurde mehrmals erforscht. Aus Raumgründen nenne ich nur einige Bücher: HASKINS 1933; ULLMANN 1977; SMALLEY 1981. Diese Problematik ist ständig lebhaft, wovon neue Veröffentlichungen zeugen.

⁶ In der polnischen Wissenschaft eine wichtige Rolle spielt das maßgebende Werk von MICHAŁOWSKA 2007.

Diese Worte zeugen deutlich, dass Theater und Theaterwesen schon ein Objekt der theoretischen Überlegungen bildeten. Im Vergleich zur früheren Definition von Isidor klingen die Feststellungen Hugos „rein“ theoretisch und „echt“ methodologisch. Dazu sind sie kompakt⁷. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass Hugo *theatrica* zu den *septem artes mechanicae* zählte. Diese Klassifizierung vermindert nicht die Bedeutung des Theaters. Das System der *artes liberales* war etabliert und geschlossen. Auch befriedigen alle *artes mechanicae* die menschlichen Bedürfnisse, sowohl alltägliche, wie. z. B. Landwirtschaft, als auch seltenere, teilweise geistige wie Medizin oder Theaterwissenschaft. Obwohl der Denker *theatrica* zu den *artes* zählte, nannte er sie konsequent als *scientia*. Diese terminologische Verschiebung ist kein Verwirrungsfaktor. Die Termini *techne*, *ars* und *scientia* waren nicht statisch oder klar miteinander abgegrenzt⁸. Man kann auch hier ein weiterer Einfluß von Plato und seiner Aufteilungen in *poietische* und *mimetische* Künste vermuten⁹.

Es scheint auch, dass Hugo seine Beachtung besonders den Arten der Darstellung schenkte, weil er mehrere theatralische und paratheatralische Formen¹⁰ erwähnt (*carmen*, *larva*, *oscilla* usw.). Der Philosoph kannte unterschiedliche Arten der schauspielerischen Aktivität und diverse Formen des Zuschauerraums. Seine Äußerung umfaßt zwei Ebene: verallgemeiner-philosophische Sphäre und Sphäre der alltäglichen Theaterpraxis.

In demselben Fluß plazierten sich auch Bemerkungen von Hl. Bonaventura. In seinem Werk *De reductione artium ad theologiam* schrieb er:

Si est ad solatium et delectationem, sic est theatrica, que est ars ludorum, omnem modum ludendi continens, sive sit in cantibus, sive in organis, sive in figmentis, sive in gesticulationibus corporis. – Si vero ordinatur ad commodum sive profectum secundum exteriorem hominem, hoc potest esse aut quantum ad operimentum, aut quantum ad alimentum, aut quantum ad utriusque administriculum.

(Bonaventura 1938: 366 f.)

Diese – auch – kurze Äußerung definierte präzise alle Bestandteile der Schauspielerkunst: Gestik, Singen, Musik und Sprache. Das Wort *figmentum* hat verschiedene Bedeutungen, aber für vorliegende Überlegungen sind meist passende: „Fiktion“ und „Poema“¹¹. Die Verwendung dieser Begriffe scheint die

⁷ Hugos Überlegungen zum Theater und seiner Natur analysierte TATARKIEWICZ 1972: 301–309.

⁸ Dazu MICHAŁOWSKA 2007: 13–15; TATARKIEWICZ 2005: 21–88; TATARKIEWICZ 1972: 305–307.

⁹ Pl. *Resp.* 601 d.

¹⁰ Der Unterschied zwischen *theatralisch* und *paratheatralisch* ist allgemein bekannt. Jedoch werden diese zwei Sphäre miteinander verbunden. Ihre gegenseitigen Relationen wurden in letzten Jahren intensiv geforscht und fruchten mit mehreren Veröffentlichungen. Unter ihnen ist BALME, WAGNER 2004 besonders instruktiv.

¹¹ Vgl. M. PLEZIA (hrsg.), *Lexicon mediae et infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*, vol. IV, fasc. 2, Wrocław 1975, Sp. 187: „I. concr. *twór*; *wymysł*; *fictio*, *fictura* II. abstr. 1. *wymysł*, *klamstwo*;

kreative Macht des Theaters zu betonen. Moralisch ist dieses Vorhaben gerechtfertigt, weil es hier um würdigen Trost und Erbauung geht. Die *theatrica* samt anderen Künsten dient dem Menschen. Diese Bemerkung klingt identisch wie frühere Feststellungen von Hugo. Es kann vermutet werden, dass Bonaventura eine gewisse Orientierung in der Darstellungstechnik hatte, wovon die Aufzählung der Mittel und Techniken des Theaters zeugt.

Im Mittelalter wurden auch Schauspieler näher definiert. Schon wurden ihre verschiedenen Kategorien – besonders in Bezug auf technische und künstlerische Kenntnisse – gut erforscht¹². Aber hier möchte ich mich mit „philosophischer“ Idee des Schauspielers befassen. Peter Abelard formulierte auch solche Meinung:

Personas etiam comoediarum dicimus ipsos videlicet homines, qui per gestus suos aliqua nobis facta vel dicta repraesentant. Quas et ipse Boetius ibidem distinxit dicens: „Nomen personae videtur aliunde tractum, ex hiis scilicet personis, quae in comoediis tragoediisque eos quod interest homines repraesentabant“. Tribus itaque seu quatuor modis ac pluribus fortassis hoc nomen persona sumitur; aliter videlicet a theologis, aliter a grammaticis, aliter a rhetoribus, vel in comoediis, ut supra determinatum est¹³.

Der mittelalterliche Denker zeigte das notwendigste und grundlegende Merkmal der Schauspielerei – *repraesentatio*. Der Schauspieler ist gleichzeitig ein Schöpfer und ein Stoff für Schöpfung. Es ist sogar möglich diese Worte ferner mit *Gestalt*-Konzeption zu assoziieren¹⁴.

Abelard war nicht der Einzige, der einer Vieldeutigkeit des Wortes *persona* seine Beachtung schenkte. Auch unterschied Alanus ab Insulis präzise mehrere Formen dieses Begriffs. Seine Überlegungen stellte er in Werk *Distinctiones dictionum theologicalium* dar:

Apud rhetorem etiam persona dicitur qui propter suum factum vel dictum vel suas possessiones trahitur in causam, unde: *Artis rhetoricae materia sunt persona et negotium*. Etiam apud illos qui tractant comoedias vel tragoedias persona dicitur

simulatio, mendacium 2. poetarum et abs. *zmyślenie, fikcja* (zwl. *poetycka*); *factio* (*praec. poetarum*)¹², ähnlich O. WEIJERS, M. GUMBERT-HEPP (Hrsg.), *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae*, vol. IV, Leiden 1990, Sp. 2048 f.: „1. *vormsel, maaksel: quod fingitur, opus, plasma* 2. *verzinsel, fictie; quod confingitur*, b) [auch mit „poeticum“ z. B.:] Grote: *Non est in hoc mendacium sicut in neque in poeticis figmentis, quibus mores instruuntur*. [...] 4. *gedicht; poema*“; auch J.F. NIERMEYER, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, Leiden 2001, S. 425: „1. *représentation, image – notion, image* 2. *création, créature – creation, creature* 3. *fiction, invention poétique – fiction, poetical invention*“.

¹² Seit Jahren ist ein Handbuch für Beichtväter von Thomas de Chabham allgemein bekannt, in dem der Priester unterschiedliche Kategorien der Schauspieler beschrieb. Vgl. NICOLL 1977: 56 f., 287 f.

¹³ Petrus Abelardus, *Theologia Christiana* III 1258 C f. Für Hilfe beim Erfinden der entsprechenden Passagen bei Abelard möchte ich Frau GLIŃSKA danken.

¹⁴ Zur Thematik „Schauspieler als Schöpfer und Gestalt“ siehe BALME 2002: 154–165; auch PFISTER 1997: 45–47 und (mit Schwerpunkt auf *Gestalt*) STYAN 1975: 65–67.

histrion, qui variis modis personando diversos status hominum repraesentat, et citur persona a *personando*, quae manifeste ostendit Boetius in lib. *De duplici natura et una persona Jesu Christi*. Apud grammaticos dicitur etiam persona res supposita locutioni, secundum quam acceptionem tres distinguuntur personae: prima, secunda, tertia.

(MIGNE, *PL CCX*, 899 B)

Die Verwendung der grammatischer Terminologie und eine grammatische Erläuterung plaziert diese Meinung in der Nähe der damaligen Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft (MICHALOWSKA 2007). Weiter, kann die erwähnte Verwandtschaft zwischen der Rhetorik und der Schauspielerei – besonders in Bezug auf Ciceros Schreiben – nicht überraschen. Der römische Rhetor wies auf zahlreiche Beziehungen zwischen dem *opus oratorium* und der Schauspielerei hin¹⁵. Der Begriff *persona* kann ein „gemeinsamer Nenner“ für eine Theorie und eine theatralische Praxis sein. Er wurde auch von Johannes de Garlandia benutzt.

De Personarum Introductione. Illa species narrationis que consistit in positione personarum, ne sit uiciosa, vi exquirat proprietates a sex rebus sumptis, que sunt: fortune condicio, etas, sexus, officium, natio, ydioma, quod notatur hiis uersibus in Poetria¹⁶.

Schon in mittelalterlichen Kommentaren zu dramatischen Texten wurden Bezeichnungen *persona introducta/personae introductae* verwendet¹⁷.

Von solchen Definitionsversuchen war es nicht so weit zu vollständigen Abrissen des Theaterwesens. Als der Erste in Polen (und dazu als einer der Ersten in mittelalterlichen Europa) schuf einen solchen Andrzej Grzymała von Posen, der an der Krakauer Universität 1451 Vorlesungen über Theater und Komödie hatte (LEWAŃSKI 1989: 319–337). Anhand der Komödie *Poliscene* von Leonardo Bruni erläuterte der Professor seinen Zuhörern die wichtigsten Eigenschaften des Theaters und die Natur beider dramatischen Gattungen – Komödie und Tragödie. Die Vorlesungen wurden in Form des Kommentars zum Text geführt, was eine übliche mittelalterliche Praktik war. Diese Vorlesungen über die *Poliscene* dauerten ein Semester, aber die theatralische Thematik war für damalige Forscher stets interessant. Deswegen wurde die *Poliscene* 1518 und 1523 nochmals gelesen und kommentiert (LEWAŃSKI 1989: 320). Die zur ersten Vorlesung zugehörigen eruditionsvollen Kommentare wurden in Notizen eines Studenten aufbewahrt (LEWAŃSKI 1989: 321 f.).

¹⁵ Cic. *Orat.* 109 und 173.

¹⁶ Johannes de Garlandia 1974: 102. Siehe auch BARAŃSKI 2004: 54.

¹⁷ Z. B. *Poliscene*, Ms. der Universitätsbibliothek Wrocław IV F 68, fol. 23v wird es dort auch gelesen: „Persone introducte: Macharius pater Gracci [...]“; vgl. LEWAŃSKI 1989: 321.

Alle obengenannten Beispiele ermöglichen eine ständige Vertiefung und Verbreitung der mittelalterlichen wissenschaftlichen Forschungen über Theater zu bestätigen. Gleichzeitig war der Kreis der Theatersliebhaber immer größer. Von einzelnen Denkern führte der Weg zu Studierenden an mittelalterlichen Universitäten. Hier soll man fragen, ob ein anderer Kreis sich auch für Theatergelegenheiten interessierte?

Die Antwort können die mittelalterlichen Chroniken erteilen. Sie stellten auch eine Art der populären Literatur mit publizistischen Funktionen¹⁸ dar. Deswegen konnten irgendwelche Anmerkungen zum Theater auf relativ größeres Publikum wirken, obwohl die direkten Nachrichten über Theater oder Schauspieler relativ selten zu finden sind. Der Chronist interessierte sich für diese Sphäre nur wenn sie ein *Mirabilium* darstellte. So tat der polnische Chronist Johannes Długosz, der das Theater in ersten Sätzen des *Liber Beneficiorum Dioecesis Cracoviensis*, eines Werkes über Eigentum der Krakauer Kirche, erwähnte¹⁹. Die Plazierung des Theaters in der direkten Nachbarschaft der Münzstätte, der Fechtkunst und des Sitzes des Obergerichts zeugt, dass der Chronist das Theater nicht als eine Form des menschlichen Geistes, sondern als eine Sehenswürdigkeit verstand, die der Hauptstadt den Ruhm zugibt²⁰.

In seinem 12 Bücher umfassenden Großwerk *Annales seu Cronicae Incliti Regni Poloniae* benutzte Długosz zweimal (*sub anno 1283* und *sub anno 1285*) ein vieldeutiges Wort *theatra*²¹. Bis heute sind die Forscher nicht imstande endgültig festzustellen, was das Wort *theatrum* genau in diesem konkreten Fall bedeutet. Neben den Versuchen, *theatrum* exakt als ein „echtes“ Theaterspiel zu verstehen, existieren andere, die diese Bezeichnung als „volkstümliches Lied“²² erklären.

¹⁸ Das Phänomen der publizistischen Funktion der mittelalterlichen Chronistik wurde in letzten Jahrzehnten systematisch diskutiert und erforscht. *Exempli gratia* weise ich nur auf einige Arbeiten hin: GRAUS 1987: 11–55; HAMMERSTEIN 1989: 19–32; STUDT 1999: 305–321; BANASZKIEWICZ 2009: 423–434; KÜRBIS 1981: 19–34.

¹⁹ „[...] in hac [*scil.* Cracovia] curiae et certamina, in hac sollemnitates omnes celebrantur; ab hac Poloniae populis redduntur iura, numisma cuditur et in universum regnum derivatur, in hac gladiatorum munus et theatrales eduntur ludi [...]“ (Długossius 1887: 1).

²⁰ So stark akzentuiert LEWAŃSKI 1956: 85 f.

²¹ „[...] quod etiam in nostram usque etatem constat pertigisse nostrique seculi illud concinunt theatra“ (Długossius 1975: 226); „[...] carmina vulgaria ab agrestibus ruditer composita, lingua Polonica in theatris usque ad nostra tempora canebantur [...]“ (ibidem, 238). Vgl. LEWAŃSKI 1956: 85 f.

²² In seiner polnischen Übersetzung der relevanten Abschnitte schreibt J. LEWAŃSKI konsequent „teatr“, andere Forscher sind nicht sicher, dass es hier wirklich um echtes Theater geht. Die Herausgeber der polnischen Übersetzung der Chronik scheinen es daran zu zweifeln und verwenden Wörter, die „Volksspiel“ und „Lied“ bedeuten (Długossius 1974: 287, 302).

Anders benutzte der 200 Jahre früher lebender polnischer Chronist Magister Vincentius das Theaterwissen in seinem Werk²³. Für ihm war das Theater ein Knotenpunkt in seiner intellektuellen Formation. Von vier Teilen seiner Chronik wurden drei erste dialogisiert. Das Buch wird mit markanten Worten begonnen:

Tres tribus ex causis theatrales oderunt sollempnitates; primi nomen Codrus, secundi Alcibiades, tertii Diogenes.

(Magister Vincentius 1994: 3)

Sie kehren den Leser zur klassischen Tradition in Mittelalter und zur damaligen Wissenschaft, vor allem zur Philosophie²⁴. Das ganze Werk ist mit Theater durchdrungen. Chronist kannte und benutzte die Sprache des Theaters. Das ist sichtbar sowohl in der Konstruktion der dargestellten Welt, als auch in der Wahl der linguistischen Ausdrücke. Aber bildet diese Problematik ein unübersehbares Meer und verdient, in einem anderen Beitrag erörtert zu werden²⁵.

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²³ Zu ihm und seinem Werk siehe Magister Vincentius 1994 (lateinischer Text) und 1992 (polnische Übersetzung und Kommentar). Die neusten Forschungen zu diesem Autor wurden in dem Buch *Onus Athlanteum* (DĄBRÓWKA, WOJTOWICZ 2009) gesammelt.

²⁴ WOJTOWICZ 2004: 41–51; WOJTOWICZ 2009: 87–99; KALUŻA 2007: 89–132; KALUŻA, CALMA 2009: 231–278.

²⁵ Einige von solchen Problemen analysierte BERING 2009: 378–383.

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Marek Winiarczyk, *Utopie w Grecji hellenistycznej* [“Utopias in Hellenistic Greece”], Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2010, 356 pp., ISBN 978-83-229-3140-0, PLN 31,50 (Antiquitas XXXII, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No 3229)*.

Marek Winiarczyk [= W.], an outstanding classical philologist as well as a religious studies expert and a historian of philosophy from Wrocław University assigned himself a difficult, albeit very interesting, research task in his *Utopias in Hellenistic Greece*. The book is a result of the need to analyse the phenomenon of Hellenistic utopian novel (in its various forms and genres), which has not been featured prominently and in fact has been largely neglected in terms of philological and historical research on the writing of the period. What is more, the author chose to interpret comprehensive source material related to this matter, not only literary and historiographical, but also epigraphical, numismatical, papyrological and archaeological, which has oftentimes been treated only perfunctorily by researchers of Greek writing. He declared his very ambitious intentions in the preface, saying he wanted to present a certain synthesis of the phenomenon of Hellenistic utopia, to organise and classify the extant utopian works or fragments of works, to look at them as a professional and to describe them in an original way, and to explore the authors’ objectives and their philosophical and ideological affiliations. W. has achieved his objective superbly not only because he devoted 25 years of research to this work, but also because, as one of the best-known researcher in the field, he approached the project with an academic, critical distance and philological perfection, reflected in the effort to look, in an innovative way, for the origin and sources of each ancient literary work concerned with utopian matters that he described. It should be emphasised that he did so with great methodological consistency and on the basis of comprehensive academic literature, going back to the mid-19th century and even earlier, presenting thorough, detailed polemics with arguments from studies on literature, religion and philosophy (see the extensive bibliography, pp. 254–310).

Following Chapter I (pp. 13–36), which attempts to define the phenomenon of ancient utopia and to provide its systematisation and meanings throughout the ages, the book’s pages give us very interesting pictures of intentional, utopian worlds created by more or less known writers and thinkers of the Hellenistic times. The starting point (Chapter II, pp. 37–49) is the story of Meropis – the great, mythical land situated beyond Europe, Asia and Libya – from Theopompus’ lost *Philippica* (see *Appendix I*, pp. 205 f.). The author emphasises the difficulty of categorising the myth, resulting both from the fact that the original text is lost (Aelian quoted the most extensive version) and from problems with classifying it in the ‘utopian’ typology. Using the figure of allegory to explain its literary and ideological connotations in Chapter III, W. turns to Hecataeus of Abdera and his work *On the Hyperboreans* (pp. 50–71), excerpts from which, included in Diodorus’ *Bibliotheca Historica* and Aelian’s *On the Nature of Animals*, he also quotes in Polish in *Appendix I* (pp. 206–208). Hecataeus describes the island of Helixoea, inhabited by the Hyperboreans, whose form of natural and social order is different from the ones known in other lands. It is a prosperous island, ruled justly on the basis of divine law and worship for Apollo; it is fertile, has a pleasant climate, is filled with inhabitants who always turn their souls towards the divine foundation of reality rather than towards secular idols; inhabitants who are friendly, particularly towards the Greeks. It seems that

* The book is now available in German: *Die hellenistischen Utopien*, Berlin–New York: W. de Gruyter, 2011 (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 293).

C. MÜLLER and E. ROHDE, mentioned critically by W., were right after all when they interpreted Hecataeus' utopia as a religious one and saw it as a reflection of dreams and longing for a world of religious reverence, a community of people and gods, giving people spiritual perfection and joy of life in its deepest dimension.

Similarly to the previous chapter, in Chapter IV (pp. 72–108) the factor of source discussion on utopia, described in the work *How Alexander Was Educated* by Onesicritus of Astypalaia, is highly important. In confrontation with the information from ancient writers and hypotheses of contemporary researchers with regard to the sources of this story and the time of its creation, the author argues that the fictitious land of king Musicanus in India depicted by Onesicritus, whose description has been preserved mostly in Strabo's *Geographica*, is not a utopia of the Cynic kind, which Onesicritus supposedly created; what is more it does not have the characteristic features and values of a real utopia. W. settles for stating that some utopian elements can be seen in the description, as well as paradoxographical ones (so typical for ancient accounts of curiosities and wonders of the Indian nature and the exceptional living conditions of the inhabitants of the land) and the idealisation of peoples in far-away lands, which have natural law. W. is right to successfully defend his solution to the matter of the character of Onesicritus' utopia. Following the reasoning of the researchers criticised by W., who saw a project of a utopian state in the depiction of Musicanus' land, we might conclude, turning to the so-called *Indica* in the literature of the late Hellenistic period, that e.g. the natural, ethnographic and geographic *thaumata* of the Indian world included in the third book of the aretalogical, romanticised biography *Vita Apollonii Tyanei* by Philostratus of Lemnos, together with the description of the ideal community of sages-Brahmans, long-haired, barefooted, wearing wool robes, having supernatural powers, living in a transcendently given state of material and spiritual wellbeing on a towering hill surrounded by rocks (*VA* III 13–15), should also be classified as literature containing utopian ideas. Even though the influence of authors writing about India, including Onesicritus (e.g. J. CHARPENTIER, *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana*, Uppsala 1934, pp. 59, 65), can be seen in this depiction, researchers of Philostratus' work, similarly to W. in reference to the description of Musicanus' land in Onesicritus' work, do not classify this passage of *VA* or the ones about a community of gymnosophists in Ethiopia (*VA* VI 10 f.) as a project of a social utopia showing a model, prosperous community of people resembling gods, which sages dream of.

In Chapter V (pp. 109–161) W., using his previous valuable research on Euhemerus of Messene, explicated in the works on *Sacred History (Hiera Anagraphe)* and Euhemerus' religious orientation (e.g. *Euhemerus von Messene. Leben, Werk und Nachwirkung*, München–Leipzig 2002), with his usual objectivity first presents faithful, but full of academic controversies, information about the life and writings of this religious thinker, geographer, historian and poet. Then, in a detailed discussion with researchers of Euhemerus, he analyses ambiguities related to the time the book was written and the contents of the few extant summaries of this fictitious novel in Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica* and in Lactantius' *Divinae Institutiones*, from Ennius' *Euhemerus sive Sacra Historia* (*Appendix* I, pp. 210–216). In the academic debate about the subject matter and purpose of Euhemerus' utopian story (whose essence is the depiction, written in the convention of *locus amoenus*, of the community life on the islands of Hiera and Panchaea in the Indian Ocean with their autarkic, collective economy, all-encompassing *pietas* towards gods, with the special cult of Zeus Triphylaios), the author again emphasises his research stance. He accepts E. ROHDE's opinion that Euhemerus' book should be considered a utopian travelogue, but with a clear narration including important and original theogonic theses and propagating *theologia dipertita*, not atheist theories which are usually ascribed to it. Also, he does not find in *Hiera Anagraphe* a utopian construction of an ideal earthly state and the idea of universal oneness and *philia* of people. It is unknown whether Euhemerus had instances of doubt as to the existence of gods, but certainly, W. argues, he explored the origin of religion and the cult of rulers. Also in Chapter V (pp. 162–181), the author enters into polemics about Iambulos' work of unknown title, containing the description of the idealised *Island of the Sun* (summary in Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica*; here in *Appendix* I, pp. 216–220) and organises

the previously known information about this work. This includes hypotheses about the authorship of the work, the author's journey to the East, the content and philosophical message of the mysterious description and an attempt to reconstruct the work. Using structural analysis, W. comes to the conclusion that, contrary to what some scholars claim, Iambulos' Island of the Sun (and a number of other identical islands), situated on the Equator in the Indian Ocean, cannot be classified as a political utopia of e.g. Stoic type which aims to create an ideal polis, but rather, like Euhemerus' work, the story is a romantic travelogue; its imagery uses the convention of *locus amoenus*, its metaphor is taken from the myth of golden age and from writings glorifying the natural perfection of existence of peoples unsullied by the corruption of civilisation. The author disagrees with the supposition that Aristonicus of Pergamon (Eumenes III) was inspired by Iambulos' ideas when he called his people and supporters, referred to as *Heliopolitai*, to rise against Rome in 133 BC. He does not deny, however, that Iambulos' utopian story had an impact on the shape of political utopia in modern times (Thomas More, Tommaso Campanella).

The book ends with Chapter VII (pp. 182–194), interesting in terms of strictly historical research, written with professional discipline, devoted to the city of Uranopolis founded by Alexarchus on the peninsula of Athos ca. 316. Winiarczyk agrees with O. WEINREICH's opinion that there is no evidence to support the thesis, put forward by some scholars, about an attempt to create an ideal polis in this city, based on theosophical foundations, closely integrated with the cult of Helios and other heavenly gods. Since there is no literary text that talks about the social structure or institutions of such a political entity or about the introduction of a higher principle of government, based on a utopian model, deliberations on this topic are in effect purely speculative and by definition do not lead to any final conclusions.

As has been mentioned, the work has great academic value and the author approached the already established opinions on utopia in the literature of the Hellenistic period in an innovative and bold way. However, there is a certain disharmony between the title and the research stance which the author assumes with regard to the texts analysed in his heuristic analyses. It raises the question whether the book should not be titled *Utopian Novels in Hellenistic Greece* or *Utopian Motifs in the Literature of the Hellenistic Period*, since W. argues with full conviction that none of the presented works is a utopia in the strict sense. After all, utopia in its actual meaning, i.e. a project of a new, politically perfect system, as described in the writings of the Hellenistic Stoics Zeno of Citium and Chrysippus of Soli (as well as the Cynics), is not the subject of his monograph and is only briefly mentioned (p. 28, 195). As the author stated in the preface, he intends to explore this issue in future and complete his previous valuable studies on ancient utopias in another work.

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Alessandro BARCHIESI, Walter SCHEIDEL (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies*, Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press, 2010, 948 pp., ISBN 978-0-19-921152-4, hb. £ 93.00 (Oxford Handbooks in Classics and Ancient History).

The editors of *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies* have carefully chosen the illustration for its jacket and frontispiece: a photograph of a huge foot, the sole remnant of a famous statue of Constantine. This ancient ruin can be regarded as a symbol of this field of research: scholars have a great deal of material at their disposal, but they need much thought and imagination to try to recreate the Roman world or any of its aspects.

Still, even a largely non-existent statue seems more tangible than the idea of Roman studies. AS BARCHIESI and SCHEIDEL write in their introduction to the volume (p. 5), originally the concept of Roman studies excluded literature. This limitation, which would put into contrast Roman studies and Latin studies, seems now absurd and nobody will be astonished to find in the *Handbook* many chapters on Latin literature and language. On the other hand, sometimes this distinction between *Romanitas* and *Latinitas* comes into view and confuses the reader. For instance the chapters “Epigraphy” and “Papyrology”, placed next to each other in the volume, have a different scope: the former (by John BODEL) is devoted to Latin inscriptions (sometimes on the background of Greek ones) and the latter (by Roger S. BAGNALL) mainly to Greek papyri, though it mentions in passing such Latin sources as the Vindolanda tablets and Bu Njem ostraca. No attention is given to Latin papyri, which deserve a discussion all the more since the juxtaposition of these two words is regarded as an oxymoron not only by *hoi polloi*, but also by some papyrologists. In a similar way, the chapter “Christianity” by Hagith SIVAN does not discuss the Latin Fathers and their specific role in Christian literature.

The complicated nature of the subject matter is visible in the structure of the *Handbook*. One can see at first sight that its order aims not so much at making the information easy to find as at pointing out some hitherto unnoticed connections and introducing new themes. The first part is called “Tools”. It discusses such topics as “Transmission and Textual Criticism”, “Linguistics” and “Numismatics”. The value of these disciplines as instruments for Roman studies is obvious. On the other hand, the chapter “Literary Criticism”, though its title might mean a tool useful for today’s research, in reality is devoted to Roman theories. Also the inclusion of the chapter “Translation” in this part of the *Handbook* evokes some doubts. Perhaps it should rather accompany the chapter “Reception”, printed in part II.

That part, bearing the title “Approaches” and including, among others, the chapters “Gender Studies”, “Anthropology” and “Psychoanalysis and the Roman Imaginary”, would not appear in a more traditional handbook. It certainly gives the reader much food for thought, showing that the Roman world can be investigated by means of new methods, often borrowed from other disciplines.

The next part, “Genres”, presents a traditional division of literary works: we find here, for instance, “Rhetoric”, “Epic”, “Theatre” and “Letters”. Less conventional is the title “First-person Poetry”: the author (Kathleen MCCARTHY) tries here to avoid the fuzzy notion of “lyric”.

Part IV, entitled “History”, starts with chronologically ordered chapters, from “Early Rome” to “The Later Roman Empire”. The rest consists of chapters on general subjects, for example “Power”, “Economy and Quality of Life” or “Freedom and Slavery”.

The last part, “Ideas”, contains some chapters that would justify this title, as “Philosophy”, “Political Theory” or “Christianity”. Other topics, however, would more fittingly come under the heading “Varia”. I mean, for instance, “Sexuality”, “Women”, or “Architecture”. Though the chapters “Space and Geography” and “Time and Calendar” discuss notions that can be called “ideas”, the meaning of the term is somewhat different here than when applied to philosophy or religion.

On the whole, the articles printed in this volume are of two types: those that give a complete overview of the subject matter, and those that concentrate on new concepts introduced by their authors. Let us begin with examples of the first type.

The chapter “Transmission and Textual Criticism” by Mario DE NONNO (in part I) clearly and succinctly presents the origin and history of the ancient Latin texts that are available today. The remarks on means of transmission are illustrated by many interesting examples. DE NONNO shows, for instance, that in reconstruction of the text of Plautus one should not hope to go back farther than the edition of Varro. He also mentions the exceptionally comfortable situation of an editor of Pliny the Younger’s *Letters*: their manuscripts come from two entirely separate ancient traditions. Therefore they do not have common errors and there is no need for conjectures. The lucidity of the article is marred sometimes by its translation (by Ilaria and Simone MARCHESI). Thus I am at a loss how to interpret the train of thought in the sentences commenting upon the appearance of a part of Cicero’s *Academica* in the manuscripts of his *De Finibus*: “It is certainly possible, as Leighton D. Reynolds and others proposed, that the joining of the ‘sixth book’ was not traditional, but rather the consequence of a medieval recovery. Thanks to the exemplary 1998 Oxford edition Reynolds produced, however, there is no way, now, of proving the hypothesis”.

Another chapter that can serve as an example of systematic treatment of the subject is “Early Rome” by Nicola TERRENATO (part IV). In my opinion the most important point he makes is the crucial role played in early Roman politics by elites and aristocratic *gentes* of various cities, staying in close contact with each other. Often when the ancient historians present us Rome as the driving force of various actions and accomplishments, research shows that in fact they are due to synchronized activities of those social strata.

In the chapter “Law” (in the same part), Jill HARRIES outlines the development of Roman legal system and the formation of the surviving codes and other sources. Among her many interesting observations one should mention the Orwellian nature of imperial law codes: it assured the emperors, as HARRIES says, “control over the past”: all earlier jurists’ decisions and interpretations that were not included in the *Digesta* were to be henceforth regarded as invalid.

There is, however, one passage in that chapter that seems utterly confusing. A paragraph begins with the words: “Roman civil law (*ius civile*) centred on the ‘legal action’ (*actio*)”. The rest of the paragraph is devoted to civil law in the modern sense of the term. The next paragraph starts with “Roman public law (*ius publicum*)...”. Evidently the reader is entitled to the conclusion that *ius civile* means ‘civil law’ and is the opposite of *ius publicum*. This conclusion will, however, have been shaken before the reader reaches the end of the second paragraph where we read: “Thus the Romans’ concept of their *res publica* involved the community and the gods in areas which modern legal thought might term ‘private’, but which Romans assimilated into the *ius civile*, the law as it applied to citizens”. Here we have got an entirely different definition of *ius civile*; moreover, this term is opposed to “private law”.

It is the second approach that corresponds to ancient Roman usage. Here HARRIES leads the readers into the trap against which she warned them in another book, where she commented on the term *ius civile*: “There is clearly potential for confusion here, as the (public) law of the *civitas* was also the law which applied to citizens. [...] So what the jurist interpreted was the *ius civile*, the law as it applied to members of the Roman *civitas*, and many aspects of this were held to be in public domain”. We can judge how common are misunderstandings in this domain if we look at the definition of *ius civile* in LEWIS and SHORT’s dictionary: “The body of Roman law relating to private

¹ J. HARRIES, *Cicero and the Jurists. From Citizens’ Law to the Lawful State*, London 2006, p. 63. See also A. BERGER, *From “Ius Civile” to “Civil Law”*, in: *Festschrift Guido Kisch. Rechtshistorische Forschungen anlässlich des 60. Geburtstags dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, Stuttgart 1955, pp. 125–146. I am grateful to Professors Tomasz GIARO and Jarosław JAKIELASZEK for their valuable advice.

rights, the Civil Law”, evidently disagreeing with the first quotation which is meant to illustrate it (Cic. *Top.* 28: “ut si quis ius civile dicat id esse quod in legibus, senatus consultis, rebus iudicatis, iuris peritorum auctoritate, edictis magistratum, more, aequitate consistat”)². Needless to say, this matter should be treated with special caution in a handbook addressed to wider public.

Now let us pass to the second type, that is, to chapters that show their subject by means of examples, allowing the authors to introduce new ideas. One can start with “Linguistics” by Joshua T. KATZ (in part I): here many problems of etymology and word history are illustrated by two Latin words: *lingua* and *Latina*. Having shown their origins and cognates, the author presents a bold but very attractive hypothesis: he suspects that the names of Odysseus and Circe’s sons, Agrius and Latinus, in a famous passage of *Theogony*³, are an echo of the Latin geographical name *ager Latinus*.

Llewelyn MORGAN’S “Metre” (in the same part) shows how choice of metrical form and fitting of words into metre can interplay with the meaning of a poem. Most of his examples are very convincing, but sometimes he seems to go too far. Did really Horace want to allude to scansion of his poems, writing “scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex”⁴? And what does this mean: “the progressive closing-up of the Sapphic stanza is another example of the rules of a metre falling in line with its ethos, in this case one of feminine seclusion”⁵? It should be also pointed out that “servitusque tanti est” in a poem by Statius does not mean “and it is worth such servitude”, but “and I value my servitude so much”⁵.

I looked into that chapter with the hope of learning something about the *status quaestionis* of the Saturnian verse. Though MORGAN concentrates on different topics, my hope was not disappointed: the problem is presented in a very lucid way in the section “Further reading” at the end of the chapter. The general conclusion is pessimistic: though we have a large amount of material at our disposal, we are still far from establishing the nature of the verse. By the way, do not look up “metre and Saturnian” in the subject index: it will lead you to a different passage in the volume, where this metre is mentioned only casually.

“Style” by Alfonso TRAINA, perhaps the most famous of all the authors of the volume, is by far the most unusual chapter in the *Handbook* (opening part II). The author does not talk much about style, concentrating instead on the Roman vision of the world and way of thinking. According to him, one of the characteristic traits of Romans is seeing everything in a bipolar way. This bipolarity is visible, according to TRAINA, in the grammatical structure of Latin: it has two grammatical numbers, and not three, like the Greek language; it has two principal moods: indicative and subjunctive, without optative, two verbal aspects, without aorist, and two voices, without the middle one. Sometimes the author goes too far and, for instance, tries to convince us that the Latin declension is bipolar as well: if one does not count the nominative and the vocative, one obtains “concrete cases with a preposition (the accusative and ablative) and abstract cases without a preposition (the genitive and dative)”. This reminds me of the Greek treatise *De Hebdomadibus*, which, in order to prove the ubiquitous presence of sevens, distinguishes seven seasons of the year and seven corners of the world.

This idea of the exceptional bipolarity of Latin grammar and the Roman mind seems to me very dubious. As far as grammar is concerned, let us look at genders: Latin has three, while for instance Hebrew or the Romance languages have two. In the domain of style, Greek would seem more bipolar than Latin because of its well known tendency to contrast statements by means of particles μέν and δέ. As the popular tongue twister has it, “Thucydides thought in antitheses”.

² C.T. LEWIS, C. SHORT, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1879, s.v. *civilis* I 2 b.

³ Hes. *Th.* 1013.

⁴ HOR. *Carm.* III 30, 9.

⁵ STAT. *Silv.* IV 3, 81.

The author deduces from Latin grammar another purported quality of the Roman mind. Having emphasized the use of subjunctive as a means of expressing subjectivity, he says: “This importance assigned to the linguistic expression of subjectivity suits people [...] whose poets have been regarded as ‘more personal, more subjective, more lyrical’ than the Greeks”⁶. Subjunctive, however, often shows the speaker’s reserve in regard to truthfulness of a statement, and such an attitude would be quite unfitting for a lyricist expressing his sentiments. After all, Catullus says “Odi et amo”⁷, and not “Oderim et amem” or “Odissim et amarem”.

TRAINA ascribes to the Romans a linear view of history, exemplifying it with the idea of *Roma aeterna*, and contrasts it with the notion of circularity of time, typical of the Greeks, as he tries to show by means of quotations from Plato’s *Timaeus* and Aristotle’s *Physics*. In my opinion, the cyclical nature of the month and the year is obvious in every culture. But the transference of this idea to various cycles in nature and society or to the history of the universe is due to philosophers such as those mentioned above or Empedocles. Latin authors willingly take over concepts of this kind from their Greek predecessors: for instance in *Scipio’s Dream* Cicero presents the idea of the great (or Platonic) year⁸. A linear vision of the history of gods and mankind underlies Hesiod’s *Theogony* and his tale of the five ages⁹. Though Athenian orators do not speak about “eternal Athens”, both Thucydidean Pericles¹⁰ and Isocrates¹¹ describe the development of the city and its role in Greece, evidently not admitting the possibility that its existence would be limited in time.

More convincing is TRAINA’s observation concerning the Roman tendency to present ordered series of events in works of art, both those real (as Trajan’s Column) and those appearing in literature (as the temple door in Carthage and the shield of Achilles in the *Aeneid*¹²).

Andrew LAIRD’s chapter *Reception* (part II), after an interesting introduction, showing that reception of Roman ideas does not limit itself to law, literature and arts, but is also visible in politics and even religion, concentrates on a series of interrelated examples. Unfortunately one of them, important for his argument, is marred by a mistranslation.

In his commentary to Statius’ *Silvae*, Angelo Poliziano tries to elucidate the passage in which the poet, mourning the death of a slave, says that even some favourite animals had funerals, and among them – so he seems to say in the version accepted by Poliziano – the deer mentioned in the *Aeneid*: “et volucres habuere rogam cervusque Maronis”¹³. Today the editors accept PEERLKAMP’s conjecture *Maronem*, based upon the reading of the codex *C Marone*. Poliziano writes: “Quamvis apud Virgilium non legatur habuisse hunc cervum rogam, sed verisimile, quippe in quo tantum fuerit momenti ut bellum illud inter Troianos et Latinos concitaret”. LAIRD translates this: “Although it may not be read in Virgil that this deer had a funeral pyre, this is effectively true, in that the matter was of so much consequence that it incited the actual war between the Latins and the Trojans”, and explains: “The conflict triggered by the Trojan Ascanius’ inadvertent killing of a pet cherished by the Rutulian princess, Silvia, dominates the latter part of the *Aeneid* and leads to funeral fires aplenty”.

Not those pyres, however, were meant by Politian, and his sentence should be translated: “Although one does not read in Virgil that this deer had a funeral pyre, nevertheless it is probable

⁶ TRAINA quotes here A. ROSTAGNI, *Classicità e spirito moderno*, Torino 1939, p. 119.

⁷ Catull. 85, 1.

⁸ Cic. *Rep.* VI 24.

⁹ Hes. *Op.* 109–201.

¹⁰ Thuc. II 36–41.

¹¹ Isoc. 4 (*Paneg.*), 23–128.

¹² Verg. *Aen.* I 456–493 and VIII 626–728.

¹³ Stat. *Silv.* II 6, 20; cf. Verg. *Aen.* VII 479–504.

since he was so important the he caused that war between the Trojans and the Latins". The Italian humanist assumes – perhaps a bit naively – that according to Statius, the deer must have had a funeral since he was of such an importance for Silvia and the Latins that they waged a war to avenge his death.

The chapter "Hellenism" by Tim WHITMARSH (part V) contains many interesting thoughts defying the conventional wisdom on Greek-Roman cultural relations. For instance, he warns us against taking an oversimplified view of Rome in the times of Livius Andronicus: "The idea that third-century Rome, a prosperous and expanding state with a high level of technical accomplishment, needed 'civilizing' is misleading. It is, moreover, highly unlikely that anyone of the third-century Hellenizers thought of their peers as a coarse, rustic population. If Rome had ever been 'uncivilized', the memory of that time was irrevocably lost among the legendary thickets of suckling she-wolves and hilltop asyla". On the other hand, he shows that the topos of severe Roman virtue weakened under the influence of the effeminate *Graeculi* is really Greek in origin: it earlier served to describe the moral damages suffered by Greeks after Alexander's conquests brought them into contact with the peoples of the East.

WHITMARSH's reader can be confused by his strange usage of the term "neoterics". He includes in this group not only Catullus and his circle, but also (as "later neoterics") Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid. The author commits an amusing blunder claiming that the *Tusculan Disputations* take place in Cicero's villa in Tuscany. Tusculum was, of course, in Latium, quite close to Rome.

Till now I was trying to divide the chapters of the *Handbook* into two types: those that give an exhaustive outline of their topic and those that present new ideas and interesting examples. There is at least one chapter that combines the characteristics of the both types. I mean Werner ECK's "Prosopography" (in part I). ECK methodically expounds the history and methods of Roman prosopography, but he concentrates on a very interesting case: on the basis of sudden advancements of certain Roman officials he proves that they must have played a crucial role in Trajan's adoption by Nerva.

The editors of the *Handbook* were not too meticulous about eliminating minor mistakes. In the chapter "Linguistics", Cicero is placed in the late 1st century BCE. The author of the chapter "Anthropology" refers us to KLÜCKHOHN 1987, but in the bibliography we find only KLÜCKHOHN 1949. The chapter "Early Rome" mentions *querelle des anciennes et des modernes*, which looks like an overestimation of the engagement of such learned ladies as Mme Dacier in the cause of the *anciens*. The well known quotation from Terence, adduced in the chapter "Hellenism", should not have the form "Tot homines, quot sententiae". The Augustine's phrase "amicus Dei", quoted in the chapter "Christianity" occurs not in *Conf.* 6, 15, but in *Conf.* VIII 6, 15.

On the whole, *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies* is a very important collective work. Presenting various facets of the Roman world, it presents at the same time various types of scholars: some of them methodically surveying their field, and some teeming with new – sometimes too bold – ideas. The volume is much more than a reference book: it can be read for its own sake with much profit and interest.

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Michael FONTAINE, *Funny Words in Plautine Comedy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, 327 pp., ISBN 978-0-19-534144-7, £ 49.00.

In *Funny Words in Plautine Comedy* Michael FONTAINE (hence F.) argues that critics in the past have often been mistaken when interpreting verbal ambiguities in Plautine scripts. These mistakes, he posits, have led to serious misconceptions that continue to affect Plautine scholarship today. F.'s ambitious design is to use philology and textual criticism in order to offer a new reading of not merely a series of Plautine *loci*, but of the aesthetics of Plautine comedy as a whole. The term "funny words" in the title denotes made-up or misused words that are involved in those elusive puns whose interpretation depends upon readers' and spectators' unpredictable perceptions. Plautine puns are by no means a tangential issue: as any reader of Plautus – beginner or veteran – will attest, ambiguity is a pervasive feature of Plautus' language. In fact, I know one expert reader of Plautus who used to have a box filled with index cards listing puns and double entendres never mentioned in Plautine scholarship. Worried about the subjective nature of such findings, he never published them. While I am not persuaded by all of F.'s arguments – particularly his characterizations of Plautus' Roman audience – I am grateful that he is undaunted enough to share his important and insightful new readings of Plautine wordplay with us.

F. realizes his bold plan – opening our eyes to the true meaning of Plautine wordplay – in five chapters. In the first, titled "Verba Perplexabilia", he focuses on near-echo, or parechesis. Among his most persuasive proposals is the re-interpretation of the famous neologism *siciliciss-it-at*, "affects a Sicilian style", in *Men.* 12. F. observes that the parallel to *graecissat* and *atticissat* in the previous line distracts our attention from the extra syllable *-it-*. To F., this syllable conveys the real joke, which alludes to the *geminatio* of syllables, the *gemi* *Menaechmi*, and the comedy's double plot (pp. 8–11). F. is particularly interested in those cases in which textual corruption and the general misunderstanding of the transliteration of Greek into archaic Latin (see pp. 30 f. and references) has skewed our spelling of some names of Plautine characters, imposing easy jokes where more complex puns are intended. Thus, Phronesium ("Smarty") should be Phrynesium: "Little Phryne", as written in the Vaticanus 3870. Her name would thus merely evoke the word *phronesis* – and would do so obliquely in the form of parechesis rather than as a straightforward pun (pp. 33–35). Pseudolus ("Schemer") should be spelled Pseudylus, his name a light pun on *dolus* (cf. *Ps.* 1205), not a hybrid Greco-Latin formation (pp. 30–33). By the end of the first chapter the reader can already anticipate the particular aspect of Plautine comedy F. wants to present in a new light: many of the puns he uncovers would have required a solid knowledge of Greek on the part of the audience.

F. continues to reassess Plautus' wordplay by focusing on his use of parapraxis in Chapter Two. Here, Freudian theory comes briefly into focus as the source of the term parapraxis, a translation of Freud's *Fehlleistung* (p. 37). F. both discusses known examples of such slips and offers several new suggestions. Among the latter are comments on the obscure interplay of *subuoltorium* and *subaquilum* in *Rud.* 422, which offer an excellent example of F.'s ingenuity. The term *sub-aquilum*, he proposes, draws the audience's attention to the *hydria* that Ampelisca is carrying on her head in this scene; thus, the joke involves the unattested *aqu-ilum* as calque of *hydria*. Ampelisca is therefore both "of a rather dark complexion" and "under-the-hydria", finding herself in a posture often represented in Attic vase paintings, which renders her vulnerable to Scep(h)arnio's harassment (pp. 42–47). According to F., this and several other misunderstood *loci* demonstrate that many of the puns and allusions that editors and scholars tend to miss would have required the audience to be familiar not only with Greek language but also with Greek culture (pp. 88 f.). To F., such allusions demonstrate that the *palliata* was profoundly and plausibly – rather than superficially – Greek.

Chapter Three, "Equivocation and Other Ambiguities", is devoted to Plautus' use of verbal evasions and distortions that allow the speaker to be truthful while seeming to lie; such equivocations

involve both tricks of logic and slips of pronunciation, which allow two characters taking part in a conversation to interpret the same words differently. F. discusses several examples of this type of verbal play, always with the eye on parechesis. He suggests, for example, that in the famous scene from the *Persa*, in which the pimp Dordalus interviews Virgo, we should not hear (in 623–627) a repetition, Lucris (...) Lucris, but rather, the parechsis Locris/Lucris (pp. 93 f.). F. argues that not only Lucris/Locris' name but in fact all of the Latin names in Plautus are nothing but misunderstood parechses. Thus the name of Peniculus in the *Menaechmi*, for example, must be emended to Penicylus and evokes the Greek word for toupee – *penike* (pp. 102–110). F. goes on to argue that ambiguities and puns are truly essential to the understanding and appreciation of the plays: puns bridge logical transitions (pp. 112–114), work with visual cues (e.g., pp. 115, 121), stress irony (e.g., pp. 115–120), and exploit meter (p. 138) and prosody (pp. 141–147). Bilingual wordplay, he concludes, is thus central to the Plautine poetics.

In Chapter Four, “Innuendo and the Audience”, F. finally turns to the question of the audience and their knowledge of Greek. The conceit of this chapter is that by identifying the cultural references behind Plautine allusions, we will discover what his audience knew and who they were. F.'s identifies numerous allusions that would require the audience to know Greek (pp. 150–163) and comments on those Plautine lines in which unusual expressions, such as *prandium cenatile*, *meliores [cenas]* (*St.* 222–225), seem to be advertised as calques directly taken from a Greek text (pp. 163–190).

In brief, Plautine artistry, according to F., would have been accessible only to literate connoisseurs of Greek. In second-century Rome, he posits, such connoisseurs could only have been found among the Philhellene elite. F. further argues that the elite indeed attended the performances, occupying nearly all available seats. Small spaces (F. cites GOLDBERG's estimate of a maximum of 2,000 in one specific case) would only have accommodated a small percentage of Rome's population of ca. 350,000 (pp. 183 f.). Since the senate law of 194 BCE guaranteed theater seats to the 300 senators (p. 185), there would hardly have been place in the audience for anyone but the senators and their retinues. The implications of this proposal are revolutionary. Instead of constructing Plautus' *palliata* as a carnivalesque genre of popular theater (as many critiques have since Erich SEGAL's seminal *Roman Laughter*), we would, according to F., have to see it as a sophisticated and exclusive entertainment for the Philhellene aristocrats. Several scholars have criticized F.'s representation of the audience of Roman comedy, pointing out that his arguments about the size of performance space are not decisive².

For my part, I have misgivings about F.'s assumptions about Roman Hellenism. While, I think, he is generally right in drawing our attention to Plautus' Hellenism, manifest in his wordplay, his riddles, and literary reminiscences of Sappho and Callimachus (pp. 192–200), I would take issue with his perception that Hellenism separates the aristocrats from the rest of the population. Hellenism often encompassed – indeed fostered – hybrid identities, and the Roman Hellenism would not have been different³. The practice of performing Greek plays in Latin, during a public

¹ See S.M. GOLDBERG, *Plautus on the Palatine*, JRS LXXXVIII 1998, pp. 1–10.

² During the seminar “The Audience of Roman Comedy” on January 8, 2011 at the APA meeting in San Antonio, Texas, several counter arguments were proposed. For example, as Sander GOLDBERG observed in his paper *Terence and the populi studium*, the law does not guarantee that the senators were always present, only that they had priority, if they wished to attend. Moreover, as Amy RICHLIN noted in her paper *Talking to Slaves in the Plautine Audience*, there is a distinct possibility that the show would have been taken on the road, and presented to far wider audiences.

³ See, e.g., G. BOYS-STONES, B. GRAZIOZI, Ph. VASUNIA in their introduction to *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies*, Oxford 2009 (p. XIII); on Greco-Roman culture in particular, see A. BARCHIESI's chapter in the same volume on *Roman Perspectives on the Greeks*, pp. 98–113 (here at 109 f.).

holiday, and in a public space, strikes one as a gesture of inclusion, not exclusion, and as an effort to forge a hybrid cultural discourse, rather than to mark the separateness of the educated elite. Drama can accommodate diverse levels of both spectatorship and readership. While some Plautine references might have reached only the *cognoscenti* – and it is good to remember that among the third- and second-century *cognoscenti* were the likes of Livius Andronicus and Ennius, both former slaves – there is no reason to assume that only elite spectators could have been familiar with Greek language and culture. In fact, many well-educated individuals would have been Greek and of low social status; recall the rhetoricians and philosophers repeatedly exiled from Rome⁴. This type is perhaps portrayed by the pretentious *Graeci palliati* crowding the Roman streets in the *Curculio* (287–298). Many Roman slaves, not necessarily intellectuals for hire, might have been bilingual. It is worth noting that both Plautus and Terence portray heavy use of Greek words as characteristic of the speech of slaves and pimps – not of upper class males⁵. It is the slaves who engage most often in all the code-switching and code-mixing that enables bilingual wordplay⁶. If these characteristics of Plautine language reflect the nature of Latin bilingualism in the second century BCE, we should assume that slaves, such as those whom the prologue to the *Poenulus* describes as sneaking into the audience (cf. 21–25), were quite likely bilingual.

F.'s final chapter on double entendre in Plautus introduces the one aspect of linguistic play that F. considers genuinely Roman. He begins with a series of puns that he believes could have been derived from Plautus' Greek models. These center on the *adulescens* and his penis/phallus (*Most.* 319–329), suggest the Phoenicians' alleged preference for cunnilingus (*Poen.* 59–61), to allude to a fear of the *vagina dentata* (*Truc.* 350–353). Conversely, F. argues that sexual jokes alluding to young men's inclination to play the passive role in homoerotic intercourse are probably originally Plautine. (It is a pity that he does not engage with the scholarship on Roman attitudes toward homosexuality to explain his assumptions.) Most persistent among such jokes are double entendres suggesting that parasites often carry on relationships with their patrons (pp. 223–246). F. posits that such jokes go back to the tradition of Atellana and are Plautus' addition to the otherwise Greek aesthetics of the *palliata*. The placement of this final chapter, after his radical conclusions about the Greek nature of Plautine word-play, is quite intriguing. It is as though, having argued lucidly and forcefully for a profound and pervasive Greekness of Plautus' theater, F. realized that he could not escape the specter of what he dismisses as "the Greco-Roman blur" – that the tension between the two cultures is after all essential to the aesthetics of the *palliata*.

What then should we make of F.'s impressive display of ingenuity and philological erudition? Wit and language games are matters of perception. There is no foolproof way of distinguishing a linguistic coincidence from an intended pun. However, even if some of F.'s finds were to be put down to accidents of translation/adaptation, enough remains to corroborate his thesis that the *palliata* can be comfortably situated within the Hellenistic aesthetics of language play. Thanks to F.'s discussion of an array of Plautine jokes, the playwright now appears before us, more than ever, as an *artifex verborum*: a keen observer of Greek and Latin morphology and semantics, expert at taking advantage of potential ambiguities. F. also successfully argues (quite correctly, I think) that allusions to Greek literature are purposeful and deserve more attention than recent scholarship has tended to accord them.

⁴ Cf. E. GRUEN, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy*, Leiden 1990, p. 177 and his references.

⁵ On the distribution of loan words, see R. Maltby, *The Distribution of Greek Loan Words in Terence*, CQ XXXV 1985, pp. 110–123.

⁶ On slaves and bilingualism in Plautus' Rome, see S. SWAIN, *Bilingualism in Cicero? The Evidence of Code-Switching*, in: N.J. ADAMS, M. JANSE, S. SWAIN (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society*, Oxford 2001, pp. 128–167 (here at 130 f.) and his references.

Where I differ from F. is in my vision of the intellectual *milieux* of third- and second-century Rome. While in F.'s view, the aristocratic audience of the *palliata* was separated from the less educated populace by their Hellenistic cultural competence, I would argue that Plautus' Rome already was a Hellenistic city, an urban society, in which bilingualism, even polyglossia, was not exceptional⁷. To be sure, the elite policy-makers played a leading role in Hellenizing Roman literature through a system of patronage⁸, but multiculturalism would not have been a preserve of the aristocracy, but a fact of life for merchants and slaves, who would have watched the plays⁹.

These objections, however, do not diminish the value of F.'s undertaking. On the contrary: even if one is not persuaded that every single of the puns F. disentangles for us is more than a coincidence, his book is beyond doubt an important contribution to Plautine scholarship. F.'s imaginative use of philology and textual criticism and his insistence that we rethink our assumptions about Plautine theater make for a most thought-provoking book. I strongly recommend it to anyone seriously interested in Roman comedy.

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⁷ Recall the Punic passages in the *Poenulus* (esp. 930–949) or the *tria corda* of Plautus' younger contemporary, Ennius (Gell. *NA* XVII 17). Cf. N.J. ADAMS, S. SWAIN in the introduction to *Bilingualism...* (n. 6), pp. 16 f.

⁸ On patronage, see D. KONSTAN, *Friendship and Patronage*, in: S.J. HARRISON (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Latin Literature*, Oxford 2005, pp. 345–359.

⁹ On slaves, see above, n. 6; on merchants, see ADAMS's discussion of epigraphic evidence: N.J. ADAMS, *Bilingualism at Delos*, in: *Bilingualism...* (n. 6), pp. 103–127.

Klaus BRINGMANN, *Historia republiki rzymskiej. Od początków do czasów Augusta* [«Histoire de la République romaine. Des origines à l'époque d'Auguste»], traduit en polonais par Anna GIERLIŃSKA, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2010, 442 pp., ISBN 978-83-7177-700-4, PLN 48,00.

Le livre de Klaus BRINGMANN [= B.], professeur émérite de l'Université de Francfort-sur-le-Main, a l'ambition de retracer plusieurs siècles d'histoire de Rome. Son cadre chronologique n'englobe pas seulement la période républicaine telle qu'on l'entend habituellement, mais aussi l'époque de la monarchie et le principat d'Auguste. Cette perspective est donc différente des approches traditionnelles de l'ère républicaine. On notera que la version allemande originale de l'ouvrage (*Geschichte der römischen Republik. Von den Anfängen bis Augustus*) est parue aux éditions C.H. Beck en 2002.

Cette *Histoire de la République romaine* est divisée en cinq chapitres: «Rome et l'Italie», «Rome et le monde méditerranéen», «La crise de la République et ses causes», «La chute de la République», et «Auguste, destructeur et restaurateur de la République». Les annexes, à la fin du volume, comprennent un «Calendrier», des «Remarques sur l'état des recherches et la littérature spécialisée», un «Index des illustrations et des cartes», un «Index des noms de personnes» et un «Index des noms géographiques».

Le titre de l'ouvrage est quelque peu trompeur, laissant entendre qu'il traite de l'histoire de Rome dans son ensemble alors que l'historien allemand se concentre sur l'histoire politique de la République. B. reconnaît d'ailleurs lui-même dans son avant-propos que son livre est «une analyse politique de l'histoire de la République, et pas un manuel typique présentant une connaissance encyclopédique sur tous les domaines de l'époque», mais il signale aussi que «toutes les informations nécessaires à comprendre le processus historique y sont prises en compte», soulignant que «ceci concerne surtout les questions économiques et sociales, dont la religion, l'acculturation et la mentalité». On peut dès lors se demander si l'auteur a bien réussi à réaliser cette ambition. Ses interprétations de l'évolution économique et sociale sont, en effet, assez superficielles et très sélectives. Des mécanismes économiques aussi complexes et ayant une incidence aussi fondamentale sur la vie politique que l'apparition et le développement de l'activité des villas, l'essor des productions non agricoles et du commerce à l'échelle du bassin méditerranéen, l'activité financière croissante des élites romaines et le rôle économique de plus en plus marqué des esclaves et affranchis, semblent échapper totalement à l'attention de l'auteur ou n'ont pas beaucoup de place dans sa narration. Cette marginalisation des affaires économiques et sociales est un des principaux points faibles de l'ouvrage du chercheur allemand.

Les observations de B. sur l'histoire politique de la Rome républicaine sont d'une manière générale convaincantes. On ne manquera pas d'être sensible à son analyse très pointue des processus de crise et de chute de la République, puis à son analyse du principat d'Auguste. Ses réflexions et interprétations concernant les processus qui ont entraîné la mise en place du pouvoir impérial sont probablement l'apport le plus précieux de son ouvrage. Étant donné les centres d'intérêt de B. – ses principaux travaux traitent du déclin de la République et des débuts de l'Empire – on était bien sûr en droit de s'attendre à ce résultat. Mais il faut souligner que l'auteur a réussi à présenter le processus complexe du changement de régime aux deux derniers siècles avant notre ère de manière passionnante, en sachant sortir des sentiers battus académiques. Ses nombreux apartés détaillés ne perturbent à aucun moment la clarté générale de sa conception.

B. concentre sa narration sur les actes des protagonistes les plus importants de la scène politique romaine. Exception faite de leurs activités militaires, le milieu naturel dans lequel ils évoluaient était l'*Urbs*. Conséquence de l'adoption de cette perspective, il n'aborde la problématique italienne que de façon très succincte. À la lecture de son *Histoire de la République romaine*, on

a l'impression que les habitants des villes de la Péninsule, exception faite de la période du *bellum sociale*, n'étaient que des spectateurs passifs de la grande histoire qui se jouait sous leurs yeux. On comprend dans ce contexte que la législation municipale de César soit totalement ignorée dans le passage du livre consacré à l'activité législative du dictateur.

Nos principales réserves portent toutefois sur les opinions de l'historien allemand concernant les débuts de Rome. Ses interprétations ne tiennent pas compte des études majeures de A. MOMIGLIANO, C. AMPOLO, T. CORNELL ou A. GRANDAZZI. B. ignore aussi les découvertes sensationnelles de l'équipe de A. CARANDINI au Palatin, au terme de fouilles archéologiques réalisées dans les années 1980 et 1990. On peut – et il faut même – rejeter les interprétations imaginaires de CARANDINI à partir de ses découvertes archéologiques, mais il ne peut être question de passer totalement sous silence les résultats des fouilles mêmes. B. accepte sans réserves la chronologie de la fondation de Rome qui a été en vigueur des années 1960 à la fin du XX^{ème} siècle (situant la fondation au tournant des VII^{ème} et VI^{ème} s.) sans sembler s'apercevoir que les chercheurs sont de plus en plus nombreux à en reculer l'époque. La proposition la plus convaincante actuellement, celle de C. AMPOLO, la place au milieu du VII^{ème} siècle. L'auteur ne doute pas de l'origine étrusque de Rome alors que la thèse de T. CORNELL sur l'influence décisive de la civilisation hellénique sur le processus de structuration politique de Rome a été acceptée par beaucoup d'historiens et d'archéologues. C'est de sa part une critique bien malheureuse de la méthode de recherche de CORNELL que de la qualifier de «contamination problématique des découvertes archéologiques par des sources écrites fictives» (p. 407).

La lecture de l'annexe traitant de l'état des recherches donne l'impression que B., à quelques rares exceptions près, ne considère comme pertinents que les travaux d'auteurs allemands. Il est pourtant difficilement concevable d'ignorer complètement les apports de chercheurs aussi éminents que A. MOMIGLIANO ou F. MILLAR. Par moment aussi, l'absence totale de doutes de B. par rapport au bien-fondé des thèses qu'il avance est irritante, surtout lorsqu'il est question des premiers temps de l'histoire de Rome, si pauvrement documentés. Sa narration ne contient, somme toute, pas de problèmes ouverts au débat. Une telle approche est susceptible de surprendre le lecteur polonais que la lecture des synthèses de l'histoire de l'Antiquité grecque et romaine d'E. WIPSYCYKA et B. BRAVO ou de A. ZIÓLKOWSKI a habitué à une autre présentation des processus historiques complexes.

Les faiblesses de cette *Histoire de la République romaine* relevées ici rendent l'ensemble de l'ouvrage très inégal. On appréciera certainement à leur juste valeur les chapitres consacrés à la conquête du monde méditerranéen et à la crise et au déclin de la République. Les considérations de B. sur le régime de la République classique et la conquête de l'Italie ne suscitent pas non plus de grandes objections. L'ouvrage est en somme une excellente synthèse de l'histoire politique de Rome du IV^{ème} siècle au principat d'Auguste. Mais les interprétations de l'auteur concernant l'époque de la monarchie et les débuts de la République, ainsi que son exposé des influences mutuelles des phénomènes économiques et sociaux d'une part, et politiques de l'autre, ne sont pas le point fort de son *Histoire de la République romaine*.

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Lukas Grossmann, *Roms Samnitenkriege. Historische und historiographische Untersuchungen zu den Jahren 327 bis 290 v. Chr.*, Düsseldorf: Wellem Verlag, 2009, X, 201 pp., ISBN 978-3-941820-00-5, € 39.00.

The series of wars between Rome and the Samnites in the 4th and 3rd c. BC hold an eminent position in modern historiography, not only as the conflict that led to the Roman conquest of the Peninsular Italy and so laid foundations of her world-rule, and during which (and to a large degree in response to which) the institutions of the Republic acquired their “classic” shape, but also as the period when many a specialist trace the great divide starting from which the evidence available to the sources of our sources increased dramatically, making it possible for the authors of the extant narratives to choose between more or less complete and reliable reports of events that had actually occurred rather than to go on filling the accounts of consecutive years with glaring anachronisms and outright fabrications. However, this sudden profusion of records was not without problems, at least for Livius, our principal source. In no other part of his narrative do we find as many admissions of major disagreements in sources at his disposal; and the discrepancies about the person and status of the commander in one of the victories over the Samnites (a shameless invention in its own right) led to his famous complaint about falsifications of historical events in noble families’ records (VIII 40, 4 f.), ending with the pessimistic constatation: “nec quisquam aequalis temporibus illis scriptor extat quo satis certo auctore stetur”. No wonder that attempts on the part of modern historians to reconstruct in detail the course of events during these wars have been going hand in hand with efforts to disentangle and evaluate individual threads of tradition in our sources¹.

The book under review conforms to the pattern in that, as the title proclaims, it is composed of studies whose professed character is both historical (factual reconstructions) and historiographical (analyzing relations between sources). In reality, the latter aspect is clearly predominant. GROSSMANN [= G.] emphasizes that his aim is not to provide a uniform narrative of the Romano-Samnite wars but to concentrate on matters for which there exists the possibility of a fruitful source analysis, such that should give us a better understanding not only of events under discussion but also of the nature of the whole conflict and of its presentation in the extant accounts and so, ideally, make it possible to appraise correctly the events for which a similar analysis cannot be made (p. 2). Interestingly, the heuristically barren (and so left out of the analysis) events are not confined to the years for which we have only the plain Livian narrative: right at the outset he informs the reader that the *cause célèbre* of the consuls of 298, whose achievements are contradictorily reported by Livius (X 12, 3–13, 1), *Fasti Triumphales (Inscriptiones Italiae XIII 1, p. 71)* and the funerary *elogium* of one of the pair, L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus (*CIL* 12 6 = VI 1284 = *ILLRP* 309), has been consigned to this category as well (*ibid.*).

What we do have are six analytical chapters (chs. 2–7) preceded by an introduction (ch. 1) and closed by a very short recapitulation (ch. 8). In the introduction the author first presents the aims of the work and methods with which he proposes to overcome differences in the sources; then he briefly discusses the parties of the conflict and more precisely key aspects of the Roman politics of the period, especially the extent of the magistrates’ political and military initiative before and after the passing of the *lex Ovinia*, and the level of the Samnites’ cultural and political development, including the reality behind the modern notion of the Samnite League; finally he criticizes the

¹ Apart from the old but still irreplaceable G. DE SANCTIS, *Storia dei Romani*, vol. II: *La conquista del primato in Italia*, Torino ¹1907, pp. 291–429 (Firenze ²1960, pp. 277–408), and the widely read but rather outdated E.T. SALMON, *Samnium and the Samnites*, Cambridge 1967, see especially T.J. CORNELL, *The Conquest of Italy*, in: *CAH* VII 2 (1989), pp. 351–419, and now the relevant parts of the four thick volumes by S.P. OAKLEY, *A Commentary on Livy, Books VI–X*, Oxford 1997–2005.

division of the conflict into three Samnite wars of 343–341, 327/6–304 and 298–290 as a modern misconception based on analogy with the Punic and Macedonian wars, emphasizing the unity of the years 327–290 as – from the Romans’ perspective – the true period of the Samnite war, when the Samnites were the chief opponents of their aggressiveness.

The analytical chapters are studies in which G. finds it possible to apply his methodological precepts. They are as follows. There having been no contemporary historical *Primärquellen* of the Samnite wars (see Livius’ words quoted above), our sources relate variants, often extensively developed, of a basically untraceable tradition. In these conditions, source analysis must differ from the classic *Quellenforschung*. G. defines it as reconstructing the development of given variants and critically assessing their reliability in confrontation with others, and enumerates the following methods of solving disagreements in the sources. First, reconciling accounts by showing that they are variants of the same tradition, written down from a different perspective; second, demonstrating that various accounts present the same tradition, original (= reliable) in some and developed (= falsified) in others; third, identifying the same, variously falsified tradition, with no possibility of showing which account is more reliable; fourth, accounts representing disparate, mutually irreconcilable traditions. Four of these chapters are built around single themes: the outbreak of the war between Rome and the Samnites (ch. 2), the Caudine disaster (ch. 3), the Sentinum campaign (ch. 6) and the controversial consulate of L. Postumius Megellus in 291 (ch. 7). The other two deal with longer periods, from the resumption of hostilities after the *foedus Caudinum* till the Roman victory in 314 (ch. 4) and the years 311–304, more precisely 311, 306 and 305 (ch. 5).

The title of the last-mentioned chapter, *Ausgewählte Ereignisse der Jahre 311–304*, might, with the time-span changed to 327–290, well stand as a subtitle of the whole work. We have been given several studies on selected events or their sequels, loosely connected by the subject (the Samnite wars) and the historiographical slant of the argument. The criterion of selection is clear: the author investigates themes on which he thinks he has something important to say. Important, not new: as might have been expected, almost every solution proposed by G., be it of historical or historiographical nature, had already been put forward (the one for which I have found no predecessor is playing down the decisiveness of the battle of Sentinum, Rome’s ultimate victory having in his view been guaranteed anyhow by her political, demographical and military superiority [pp. 153–155, 178]). His research is based on two premises, one uncontroversial (in the Romano-Samnite confrontation the Romans were the aggressors; the Samnites’ aims were strictly defensive), the other much less so: until the consequences of the new rules of *lectio senatus* specified by the *lex Ovinia* began to be felt (in his opinion at the end of the first decade of the 3rd c., with the conflict between Megellus and the senate as the visible proof of the political ascendancy shifting to the latter), the external policy of Rome was dictated by personal and gentilician interests of consecutive pairs of consuls, which ruled out strategic thinking not only in her wars but in her colonisation as well! Luckily, this particularly unfortunate premise, squarely contradicted by direct statements of our sources (a fact, of course, not conclusive *per se*), but especially by the course of the conflict (think of the strategic encirclement of Samnium after the disastrous failure of the all-out invasion of its heartland in 321)², has little effect on G.’s particular analyses, the strength of which lies in identifying, comparing and evaluating variants of tradition(s) in our sources. It is a fact that in this field, even when inquiry concerns periods the sources for which are much richer than those for the Samnite wars, the results are seldom as evident as to command universal acceptance. Still, every student of these wars will read with profit the author’s discussion of the sources for the Naples campaign or his analysis of the complex relation between the Livian narrative and

² It is worth observing that the work which brings out more forcefully than any other the strategic dimension of the Roman conquest of Samnium and the rest of Italy, A. TOYNBEE, *Hannibal’s Legacy. The Hannibalic War’s Effects on Roman Life*, vol. 1: *Rome and Her Neighbours before Hannibal’s Entry*, Oxford 1965, is missing from G.’s bibliography.

Diodoros for the years 318–303. For the present reader the most refreshing trait of the book, apart from the overtly *Quellenforschung* perspective, are solutions expressed in the indicative rather than conditional mood. G.'s insistence on arriving at definite answers in the face of contradictory reports may seem unsophisticated; yet, e.g., his reading of the sources for the campaign of 311 (pp. 103–109) – a flat Roman defeat, as in Zonaras VIII 1, 1, contra Liv. IX 31, 7–16, Diod. Sic. XX 26, 3 f. and *Fasti Triumphales (Inscriptiones Italiae XIII 1, p. 71)* – carries more conviction than inconclusive expositions by CORNELL³ or OAKLEY⁴. In spite of a limited field of vision and a debatable vision of the antagonists, *Roms Samnitenkriege* is a commendable addition to one's reading list.

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³ *O.c.* (n. 1), p. 354.

⁴ *O.c.* (n. 1), vol. 3, pp. 401–404.

Carlos SANZ MÍNGUEZ, Fernando ROMERO CARNICERO (eds.), *El vino y el banquete en la Europa prerromana*, Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, Centro de Estudios Vacceos “Federico Wattenberg”, 2009, 254 pp., ISBN 978-84-7359-550-6, € 18.00.

There has been a large number of publications on wine in antiquity and new ones appear every year, however, *El vino y el banquete en la Europa prerromana* easily distinguishes itself. The bulk of other works focus on the production, commerce and consumption of wine in the Mediterranean region in the Greek and Roman period, whereas the protohistory of wine in the western end of Europe remained long unexplored.

As a matter of fact, the complex study of the origins of wine and its introduction to the Iberian Peninsula, due to the lack of written sources, has developed only in the last two decades owing to the discovery and excavation of the sites such as Alto de Benimaquía (Alicante), Cancho Roano (Badajoz), Los Villares and La Quéjola (both in the province of Albacete), El Cerro de San Cristóbal (Cádiz), Segeda (Saragossa), Pintia (Valladolid), etc. Therefore, *El vino y el banquete en la Europa prerromana* is one of the very few publications concerning this matter and the first one that fully analyses this phenomenon since 1995, the turning point in the investigation of the origins of wine in the Iberian Peninsula, when the first symposium *El vino en Occidente* in Jerez (Cádiz) took place. The fruit of this meeting was publishing *Arqueología del Vino. Los orígenes del vino en Occidente*, edited by Sebastián CELESTINO PÉREZ, which was the first exhaustive and monographic study on this matter. Because of a considerable increase in archaeological research on what is known as the “wine culture” in the Iberian Peninsula in the last twenty years, there was a clear demand for a publication that would present the latest findings in this matter.

El vino y el banquete en la Europa prerromana was edited by two Spanish scholars from Valladolid University. It contains 14 articles written by specialists mostly from Spain, but also from France (Patrice BRUN, Matthieu POUX). Those articles were originally presented in the form of lectures during the course *El vino y el banquete como expresión de poder y vínculo social en la protohistoria europea* that took place on 15–17 September 2004 in Peñafiel (Valladolid, Spain). This course was organized by Junta de Castilla y León in cooperation with Centro de Estudios Vacceos “Federico Wattenberg” (Universidad de Valladolid), Museo Provincial del Vino (Diputación de Valladolid) and Protos Bodega Ribera Duero de Peñafiel. It was managed by the editors of the book, Carlos SANZ MÍNGUEZ and Fernando ROMERO CARNICERO, accompanied by Javier VELASCO VÁSQUEZ.

The title of the book may seem slightly misleading. It indeed regards the subject of wine and feasts in the pre-Roman times but instead of the whole Europe, it focuses on its western part, the Iberian Peninsula in particular. It begins with an article about general origins of viticulture and the consumption of wine in different parts of the Mediterranean area. Further works refer to the Greek symposium seen through the eyes of Attic vase painters, images of feasts in Etruscan graves, relations between wine, feast and power in the Central West Europe (6th–5th BC) as well as banquets and ritual drinking in the Celtic world, especially in Gaul. However, the larger part of the book (eight out of fourteen articles) is devoted to the origins of viticulture and consumption of mostly wine but also other alcoholic beverages on the Iberian peninsula or, more precisely, in today’s Spain.

The works concerning the Iberian Peninsula are the most notable part of the book. Their authors, most of them Spanish archaeologists, based first of all on recent archaeological discoveries, tried to recreate the origins and development of viticulture as well as the rise of production and consumption of wine and its status in the societies that inhabited the Iberian Peninsula before the Roman Conquest. They also raise the issue of social function of banquets and feasts and the importance of wine in religion, most of all in funeral rites among different Celtic tribes in the north of today’s Spain.

Recent archaeological discoveries support the common claim that wine was first introduced and widespread in the 8th century BC in the Tartessian circle in the south part of the Iberian coast (around Cadiz) by Phoenician and Greek colonists. Then, around 7th century BC it was further spread among the Iberian societies (in today's Andalusia, Murcia, Valencia and Catalonia) that also maintained commercial contacts with the Greeks and Phoenicians. What is new, however, thanks to the findings from the late '90s, is the evidence (a winepresses from La Mata de Campanario and Alto de Benimaquía, as well as seeds of *vitis vinifera*) that wine soon became produced by local people. In the 6th–5th century BC this alcoholic beverage was produced by Tartessians and Iberians, but it was still, as luxurious good, imported from the East (Phoenician amphoras RI were found for example in Aldovesta and La Mata).

Although wine was imported and stored in Phoenician amphoras, it was Greek pottery that the Iberians used to drink from. These were primarily luxurious vessels, found in aristocratic graves. This allows us to defend the statement that wine was used rather by upper social classes and might have been of an important significance to their beliefs and funerary rites.

There is thus some new archaeological evidence that increases our knowledge about the “wine culture” in the south part of the Iberian Peninsula, although it does not change the popular theories on this matter. As for the northern part of today's Spain, the situation is quite the opposite.

Despite the fact that there are some mentions in written sources that suggest wine was unknown in the central and northern parts of the Iberian Peninsula before the Roman Conquest (Appian) or that it was rarely used (Strabo), archaeological excavations proved that Celts and Celtiberians cultivated vine and produced wine. This refutes the commonly held theory according to which it was the Romans who started viticulture in the central and northern part of Spain after conquering this territory in the second half of the 2nd century BC.

As a matter of fact, wine was indeed produced and drunk during feasts by Celtiberians, Vettones and Vaccaei but it was not in common, domestic use. The everyday popular drink was still beer, wine was restricted only for the rulers and elites. Drinking wine was a kind of a social privilege that only warriors could enjoy during feasts of a ritual character. Although those “barbarian” banquets significantly differed from a Greek symposion, their social role could have been quite similar – they integrated the elites and strengthened social ties. As some scholars suggest, they could have also been a way of the redistribution of goods between the ruler and his subjects.

As some discoveries on the Vaccaei territory suggest, wine was not only a kind of a high quality beverage but also a determinant of social status. There are wine drinking vessels found in elite graves (their chemical analysis showed the presence of tartaric acid which provides unequivocal evidence that they contained wine). Although among them there are Greek imports that themselves could be interpreted as a sign of status since they were luxurious goods, the traces of wine indicate that it was the beverage that determined the social status. It can be also maintained that wine has its important place in the ritual beliefs of Vaccaei. Vessels that contained wine are present not only in male graves but also in those of women and children. It does not indicate that women and, most of all, children drank wine but makes possible the allegation that this beverage was important in the afterlife as a determinant of social status and possibly also for other reasons.

Not only the publication of recent archaeological evidence, which shed new light on the issue of the origins, production and consumption of wine on the Iberian Peninsula, is the main advantage of the book. It is also the interpretation of archaeological findings or, more precisely, the methodology that makes the book valuable. The authors propose new theories on the matter and formulate their statements rather carefully. They avoid basing only on the premises and try to analyse all the issues from different points of view. They claim that the production and consumption of wine can be only proved if the archaeological evidence contains drinking and storage vessels (ideally with some traces of tartaric acid), altogether with winepresses and botanical remains, as for example grape seeds or *vitis vinifera* pollen. In the case of the Celtic region (now north-central Spain), grape seeds from Cauca (Valladolid) could only indicate that the inhabitants of this area knew grapes/raisins because of the commercial contacts. There is no evidence of either wine production or even viticulture. On the other

hand, grape seeds found in Cauca (dated 2nd c. BC), together with a winepress found in Segeda (dated before 154 BC) and wine cups from Las Ruedas necropolis (4th–2nd c. BC) allow to form a hypothesis that in this area wine was drunk and vine was cultivated, maybe not long but definitely before the Roman Conquest.

It is worth noticing that the structure of the whole publication is well thought. Despite the fact that its main part is focused on the Iberian Peninsula and some papers that concern other regions may seem at first sight rather unnecessary, there is a reason why they were included in the whole publication. The evidence from Spain can be better understood when it is compared with data obtained in other regions that is better examined due to a wider range of sources. Speaking about the similarities and differences between Celtic and Iberian feasts and a Greek symposium would not be clear for everyone if there was no article about the latter. Likewise, it would be difficult to explain the connection between wine, feasts, war and social status in Celtic societies in today's Spain if not for a paper on the relation between alcohol, banquets and power among Celts from Central Western Europe. Without the introductory text about general origins of viticulture and wine making this publication would seem incomplete.

But still there are some drawbacks that can be pointed out. The biggest weakness of *El vino y el banquete en la Europa prerromana* is its not purely scholarly character. Admittedly, each paper has a rich bibliography at the end, but there are no footnotes, abstracts or a list of illustrations. Thus the reader is deprived of a possibility to verify or deepen particular information and the book is given rather popular than academic appearance. Sometimes even the bibliography is incomplete. For example, the lack of bibliographic details concerning a researcher whose views are mentioned in the text undermines the value of the article by Santiago MORENO *Banquete y mundo funerario entre los etruscos*. He writes: “Hasta hace unos años se consideraba que fueron los griegos (Torelli) quienes dieron a conocer en esta tierra el cultivo de la vid pero en los últimos años la investigación (M. Gras, Menichetti) se inclina por orígenes fenicios” (p. 53). Unfortunately, neither TORELLI nor GRAS nor MENICHETTI is mentioned in the bibliography. Moreover, the bibliography is not arranged in alphabetical order, which of course is a trivial error, but nonetheless gives the publication, together with the lack of certain elements that are standard in scholarly works, the appearance that is not really professional.

The book contains two texts that were originally written in French. As those concern the subject of Celts in central Europe, they should be, in my opinion, published in their original language. It would make at least this part of the publication available to wider foreign audience as French is more commonly known among scholars than Spanish. Now *El vino y el banquete* may seem too “iberocentric”.

It is true that authors may have resigned from the form that is strictly academic and limited themselves only to articles in Spanish to make their publication accessible for a more general readership. Also highly extensive illustrative material (e.g. drawings that explain how people worked in the winepress) seems to point in this direction.

Since the book as a whole is written in the style of an academic discourse and is reliable in terms of content, its rather popular visual form is a real disadvantage. Perhaps it would have been better if the authors and editors have clearly opted for one or the other approach. As a result, we have the publication that can be read both by specialists in the field and amateur enthusiasts (and it is obvious that the subject of wine and banquet can attract lots of them). None of these groups, however, can be completely satisfied: specialists will not regard the book as a serious academic work because of the lack of a scholarly apparatus. On the other hand, the passion and enthusiasm of wine and feasts amateurs may be cooled down by too professional language of most of the texts.

Notwithstanding, this book is a very welcome initiative in the field of ancient wine studies. It will definitely stimulate further discussion and examination of the new archaeological record, sizeable part of which would not be commonly accessible if not for the work of Carlos SANZ MINGUEZ, Fernando ROMERO CARNICERO and their collaborators.

Paulina Komar
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Henrici SIENKIEWICZ *Anthea, sive fabula “Eamus ad Ipsum”* a Petro Angelinio Latine versa, quam denuo edidit atque illustravit Theodericus Sacré, Bruxellis, 2010, 177 pp., ISBN 978-2-87290-026-8. Constat XX nummis Europaeis.

Bruxellis est parva domus editoria, cui nomen Melissa. In qua series librorum Latinorum ab anno 1750 ad 1950 conscriptorum nuper adornari coepit¹. Cuius seriei primum volumen in publicum prodiit Latina, quam hic recensendam suscepimus, fabulae Henrici Sienkiewiczii interpretatio. Agitur de narratione Christiana Polonice anno 1892 conscripta et *Pójdźmy za nim* inscripta, qua Sienkiewiczzius maiori eidemque clariori mythistoriae praelusit, cui titulum fecit *Quo vadis?* Sunt duo haec Sienkiewicziana opera consimilia. Utrobique res agitur iis temporibus quibus persuasio Christiana per imperii Romani fines sese diffundere coepit atque depingitur quidam Romanus paganus, qui, cum adhuc vitiiis deditus fuerit, se ad Christum convertit. Interpres nominatur Petrus Angelinius, sacerdos Romanus, idemque linguae Latinae scientissimus, qui, posteaquam multos annos litteras Latinas in quibusdam institutis pontificiis professus est, saeculo vicesimo ineunte scriba ab epistolis Latinis ad principes Leoni XIII pontifici maximo datus est. Is saepe symbolas dedit commentariis periodicis Latinis, quibus index “Vox Urbis”. In quibus commentariis primum prodiit in lucem haec fabula Latinitate ab eo donata et *Antheae* titulo insignita, quam Theodericus Sacré, universitatis Lovaniensis professor, denuo edendam curavit.

Dicet fortasse aliquis satis multa exstare opera Latine composita ut iis contenti libris ex aliis sermonibus in Latinum conversis supersedeamus.

At haud exiguus fructus ex huiusmodi Latinis interpretationibus capi potest. Etenim, cum perutile sit ad sermonem externum condiscendum iucundas et intellectu faciliores fabulas aliquando evolvere, pauci autem huius generis libri Latine scripti circumferantur (nam neque Apuleii neque Petronii opera, praeclara quidem et suavissima, at nonnumquam intellectu difficiliora, huic proposito satis apta videntur); interpretationes Latinae fabularum linguis recentioribus conscriptarum minime spernendae sunt iis, qui in animum induxerunt sermonem Latinum penitus discere. Id quod nonnulli homines eruditi vident, qui

...ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
doctores elementa velint ut discere prima,
(Hor. *Sat.* I 1, 25 sq.)

sic narrationes recentiores Latina veste indutas in manibus adolescentium adhuc linguae Latinae satis rudium ponunt, quo facilius et iucundius discant assuescantque sine nimia animi contentione scripta Latina versare. Res non est nova. Iam saeculo duodevicesimo Philippus Iulius Lieberkühn, Wratislaviensium scholarum inspector, puerilem narrationem de Robinsono iuniore a Ioachimo Henrico Campe Germanice compositam tironum gratia in Latium transportavit².

¹ Videas sedem interretialem domus editoriae <www.fundatiomelissa.org>. Ubi omnia necessaria invenias ad comparandum libri exemplum.

² Ioachimi Henrici Campe *Robinson Secundus. Tironum causa Latine vertit, atque indicem Latinitatis adiiciendum curavit Philippus Iulius Lieberkühn* (Zullichoviae, 1785). Qui liber a Gedikio recognitus aliquoties editus est: Ioachimi Henrici Campe *Robinson Secundus. Tironum causa Latinitatae donatus a Philippo Iulio Lieberkühnio, nunc denuo recensitus et copiosiori indice instructus a Ludevico Friderico Gedike* (Zullichoviae, 1789).

Ceterum hoc opusculum alios interpretes nactum est Ioannem Fridericum Theophilum Nagel Gaterslebenensium pastorem et Franciscum Iosephum Goffeaux, lycei imperialis (nunc Ludovici magni) professorem: Ioachimi Henrici Campe *Robinsonius minor e Germanica editione XII*

Saeculo autem vicesimo huius generis fabulae Latine redditae adeo percerebuerunt ut hodie difficile sit eas omnes vel titulo tenus cognoscere³. Tantum abest ut hoc loco eas percensere possim. Pleraque tamen earum interpretationum adeo fluentes sunt, delumbatae atque inquinatae ut tirones iis legendis non tam Latine discere quam dediscere mihi videantur. Satis erit exempli gratia commemorare lutulenta Arcadii Avellani interpretamenta⁴ vel Harrii Potteri fabulas⁵ non ita pridem a quodam magistello Latine expressas, sed adeo ieiune et incondite ut nescias utrum magis mireris, interpretis audaciam, qui litteris Latinis leviter tinctus tale opus susceperit, an censoris cuiusdam Oxoniensis impudentiam, qui librum maximis laudibus cumulare atque vix melius Latine reddi potuisse scribere ausus sit.

Aliae numero admodum paucae egregie sunt confectae. In his censendae sunt omnes interpretationes quae ab Hugone Henrico Paoli profectae sunt, viro ut omnis antiquitatis peritissimo, ita Latine scribendi arte cum paucis suis aequalibus conferendo. Qui sive oratione soluta, sive numeris adstricta usus est, interpretis munus praeclare sustinuit. Quid enim suavius iis versiculis, quibus Maximi et Mauritiū facinora enarravit? Aut quid gratius Pinoculo eius Latino? Quem qui legerunt, deierent Pinoculum melius Latine loqui non potuisse⁶. Neque contemnendae sunt fabellae

denuo Latine vertit perpetuaque vocabulorum et phrasium observationumque grammaticarum et lexicographicarum serie Boedero atque Grotefendio ductoribus in usum tironum illustravit Io. Frider. Theoph. Nagel Philos. Doct. et publicus verbi divini minister. Pars prior (Helmstadii, 1823); Pars posterior (Helmstadii, 1828); Fata Robinsoni Crusoei, Latine reddita ex imitatione operis Germanice scripti ab H. Campe. Ad usum tironum (Parisiis, 1809). Quae interpretatio saepe typis est expressa in Gallia, Britannia, America.

Reperti sunt quoque qui ipsius Danielis Defoe Robinsonum Latina veste induerent, Franciscus Guilelmus Newman celeberrimi cardinalis Newman germanus atque Arcadius Avellanus acerrimus usus linguae Latinae propugnator, qui etiam suum addidit supplementum: *Rebilius Cruso: Robinson Crusoe, in Latin; a Book to lighten Tedium to a Learner. By Francis William Newman, emeritus Professor of Latin in University College, London; honorary Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford (Londinii, 1884); Vita discriminae Robinsonis Crusoei; ab auctore Daniele De Foe, Anglo; primam fabulae partem, usque ad Crusoei adventum in insulam, ex anglico in latinum vertit, illinc autem ad finem usque novam finxit et latine perscripsit Arcadius Avellanus (Novi Eboraci, anno circiter 1928), duobus voluminibus. Haec autem diligentius persequi visum est ut ex unius Robinsoni exemplo patefieret quantus esset fabularum Latine redditarum proventus.*

³ Hic non est silentio praetereundum Bernardi Platzdasch inceptum. Qui indicem facere instituit omnium interpretationum tam Latinarum quam Graecarum, quotquot saecula undevicesimum et vicesimum pepererunt, consilium utilissimum sane et laudandum, fructuosius etiam futurum, si singulis libris a se enumeratis iudicia et censuras aliquando addiderit, quo facilius homines cum alii, tum in lingua Latina nondum valde exercitati bona a malis discernere queant. Vide eius paginam interretialem *Pantoia. Unterhaltsame Literatur und Dichtung in lateinischer und griechischer Übersetzung* <<http://www.pantoia.de/pantoia.html>>.

⁴ Conferantur, praeter eius Robinsonum, cuius in annotatione 2 meminimus, *Pericla Navarchi Magonis sive expeditio Phoenicia annis ante Christum mille. Opus Francice scripsit Leo Cahun, in Anglicum vertit Helena E. Frewer, Latine interpretatus est Arcadius Avellanus (Novi Eboraci, 1914); Mysterium arcae Boulé. Opus Anglice scripsit Burton E. Stevenson, Latine interpretatus est Arcadius Avellanus (Novi Eboraci, 1916); Insula thesauraria ab auctore Roberto Ludovico Stevenson. Latine interpretatus est Arcadius Avellanus (Novi Eboraci, 1922); alia haud pauca, quae recenset Bernardus Platzdasch in pagina *Pantoia* supra in annotatione 3 memorata.*

⁵ Ioannae Rowling *Harrius Potter et philosophi lapis. Translation by P. Needham (Novi Eboraci et Londinii, 2003) et eiusdem Harrius Potter et camera secretorum. Translation by P. Needham (Novi Eboraci et Londinii, 2007).*

⁶ Willelmi Busch *Maximi et Mauritiū malefacta (Max und Moritz) ab Hugone Henrico Paoli Latinis versibus enarrata (Florentiae, 1959); eiusdem Willelmi Busch Fabellae pueriles ab Hugone*

Americanæ a Terentio et Guenevera Tunberg Latine interpretatae, velut *Cattus petasatus*, libellus simplex pariter ac iucundus, quem discentes posito grammaticae tirocinio statim legere queunt et in quo convertendo coniuges Tunberg rhythmos a poetis Latinis mediae aetatis callide mutuati sunt ut auctorem, Doctorem illum Seuss paene κατὰ πρόδασ sectarentur⁷.

Inter has paucas praestantissimas interpretationes numeranda est etiam Petri Angelinii *Anthea sive "Eamus ad Ipsum"*. Quanquam haud scio an paraphrasis potius quam interpretatio sit dicenda, siquidem Angelinius haud pauca recisit, quae sunt in fabula primigenia; nonnulla uberiore orationis tractu diffudit et explicuit; alia de suo addidit atque nonnunquam scribendi studio abreptus suos versus interiecit. Etenim, cum Polonus scriptor tempora antiqua, ut sunt, quamvis senta et squalida fideliter repraesentare conatus esset, Latinus interpres, delicatior homo, quicquid minus honestum duceret ac propterea fastidiret, demere vel contegere voluit et, quemadmodum Daniel Volaterranus pictor, cum concilii Tridentini decretis corporum nuditas in arte sacra damnata esset, genitalia personarum *Extremi iudicii* in Xystini sacelli camera paulo antea dexterimo Michaëlis Angeli Bonarotae penicillo depictarum peristromatibus quibusdam velavit; ita et ille quae pudenda in fabula Sienkiewiczii existimabat, tanquam veste Latina texit atque occultavit. Nullae igitur meretriculae, nulla in servos crudelitas in Latina *Anthea*; omnia pudica, honesta, decora. At, dum interpres omnibus antiquitatis sordibus nobiliorem colorem sedulo inducit, non nihil timeo ne antiquitatem mundam illam quidem, sed quae nunquam fuerit, exhibeat ac ne legentibus tanquam castratum Sienkiewiczium praebere videatur.

Linguae difficultas est iis qui iam aliquantum in studio Latinitatis profecere quam tironibus elementariis accommodatior. Genus scribendi non oppletum illud Tullianis elegantis et verborum luminibus, verum parce interspersum; non fucatum et quasi unguentatum, sed mundum, concinnum et quod naturali quadam pulchritudine exsurgat. Praeterea *Anthea* est talis ut Latine excogitata et quasi nativa videatur, non, sicuti est, alieni operis interpretatio. Sermo purissimus, nec tamen ubique Ciceronianus. Quippe Angelinius rigidis praeceptis, quae de uno Cicerone imitando alibi dedit, non obtemperavit⁸, sed, ut statim elucet e fontibus ab editore textui *Antheae* subiectis, passim Livium, Curtium (imprimis pp. 58 et 61) vel etiam Petronium imitatus est (pp. 38, 41, 43, 44, 48, 49, 52, 54, 65, 66). Orationem praeterea nonnullis vocibus nobilioribus poetice aspersit et

Henrico Paoli Latinis versibus redactae (Florentiae, 1960); Caroli Collodi *Pinoculus Latinus* (Florentiae, 1962). Henrici Hoffmann *Petrus Ericius (Struwelpeter)*. *Lepidae historiologiae ab Hugone Henrico Paoli Latinis versibus enarratae* (Florentiae, 1960).

⁷ *Cattus petasatus, The Cat in the Hat in Latin. Qui libellus est a Doctore Seuss primo Anglice compositus at nunc (quod vix credas) in sermonem Latinum a Guenevera Tunberg et Terentio Tunberg conversus!* (Wacondae, 2000). Quae interpretatio constat ex octosyllabis similiter desinentibus.

⁸ Vides luculentum dialogum q.i. *Lollius sive de provecta Latinitate* (Romae, 1901). In eo opusculo, quo Angelinius quid de litteris, de docendo, deque scribendo sentiret non sine salibus et facetiis exposuit, adeo morosum puri sermonis amatorem se esse ostendit ut praeter Ciceronem et fortasse Caesarem Liviumve Latinitatis auctorem videatur habere neminem. Quod scribit cum alibi in *Lollio*, tum p. 85 seqq. Quanquam quid Livium dixi? Fastidit Angelinius verbum innotescendi (ibid., p. 98), quo tamen usus est Livius (XXII 61, 4), posterioris scilicet et cadentis Latinitatis scriptor! Nec minus austere idem damnat usum participii futuri, ubi de consilio alicuius rei faciendae ponitur, structuram eidem Livio usitatissimam (cfr. *Lollium*, p. 95). Quas severissimas et, ut ita dicam, Draconteas leges non modo tum sequendas esse existimat, cum vocabula Ciceroniana idem significantia suppetunt. De omnibus rebus, quarum aetatis aureae scriptores non meminerint, tacere iubet, nempe, ne Tullianae orationis candorem posterioris Latinitatis sordibus infuscesmus. "Cauti Syrtes vitavimus", inquit ibid. p. 92, "nulla re proposita, de qua non possemus cum Tullio disserere. Quare de mathematicis, de physicis nihil; nihil de novissimis inventis, commerciis, industriis; de praesenti denique hominum societate, nonnisi quae cum antiquis communia essent, attigimus. Scilicet nulla urget necessitas vitiose loquendi, ut imperitis docti esse videamur".

tanquam gemmulis distinxit, veluti cum “parentem” singulari numero pro patre scriberet (p. 66), “coniugem” pro uxore muliereve, vocabulis usûs magis cottidiani (p. 66); vel cum fluvium “am-nem” (p. 38), mare “aequor” (p. 40), gladium “ensem” (p. 63) appellaret. Quibus rebus id effecit ut nitorem ac levem quandam poëticum colorem narrationi suae apposite conciliaverit propiusque ad scriptores argenteae aetatis accesserit⁹.

Invenias quoque quae ut posterioris poëticae Latinitatis sunt, ita stilo nequaquam serviunt; atque nonnulla etiam minus Latina vel improprie dicta quae Angelinio excidisse nolles. Quod genus “causâ” cum casu genetivo, sensu causali dictum (“Ego ipsorum causa discrucior” p. 42, quod apud bonos quidem Latinitatis auctores perraro reperias); “albicans” pro albi coloris (p. 59); “hac-tenus” pro “adhuc” (p. 43); “publice” pro palam (pp. 55 et 59); “pulvinar” de simplici pulvino minus proprie positum (p. 59); “aedem” singulari numero de privatis aedibus – nam Polonice scriptum est “dom”, i.e. domus – (p. 47); “usus fuisse” (p. 63); “subiecta fuerant” (p. 64); “fuerant auditaë” (p. 66) aliaque huiuscemodi formae constanter pro simplicibus perfectis “usus esse”, “subiecta erant”, cett. Verum, ubi plura nitent, paucis maculis non offendimur et genus scribendi Angelinii est sane venustissimum.

Iam consideremus quomodo professor Sacré editoris munere functus sit. Is introductionem praemisit bonae frugis plenam, in qua de vita Angelinii, de *Anthea*, de eius stilo, editionibus, fortuna docte disserit atque praeter alia validis argumentis demonstrat poëtam Latinum Franciscum Sofia Alessio argumentum carminis cui index *Asterie* ex Angeliniana *Anthea* desumpsisse. Praeterea editor apparatus locorum similium contextui submitit ut legentes facile intellegerent quos veteres Angelinius imitatus esset et quomodo. Annotationibus quoque fabulam instruxit, quibus quid interpres addidisset, quid contra a Sienkiewiczio narratum omisisset, declararet.

Quae omnia professor Sacré non Nederlandico, qui est ei patrius, verum Latino sermone perscripsit, laudabili sane consilio, quod si plures philologi hodieque in scriptoribus Latinis recentioribus edendis sequerentur, vel certe unam e notioribus linguis usurparent, neque, ut fit, eligerent quod sibi est facillimum, exteris autem lectoribus saepe laboriosissimum, ut sermone sibi quisque patrio uterentur, multa incommoda evitarem, nec tam saepe usu veniret ut litterarum Latinarum studiosi commentarios et prolegomena ad scriptores Latinos recentiores, quos legunt, intellegere nequeant. Recentiores Latinos scriptores dico, quod, si quis antiquos evolvere velit, integrum ei est eligere inter multas editiones variis linguis confectas; si quis autem recentiores legere cupit, saepius, si ulla, unica exstat editio recentior ut, si Hungarice vel Danice introductio et annotationes sint scriptae, ad alias confugere non liceat. Iam vero, cum Theodericus Sacré in arte Latine scribendi adeo excellat ut nonnunquam ipsi Angelinio palmam dubiam faciat, quantam non utilitatem modo sed etiam voluptatem ex hac re lector linguae Latinae studiosus capiat facile est ad intellegendum.

Sed iam redeo ad institutum sermonem de rebus quibus nova haec *Antheae* editio est exornata. Neque enim ad finem perveni. Alia complura inserta sunt in duabus copiosis appendicibus. Liber quippe hic tantummodo Latinam *Antheam* fronte promittit; multas vero res ac lectu dignissimas occultat in recessu. Priorem appendicem occupant scriptiunculae Latinae ipsius Henrici Sienkiewiczii, nempe litterae, quibus gratias egit sociis academiae Caesariae Petropolitanae, quod ipsum in suorum numerum cooptavissent, atque oratiuncula fortasse scripta ut haberetur eo die quo Sienkiewiczius doctor ab academia Cracoviensis curatoribus honoris causa factus est. Hasce scriptiunculas excipit interpretatio vel potius epitome Latina mythistoriae cui titulus *Quo vadis?*, opusculum rarissimum, quod a magistro Hungaro nomine Adalberto Danczer in tironum gratiam confectum in ephemeride q.i. “Iuventus” ante centum annos vulgatum est. Quod tam procul abest ab illo summo artificio, quod in Angelinii conversione admiramur, ut vix grammaticae scriptum videatur. Nec tamen prorsus inutile erit Latinitatis studiosis hanc quoque interpretationem attingere ut iudicium acuant videantque ex utriusque conversionis comparatione “quid distent aera lupinis”.

⁹ Alias voces et constructiones ab aurea Latinitate alienas enumerat Theodericus Sacré p. 18 praefationis.

In altera autem appendice insunt alia Latinitatis Angeliniana specimina, et primum carmina quaedam; tum oratio funebris Leopoldi II, regis Belgarum, quam Angelinius anno 1910 in aede Xystina coram summo pontifice habuit. Quae omnia tersa sunt et Latina.

Libri aspectus est nitidus; pretium satis modicum, sphalmata typographica tam rara ut ea notare sit putidiusculum. Tantummodo requiras diligentiolem annotationem discrepantiarum libri Sienkiewicziani et operis Angeliniani. Fortasse optandum quoque erat ut, quemadmodum olim David Ruhnkenius in Mureti scriptis a se editis notavit quae a pura Latinitate abhorrent, ita et Theodericus Sacré pro sua egregia sermonis Latini peritia quae minus Latina essent apud Angelinium et Danczerum, in annotationibus ostendisset. Hac enim via ac ratione mirum quantum consulatur iis qui iudicium exacuere atque ad interiorem linguae Latinae scientiam penetrare cupiunt.

Sed “desino tandem querelarum”. Hoc rarissimo opusculo iterum edendo optime promeritus est professor Sacré de omnibus hominibus litterarum Latinarum ac Polonicarum amantibus. Quo evolvendo peritiores iudicium exercebunt, tirones discent, utrique oblectabuntur.

Quod reliquum est, libri materiae conspectum appendicis loco hic appono atque initium interpretationis Angeliniana. Qua degustata spero fore ut quam plurimi se applicent ad integram fabulam perlegendam. Operae pretium facient.

RERUM QUAE IN LIBRO INSUNT CONSPECTUS

Praefatio, pp. 7–32

P. Angelini, Anthea. Ex fabula H. Senkewitz [sic] “Eamus ad Ipsum”, pp. 33–67

Appendices:

I. Appendix Sienkiewicziana, pp. 69–133

1. Epistula Sienkiewiczii Latina (1897)

2. Latina Sienkiewiczii oratiuncula (1900)

3. Latina versio mythistoriae, c.t. “Quo vadis?”, interprete Adalberto Danczer (1911/1912)

II. Appendix Angeliniana, pp. 135–158

1. Carmina Petri Angelinii

2. P. Angelinii oratio in funere Leopoldi II Belgarum regis (1910)

Adnotationes, pp. 159–177

INITIUM FABULAE SIENKIEWICZIANAE PETRI ANGELINII OPERA IN LATINUM CONVERSAE

Qui optimo vitae cursu rebusque ad voluntatem fluentibus gaudent, ii curiosius inquirent siquae forte in hac narratiuncula reperiantur dicendi veneres quibus aures blande detineantur. Qui vero fortunae reflantis impetum sunt experti, iis profecto nulla potest audiri aut exprimi iucundior vox quam nuda haec maerentis Antheae: «Eamus ad Ipsum». Est enim spe deiectis et quasi naufragis portus *Ipse*, qui dixit: «Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos».

C. Septimius Cinna, patricius Romanus, emeritis stipendiis inter legiones, cum esset etiam tum integra aetate, Romam reversus est otii fruendi causa vitaeque per luxum ac voluptates agenda, quibus, ut tunc erant tempora, circumfluere divitiis liceret. Ei nulla deorum opinio erat; philosophiam pro nihilo habebat; bonum, virtutem vacua verba putabat quibus nulla esset subiecta sententia. Cumque id unum sibi proposuisset, curare se molliter et iucundissime vivere, actae ex arbitrio aetatis admirationem iniecit aliquamdiu civibus, donec dissipata re familiari, nihil sibi reliquum sensit nisi gaudii lassitudinem rerumque omnium satietatem. Huc accessit

animi aegritudo maxima, qualem expertus fuerat antea numquam. Nam praedives et ut iis temporibus voluptuarius, deliciis omnibus diffluxerat ille quidem, gloriae militaris cupiditatem expleverat depulso periculo gestiens; idem cum suae aetatis philosophis valde coniunctus facile intellegebat quos intra fines humanae vis mentis contineretur, artem, poësim admiratione et cultu fuerat prosecutus; in quo denique vita consisteret, quid eadem polliceri posset apprime tenebat. Nihilominus in iis omnibus persequendis magnum aliquid neglexisse sibi videbatur nec quid illud esset diu cogitanti apparebat.

Antonius Haaker
Universitatis Wratislaviensis

PROTOKÓŁ CIV WALNEGO ZGROMADZENIA
POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO
(14–15 WRZEŚNIA 2011 WE WROCŁAWIU)

1. SESJA ADMINISTRACYJNA 14 WRZEŚNIA 2011

Sesja odbyła się według następującego programu:

1. Otwarcie obrad.
2. Sprawy bieżące.
3. Sprawozdanie Prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF z działalności za ostatnie dwa lata.
4. Sprawozdania Prezesów Kół Terenowych PTF.
5. Sprawozdania Przewodniczących Komisji.
6. Sprawozdanie Redaktora „Eos”.
7. Przyznanie nagrody dla najlepszego nauczyciela języka łacińskiego ufundowanej przez *Traditio Europae*.
8. Sprawozdanie z działalności fundacji *Traditio Europae*.
9. Wnioski Kół Terenowych o nadanie tytułów Członków Honorowych PTF.
10. Wolne wnioski.
11. Zamknięcie obrad.

Obrady otworzył i przewodniczył im Prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF, prof. Andrzej Budzisz. Na protokolanta obrad wyznaczył dr Agatę Łukę. Obecnych było 25 osób. Pan Prezes poinformował zgromadzonych o trudnościach związanych z próbami rejestracji obecnego Zarządu Głównego PTF w sądzie. Następnie przedstawił odpowiedź Ministerstwa Edukacji Narodowej na list PTF dotyczący miejsca języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej w polskiej szkole, który to list wysłano do ministerstwa wraz z podpisami zebranymi w poszczególnych ośrodkach i innych instytucjach, jakie zechciały poprzeć akcję PTF. List o takiej samej treści skierowano również do Konferencji Rektorów Akademickich Szkół Polskich, ale, jak poinformował pan Prezes, PTF nie otrzymało odpowiedzi. Prof. Przemysław Nehring poruszył sprawę listu do Ministerstwa Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego, na który PTF również nie otrzymał odpowiedzi. List dotyczył efektów

kształcenia w zakresie Filologii Klasycznej i Studiów Śródziemnomorskich (ang. *Classics*) na studiach I i II stopnia profilu ogólnego/akademickiego.

Pan Prezes zaproponował powołanie komisji do zmiany statutu, by dostosować go do obecnych wymogów prawa o stowarzyszeniach. Prof. Zbigniew Brzostowski zasugerował powierzenie tego zadania prawnikowi. Ustalono, że sekretarz PTF roześle statut Prezesom Kół Terenowych, by mogli składać propozycje zmian. Prof. Sławomir Wyszomirski zgłosił kandydaturę prof. Krzysztofa Nareckiego jako członka komisji. Prof. Narecki poprosił poszczególne ośrodki o nadsyłanie propozycji zmian, które PTF mógłby opracować i uzgodnić podczas posiedzenia Zarządu Głównego PTF w marcu przyszłego roku. Powołano komisję w składzie: prof. Andrzej Budzisz, prof. Krzysztof Narecki, prof. Hubert Wolanin, prof. Sławomir Wyszomirski. Jako termin głosowania nad kandydaturami wyznaczono kolejną sesję administracyjną 15 września 2011.

W dalszej części obrad pan Prezes przedstawił sprawozdanie z działalności PTF za ostatnie dwa lata, w tym sprawozdanie finansowe. Sprawozdanie zostało przyjęte jednogłośnie. Postawiono wniosek, by sprawozdania Prezesów Kół Terenowych przedstawić Zarządowi w formie pisemnej, co również przyjęto jednogłośnie. Przewodniczący Komisji Nagród i Wyróżnień prof. Marian Szarmach poinformował zgromadzonych, że w ciągu ostatnich dwóch lat nie wpłynął do Komisji żaden wniosek o przyznanie nagrody. Jako Przewodniczący Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego prof. Szarmach przytoczył wyniki olimpiady za rok 2010/2011 oraz podał terminy poszczególnych etapów olimpiady w roku 2011/2012, a także poinformował o planowanej zmianie na stanowisku Kierownika Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego na prośbę obecnego kierownika, mgr Anny Górskiej. Prof. Szarmach wyraził żal, że mimo zainteresowania olimpiadą i licznych sukcesów uczniów biorących w niej udział, olimpiada ciągle boryka się z problemami finansowymi i niechęcią ministerstwa. Pan Prezes złożył na ręce prof. Szarmacha gorące podziękowania za ofiarną pracę na rzecz Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego. Sprawozdania Przewodniczącego Komisji Rewizyjnej oraz Przewodniczącego Sądu Koleżeńskiego postanowiono przyjąć w formie pisemnej.

Kolejna część obrad dotyczyła sprawozdania z działalności „Eos”, przedstawił je prof. Jakub Pigoń. Prof. Andrzej Budzisz zaprezentował zebrany zestawienie wydatków i przychodów dotyczących „Eos” w roku 2010, a także stan konta PTF z dnia 12 września 2011 (tj. 11.794,93 zł).

Kolejnym punktem obrad było przyznanie nagrody dla najlepszego nauczyciela języka łacińskiego. Nagrodę w wysokości jednego tysiąca złotych ufundowała *Traditio Europae*. Ustalono, że nagroda będzie przyznawana co dwa lata, począwszy od obecnego Walnego Zgromadzenia Zarządu Głównego PTF. Do nagrody zgłoszone zostały cztery osoby: mgr Alina Krzanowska (Publiczne Gimnazjum nr 1 im. św. Królowej Jadwigi w Jarosławiu), mgr Joanna Skrzynecka (I LO im. A. Mickiewicza w Olsztynie), mgr Karolina Szybka-Kmieciak (I LO

im. M. Skłodowskiej-Curie w Ostrzeszowie), mgr Dorota Żuchowska (XVIII LO im. J. Śniadeckiego w Łodzi). W wyniku tajnego głosowania nagrodę otrzymała mgr Joanna Skrzynecka.

Następnie prof. Przemysław Nehring przedstawił sprawozdanie z działalności fundacji *Traditio Europae*, przybliżając zgromadzonym szczegóły związane z akcją zbierania podpisów pod petycją na rzecz akcji „Polska w Europie, łacina w szkole” (akcja rozpoczęła się 13 czerwca 2011 na portalu www.petycje.pl) oraz zachęcając poszczególne Koła Terenowe do podjęcia działań podobnych do tych, które z sukcesami podejmowane są w Toruniu. Działania dotyczą wprowadzenia języka łacińskiego w gimnazjach jako drugiego języka obcego do wyboru, możliwości rozpoczęcia nauki łaciny już w pierwszej klasie liceum oraz zachowania matury z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej zarówno na poziomie podstawowym, jak i rozszerzonym. Ośrodek toruński zaproponował udostępnienie pozostałym kołom przygotowanych przez siebie materiałów propagujących akcję „Polska w Europie, łacina w szkole”.

Koła terenowe PTF przedłożyły przygotowane wnioski o nadanie tytułów Członków Honorowych PTF. Ze względu na późną porę zaproponowano, by głosowanie w tej sprawie przełożyć na kolejny dzień obrad, co spotkało się z jednomyślnym poparciem. W związku z brakiem wolnych wniosków pan Prezes zamknął obrady.

2. SESJA ADMINISTRACYJNA 15 WRZEŚNIA 2011

Sesja odbyła się według następującego programu:

1. Otwarcie obrad.
2. Powołanie komisji skrutacyjnej.
3. Wnioski Kół Terenowych o nadanie tytułów Członków Honorowych PTF.
4. Głosowanie nad kandydaturami na członków komisji do zmiany statutu PTF.
5. Przyjęcie protokołu zebrania Komisji Rewizyjnej ZG PTF.
6. Wolne wnioski.
7. Zamknięcie obrad.

Obrady otworzył i przewodniczył im Prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF, prof. Andrzej Budzisz, a uczestniczyły w nich 42 osoby. Powołano komisję skrutacyjną w składzie: dr Małgorzata Górską, dr Aleksandra Kłęczar, dr Agata Łuka. Wnioski o przyznanie członkostwa honorowego przedstawiły: Koło Wrocławskie dla prof. Janiny Ławińskiej-Tyszkowskiej, mgr Ewy Pobiedzińskiej i prof. Alicji Szastyńskiej-Siemion oraz Koło Lubelskie dla prof. Krystyny Stańczakowej, prof. Krystyny Staweckiej, prof. Roberta Chodkowskiego, prof. Henryka Podbielskiego, ks. prof. Remigiusza Popowskiego i ks. prof. Henryka

Wójtowicza. W głosowaniu brali udział wszyscy obecni. W wyniku głosowania wszystkim Kandydatom przyznano większością głosów tytuł Honorowego Członka Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego.

Dr Aleksandra Klęczar jako Przewodnicząca Komisji Rewizyjnej Zarządu Głównego PTF przedstawiła protokół posiedzenia Komisji w dniu 15 września 2011. Protokół został przyjęty.

W wolnych wnioskach prof. Zbigniew Brzostowski zgłosił Koło Gdańskie jako organizatora kolejnego walnego zgromadzenia PTF w roku 2013. Prof. Budzisz wyraził wdzięczność za zaproszenie, podziękował Kołu Wrocławskiemu za organizację CIV Walnego Zgromadzenia Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego oraz zamknął obrady.

Protokołowała: Agata Łuka

SPRAWOZDANIE Z DZIAŁALNOŚCI ZARZĄDU GŁÓWNEGO
POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO
W OKRESIE 19 WRZEŚNIA 2009 – 13 WRZEŚNIA 2011

W okresie 19.09.2009–13.09.2011 r. Zarząd Główny PTF działał w składzie:

Prezes: prof. dr hab. Andrzej Budzisz;

Wiceprezesi: prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartoł, prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Korus,
prof. dr hab. Jerzy Styka;

Skarbnik: dr Iwona Wieżel;

Sekretarz: dr Agata Łuka;

Kancelerz: prof. dr hab. Hubert Wolanin;

Członkowie: prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska, prof. dr hab. Krzysztof
Głombiowski, prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Narecki, prof. dr hab. Sławomir
Wyszomirski, dr hab. Cyprian Mielczarski, dr Tamara Roszak, dr Przemysław
Marciniak, dr Krzysztof Morta, dr Rafał Rosół;

Przewodniczący Komisji Nagród i Wyróżnień: prof. dr hab. Marian
Szarmach;

Przewodniczący Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka
Łacińskiego: prof. dr hab. Marian Szarmach;

Kierownik Organizacyjny Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka
Łacińskiego: mgr Anna Górską;

Redaktor „Eos”: prof. dr hab. Jakub Pigoń;

Przewodniczący Komisji Rewizyjnej: dr Aleksandra Klęczar;

Członkowie Komisji Rewizyjnej: dr Małgorzata Górską, dr Barbara
Bibik, dr Mariusz Zagórski, dr Sławomira Brud;

Przewodniczący Sądu Koleżeńskiego: prof. dr hab. Jerzy
Danielewicz;

Członkowie Sądu Koleżeńskiego: prof. dr hab. Wanda Popiak, prof. dr
hab. Jadwiga Czerwińska, prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański, prof. dr hab. Tadeusz
Aleksandrowicz;

Prezesa Kół Terenowych: dr Tomasz Mojsik (Białystok), dr Zbigniew
Brzostowski (Gdańsk), dr Tomasz Sapota (Katowice), dr Antoni Bobrowski
(Kraków), prof. dr hab. Agnieszka Dziuba (Lublin), dr Joanna Rybowska
(Łódź), prof. dr hab. Joanna Rostropowicz (Opole), dr Magdalena Stuligrosz
(Poznań), dr Małgorzata Cieśluk (Szczecin), dr hab. Przemysław Nehring

(Toruń), prof. dr hab. Adam Tadeusz Łukaszewicz (Warszawa), dr Małgorzata Wróbel (Wrocław).

Zarząd Główny rozpoczął działalność od starań o wymagane uaktualnienie danych Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego w Krajowym Rejestrze Stowarzyszeń. Starania te okazały się żmudne i czasochłonne nie tyle ze względu na trudności związane z pozyskiwaniem koniecznych danych, co z powodu długotrwałego oczekiwania na rozpatrzenie wniosku i kilkakrotne żądanie przez sąd kolejnych poprawek i uzupełnień. 13 września 2011 roku Zarząd Główny wciąż oczekiwał na odpowiedź sądu dotyczącą ostatecznej rejestracji Zarządu w obecnym składzie.

W okresie sprawozdawczym 19.09.2009–13.09.2011 odbyły się cztery posiedzenia Zarządu Głównego: 24 kwietnia 2010, 25 września 2010, 11 grudnia 2010 oraz 19 marca 2011. Posiedzenia miały miejsce w Warszawie.

Podczas pierwszego posiedzenia (24 kwietnia 2010) dyskutowano na temat: absurdalności – w przypadku filologii klasycznej – studiów dwustopniowych; sytuacji nauczania języków klasycznych w szkołach średnich; konieczności przekonania MEN do wprowadzenia zmian dotyczących matury z języka łacińskiego, tak by uczniowie mogli zdawać maturę z łaciny zarówno na poziomie rozszerzonym, jak i podstawowym, a nie, jak dotąd, jedynie na poziomie rozszerzonym, co zazwyczaj nie zachęca uczniów; niewystarczającego naboru na studia, małego zainteresowania studiami II stopnia oraz sposobów radzenia sobie z tym kryzysem przez poszczególne ośrodki. Zaproponowano utworzenie grupy osób, które zajmą się zmianą sytuacji filologii klasycznej, po uprzednim uzgodnieniu strategii działania z dyrektorami poszczególnych Instytutów lub Katedr Filologii Klasycznej. Koordynatorem tego przedsięwzięcia zgodził się być prof. Przemysław Nehring. Podczas spotkania mówiono również o braku lub znikomej współpracy między uniwersytetem a szkołą średnią, która mogłaby zapewnić większą liczbę kandydatów na filologię klasyczną, gdyby udało ich się odpowiednio zachęcić, przedstawiając klasykę jako kierunek nie mniej interesujący i atrakcyjny niż inne (np. organizując konkursy wiedzy o antyku, bloki odczytów i prezentacji dla szkół, powołując fundacje, które mogłyby płacić za nauczanie łaciny w wybranym gimnazjum). Omawiano propozycję uznania filologii klasycznej za kierunek unikatowy, ale projekt ten uznano ostatecznie za niemożliwy do przeprowadzenia i w gruncie rzeczy niekorzystny. Podkreślono jednak konieczność postarania się o indywidualne wymogi dla filologii klasycznej, ponieważ nie pasują tu wymogi stawiane filologiom nowożytnym. Przypomniano również o konieczności opracowania ram programowych dla filologii klasycznej.

Spotkanie 25 września 2010 dotyczyło propozycji poszczególnych ośrodków w sprawie programu studiów filologii klasycznej zgodnych z krajowymi ramami kwalifikacyjnymi. Kierownik Organizacyjny Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego, mgr Anna Górka przedstawiła wysokość dotacji ministerstwa na olimpiadę na lata 2010/2011, 2011/2012 i 2012/2013 zaznaczając, że

z roku na rok dotacja się obniża. Fundacja *Traditio Europae* przedstawiła swój plan ufundowania nagrody dla najlepszego nauczyciela łaciny w Polsce; proponowana wysokość nagrody to tysiąc złotych. Ustalono, że kandydatów ma typować Zarząd Główny PTF na wniosek Kół Terenowych.

Podczas spotkania 11 grudnia 2010 dyskutowano na temat wątpliwości, jakie budzą nowe wymagania programowe. Głosowano też nad propozycją zmiany nazwy kierunku „filologia klasyczna”. Prof. Cyprian Mielczarski opowiedział się za nazwą „studia klasyczne”. Prof. Jerzy Styka przypomniał, że filologia klasyczna była pierwszą filologią i filologią pozostała, tak więc nazwa „studia klasyczne” spowoduje, że filologia klasyczna zniknie z pola widzenia i stanie się kierunkiem niszowym, a to może nam zaszkodzić. Kierunek „studia klasyczne” jest wprawdzie kuszący, ale istnieje obawa, że filologia klasyczna stanie się jedną ze specjalności tego kierunku. Stworzenie zaś samodzielnego wydziału jest w ramach kraju iluzoryczne ze względu na małą kadrę. Prof. Zofia Głombiowska była za utrzymaniem nazwy „filologia klasyczna”, ponieważ to właśnie filologia jest podstawą innych specjalizacji i kierunków, np. neolatynistyki czy filologii nowożytnych. Za utrzymaniem nazwy „filologia klasyczna” opowiedzieli się również prof. Hanna Zalewska-Jura i prof. Sławomir Wyszomirski. Prof. Agnieszka Dziuba wspomniała o borykaniu się z niżem demograficznym i opowiedziała się za nazwą „filologia klasyczna z kulturą śródziemnomorską”. Dr Mariusz Zagórski podkreślił, że „filologia klasyczna” to nazwa rozpoznawalna, to nasza marka, dlatego warto ją zachować. Prof. Mieczysław Mejer również zaproponował zachowanie tej nazwy i odłączenie się od pozostałych filologii, co może być korzystne. Prof. Elżbieta Wesołowska powiedziała w imieniu środowiska poznańskiego, że jest za nazwą „filologia klasyczna” ze specjalnościami na studiach I stopnia w obrębie ośrodków, np. bizantynistyka, studia klasyczne etc. Prof. Tadeusz Aleksandrowicz przedstawił stanowisko środowiska katowickiego, które optuje za studiami klasycznymi z dwiema specjalnościami: 1. filologia klasyczna, 2. cywilizacja śródziemnomorska. Środowisko opolskie, jak powiedziała dr Elżbieta Gaj, waha się między „filologią klasyczną” a „studiami klasycznymi i cywilizacją śródziemnomorską”. Odbyło się wstępne głosowanie nad proponowaną zmianą nazwy. Wzięto pod uwagę trzy możliwości: filologia klasyczna i studia śródziemnomorskie (lub filologia klasyczna i cywilizacja śródziemnomorska), filologia klasyczna, studia klasyczne. Najwięcej głosów otrzymała nazwa filologia klasyczna i studia śródziemnomorskie.

19 marca 2011 Zarząd Główny spotkał się z Dyrektorami Instytutów, Kierownikami i Kuratorami Katedr Filologii Klasycznej. W programie posiedzenia znalazło się podsumowanie wyników prac nad efektami kształcenia. Dyskutowano również o niepokojącym, zagrażającym i tak osłabionej pozycji języka łacińskiego w szkołach średnich i na studiach wyższych projekcie Konferencji Rektorów Akademickich Szkół Polskich. Pojawiła się propozycja wystosowania przez Zarząd Główny PTF pisma zarówno do KRASP, jak i do

MEN, protestującego przeciwko tym projektom. Zaproponowano, żeby pismo takie podpisali nie tylko filologowie klasyczni, ale też inni humaniści, a także środowiska artystyczne i inne, które zechcą poprzeć nasz protest.

W ramach współpracy międzynarodowej Zarząd Główny PTF utrzymywał kontakt z organizacją EuroClassica, dbającą o podtrzymywanie tradycji nauczania języków klasycznych i kultury antycznej oraz ugruntowanie jej pozycji wśród innych dyscyplin humanistycznych. Zarząd współpracuje też z polską fundacją *Traditio Europae*, odnoszącą liczne sukcesy w swych różnorodnych działaniach mających na celu popularyzację wiedzy o kulturze antycznej i eksponowanie jej roli w kształtowaniu wspólnej tradycji europejskiej. PTF pozyskiwało również środki na dofinansowanie czasopisma „Eos” oraz na realizację grantów naukowych. Były to: grant promotorski dla prof. Leszka Mrozewicza na projekt badawczy „Obraz Hiszpanii w *Naturalis Historia* Pliniusza Starszego”, grant dla dra Sebastiana Rucińskiego na projekt badawczy „Praefectus praetorio. Dowódca – sędzia – administrator we wczesnym Cesarstwie Rzymskim” oraz grant dla prof. Huberta Wolanina na projekt badawczy „Gramatyka opisowa klasycznej łaciny w ujęciu strukturalnym”. W momencie ukończenia okresu sprawozdawczego 19.09.2009–13.09.2011 realizacja grantów była już zakończona.

Prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF prof. dr hab. Andrzej Budzisz
Sekretarz Zarządu Głównego PTF dr Agata Łuka

SPRAWOZDANIA Z DZIAŁALNOŚCI KÓŁ TERENOWYCH
POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO
W OKRESIE 19 WRZEŚNIA 2009 – 13 WRZEŚNIA 2011

1. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA GDAŃSKIEGO

I. Działalność organizacyjna

W okresie sprawozdawczym trwała kadencja Zarządu Koła w składzie: przewodniczący – dr Zbigniew I. Brzostowski, wiceprzewodnicząca – dr Ewelina Marciniak, sekretarz – mgr Jacek Pokrzywnicki, skarbnik – dr Maria Otto, członkowie – dr Bartłomiej Siek, mgr Rafał Szczepkowski. Członkiem Zarządu Głównego pochodzącym z wyboru pozostaje prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Głombiowski.

W minionych latach zmarli zasłużeni członkowie Koła: prof. Stanisław Mrozek, mgr Jan Krzemiński i mgr Maria Wujtewicz – członek honorowy PTF, założycielka naszego Koła.

Koło Gdańskie liczy 40 członków. Członkowie Koła, którzy rezygnują z uczestnictwa w stowarzyszeniu, są zastępowani przez nowych. Dzięki temu liczba członków Koła utrzymuje się od lat na podobnym poziomie. Trzeba jednak zaznaczyć, że większą aktywność w pracach Koła przejawiała mniej więcej tylko połowa członków.

W dniu 16 czerwca 2011 na Walnym Zebraniu Wyborczym Koła Gdańskiego PTF wybrano nowy Zarząd. Obecnie tworzą go: przewodnicząca, dr Agnieszka Witczak; mgr Elżbieta Starek, jako wiceprzewodnicząca; skarbniczka, dr Maria Otto; mgr Jacek Pokrzywnicki, jako sekretarz, a także Członkowie Zwyczajni: dr Ewelina Marciniak, mgr Klaudia Palmąka. Do Komisji Rewizyjnej weszli: dr Zbigniew Brzostowski, jako Przewodniczący, a ponadto mgr Hanna Bednarczyk-Szulc i dr Grzegorz Kotłowski.

II. Działalność naukowa i popularyzatorska

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 5 spotkań, w czasie których omawiano sprawy organizacyjne związane z działalnością KG PTF, postanowienia Zarządu Głównego PTF, oraz przedstawione zostały referaty przygotowane przez pracowników Katedry Filologii Klasycznej Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, innych uczelni

wyższych, pracowników Polskiej Akademii Nauk i doktorantów. Kontynuowano także tradycję zapraszania do współpracy środowiska studenckiego.

Tytuły referatów w kolejności:

1. Prof. dr hab. Ireneusz MIKOŁAJCZYK, *Rzymska literatura agronomiczna* (11 I 2010).
2. Mgr Anna SZYMAŃSKA, *Terminologia filozoficzna Apulejusza* (30 IV 2010).
3. Prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Tomasz WITCZAK, *Kreta w opisie Skylaksa z Karyandy* (24 XI 2010).
4. Mgr Anna SZYMAŃSKA, *Pitagoras i pitagoreizm w twórczości Apulejusza z Madaury* (18 II 2011)
5. Dr Aleksander BALIŃSKI, *Kobieta klasycznego islamu* (11 V 2011).

Spotkania odbywały się w różnych miejscach, najczęściej w budynku Wydziału Filologiczno-Historycznego Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego oraz w Bibliotece Gdańskiej Polskiej Akademii Nauk.

Członkowie Koła uczestniczyli w CIII Walnym Zgromadzeniu PTF w Poznaniu 18–21 IX 2009, połączonym z konferencją pt. „Komizm w literaturze antycznej”, podczas której członkinie Koła Gdańskiego przedstawiły dwa referaty: dr Anna Marchewka „Komizm w *Cyropedii* Ksenofonta” i mgr Klaudia Palmąka „Cywilizacja śródziemnomorska w liceum – innowacja programowa”.

W ramach działalności Koła trwają prace nad przekładem i opracowaniem *Philippi Adler Prioris Annales Monasterii Olivensis ab a. 1549–1621*. Zadanie to realizują członkowie Koła i osoby zaprzyjaźnione: Zbigniew I. Brzostowski, Bogdan Burliga, Roman Dziegielewski, Grzegorz Kotłowski, Jacek Pokrzywnicki, Anna Szymańska.

Koło Gdańskie wsparło organizacyjnie i finansowo kilka przedsięwzięć naukowych i popularnonaukowych:

1. Konferencja naukowa pt. „Ksenofont – literat i człowiek swojej epoki” (22–23 X 2009). Dofinansowanie w wysokości 300,00 zł.
2. Wyjazd naukowy Koła Naukowego Studentów Filologii Klasycznej do Rzymu (31 I – 10 II 2010), dofinansowanie w wysokości 300,00 zł.
3. Uroczystości „Dnia Narodzin Rzymu” („Dies Natalis Urbis”) (13–14 V 2010), dofinansowanie w wysokości 200,00 zł.

2. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA KATOWICKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym między wrześniem 2009 a czerwcem 2011 odbyło się 12 zebrań członków Koła, na których ogłoszono 12 referatów oraz 2 komunikaty:

1. Dr Anna KUCZ, *Arnobiusz twórcą czy odtwórcą koncepcji płci boskiej?* (4 XI 2009).
2. Dr Grzegorz KOTŁOWSKI (UG), *Próba identyfikacji nazw geograficznych w periplusie Hannona* (13 XI 2009).

3. Dr Anna SZCZEPANIAK, *Hefajstion „O znakach”*. *Antyczne znaki krytyczne o funkcji metryczno-strukturalnej* (19 I 2010).
4. Dr Katarzyna LESIAK, *Problematyka dźwięczności w klasycznej epice rzymskiej* (14 IV 2010).
5. Dr Dion C. SMYTHE (Instytut Studiów Bizantyńskich, Queen’s University Belfast), *Jews in Byzantium* (8 IV 2010).
6. Dr Anna KOTŁOWSKA (UAM), *Polowanie w kulturze literackiej Bizantyńczyków* (13 V 2010).
7. Dr Ilias WRAZAS (UWr), *Nikos Kazantzakis: Kuszenie Archaniola* (16 XII 2010).
8. Dr Jan KUCHARSKI, *Semiotyka przemocy w tragedii greckiej* (20 I 2011).
9. Dr Anna LASEK (UAM), *„Wizja” – nowoodkryty poemat Dorotheosa* (17 II 2011).
10. Dr Bogdan BURLIGA (UG), *Gorgiasza „Peri tou me ontos e peri physeos” i greckie doświadczenie demokracji* (21 III 2011).
11. Dr Anna SZCZEPANIAK, *Antyczny system głosek i zgłosek greckich* (18 IV 2011).

17 grudnia 2009 miało miejsce zebranie specjalne poświęcone pamięci prof. Tadeusza Zielińskiego, na którym referat „Myśl pedagogiczna Profesora Tadeusza Zielińskiego” przedstawiła dr hab. Grażyna Golik-Szarawska, a komunikaty: dr Jan Kucharski („Tadeusz Zieliński w oczach współczesnego hellenisty”) oraz mgr Krzysztof Piecha („Tadeusza Zielińskiego *Wschód i Zachód a Polska*, Warszawa 1935”).

Przedstawiciele naszego Koła wygłosili referaty na zjeździe PTF w Poznaniu we wrześniu 2009: dr hab. Przemysław Marciniak „Gdzie się podziały tamte dowcipy niezapomniane? Bizantyńskie poczucie humoru i jego antyczne korzenie” oraz dr hab. Tomasz Sapota „Humor w *Saturnaliach* Makrobisza”.

Katowickie Koło liczy obecnie 48 członków z terenu całego województwa śląskiego – filologów klasycznych i historyków, nauczycieli akademickich pracujących w Uniwersytecie Śląskim i Śląskim Uniwersytecie Medycznym, nauczycieli licealnych oraz sympatyków. Członkowie PTF byli zaangażowani w popularyzowanie kultury antycznej poprzez wykłady popularnonaukowe w szkołach średnich, a także w kinach przed pokazami filmów związanych z tematyką antyczną, organizację konkursów antycznych, mitologicznych i innych, prace związane z przygotowaniem uczniów do olimpiady z języka łacińskiego. Włączyli się także aktywnie w akcję propagowania nauczania języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej w liceach ogólnokształcących, zainicjowaną listem prof. dr hab. Kazimierza Korusa, prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF z 2009 roku, w zbieranie podpisów ws. petycji Zarządu Głównego PTF do MEN i KRASP, a także w tegoroczną akcję „Polska w Europie – Łacina w Szkole”, której pomysłodawcą jest fundacja *Traditio Europae*.

3. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA KRAKOWSKIEGO

Krakowskie Koło PTF liczy 42 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym pracami Krakowskiego Koła początkowo kierował Zarząd w składzie: prezes – dr Antoni Bobrowski, wiceprezes – dr hab. Tomasz Polański, sekretarz – dr Michał Bzinkowski, skarbnik – dr Agnieszka Wojtylak-Heszen, członkowie – dr Krystyna Woś, dr Anna Wasyl, dr Anna Brzózka.

W czasie walnego zebrania Krakowskiego Koła PTF 20 X 2010 ukonstytuował się nowy Zarząd w składzie: prezes – dr hab. Antoni Bobrowski, wiceprezes – dr hab. Joanna Komorowska, sekretarz – dr Michał Bzinkowski, skarbnik – mgr Janusz Ryba, członkowie – dr Krystyna Woś, dr Anna Wasyl, dr hab. Maria Maślanka-Soro, dr Krzysztof Pawłowski.

Ukonstytuował się także skład Komisji Rewizyjnej: dr Aleksandra Klęczar, dr Joanna Janik, mgr Wiesława Hajda, dr hab. Marek Hermann, dr Aneta Kliszcz.

W wyżej wymienionym okresie członkowie Krakowskiego Koła PTF spotkali się na 11 posiedzeniach, podczas których wygłoszono i przedyskutowano następujące referaty naukowe:

1. Dr Aleksandra KLĘCZAR, *'Miser Catullus' i 'candida diva'. Wizerunki Lesbii i Katullusa w „Carmina” Katullusa* (1 XII 2009).
2. Dr Krzysztof BIELAWSKI, *Złote tabliczki orfickie. Teologia – misteria – poezja* (2 II 2010).
3. Prof. dr hab. Stanisław STABRYŁA, *Historia rzymska w „Pieśniach” Horacego* (9 III 2010).
4. Dr Anna SZCZEPANIAK (UŚ), *Hefajstion „O znakach”. Antyczne znaki krytyczne o funkcji metryczno-strukturalnej* (27 IV 2010).
5. Mgr Janusz RYBA, *Wybrane zagadnienia metodyki nauczania języka łacińskiego w świetle badań psycholingwistycznych* (19 X 2010).
6. Dr Jan KWAPISZ (UW), *Posejdippos na morzu. O dziesiątej grupie epigramów w nowym papirusie przypisywanym Posejdipposowi* (9 XI 2010).
7. Dr Agnieszka FULIŃSKA, *Brakujące ogniwo? Ikonografia hellenistyczna a kształtowanie się literackiej legendy Aleksandra Wielkiego* (7 XII 2010).
8. Dr Aleksandra KLĘCZAR, *Placz po pasterzu, półbogu, poecie. Lamentacje w poezji hellenistycznej* (11 I 2011).
9. Dr hab. Michał RZEPIELA, *Frazeologia prawnicza w średniowiecznych tekstach łacińskich – wpływ polszczyzny*, (8 III 2011).
10. Mgr Krzysztof HILMAN, *Orficka teogonia w Kronice Aleksandryjskiej* (5 IV 2011).
11. Mgr Damian KALITAN, *W poszukiwaniu ucznia czarnoksiężnika: między Lukianem a Waltem Disneyem*, (10 V 2011).

Podczas całego okresu sprawozdawczego Członkowie Krakowskiego Koła PTF zajmowali się organizacją Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego na szczeblu szkolnym i okręgowym. W pracach Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka

Łacińskiego udział wzięli prof. dr hab. Stanisław Śnieżewski oraz dr hab. Antoni Bobrowski.

Członkowie Krakowskiego Koła PTF wygłaszali także odczyty na posiedzeniach naukowych PTF w innych miastach:

1. Dr Rafał ROSÓŁ, *Lingua Punica – lingua comica. O języku punickim w „Punijczyku” Plauta* (Wrocław, 18 XI 2009).
2. Dr hab. Antoni BOBROWSKI, *Pius Aeneas i jego czarna legenda* (Lublin, 2 XII 2010).
3. Dr hab. Antoni BOBROWSKI, *Postacie kobiet w przekazie Diktysa z Krety – kronikarza wojny trojańskiej* (Łódź, 10 III 2011).

Członkowie Krakowskiego Koła uczestniczyli także w pracach nad zdefiniowaniem kierunku filologia klasyczna (dr Aleksandra Klęczar, mgr Janusz Ryba) oraz brali udział w posiedzeniach Zarządu Głównego Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego, podczas których wygłosili następujące referaty:

1. Dr Aleksandra KLĘCZAR, *Kultura popularna w nauczaniu języka łacińskiego* (Walne Zgromadzenie PTF, IX 2009 w Poznań).
2. Dr Agnieszka HESZEN, *„Attis” Katullusa. Między Wschodem a Zachodem* (Walne Zgromadzenie PTF, IX 2011 we Wrocławiu).
3. Dr Aleksandra KLĘCZAR, *„Apologia” Justyna Męczennika i platońska „Apologia Sokratesa”* (Walne Zgromadzenie PTF, IX 2011 we Wrocławiu)

4. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA LUBELSKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym Koło liczyło 52 osoby. Po przeprowadzeniu wyborów podczas Walnego Zebrania Koła 26 V 2010, w skład Zarządu Koła wchodzi następujące osoby: przewodniczący – dr hab. Agnieszka Dziuba, prof. KUL, zastępca przewodniczącego – mgr Alicja Narecka, sekretarz – mgr Katarzyna Socha, skarbnik – dr Małgorzata Siwicka.

W okresie sprawozdawczym Koło prowadziło działalność w następujących formach:

I. Spotkania połączone z odczytami naukowymi:

1. Dr Katarzyna KOŁAKOWSKA, *Orficki charakter „Kamiennika Orfeusza”* (3 XI 2010).
2. Dr Ewa OSEK, *Orfeusz w literaturze grecko-rzymskiej*. Pokaz slajdów (3 XI 2010).
3. Dr hab. Antoni BOBROWSKI (UJ), *Pius Aeneas i jego czarna legenda*, (2 XII 2010).
4. Ks. mgr Krzysztof KAOKA, *C. S. Lewis – ‘misomythus’ nawrócony* (19 I 2011).
5. Mgr Maciej ROSZKOWSKI, *Jak policzyć niepoliczalne?* (23 II 2011)
6. Dr hab. Marzena DYJAKOWSKA, *Rzymskie uczestniczki procesów* (23 III 2011).

7. Mgr Alicja NARECKA, *Orbilus virtualis contra Orbilium plagosum – czyli współczesne metody aktywizujące w nauczaniu języka łacińskiego* (13 IV 2011).
8. Mgr Anna KOŁTUNOWSKA, *Topika egzordialna w przedmowie do „Listów” Kasjodora* (25 V 2011).
9. Dr Agata ŁUKA, *Tanga i kankan czyli Orfeusz w piekle* (15 VI 2011).
10. Prof. dr hab. Juliusz ROMAŃSKI, *Obecność dziedzictwa antycznego w polskim średniowieczu* (28 X 2011).
11. Mgr Aleksandra KRAUZE, p. Arkadiusz KOŁODZIEJ, *Rzym jako jeden z głównych celów siedemnasto- i osiemnastowiecznego Grand Tour, czyli śladami pierwszych „badaczy” po antycznych zabytkach Wiecznego Miasta*. Prezentacja multimedialna połączona ze sprawozdaniem z objazdu naukowego Rzymu w dniach 20–27 VII 2011 (21 XI 2011).
12. Dr Mariusz ZAGÓRSKI (UW), *Medea – antyczny portret psychopatki* (12 XII 2011).

II. Współpraca z nauczycielami języka łacińskiego

1. Mgr Helena Błazińska pozostaje w stałym kontakcie z władzami Kuratorium Oświaty oraz nauczycielami języka łacińskiego na terenie Województwa Lubelskiego. Jako opiekun praktyk studentów filologii klasycznej organizuje hospitacje w różnych liceach w województwie. Nawiązana została ściślejsza współpraca z I Liceum Ogólnokształcącym we Włodawie.

2. W ramach VII konferencji starożytniczej pt. „Prawda i kłamstwo w starożytności” (KUL, 13–15 V 2011) zaproszono uczniów Publicznego Gimnazjum nr 1 im. Św. Królowej Jadwigi w Jarosławiu, którzy wystąpili z przedstawieniem w języku łacińskim pt. „Hercule, gdzie ta Itaka?”. W uczelnianej galerii prezentowane były również prace plastyczne i literackie dotyczące języka łacińskiego oraz kultury antycznej, wykonane przez gimnazjalistów jarosławskiej „Jedynki”.

3. Członkowie Koła we współpracy z Instytutem Filologii Klasycznej KUL uczestniczyli w przygotowaniu i przeprowadzeniu programów o kulturze antycznej w ramach Lubelskiego Festiwalu Nauki. Młodzieży gimnazjalnej i licealnej przedstawiono następujące prezentacje:

- Dr Agata Łuka, *Cera alba i monoglicerydy czyli łacina i greka na etykietach produktów kosmetycznych i żywnościowych*, VII Lubelski Festiwal Nauki, KUL, 18–24 IX 2010.
- Dr Agata Łuka, *Homo homini lupus czyli prawdy i mity w sentencjach dotyczących zwierząt, w bajkach o zwierzętach i baśniach z udziałem zwierząt*, VII Lubelski Festiwal Nauki, KUL, 18–24 IX 2010.
- Mgr Alicja Narecka, dr hab. Krzysztof Narecki, prof. KUL, *Pompeje – niemy świadek rzymskiej apokalipsy*, VII Lubelski Festiwal Nauki, KUL, 18–24 IX 2010.

- Dr Agata Łuka, *Feliterapia, apiterapia, hipoterapia, czyli zwierzęta, które leczą*, VIII Lubelski Festiwal Nauki, 18–23 IX 2011.
- Dr Agata Łuka, *E171, E223, E476 – e..., co to za dziwadła?*, VIII Lubelski Festiwal Nauki, 18–23 IX 2011.

3. Doktorantki mgr Dorota Marciniuk oraz mgr Grażyna Łabecka były współorganizatorkami konkursu „Kuluary językowe”, dotyczącego kultury antycznej, historii Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego i Lublina.

4. Po raz kolejny studenci KUL mieli możliwość wzięcia udziału w konkursie z języka łacińskiego. Nagrodą główną była wycieczka do Grecji.

III. Patronat nad Olimpiadą Języka Łacińskiego

Koło zorganizowało i czuwało nad przebiegiem I i II etapu Olimpiady w Województwie Lubelskim. Głównym organizatorem była mgr Helena Błazińska. W roku 2011 w olimpiadzie uczestniczyło 60 uczniów z 17 liceów województwa lubelskiego. Do etapu II zakwalifikowało się 41 osób. Liczba zainteresowanych olimpiadą od kilku lat utrzymuje się na tym samym poziomie.

5. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA ŁÓDZKIEGO

Koło Łódzkie PTF liczy 43 członków. Honorowym Prezesem Koła jest dr Józef Macjon. Skład Zarządu jest następujący: prezes – dr Joanna Rybowska, wiceprezes – prof. UŁ dr hab. Jadwiga Czerwińska (do 25 II 2010), prof. UŁ dr hab. Hanna Zalewska-Jura (od 25 II 2010), sekretarze – dr Magdalena Koźluk, dr Anna Maciejewska, skarbnicy – mgr Teresa Macjon (do 25 II 2010 przew. Sekcji Dydaktycznej), mgr Yvonne Borowski, członkowie Zarządu Koła – dr Idaliana Kaczor (przewodnicząca Sekcji Indoeuropejskiej), mgr Teresa Macjon (do 25 II 2010, przewodnicząca Sekcji Dydaktycznej), mgr Dorota Żuchowska (od 25 II 2010, przewodnicząca Sekcji Dydaktycznej), mgr Dariusz Gwis (do 25 II 2010), prof. UŁ dr hab. Zbigniew Danek (od 25 II 2010).

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 35 zebrań Koła Łódzkiego PTF, na których wygłoszono 31 odczytów i 5 sprawozdań. Prelegentami byli zarówno członkowie Koła i pracownicy UŁ, jak i goście zaproszeni z innych ośrodków: Poznania, Warszawy, Krakowa, Wrocławia, Lublina. Jedno zebranie miało charakter sprawozdawczo-wyborczy, jedno organizacyjny, na jednym odbył się koncert kołed, na jednym test konkursowy.

W roku akademickim 2010/11 zebrania Koła były połączone z cyklem wykładów pt. „Gyne, femina, mulier... Postać kobiety w kulturze europejskiej od starożytności do epoki renesansu”, współorganizowanym przez Koło Łódzkie PTF i Katedrę Filologii Klasycznej UŁ. Po pierwszym semestrze odbył się konkurs wiedzy o kobietach w kulturze antycznej, przeznaczony dla uczestniczących w wykładach uczniów szkół średnich. Wzięły w nim udział 33 osoby.

W omawianym okresie odbyło się 7 zebrań Sekcji Indoeuropejskiej Koła Łódzkiego PTF.

Sekcja Dydaktyczna dwukrotnie w okresie sprawozdawczym zorganizowała Międzyszkolny Konkurs Języka Łacińskiego; w roku szkolnym 2009/10 wzięło w nim udział 64, a w roku 2010/11 48 uczniów szkół średnich z Łodzi i regionu.

Członkowie Koła uczestniczyli też w organizowaniu imprez naukowych, popularyzatorskich i kulturalnych odbywających się zarówno w Katedrze Filologii Klasycznej, jak i we współpracy z innymi jednostkami UŁ w ramach sesji naukowych, koncertów, Festiwalu Nauki, Techniki i Sztuki w Łodzi. Członkowie Koła pracują również co roku przy organizacji i przeprowadzaniu Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego.

Tematyka spotkań Koła Łódzkiego PTF w okresie od października 2009 do września 2011 r.:

1. Prof. UŁ dr hab. Hanna ZALEWSKA-JURA, *Obyczajowe obrazki z „Philogelosa”* (29 X 2009).
2. Mgr Anna LENARTOWICZ, *Co i jak drukowano w dawnej Polsce* (26 XI 2009).
3. Dr Anna MACIEJEWSKA, *O Gajuszu Grakchu i jego fletniście* (17 XII 2009).
4. Uroczyste zakończenie I Międzyszkolnego Konkursu Języka Łacińskiego. Wieczór kolęd europejskich w wykonaniu studentów i pracowników Wydziału Filologicznego UŁ (Katedr Germanistycznych, Katedry Filologii Południowosłowiańskiej, Katedry Filologii Klasycznej). Wykonawcy zaśpiewali 24 kolędy w językach: łacińskim, hiszpańskim, francuskim, niemieckim, angielskim, szwedzkim, walijskim, nowogreckim, bułgarskim i polskim (21 I 2010).
5. Walne zebranie sprawozdawczo-wyborcze (25 II 2010).
6. Dr Wanda AMARANTIDOU, *O narodowym święcie Grecji* (25 III 2010).
7. Dr Agnieszka KOTLIŃSKA-TOMA (UWr), *Kobieta jako ostoja rodziny w greckim epigramacie nagrobnym* (29 IV 2010).
8. Mgr Michał DĄBROWSKI, *„Amorum emblemata” Otto van Venna jako kompendium wiedzy o miłości* (27 V 2010).
9. Prof. dr hab. Dorota SAMBORSKA-KUKUĆ, *Pamięć tragedii greckiej w „Lalce” Bolesława Prusa* (24 VI 2010).
10. Dr Małgorzata BUDZOWSKA, *Dux malorum – femina. Mizoginistyczny aspekt postrzegania kobiety od starożytności do epoki renesansu. Zebranie inauguracyjne cyklu „Gyne, femina, mulier...”* (7 X 2010).
11. Dr Anna MACIEJEWSKA, *Kobiety u Homera* (14 X 2010).
12. Dr Joanna RYBOWSKA, *Od ‘nymphē’ do ‘gyne’. Rola i znaczenie młodych kobiet w starożytnych Atenach* (21 X 2010).
13. Mgr Marta CZAPIŃSKA, *Kobieta w starożytnej myśli politycznej: przedmiot czy podmiot?* (28 X 2010).
14. Prof. UŁ dr hab. Joanna SOWA, *Miłość do kobiety kontra ‘eros paidikos’ w opinii starożytnych Greków* (4 XI 2010).

15. Prof. dr hab. Adam ŁUKASZEWICZ (UW), *Kleopatra, klejnoty, krokodyle* (18 XI 2010).
16. Prof. UŁ dr hab. Jadwiga CZERWIŃSKA, *Miłość, zdrada, intryga i śmierć* (25 XI 2010).
17. Prof. UŁ dr hab. Hanna ZALEWSKA-JURA, *Greckie megieri. Kobiety w krzywym zwierciadle męskiej poezji* (2 XII 2010).
18. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta JUNG, *Dlaczego Arystoteles uważał, że kobieta powinna „stać przy garach”?* (9 XII 2010).
19. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta WESOŁOWSKA, *Antyczna kobieta z jej małymi i dużymi kłamstwami* (13 I 2011).
20. Prof. dr hab. Agnieszka DZIUBA (KUL), *Nec Hercules contra plures. Liwiańska debata nad zniesieniem Lex Oppia* (20 I 2011).
21. Mgr Yvonne BOROWSKI, *Gdy bardzo chce się być kobietą. Przykłady transwestytizmu w dramacie greckim* (27 I 2011).
22. Test konkursowy: „Gyne, femina, mulier... Postać kobiety w antycznej kulturze europejskiej” (3 II 2011).
23. Dr Tamara ROSZAK, *Triady bogiń indoeuropejskich* (24 II 2011).
24. Prof. dr hab. Piotr STALMASZCZYK, *Silne kobiety w „mitologii” irlandzkiej. Uroczyste zakończenie II Międzyszkolnego Konkursu Języka Łacińskiego i konkursu „Gyne, femina, mulier...”* (3 III 2011).
25. Prof. UJ dr hab. Antoni BOBROWSKI, *Kobiety w przekazie Diktysa Kreteńczyka, kronikarza wojny trojańskiej* (10 III 2011).
26. Prof. dr hab. Małgorzata DĄBROWSKA, *Femina feminae lupior, czyli gynaikomachia w średniowieczu na wybranych przykładach pokazana* (17 III 2011).
27. Mgr Marta BIEDRAWA, *Helena Dragasz – matka ostatnich Paleologów* (24 III 2011).
28. Mgr Agnieszka KOZANECKA-KOZAKIEWICZ, *Omdlewająca narzeczona. Rita Maria z Malej Armenii jako cesarzowa bizantyńska* (31 III 2011).
29. Dr Rafał KORCZAK, *Żony i matki pierwszych sultanów osmańskich* (7 IV 2011).
30. Mgr Marcin CYRULSKI, *Kobiety Wielkich Komnenów z Trapezuntu* (14 IV 2011).
31. Dr Maria CHANTRY (UWr), *Piękna i waleczna. Postać Amazonki w łacińskiej literaturze renesansu* (5 V 2011).
32. Dr Magdalena KOŹLUK, *Imaginarium kobiety w renesansowych zbiorach emblematów* (12 V 2011).
33. Mgr Joanna PAPIERNIK, *„Księga o Mieście Kobiet” i „Skarb Miasta Kobiet” – batalia średniowiecznej feministki Christine de Pisau z mizoginią i stereotypami* (19 V 2011).
34. Dr Sławomira BRUD (UAM), *Henryk Agryppa, „Declamatio de nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus”* (26 V 2011).
35. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta JUNG, *Dusza i ciało w ujęciu Hildegardy z Bingen i Heloizy* (2 VI 2011).
36. Zebranie organizacyjne (9 VI 2011).

Tematyka spotkań Sekcji Indoeuropejskiej Koła Łódzkiego PTF w okresie od października 2009 do września 2011 r.:

1. Prof. dr hab. Ignacy Ryszard DANKA, *Języki romańskie od prapoczątków do dzisiaj* (30 I 2010).
2. Dr Wanda AMARANTIDOU, *161 rocznica śmierci Juliusza Słowackiego* (24 IV 2010).
3. Mgr Jan SZALOWSKI, *Łużyce – słowiańska wyspa w morzu niemczyzny* (22 V 2010).
4. Dr Wanda AMARANTIDOU, *Greckie święto narodowe Oxi* (23 X 2010).
5. Mgr Roksana KIELIAN, *Semivolucres vel Semipisces – metafora Syren na przestrzeni wieków* (11 XII 2010).
6. Mgr Roksana KIELIAN, *Incipit liber de naturis bestiarum – magiczne wyobrażenia zwierząt w Średniowieczu* (16 IV 2011).
7. Prof. dr hab. Ignacy Ryszard DANKA, *Język hiszpański a język polski* (21 V 2011).

6. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA POZNAŃSKIEGO

W okresie od 1 IX 2009 do 30 VI 2011 na zebraniach naukowych Poznańskiego Koła PTF wygłoszono następujące referaty:

1. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Maria WESOŁOWSKA (UAM), *O Ariadnie i wdzięczności* (20 X 2009).
2. Dr Sławomira BRUD (UAM), *Filolog w sieci*, (17 XI 2009).
3. Prof. dr hab. Lucyna STANKIEWICZ (Wrocław), *„Risu rumpere”. Rzymskie poczucie humoru w ujęciu Marka Porcjusza Katona* (19 I 2010).
4. Prof. UAM dr hab. Piotr BERING, *Antyk w twórczości Karola Fryderyka Schinkla* (23 II 2010).
5. Dr Monika MIAZEK (UAM), *Ad Indiam petentes. Michała Boyma prośby o wyjazd na misje dalekowschodnie* (16 III 2010).
6. Dr Aleksandra ARNDT (Wrocław), *Perskie oko Rzymianina – groteska, absurd i ironia w elegiach miłosnych Tibullusa* (20 IV 2010).
7. Dr Justyna ZABOROWSKA-MUSIAŁ (UAM), *Parodia w twórczości Andrzeja Krzyckiego* (18 V 2010).
8. Dr Przemysław MARCINIAK (Katowice), *Myszy i ludzie – Katamyomachia, Dramation, Bion praxis. Antyczne modele trzech dwunastowiecznych satyr bizantyńskich* (15 VI 2010).
9. Dr Mateusz STRÓŻYŃSKI (UAM), *Amor i Psyche na kozetce: psychologiczne interpretacje słynnej baśni Apulejusza* (26 X 2010).
10. Prof. dr hab. Adam ŁUKASZEWICZ (Warszawa), *Etiam periere ruinae. Co nam zostało z najjaśniejszej Aleksandrii...* (16 XI 2010).
11. Dr Anna LASEK (UAM), *Boże Narodzenie w apokryfach* (21 XII 2010).

12. Dr Justyna ZABOROWSKA-MUSIAŁ (UAM), „Sacrae litterae”. *Anagramatyczne wariacje na temat Virginis-Deiparae w „Oraculum Parthenium” Józefa Stanisława Biezanowskiego z 1668 roku* (18 I 2011).
13. Prof. UAM dr hab. Kazimierz ILSKI, *Świat Bizantyńczyków w świetle „Księgi Eparcha”* (15 II 2011).
14. Prof. dr hab. Krystyna BARTOL (UAM), *Trójpodział komedii greckiej w antycznych i współczesnych rozważaniach o historii gatunku* (15 III 2011).
15. Prof. dr hab. Marian WESOŁY (UAM), „*Maledicta tua*”, *czyli o samochwalczej poezji Cyserona* (19 IV 2011).
16. Prof. dr hab. Tomasz POLAŃSKI (Kielce), *Sztuka chrześcijańska w literaturach orientalnych. Źródła greckie, syryjskie i koptyjskie od IV do VII w.* (17 V 2011).
17. Dr Teodozja WIKARJAK (UAM), *Turystyka starożytnych Greków i Rzymian* (21 VI 2011).

7. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA SZCZECIŃSKIEGO

Koło liczy 12 członków. Zarząd Koła działał w następującym składzie: przewodnicząca – dr Małgorzata Cieśluk; wiceprzewodnicząca – mgr Ewa Woltman; sekretarz – mgr Elżbieta Bielecka; skarbnik – mgr Magdalena Brączkowska; członkowie – dr hab. Danuta Okoń prof. US, dr hab. Piotr Urbański prof. US.

Członkowie Koła zebrali się na czterech spotkaniach, podczas których przedstawione zostały referaty:

1. D. OKOŃ, *Małżeństwo Julii Domny z Septymiuszem Sewerem w świetle źródeł historiograficznych*.
2. E. BIELECKA, *Poemat astronomiczny Rufusa Festusa Awienusa*.
3. D. KACPRZAK, *Sztuki Piękne. Zbiory artystyczne Muzeum Narodowego w Szczecinie*.
4. M. CIEŚLUK, *Obraz Pomorza i jego mieszkańców w „Pomeranii” Johannesa Bugenhagena*.

Członkowie Koła spotykali się również na spotkaniach roboczych, poświęconych wybranym zagadnieniom metodycznym z zakresu nauczania języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej. W ramach współpracy z LO nr 1 w Szczecinie ogłosili cykl referatów poświęconych tragedii greckiej.

8. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA TORUŃSKIEGO

Koło liczy 28 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Koła uległ zmianie, członkiem Zarządu przestała być mgr Anna Salwa, nowym członkiem Zarządu została mgr Anna Osielska.

Aktualny Zarząd Toruńskiego Koła PTF: prezes – dr hab. P. Nehring, zastępca prezesa – dr A. Brusewicz, skarbnik/sekretarz – dr M. Nowak, członkowie zarządu: dr Anna Głodowska, mgr Aleksandra Kłopotowska, mgr Anna Osielska.

W czasie ostatnich dwóch lat odbyło się 6 spotkań Koła, podczas których zaproszeni goście wygłosili następujące wykłady:

1. Dr hab. Przemysław NEHRING, *Literackie źródła do wczesnego monastycyzmu w Afryce Północnej* (17 XI 2009).
2. Dr Bartosz AWIANOWICZ, *AUGUSTUS DIVI FILIUS – monety i poezja w czasach Oktawiana Augusta* (23 II 2010).
3. Dr hab. Ireneusz MIKOŁAJCZYK, prof. UMK, „*Septem sidera*” – poemat przypisywany Mikołajowi Kopernikowi (30 III 2010).
4. Dr Anna SZCZEPANIAK (UŚ), *Hefajstion „O znakach”. Antyczne znaki krytyczne o funkcji metryczno-strukturalnej* (11 V 2010).
5. Mgr Elżbieta CHRULSKA, *O trzech perłach Torunia – „Poematum libri tres” Ulryka Schobera* (11 I 2011).
6. Mgr Natalia RATAJ, *Pojęcie „ius naturale” w pismach prawniczych Cyserona* (8 III 2011).

Wykłady te cieszyły się dużym zainteresowaniem. Oprócz członków Koła uczestniczyła w nich znaczna grupa studentów nie tylko filologii klasycznej, ale i innych kierunków.

Koło Toruńskie PTF wraz z Katedrą Filologii Klasycznej (UMK) oraz Fundacją *Traditio Europae* jest organizatorem Ligi Starożytniczej, comiesięcznych spotkań młodzieży szkolnej, podczas których uczniowie słuchają przygotowanych przez członków Koła wykładów popularyzujących antyk i jego dziedzictwo. Po każdym wykładzie jego słuchacze wypełniają krótki test zawierający pytania dotyczące właśnie przedstawionych zagadnień. Wyniki testów są przez organizatorów spotkań sumowane i na zakończenie każdej edycji Ligi zwycięzcy otrzymują nagrody książkowe.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyły się dwie edycje Ligi. W roku szkolnym 2009/2010 była ona adresowana do uczniów szkół ponadpodstawowych w województwie kujawsko-pomorskim (zgłosiło w niej swój udział ponad 120 uczniów z Torunia, Włocławka, Inowrocławia, Golubia-Dobrzynia, Grudziądza i Bydgoszczy), w roku szkolnym 2010/2011 do uczniów szkół ponadgimnazjalnych tego regionu (zgłosiło w niej swój udział 240 uczniów z terenu całego województwa kujawsko-pomorskiego). W latach 2009–2010 Liga starożytnicza otrzymała dotację z Urzędu Marszałkowskiego Województwa Kujawsko-Pomorskiego.

W roku szkolnym 2009/2010 odbyły się następujące wykłady i spotkania:

1. Dr hab. Przemysław NEHRING, *Wychowanie i edukacja w starożytnym Rzymie* (7 XI 2009).
2. Dr hab. Ireneusz MIKOŁAJCZYK, prof. UMK, *Wezuwiusz i Etna – wulkany Europy* (5 XII 2009).

3. Dr Magdalena NOWAK, *Rzymscy historycy* (9 I 2010).
4. Dr Bartosz AWIANOWICZ, *August, syn Boskiego Cezara. Propaganda na monetach i w poezji* (6 II 2010).
5. Dr Mariusz ZAGÓRSKI (UW), *Opowieści niezwykle – barwny świat rzymskiego eposu* (6 III 2010).
6. Dr Alicja BRUSEWICZ, *Kult i obrzęd w religii greckiej* (10 IV 2010).
7. Dr Barbara BIBIK, *Kim jest Antygona?* (8 V 2010).
8. Dr hab. Przemysław NEHRING, *Zakończenie Ligi, ogłoszenie zwycięzców, rozdanie nagród* (29 V 2010).

W roku szkolnym 2010/2011 odbyły się następujące wykłady i spotkania:

1. Dr hab. Przemysław NEHRING, *Nowy Testament – autorstwo i historia tekstu* (23 X 2010).
2. Dr Rafał TOCZKO, *Filozofowie starożytni w anegdocie* (20 XI 2010).
3. Dr hab. Sławomir WYSZOMIRSKI, prof. UMK, *Antyczne korzenie kultury europejskiej. Powstanie filologii* (15 I 2011).
4. Dr Bartosz AWIANOWICZ, *Antyczne inspiracje renesansowego emblematu* (10 II 2011).
5. Dr hab. Ireneusz MIKOŁAJCZYK, prof. UMK, *Komedia rzymska – Plaut i Terencjusz* (13 III 2011).
6. Dr Krzysztof RZEPKOWSKI, *Seks i przemoc. Widowiska teatralne w starożytnym Rzymie* (9 IV 2011).
7. Mgr Damian JASIŃSKI, *Starożytne zabawy dla małych i dużych* (7 V 2011).
8. Dr hab. Przemysław NEHRING, *Zakończenie Ligi, rozdanie nagród* (28 V 2011).

W roku akademickim 2011/2012 planowana jest kolejna edycja Ligi.

9. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA WARSZAWSKIEGO

I. Działalność organizacyjna

Koło liczy 123 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd KW PTF działał w następującym składzie:

Do 3 III 2011: prezes – prof. dr hab. Adam Łukaszewicz, wiceprezes – prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański, sekretarz – mgr Magdalena Zawadzka, skarbnik – dr Magdalena Popiołek, przewodnicząca Sekcji Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku – mgr Maria Poszepczyńska, członkowie Zarządu – prof. dr hab. Barbara Milewska-Ważbińska, mgr Grażyna Kania, mgr Lech Bobiatyński, członkowie Komisji Rewizyjnej – mgr Ludmiła Bohdanowicz, mgr Monika Mikuła, mgr Agnieszka Stachowicz-Garstka.

Od 3 III 2011: prezes – prof. dr hab. Adam Łukaszewicz, wiceprezes – prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański, sekretarz – dr Magdalena Zawadzka, skarbnik – dr Magdalena Popiołek, przewodnicząca Sekcji Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku

– mgr Maria Poszepczyńska, członkowie Zarządu – mgr Lech Bobiatyński, dr Jan Kozłowski, dr Jan Kwapisz, dr Krzysztof Rzepkowski, członkowie Komisji Rewizyjnej – mgr Ludmiła Bohdanowicz (przewodnicząca), mgr Mikołaj Antczak, mgr Krystyna Turska.

II. Działalność naukowa

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 9 zebrań Koła, w tym jedno zebranie sprawozdawczo-wyborcze (3 III 2010). W części naukowej spotkań uczestnicy wysłuchali następujących referatów:

1. Prof. Jerzy MIZIOŁEK, *Arcydzieła spod wulkanu. Recepcja sztuki miast Wezuwiusza w polskiej kulturze artystycznej* (23 X 2009).
2. Dr Jan KWAPISZ, *W poszukiwaniu hellenistycznej definicji terminu „epigram”* (17 XII 2009)
3. Mgr Bartłomiej CZARSKI, *Słowo o recepcji epigramatów Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego w XVIII wieku. W kręgu stemmatów* (22 I 2010).
4. Dr Tomasz MOJSIK, *Muzy, córki Harmonii? Eur. Med. 824–832* (14 maja 2010).
5. Prof. Juliusz DOMAŃSKI, *Refleksje o filozofii starożytnej* (25 VI 2010).
6. Dr Dorota ZYGMUNTOWICZ, *Zagadka anonimowego dialogu „Minos”* (22 X 2010).
7. Dr Monika REKOWSKA-RUSZKOWSKA, *W poszukiwaniu Ogrodu Hesperyd... Badacze starożytnej Cyrenajki w XVIII i XIX w.* (21 I 2011).
8. Dr Anna TARWACKA, *Regimen morum cenzorów. Wybrane aspekty* (8 IV 2011).

III. Działalność popularyzatorska

Tradycyjnie już ważnym aspektem działalności Koła była „praca u podstaw” od wielu lat koordynowana przez mgr Marię Poszepczyńską. W latach 2009/2010 i 2010/2011 odbyły się dwie kolejne edycje Konkursu Kultury Klasycznej cieszącego się niesłabnącym zainteresowaniem wśród gimnazjalistów i ich nauczycieli. Jak zwykle Sekcja Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku zorganizowała także otwarte kursy języków klasycznych prowadzone przez studentów i absolwentów Instytutu Filologii Klasycznej UW. Chętni mieli do wyboru 3 grupy greckie i 4 łacińskie o różnym stopniu zaawansowania.

Członkowie Koła Warszawskiego aktywnie uczestniczyli również w pracach Komitetu Okręgowego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego.

10. SPRAWOZDANIE KOŁA WROCŁAWSKIEGO

Koło liczy 56 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Koła pracował w następującym składzie: przewodnicząca – dr Małgorzata Wróbel, skarbnik

– dr Sławomir Torbus, sekretarz – dr Agnieszka Wojciechowska, członkowie Zarządu – dr Przemysław Szczurek (wiceprzewodniczący), dr Sławomir Torbus, dr Agnieszka Wojciechowska, dr Emilia Żybert-Próchnicka, dr Krzysztof Morta, dr hab. Gościwit Malinowski, mgr Ewa Pobiedzińska, członkowie Komisji Rewizyjnej – dr Danuta Łowicka (przewodnicząca), mgr Duklana Piskorska, mgr Grażyna Rolak. Działającą w ramach Koła Komisją Dydaktyki Języka Łacińskiego kierowała mgr Ewa Pobiedzińska.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 14 posiedzeń ogólnych Koła Wrocławskiego PTF, w których uczestniczyło przeciętnie 20 osób. Wygłoszono na nich następujące odczyty:

1. Prof. dr hab. Lucyna STANKIEWICZ, mgr Sylwia SZCZYGIEL, *Risu Rumpere. Rzymskie poczucie humoru w ujęciu Marka Porcjusza Katona* (21 X 2009).
2. Dr Rafał ROSÓŁ (UJ), *Lingua Punica – lingua comica. O języku punickim w „Punijczyku” Plauta* (18 XI 2009).
3. Dr Karol ZIELIŃSKI, *Jak długo trwała wojna trojańska – czas w epice archaicznej* (24 III 2010).
4. Prof. dr hab. Alicja SZASTYŃSKA-SIEMION, *Czego szukamy dziś w „Królu Edypie”?* (21 IV 2010).
5. Mgr Antoine HAAKER, *De Ioanne Morisoto belli Ciceroniani adversum Erasmum milite* (19 V 2010).
6. Prof. dr hab. Gościwit MALINOWSKI, *Papirus Artemidora* (16 VI 2010).
7. Prof. dr hab. Alicja SZASTYŃSKA-SIEMION, *Papuga pozdrawia cesarza* (20 X 2010).
8. Mgr Ała BRZozowska, *„Carmen de statura, feritate ac venatione bisontis” Mikołaja Hussowskiego* (17 XI 2010).
9. Dr Maria CHANTRY, *Wanda, sarmacka Amazonka w poezji nowołacińskiej* (15 XII 2010).
10. Dr Przemysław SZCZUREK, *Kilka uwag o Kathajach i jednym και u Strabona* (19 I 2011).
11. Prof. dr hab. Jakub PIgoń, *O afrocentryzmie, poprawności politycznej i standardach akademickiej debaty. Po lekturze „Lekcji historii” Mary Lefkowitz* (16 III 2011).
12. Dr Małgorzata ZADKA, *Różnice w sposobie użycia pisma w kulturze minojskiej i mykeńskiej* (20 IV 2011).
13. Dr Hanna URBAŃSKA, *Hanuman opuszcza Sitę. Rzecz o spustoszeniu Lanki* (18 V 2011).
14. Mgr Kamila WYSLUCHA, *Kontrowersje wokół muzyki rzymskiej* (8 VI 2011).

13 I 2010 Koło nasze zorganizowało sesję okolicznościową w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin Ś.P. Dra Józefa Mantke. W czasie sesji, której tytuł brzmiał: „Dr Józef Mantke (1930–2008), badacz antyku – latynista – dydaktyk”, wygłoszone zostały następujące odczyty:

1. Dr Małgorzata WRÓBEL, *Józef Mantke – filolog klasyczny.*

2. Prof. dr hab. Jakub PIGOŃ, *Ze studiów dra Mantkego nad Marcjalisem*.
3. Prof. dr hab. Gościwił MALINOWSKI, „*Johannis*” *Korippusa*.
4. Prof. dr hab. Alicja SZASTYŃSKA-SIEMION, *Józio przyjaciel*.

Podobnie jak w latach ubiegłych członkowie Koła Wrocławskiego brali aktywny udział w pracach Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego zarówno na szczeblu okręgowym, jak i ogólnopolskim. W skład Komitetu Okręgowego Olimpiady wchodził: prof. dr hab. Lucyna Stankiewicz (przewodnicząca, od września 2009 do września 2010), dr Krzysztof Morta (przewodniczący, od października 2010), dr Barbara Hartleb-Kropidło (sekretarz), mgr Aleksandra Krajczyk, mgr Maria Kulewska, mgr Maria Oboroń. W pracach Komitetu Głównego Ogólnopolskiej Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego brał udział dr Krzysztof Morta.

W ramach działalności Komisji Dydaktycznej Koła Wrocławskiego PTF zorganizowano 7 konferencji dydaktycznych dla nauczycieli i lektorów języka łacińskiego. Uczestników Konferencji gościły: Prywatne Żeńskie Liceum Ogólnokształcące Sióstr Urszulanek i Instytut Studiów Klasycznych Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego. Podczas konferencji lekcje pokazowe prowadzili: mgr Stanisław Wilczyński, mgr Katarzyna Ochman i mgr Agnieszka Franczyk.

Podczas konferencji ogłoszono następujące referaty:

1. Dr Maria CHANTRY, *Portret kobiet w literaturze nowołacińskiej* (10 X 2009).
2. Dr Emilia ŻYBERT-PRÓCHNICKA, *Wieszczowie, wróżby i wyrocznie w starożytnej Grecji i Rzymie* (16 I 2010).
3. Mgr Beata MACHALSKA, *Tituli Wratislavienses, Część I: Najstarsze łacińskie napisy na pomnikach* (12 VI 2010).
4. Mgr Katarzyna OCHMAN, *Latein ist tot, es lebe Latein! Kleine Geschichte einer großen Sprache – Le Latin est mort, vive le latin ! Petite histoire d'une grande langue* (12 VI 2010).
5. Dr Małgorzata WRÓBEL, *Po co Homer?* (16 X 2010).
6. Prof. dr hab. Jakub PIGOŃ, *Cykl Tebański w „Metamorfozach” Owidiusza* (22 I 2011).
7. Dr Joanna PIECZONKA, *Kilka uwag na temat trzeciej deklinacji z perspektywy fleksji historycznej* (28 V 2011)
8. Mgr Beata MACHALSKA, *Tituli Wratislavienses, Część II. Łacińskie napisy na pomnikach* (28 V 2011)

W okresie sprawozdawczym odszedł od nas członek naszego Koła, a zarazem członek honorowy Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego: ś.p. prof. dr hab. Ludwika Rychlewska.

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COMMENTARII

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