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NATURAL NARRATOLOGY AND THE ORAL STRUCTURE  
OF NARRATIVE GENRES IN ANCIENT GREECE

by

IWONA WIEŻEL

*...both oral and written forms of discourse are  
coequal, structurally determined symbolic media  
which operate within specific generic, cultural  
and contextual frames*

(FLUDERNIK 1996: 15)

ABSTRACT: Monika FLUDERNIK's model of natural narratology implies a new understanding of 'narrativity' and 'experientiality', and provides a paradigm for structuring different modes of speech on the basis of cognitive frames of reading (FLUDERNIK 1996: XI). Having prepared the scheme, she gives a thorough analysis of discourses that in the past received little attention, such as oral or pseudo-oral types of storytelling. Thus, FLUDERNIK concentrates her effort on scrutinising literature, especially as a *species* of language usage (as a personal or vicarious type of storytelling). This model applies particularly well to the narrative genres of ancient Greece as it allows us to view epic and early literary writings (RYAN 1998) in new light with regard to their structure (i.e. episodic structure), purposes (i.e. public performance) and recipients (i.e. audience). This paper will address some of the above issues as exemplified by the Homeric epic and literary writings of Herodotus of Halicarnassus. In the course of the presentation the episodic structure of the *Iliad* will be recalled and denoted using cognitive parameters, which could contribute to understanding of the poetic strategy of reception. Also, the experiential model of narrative in Herodotus' *Histories* will be shown to prove the prose writer's stratagem of 'naturalness' in front of an audience largely familiar with the long existence of oral storytelling which could be poetic as well as prosaic.

## INTRODUCTION

The *Iliad* by Homer has often been claimed to be the epic which is most often read in the history of European literature. This widespread opinion is undoubtedly confirmed by the amount of ink that has been used writing about its plot and characters, not to mention the structure of the work itself, which gives rise to complicated questions concerning the tradition, memory and orality of the archaic epic. In this context, another paper dealing with this topic may seem

rather superfluous. Still, I hope to prove this impression wrong. In my article I will not provide just another description and evaluation of the *Iliad's* content, but an analysis of something overlooked by many standard readings of the text, something which belongs to the 'deep structure' of the epic and which must be reconstructed primarily from the images and experiences described in the work. Bringing it to light will be possible thanks to some recent methods of conducting literary and 'communicational' analysis. In particular, I will develop some ideas about narratology put forth by Monika FLUDERNIK in her *Towards a Natural Narratology*<sup>1</sup>. The ideas in question appear in the passages devoted to the medieval English epic and prose writings, as well as in the introductory and methodological part of the book. In particular, I will apply the results of FLUDERNIK's study to a reconstruction of listening/reading and interpretation of the works of Homer and Herodotus.

In her theory, FLUDERNIK takes into account not only certain discourses neglected by scholars, such as spontaneous storytelling, but also written scripts of *oral literature* in epic and historical forms. Building the 'natural' structure of human 'experientiality' and 'narrativity' – a structure which she reconstructs on the basis of the text, no matter whether it is oral or written – FLUDERNIK proposes a view which may help classicists to understand the manifold relationships between, on the one hand, the ancient text as a medium, and, on the other hand, its authors and recipients. In my analysis of archaic and early classical Greek narratives as communicational activities, I will focus on the following topics: the situational context of the performance of an ancient oral/literate production, the scripts of an epic, the writings of Herodotus construed as pragmatically projected streams of speech, and, lastly, the category of audience, i.e. listeners and readers, the former as 'real' and the latter as 'implied' recipients of the discourses. Following FLUDERNIK, I maintain that it is a situation of traditional storytelling that underlies these forms of epic and oral history in which "the parameters of the hearsay narrative of vicarious experience become extended to cover much that exceeds realistic storytelling frames" (FLUDERNIK 1996: 315). Before presenting evidence for my view, I will briefly discuss some of the assumptions made by FLUDERNIK, as well as the relationship between, on the one hand, literature and communication studies and, on the other hand, the study of ancient Greek texts.

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<sup>1</sup> FLUDERNIK 1996. It is worth saying that "natural narratology" as a branch of narratological research is a relatively new phenomenon. To make the long story short, it may be underlined that this approach, which was brought to light in the nineties of the past century, covers the analysis of the aspects of *oral narratives* that remained generally untouched in philological and narratological studies. These aspects concern the deep structure of narrative and the discovery of the functions of plot elements and typical actant structures, but have a close affinity with cognitive studies, with a wide range of instruments applied by them to spontaneous conversational narratives understood as prototypes of all narration.



THE *NATURAL NARRATOLOGY* THEORY

As stated at the outset of FLUDERNIK's book, the *natural narratology* model, like most narratological models, focuses on the means by which literary art integrates its mimetic qualities (FLUDERNIK 1996: 43 ff.; 371). Above all, it aims at providing an overall picture of the strategies available to the reader in the process of 'decoding' a literary work as belonging to a particular *genre*. Natural narratology draws upon three different areas of research. Firstly, it builds on the linguistic concepts of natural narrative elaborated by the Labovian school of discourse analysis. Secondly, it borrows a lot from natural linguistics, especially from the parameters isolated on the grounds of 'the theory of naturalness' (i.e. the frames and prototypes theory). Finally, it is inspired by J. CULLER's notion of 'naturalisation'<sup>2</sup>, which it redefines as a 'narrativisation' proper and treats as a core of reading reception (FLUDERNIK 1996: 13–43). The theory is thus associated with the following three ideas: 'natural narrative' (esp. with regard to its 'experientiality'), schema theory and 'narrativisation'.

The pattern of natural narrative, outlined in the works of W. LABOV, is transformed by FLUDERNIK into her concept of a 'basic story structure for experiential narrative.' Like LABOV, she admits the existence of several relatively invariant categories which exhibit a determined episode pattern (FLUDERNIK 1996: 65). The model operates at two distinct levels, which she labels as the *on-plotline* level and *off-plotline* one (FLUDERNIK 1991: 370 ff.) The *on-plotline* level of the story includes the initial orientation, the episodes of the story, the final result and evaluation, whereas the *off-plotline* level reveals the embedded orientation and the interspersed evaluative or explicatory commentary (cf. FLUDERNIK 1996: 63). The two levels exhibit a dynamic rather than static nature; they interact with each other and even partly overlap, but they can nevertheless be distinguished on the basis of intonation or tense-switching. According to FLUDERNIK, the 'experientiality' of the natural narrative is mainly signalled by the topic of the discourse and indicated by an evaluative commentary made by the teller. A conscious bias of the teller towards his topic can be reconstructed on the basis of the frames available to the audience. Moreover, the frames in question are describable linguistically. We can understand 'narrativisation' as a mode in which the experience expressed in a story is mediated and transferred to the recipient. On the basis of 'narrativisation', a reader constructs his or her own interpretation, which leads in turn to a recognition of a particular text as a narrative (FLUDERNIK 1996: 313). This is achievable on the four-level scale. *Level I*, concerning the real-life parameters, invokes a schema which is most typical of natural narrative, i.e., it builds on a description of the agency that is seen as a goal-oriented process or a reaction to

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<sup>2</sup> According to J. CULLER, *naturalisation* is the process by which a reader gains or seeks to gain cognitive control over texts. See CULLER 1975: 134–160.

something ‘unexpected’, and in which a prominent role is played by causal explanation. Such explanation arranges the situation and plotting that is experienced into a temporal and purposeful sequence, and adds some evaluative commentaries from the teller. *Level II*, which is concerned with narrative mediation, i.e., ‘narrativity’, posits four general ways of accessing the story. FLUDERNIK lists the following ways: the ‘real-world’ scripts of *telling* (including the self-conscious reflection on events by the teller-persona within the text), *viewing* (i.e. *perceiving*), *experiencing* (i.e. accessibility to own narrativisable experience) and the script of *acting*. *Level III*, responsible for the cognitive parameters, comprises a mental localisation or recognition of specific culturally anchored patterns related to the performed text as a particular kind of story, and the culturally determined context of a performance, namely a specific communicational situation<sup>3</sup>. On *level IV*, we encounter an idea of the interpretative ‘abilities’ of readers, which allow them to make sense of the text. It is on this final level that the text is experienced and understood, while its ‘difficult places’ are transgressed (FLUDERNIK 1996: 43–49)<sup>4</sup>.

In her discussion of the transition from the oral to the written in the realm of literature, FLUDERNIK exploits the results of her research on medieval and early modern English prose and verse. In her description of the experiential pattern in middle English prose and verse, which will serve as my point of reference, she examines *saints’ legends* and their close relative, the *romance*. As she points out, hagiography is characterised by an erased ‘experientiality’, “where the erasure operates in the familiar pattern of an absent presence, and where the surface manifestation of experientiality has been transferred to the observational and reflective stance of the witness and listener/reader” (FLUDERNIK 1996: 99). The audience is in fact the vicarious experiencer of the moral coming from what happens in a saint’s lot, i.e., from the events that affect the saint, who embodies the main experience within the story. The structure of *saints’ legends* could be decoded in terms of two patterns, *action* and *experiencing*, in which an episodic succession of events within a saint’s lot follows the rules of the incident-reaction model. The saint is subject to a series of actions that happen to him/her and are provoked by the tyrant, who represents an evil persona in the story. What is interesting is that the core of ‘experientiality’ is delineated here by the attempts made by the villain to annihilate the saint/martyr (FLUDERNIK 1996: 114).

It seems to me that FLUDERNIK’s observations about literature can be combined with some insights from the cognitive science of communication by means of literature in the ancient world. I have in mind mainly Egbert BAKKER’s work on the transcripts of the Homeric epic, especially the devices lying in the linguistic repository of the poet (BAKKER 1997; 1999), and Herodotus’ *historiē*, considered as

<sup>3</sup> “Genres, after all, are large-scale cognitive frames”, as FLUDERNIK (1996: 44) notes.

<sup>4</sup> For the relation between FLUDERNIK’s ideas and levels I–IV of RICOEUR’s *mimesis*, see FLUDERNIK 1996: 20–25 and RICOEUR 1984: 52–87.

a communicational activity (BAKKER 2002: 3). BAKKER's construal of the Homeric texts as linguistic 'transcripts' (BAKKER 1997: 27 ff.) with a pragmatic purpose of 'uttered enunciations' (CALAME 1995: 4–12; 35–48) corresponds closely to my treatment of literature as a set of particular speech genres (BAKHTIN 1986: 60 ff.), depicting not only the world of literary production but also the world of culture and communication. Before turning to the details of the Homeric epic, I would like to make explicit some of the assumptions which allow me to apply *natural narratology* to the narrative structure of the archaic and classical Greek genres<sup>5</sup>. Firstly, I maintain that with regard to epic poetry, it is its episodic structure<sup>6</sup> which is characteristic of composition – as well as performance – and reception-bound in its executory and textual configuration, and in this way encoding the 'reenactment'<sup>7</sup> of the mechanics of an oral discourse in general. In his narrative prose, Herodotus also uses an episodic structure<sup>8</sup> in order to transform the oral modes of storytelling into a discourse that is only quasi-oral, i.e., that occupies a borderline on a continuum between the oral and the literate. The episodic structure is additionally loaded with the incidence-reaction pattern and evaluative result sections that encapsulate the "dialectics of reportability and point, which constitutes oral 'experientiality'" (FLUDERNIK 1996: 94), here inevitably constructed under the constraints of two different media, that is, poetry and prose. Next, in Herodotus' prose writings, we find an apt illustration of the idea of 'emplotment', which I understand as a strategy of fictionalisation<sup>9</sup>. Both in the Homeric epic and in the

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<sup>5</sup> Irene J.F. DE JONG's *Commentary* to the *Odyssey* contains an impressive analysis of the major narratological categories and their presence in the epic. See DE JONG 2004.

<sup>6</sup> This assumption is based on the results of scientific discussion upon the problem of human memory and its connections with the fact of how people generate their stories orally. In cognitive psychology, starting with BARTLETT 1932, it is proved that when people remember new material, it happens in terms of structures that are already placed in the human memory. BARTLETT called those memory structures 'schemas', i.e., mental models of parts of our experience that store sequential information about the events from the world of real life. As for the narrative in general, thanks to schemas people are able to allocate meaning and to reconstruct it. Using the results of this approach with regard to the epic, Homerists such as Elisabeth MINCHIN claim that the concept of 'schema' is very useful in the process of understanding the mechanics of an oral composition. Therefore, making references to the knowledge stored in an episodic form is crucial to our habit of narration and to our ability to comprehend what we hear. See MINCHIN 2008: 16. More about the 'episodic structure' with regard to the ring composition in Homer, see below, p. 13 f.

<sup>7</sup> G. NAGY uses this term when discussing the fictional world of the epic, in which the words of *personae* and the events of the epic plot reproduce or imitate the realm of real-life words and incidences and thus, in a similar way as in a drama, 'reenact' it. I would like to extend this term from *what* to the *how* in relation to the epic. More in NAGY 1996: 39 ff.

<sup>8</sup> In Herodotus the 'episodic structure' will be of nearly the same nature as it is in Homer. It embraces the examples of the ring composition and the so-called traditional patterns. See further below, p. 20 ff.

<sup>9</sup> I follow H. WHITE's idea of *emplotment*, by which he understands a way of combining historical events into a narrative with a plot. See WHITE 1973 and 1992.

literary writings of Herodotus, there are clearly distinguishable *on-plotline* and *off-plotline* strata and their dynamic interaction provides us with the characteristics of natural narrative<sup>10</sup>. These characteristics in turn allow us to reconstruct the views of the narrator, the addressee and the contextual position of these discourses. In light of this, I suggest that we have ample evidence for the text-based reconstruction of the reader's process of reception in terms of its cognitive quality. In the present interpretation, coined on the basis of the natural narratology method, it is also highlighted that Homeric and Herodotean pieces of verbal art are strictly subdued to the situational demands of their performance. This could be one more voice in the discussion of their oral characteristics, especially in the case of some parts of Herodotus' work. Furthermore, in the circumstances of their performance as pure perceptual events, it should be admitted that at least one clear mental anchorage must exist for the recipients, which is here an idea or a person/character on a level of mental recognition that provides grounds for the correct interpretation of the piece as an epic one.

I will now proceed to compare the above-mentioned results with what we know from the study of ancient Greek epic and historical prose. The reader should bear in mind that my model of interpretation of the ancient poetic and prosaic genres, its readers and contexts, is neither final nor comprehensive. Rather, it should be seen as preliminary to a future work. I should also note that levels I–IV outlined above (especially the last one) should be treated only as an approximation. The divergences between my and FLUDERNIK'S analysis result from the fact that she is primarily interested in modern European literature, whereas I mainly focus on the Homeric epic and the writings of Herodotus.

#### THE *EPIC* OF HOMER

Some of my ideas have their source in Elisabeth MINCHIN'S book *Homer and the Resources of Memory* (2008). She uses the Labovian model of conversational storytelling to locate particular Homeric expressions by the name of the 'story formats'. In her view, the most suitable material for this purpose appears in the parts of the epic which belong to the so-called 'ring composition'<sup>11</sup>. In contrast to previous interpretations, which assign only an aesthetic or mnemonic purpose to these repetitive patterns, MINCHIN argues that they resemble the core of storytelling in general, whether formal or informal (e.g. performed in the course of daily conversations) in front of any audience (MINCHIN 2008: 23). This narrative pattern will embody the phase of storytelling in which the story is naturally organised by the teller according to the rules identified by W. LABOV and his

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<sup>10</sup> For details see below, p. 27.

<sup>11</sup> For a general overview of the *ring composition*, see VAN OTTERLO 1944 and 1948; NORDEN 1956; WHITMAN 1958.

group. Hence, the *abstract*, *coda* and other Labovian categories such as *orientation*, *complication* and *resolution* have their meaning in the ‘ring composition’ patterns of the Homeric epic (MINCHIN 2008: 189 ff.)<sup>12</sup>.

Typical scenes and themes noted by Homeric scholars (esp. LORD 1960; 1968) are viewed by MINCHIN as the expressions of cognitive scripts (SCHANK, ABELSON 1977: 33–68) with which the singer and audience are naturally acquainted. The scripts describe such activities as preparing a meal, dressing, having a party, etc.<sup>13</sup>. MINCHIN’s main example is a detailed analysis of the contest script (MINCHIN 2008: 46). These cognitive schemas or scripts help the listeners to interpret the words proclaimed by the singer. On FLUDERNIK’s *level II*, where the scripts operate, the listener/reader must make an effort to identify the already familiar scripts and interpret the chain of events in terms of *action*. This can be achieved when the events presented as an epic story are combined into an incident-reaction or causal pattern. Applying FLUDERNIK’s understanding of the issue to the story of Homer, I would assume the epic hero to be a counterpart of a saint, who is confronted with an endeavour and a divine *apparatus*’s decisions, the consequences of which are suffered by the hero-*persona*. Individual heroes’ *aristeiai* fall under this category. Homeric epic praises *klea andrōn*, which pertain to the ‘experientiality’ of the genre. Its reportability is generally based on the mimetic presentation of the hero’s achievements, building the ethos of a person full of *aretai*. The epic hero is the actual mental anchorage for the listeners, who – following FLUDERNIK’s ideas – may have been encouraged to interpret his life in terms of ‘nature’ and ‘reason’. This in turn will imply that experiencing the story on the part of the audience relies on natural abilities coming from the human perception<sup>14</sup>. The narrator fulfills the audience’s expectations concerning an element of a surprise by depicting the lot of a hero who is vulnerable to the whims of gods, and by incorporating divine intervention – often taking the form of *epiphany* into the epic flow of events. These interventions take on a special

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<sup>12</sup> MINCHIN applies her reasoning to the example of four tales from the *Iliad* in a table in which she structurally defines *Il. V* 541–560 about how Aineias brings down the sons of Diokles; *XI* 91–100 about Oileus’ death; *XI* 670–762 about Nestor’s fame; *XXIV* 602–613 about Niobe’s story.

<sup>13</sup> MINCHIN (2008: 12) writes: “Since the episodic nature of the scripts [or schemas – IW] which we are said to store in semantic memory appears to be mirrored in the recurrent narrative sequences of epic, the notion of the cognitive script may explain certain characteristics of the Homeric type-scene” and “I shall argue that the typical scene (such as dressing, or preparing a meal), [...] may in fact be a scripted entity which encapsulates a standardized record of routine activities and which the singer to be, like anyone else, will have learned early in his life”. See also the whole discussion on pp. 8–31 and 32–72.

<sup>14</sup> If I use the term “natural” in relation to narrative, I associate it with the structure of human embodiedness, from such a point of view that certain cognitive parameters might be perceived as “natural” in the sense of “naturally occurring” or “constituting the primary human experience”. The term “natural” is not applied to texts or textual techniques, but exclusively to the cognitive frames by means of which texts are interpreted. Cf. FLUDERNIK 1996: 13 f.

meaning when they appear at crucial moments in the story. Thus, for instance, Athena appears at the warriors' assembly to prevent Achilles from killing king Agamemnon (*Il.* I 193–200):

ἦος ὁ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,  
 ἔλκετο δ' ἐκ κολεοῖο μέγα ξίφος, ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη  
 οὐρανόθεν· πρὸ γὰρ ἦκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη  
 ἄμφω ὁμῶς θυμῷ φιλέουσά τε κηδομένη τε·  
 στή δ' ὀπιθεν, ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἔλε Πηλεΐωνα  
 οἶφ' φαινομένη· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ τις ὄρατο·  
 θάμβησεν δ' Ἀχιλεὺς, μετὰ δ' ἐτράπετ', αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω  
 Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην· δεινῶ δέ οἱ ὅσσε φάνθην· [...]

While he was thus of two minds, and was drawing his mighty sword from its scabbard, Athena came down from the sky (for white-armed Hera had sent her in the love she bore for them both), and seized the son of Peleus by his golden hair, visible to him alone, for of the others no man could see her. Achilles turned in amazement, and by the fire that flashed from her eyes at once knew that she was Athena. [...] <sup>15</sup>

Thetis, presented in the *Iliad* as a spokesperson for her son Achilles, meets him several times and promises him special divine protection, e.g., *Il.* I 413–427:

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Θέτις κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα·  
 ὦ μοι τέκνον ἐμόν, τί νύ σ' ἔτρεφον αἰνὰ τεκοῦσα;  
 αἶθ' ὄφελος παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀδάκρυτος καὶ ἀπήμων  
 ἦσθαι, ἐπεὶ νύ τοι αἴσα μίνυθ' ἀπερ οὐ τι μάλα δῆν·  
 νῦν δ' ἅμα τ' ὠκύμορος καὶ οἰζυρὸς περὶ πάντων  
 ἔπλεο· τῷ σε κακῇ αἴσῃ τέκον ἐν μεγάροισι.  
 τοῦτο δέ τοι ἐρέουσα ἔπος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ  
 εἶμ' αὐτῇ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον αἶ κε πίθηται.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν νηυσὶ παρήμενος ὠκυπόροισι  
 μήνι' Ἀχαιοῖσιν, πολέμου δ' ἀποπαύεο πάμπαν·  
 Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ὑκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας  
 χθιζὸς ἔβη κατὰ δαῖτα, θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἔποντο·  
 δωδεκάτη δέ τοι αὖτις ἐλεύσεται Οὐλύμπον δέ,  
 καὶ τότε ἔπειτά τοι εἶμι Διὸς ποτὶ χαλκοβατῆς δῶ,  
 καὶ μιν γουνάσομαι καὶ μιν πείσεσθαι δῶ.

Thetis wept and answered, “My son, woe is me that I should have borne and nursed you. Would indeed that you had lived your span free from all sorrow at your ships, for it is all too brief; alas, that you should be at once short of life and long of sorrow above your peers: woe, therefore, was the hour in which I bore you; nevertheless I will go to the snowy heights of Olympus, and tell this tale to Zeus, if he will hear

<sup>15</sup> All passages from the *Iliad* are quoted in the translation by Samuel BUTLER, revised by S.-Y. KIM, K. MCCRAY, G. NAGY, and T. POWER ([https://courses.edx.org/courses/HarvardX/CB22.1x/2013\\_SOND/info](https://courses.edx.org/courses/HarvardX/CB22.1x/2013_SOND/info); accessed on 12.05.2015).

our prayer: meanwhile stay where you are with your ships, nurse your anger against the Achaeans, and hold aloof from fight. For Zeus went yesterday to Okeanos, to a feast among the Ethiopians, and the other gods went with him. He will return to Olympus twelve days hence; I will then go to his dwelling paved with bronze and will beseech him; nor do I doubt that I shall be able to persuade him.

## II. XVIII 70–77:

τῶ δὲ βαρὺ στενάχοντι παρίστατο πότνια μήτηρ,  
ὄξυ δὲ κωκύσασα κάρη λάβε παιδὸς ἑοῖο,  
καί ῥ' ὀλοφυρομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
‘τέκνον τί κλαίεις; τί δέ σε φρένας ἴκετο πένθος;  
ἔξαύδα, μὴ κεῦθε· τὰ μὲν δὴ τοι τετέλεσται  
ἐκ Διός, ὡς ἄρα δὴ πρὶν γ' εὔχεο χεῖρας ἀνασχῶν  
πάντας ἐπὶ πρύμνησιν ἀλήμεναι υἱίας Ἀχαιῶν  
σεῦ ἐπιδευομένους, παθέειν τ' ἀεκήλια ἔργα'. [...]

His mother went up to him as he lay groaning; she laid her hand upon his head and spoke piteously, saying, “My son, why are you thus weeping? What sorrow [*pen-thos*] has now befallen you? Tell me; hide it not from me. Surely Zeus has granted you the prayer you made him, when you lifted up your hands and besought him that the Achaeans might all of them be pent up at their ships, and rue it bitterly that you were no longer with them”. [...]

## II. XIX 1–11:

Ἦώς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων  
ὄρνυθ', ἴν' ἀθανάτοισι φόως φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖσιν·  
ἠ δ' ἔς νῆας ἴκανε θεοῦ πάρα δῶρα φέρουσα.  
εὔρε δὲ Πατρόκλῳ περικείμενον ὄν φίλον υἷον  
κλαιόντα λιγέως· πολέες δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι  
μύρονθ'· ἠ δ' ἐν τοῖσι παρίστατο διὰ θεάων,  
ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·  
‘τέκνον ἐμὸν τοῦτον μὲν ἐάσομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ  
κεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ δὴ πρῶτα θεῶν ἰότητι δαμάσθη·  
τύνη δ' Ἥφαιστοιο πάρα κλυτὰ τεύχεα δέξο  
καλὰ μάλ', οἷ' οὐ πῶ τις ἀνήρ ὤμοισι φόρησεν'. [...]

Now when Dawn in robe of saffron was hastening from the streams of Okeanos, to bring light to mortals and immortals, Thetis reached the ships with the armor that the god had given her. She found her son fallen about the body of Patroklos and weeping bitterly. Many also of his followers were weeping round him, but when the goddess came among them she clasped his hand in her own, saying, “My son, grieve as we may we must let this man lie, for it is by the will of the gods that he has fallen; now, therefore, accept from Hephaistos this rich and goodly armor, which no man has ever yet borne upon his shoulders”. [...]

Aphrodite takes Paris away from the duel with Menelaos, saving him from the tragic end (II. III 373–384):

καί νύ κεν εἴρουσέν τε καὶ ἄσπετον ἦρατο κῦδος,  
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὄξυ νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη,  
 ἣ οἱ ῥήξεν ἰμάντα βοὸς Ἴφι κταμένοιο·  
 κεινὴ δὲ τρυφάλεια ἄμ' ἔσπετο χειρὶ παχείῃ.  
 τὴν μὲν ἔπειθ' ἦρωσ μετ' ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς  
 ῥῖψ' ἐπιδινήσας, κόμισαν δ' ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι·  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἄψ' ἐπόρουσε κατακτάμεναι μενεαίνων  
 ἔγχεϊ χαλκείῳ· τὸν δ' ἐξήρπασ' Ἀφροδίτη  
 ῥεῖα μάλ' ὥς τε θεός, ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἠέρι πολλῇ,  
 κὰδ δ' εἶσ' ἐν θαλάμῳ εὐώδει κηώνεντι.  
 αὐτὴ δ' αὖ Ἑλένην καλέουσα ἴε· τὴν δὲ κίχανε  
 πύργῳ ἐφ' ὑψηλῷ, περὶ δὲ Τρωαὶ ἄλις ἦσαν [...]

...and [Menelaos] would have dragged him off to his own great glory had not Zeus' daughter Aphrodite been quick to mark and to break the strap of ox-hide, so that the empty helmet came away in his hand. This he flung to his comrades among the strong-greaved Achaeans, and was again springing upon Alexandros to run him through with a spear, but Aphrodite snatched him up in a moment (as a god can do), hid him under a cloud of darkness, and conveyed him to his own bedchamber. Then she went to call Helen, and found her on a high tower with the Trojan women crowding round her [...]

Ares is sent by Athena to save Diomedes in a fight (*Il.* V 27–36):

Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι ἐπεὶ ἴδον υἷε Δάρητος  
 τὸν μὲν ἀλευάμενον, τὸν δὲ κτάμενον παρ' ὄχεσφι,  
 πᾶσιν ὀρίνη θυμός· ἀτὰρ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη  
 χειρὸς ἔλοῦσ' ἐπέεσσι προσηύδα θοῦρον Ἄρηα·  
 Ἄρες Ἄρες βροτολοιγὲ μαιφόνε τειχεσιπλήτα  
 οὐκ ἂν δὴ Τρῶας μὲν ἐάσαιμεν καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς  
 μάρνασθ', ὅπποτέροισι πατήρ Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀρέξει,  
 νῶϊ δὲ χαζῶμεσθα, Διὸς δ' ἀλεώμεθα μῆνιν'.  
 ὥς εἰποῦσα μάχης ἐξήγαγε θοῦρον Ἄρηα·  
 τὸν μὲν ἔπειτα καθεῖσεν ἐπ' ἠϊόεντι Σκαμάνδρῳ [...]

The high-hearted Trojans were scared when they saw the two sons of Dares, one of them in fright and the other lying dead by his chariot. Owl-vision Athena, therefore, took Ares by the hand and said, "Ares, Ares, bane of men, bloodstained stormer of cities, may we not now leave the Trojans and Achaeans to fight it out, and see to which of the two Zeus will grant the victory? Let us go away, and thus avoid his anger". So saying, she drew violent Ares out of the battle, and set him down upon the steep banks of the Skamandros [...]

Hera and Athena try to save the Achaeans and neglect the Trojans, causing a quarrel between the gods (*Il.* I 533–600; VIII 1–40, 350–488; XV 1–235; XVIII 356–367; XX). In such episodes the listener is confronted with an image of the transcendent 'Force' which rules the world of nature and affects, often in a negative fashion, the affairs of humans. Still, we must not forget that the framework of the epic is divided into the *off-plotline* and *on-plotline* strata, and



the above mentioned formats and themes structurally belong to the latter<sup>16</sup>. This layer of the text makes the view of epic personages more vivid to the recipients due to their anthropological colouration, and it also makes them closer to the recipients because of the burden of verbally represented human choices and decisions. The *off-plotline* level is related to the so-called ‘embedded orientation’<sup>17</sup>, in which, I suggest, we should include all the background information provided by the direct appearances of a narrator, but mainly his invocations: *Il.* I 1–12:

Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος  
 οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρὶ Ἄχαιοῖς ἄλγε’ ἔθηκε,  
 πολλὰς δ’ ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν  
 ἠρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν  
 οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι, Διὸς δ’ ἐτελείετο βουλή,  
 ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε  
 Ἀτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.  
 τίς τ’ ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;  
 Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός· ὃ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθεῖς  
 νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὄρσε κακῆν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί,  
 οὔνεκα τὸν Χρῦσην ἠτίμασεν ἀρητῆρα  
 Ἀτρεΐδης [...]

Anger, goddess, sing it, of Achilles son of Peleus – disastrous anger that made countless pains for the Achaeans, – and many steadfast lives it drove down to Hādēs, heroes’ lives, but their bodies it made prizes for dogs and for all birds, and the Will of Zeus was reaching its fulfillment – sing starting from the point where the two – I now see it – first had a falling out, engaging in strife, I mean, [Agamemnon] the son of Atreus, lord of men, and radiant Achilles. So, which one of the gods was it who impelled the two to fight with each other in strife? It was [Apollo] the son of Leto and of Zeus. For he [= Apollo], infuriated at the king [= Agamemnon], caused an evil disease to arise throughout the mass of warriors, and the people were getting destroyed because the son of Atreus had dishonored Khryseēs his priest [...]

## *Il.* II 484–493:

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχουσαι·  
 ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαὶ ἐστε πάρεστε τε ἴστέ τε πάντα,

<sup>16</sup> The *on-plotline level* matches the two narratological categories of a ‘fabula’ and a ‘story’. The ‘fabula’ embraces “all the events which are recounted in the ‘story’, abstracted from their disposition in the text and reconstructed in their chronological order” and the ‘story’ consists of “the events as dispositioned and ordered in the text. The story consists of the main story+embedded narratives. In comparison to the fabula, the events in the story may differ in frequency (they may be told more than once), rhythm (they may be told at great length or quickly), and order (the chronological order may be changed)”. See DE JONG, NUNLIST 2007: XI, XIII.

<sup>17</sup> The *off-plotline level* with ‘embedded orientation’ could be compared to a narratological category of ‘narrator-text’, i.e., to those parts of the text which are presented by the narrator, between the speeches. DE JONG (2004: XV) also explains that we may further distinguish between a simple narrator-text (when the narrator presents his own focalisation) and embedded focalisation (when the narrator presents the focalisation of a character).

ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν·  
 οἳ τινες ἡγεμόνες Δαναῶν καὶ κοίρανοι ἦσαν·  
 πληθύν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω,  
 οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἴην,  
 φωνὴ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δὲ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη,  
 εἰ μὴ Ὀλυμπιάδες Μοῦσαι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο  
 θυγατέρες μνησαίαθ' ὅσοι ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθον·  
 ἀρχοὺς αὖ νηῶν ἐρέω νῆάς τε προπάσας.

And now, tell me, O Muses, you who live in your Olympian abodes, since you are goddesses and you were there and you know everything, but we [= the Narrator] only hear the *kleos* and we know nothing – who were the chiefs and princes of the Danaans [= the Achaeans]? As for the common warriors, they were so that I could not name every single one of them though I had ten tongues, and though my voice failed not and my heart were of bronze within me, unless you, O Olympian Muses, daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus, were to recount them to me. Nevertheless, I will tell the captains of the ships and all the fleet together.

II. II 761 f.:

τίς τὰρ τῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἔην σύ μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα  
 αὐτῶν ἢ δ' ἵππων, οἳ ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσιν ἔποντο.

Who, then, O Muse, was the foremost, whether man or horse, among those that followed after the sons of Atreus?

II. XI 218–220:

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι  
 ὅς τις δὴ πρῶτος Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀντίον ἦλθεν  
 ἢ αὐτῶν Τρώων ἢ ἐ κλειτῶν ἐπικούρων.

Tell me now you Muses dwelling on Olympus, who was the first to come up and face Agamemnon, either among the Trojans or among their famous allies?

II. XIV 508–510:

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι  
 ὅς τις δὴ πρῶτος βροτόεντ' ἀνδράγρι' Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἦρατ', ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἔκλινε μάχην κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος.

Tell me now, O Muses that dwell on Olympus, who was the first of the Argives to bear away blood-stained spoils after Poseidon lord of the earthquake had turned the fortune of war.

II. XVI 112 f.:

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,  
 ὅππως δὴ πρῶτον πῦρ ἔμπεσε νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

And now, tell me, O Muses that hold your mansions on Olympus, how fire was thrown upon the ships of the Achaeans.

*Od.* I 1–10:

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλά  
 πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσεν·  
 πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω,  
 πολλὰ δ' ὃ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν,  
 ἀρνύμενος ἦν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἐταίρων.  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὧς ἐτάρους ἐρρύσατο, ἰέμενός περ·  
 αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρῃσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο,  
 νήπιοι, οἳ κατὰ βοῦς Ὑπερίονος Ἥελίοιο  
 ἦσθιον· αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσιν ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἦμαρ.  
 τῶν ἀμόθεν γε, θεά, θύγατερ Διός, εἰπέ καὶ ἡμῖν.

That man, tell me O Muse the song of that man, that versatile man, who in very many ways veered from his path and wandered off far and wide, after he had destroyed the sacred citadel of Troy. Many different cities of many different people did he see, getting to know different ways of thinking. Many were the pains he suffered in his heart while crossing the sea struggling to merit the saving of his own life and his own homecoming as well as the homecoming of his comrades. But do what he might he could not save his comrades, even though he very much wanted to. For they perished through their own deeds of sheer recklessness, disconnected as they were, because of what they did to the cattle of the sun-god Helios. They ate them. So the god [Helios] deprived them of their day of homecoming. Starting from any single point of departure, O goddess, daughter of Zeus, tell me, as you have told those who came before me.

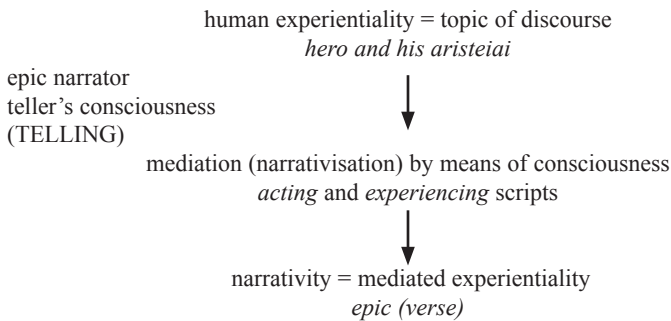
and second-person address forms as in *Od.* XIV 55, 165, 360, 442, 507: τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, Εὐμαίε συβῶτα [“To this you answered, O swineherd Eumaios”] or the evaluative commentary in which the point of the story is signaled and a general moral is drawn. In fact, in Homer we encounter so-called ‘internal evaluation’ in the form of additional information which helps the listener to learn the actors’ motivations and to grasp the purport of the particularly crucial moments of the plot (MINCHIN 2008: 123 f.; TANNEN 1982).

Summing up: following the natural narratology model the epic audience can be seen as the vicarious experiencer of the story told by the omniscient narrator (it should be noted that the narrative in the epic is predominantly heterodiegetic<sup>18</sup>), who is in special liaison with the Muse, whom he treats as a reliable source of information. We could say that the narrator and the Muse take turns in telling the story and the audience witnesses their ‘dialogue’ while hearing and interpreting the meaning of the story by means of the available schemas of *acting* and *experiencing*. At the centre of the first one there is the image of the hero’s

<sup>18</sup> ‘Heterodiegetic’ is G. GENETTE’s term to describe a narrative situation in which a narrator is not a character in his own story. For details, see DE JONG 2014: 19 f.

striving for particular goals in activities typical for a man on the battlefield. The second is interpreted in the light of a listener's attitude towards the 'irrational' that is included in the story, which depicts personified but nevertheless fully divine clashes of quests and ambitions which find their repercussions in the world of human affairs. Finally, there is also a verbal stratum of the genre, i.e., epic discourse. As E. BAKKER points out, speaking and writing, as different media of the use of language, not only require specific forms of presentation, but are also comprehended in different ways. From the point of view of the listening audience<sup>19</sup> it is an 'intonation unit' that is responsible for the cognitive reception in the oral epic. BAKKER, following the results of the research done by W. CHAFE (1994: 53–70), claims that the 'idea unit' or as CHAFE puts it, the 'tone group', constitutes an elementary compound of speech (BAKKER 1999: 30–39). The oral idea unit, which FLUDERNIK estimates to be five to seven words long, corresponds closely to the units within middle English verse and the Homeric epic. The 'idea units' within the epic help to constitute and preserve its general episodic structure in which the use of discourse markers like the particle *δέ* delimits one 'idea unit' from another – it allows the narrator to keep track of his storytelling and to preserve a continuity between successive images (BAKKER 1999: 62 ff.).

Thus, a simple natural narratology model for the archaic Greek epic may be presented as follows<sup>20</sup>:



### THE LITERARY WRITING OF HERODOTUS

At first the writings of Herodotus may appear to differ significantly from the epic, mainly because of their form, which is prose rather than verse. Assuming that Herodotus' *Histories* belong to an early stage of *history*-making, their medium serves communicational purposes, but does not necessarily fit their content, which in many respects resembles the content of the epic. In short, I claim that

<sup>19</sup> For a general account of the Homeric epic in its social context see: SCODEL (2002, 2008).

<sup>20</sup> Compare FLUDERNIK (1996: 50).

the form of epic poetry and early prose is evidently different, but their ‘body’ reveals many similarities. The images of the heroes who stand at the centre of Homeric poems also occupy a large part of Herodotus’ work dealing with the conflict between the East and the West<sup>21</sup>. The first book of the *Histories* tells the story of Croesus, Astyages and Cyrus; the second takes up a collective subject, i.e., the Egyptians and Cambyses as the main characters, the third introduces Darius as a successor in the Persian lineage and includes a brief note on Polycrates and Amasis. The next three books continue the story of Darius’ life and conquests, while including many ethnographical and geographical digressions. In the seventh book Darius dies and the Eastern throne goes to Xerxes, the King of Kings<sup>22</sup>. The last two books concentrate on the history of battles between the Greeks and the barbarians, whom we could also subsume under the heroic climate of the whole work.

Returning to FLUDERNIK’s concept of a saint under the rule of God and a tyrant (as depicted in medieval English prose legends) and interpreting a *hero* as a counterpart of a *saint*, I illustrate my view with an example of such an analogy between an exemplary event taken from Caxton’s *The Life of S. Erkenwold* and the scene in which the Lydian king Croesus is on the pyre in front of the Persian ruler Cyrus in *Histories* I 86 f. Saint Erkenwold has been safely rescued from a fall during a ride on his chair when one of its wheels falls off the axle. The narrator says that “it was against nature and reason, and a fair miracle, for God guided the chair and it was a marvel to all them that saw it” (FLUDERNIK 1996: 96). In the case of Croesus, a ‘hero-king’, he is rescued by a downpour, assumed to have been sent by a god who extinguishes the burning pyre. Having described the incident, the narrator concludes that to Cyrus, the Lydian king seemed to be dear to god and a good man (I 87,1 f.):

ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν Κροῖσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μετάγνωσιν, ὡς ὦρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἴ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔδωρήθη, παραστήναι καὶ ρύσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. τὸν μὲν δακρύνοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμῆς συνδραμεῖν ἔξαπίνης νέφεα καὶ χειμῶνά τε καταραγαῆναι καὶ ὕσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβεσθῆναι τε τὴν πυρῆν. οὕτω δὲ μαθόντα τὸν Κύρον ὡς εἶη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφιλῆς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός [...]

Then the Lydians say that Croesus understood Cyrus’ change of mind, and when he saw everyone trying to extinguish the fire but unable to check it, he invoked Apollo, crying out that if Apollo had ever been given any gift with *kharis* by him, let him

<sup>21</sup> For a general discussion of the structure and teleology in Herodotus’ *Histories*, see esp. IMMERWAHR 1966: 17 ff.; GRETHLEIN 2013: 185–223.

<sup>22</sup> Besides the kings, there are also many minor personalities, such as the Persian commanders Artaphrenes, Datis, Histiaios or Megabazos, who could serve as an illustration of the literary technique of Herodotus.

offer help and deliver him from the present evil. Thus he in tears invoked the god, and suddenly out of a clear and windless sky clouds came together, a storm broke, and it rained violently, extinguishing the pyre. Thus Cyrus perceived that Croesus was *philos* to a god and an *agathos* man<sup>23</sup>.

The performative quality of this passage is emphasised thanks to the image of the situation in which on a symbolic level the *hero* is identified by the bystanders as a moral exemplar. The larger parts of Herodotus' work appear to be a set of stories with a tinge of similar anecdotes, but still with a clear episodic makeup<sup>24</sup>. As M. LANG observes, there is an obvious distinction between direct speech and narrative in Herodotus, and the narrative discourse itself points at the clear division into narrative patterns (LANG 1984: 18 ff.)<sup>25</sup>. In the wider perspective within the *Histories*, we are faced with such themes as the 'rise and fall' of a king, which in the micro-scale, as in case of Croesus' story, is evaluated internally by the omniscient narrator. At the same time the theme seems to gain larger meaning on the macro-scale. Firstly, its experiential dimension is strengthened by the moral (a punished *hubris* of the Persian monarchs which is the pivotal notion for the *kuklos tōn anthrōpeiōn pragmatōn*; SOLMSEN 1974: 141 ff.) expressed in direct speech and/or in the third-person narrative through the evaluative commentaries, as in the following passages<sup>26</sup>:

*Hist.* I 5, 1–3:

οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι εὐοῦσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰοῦς οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι Πέρσησι οὕτω Φοίνικες· οὐ γὰρ ἀρπαγῇ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἀργεῖ ἐμίσητο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νέος· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθε ἔγκυος εὐοῦσα, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οὕτω δὴ ἔθειλον τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὡς ἂν μὴ κατὰδηλος γένηται. ταῦτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτω ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας[...]

This is how the Persians say it was, and they find the sack of Troy to be the beginning of their hostility toward the Hellenes. The Phoenicians do not agree with the Persians about Io. They say that they did not resort to abduction when they carried her to Egypt, but that she had sex with the captain of the ship in

<sup>23</sup> Extracts from the *Histories* by Herodotus translated by Lynn SAWLIVICH, revised by G. NAGY ([https://courses.edx.org/courses/HarvardX/CB22.1x/2013\\_SOND/info](https://courses.edx.org/courses/HarvardX/CB22.1x/2013_SOND/info); accessed on 12.05.2015).

<sup>24</sup> For a stylistic analysis of the stories from the first book of the *Histories*, see esp. LONG 1987.

<sup>25</sup> Such narrative patterns of a stable narrative scheme in which the god intervenes into human affairs were recognised long ago by KAZAZIS (1978: 139–199).

<sup>26</sup> See also a narrative about kings: Mykerinos, II 133; Apries, II 161; Polycrates, III 40 ff.; Xerxes, VII 10 ff.; and about the tyrant Hipparchus, V 56. General religious convictions expressed in the *Histories* are discussed in HARRISON 2000.

Argos. When she learned that she was pregnant, out of respect for her parents she voluntarily sailed with the Phoenicians so that she not be found out. This is what the Persians and Phoenicians say. Concerning these things, I am not going to say that they were so or otherwise, but I will indicate the one who I myself know first began unjust deeds against the Hellenes.

*Hist. I 28–29:*

καεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοῖσι, ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἱ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγχανον ἐόντες, ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασαι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἕτεα δέκα κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῆ, λύσαι τῶν ἔθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖοι: ὀρκίοισι γὰρ μέγαλοισι κατείχοντο δέκα ἕτεα χρήσεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄν σφι Σόλων θῆται.

Croesus had subdued all these peoples and added them to the Lydian empire. His capital Sardis was at the height of its wealth, and to it came, one by one, all the wise men of Hellas, including Solon the Athenian. He was spending ten years abroad after having made laws for the Athenians at their request. He sailed away on the pretext of seeing the world, but the real reason was not to have to repeal any of the laws he had made. The Athenians could not do this on their own, having sworn by the strongest oaths to observe for ten years whatever laws Solon gave them.

(and similarly in I 32 where Herodotus features a clash of opinions between the Wisener and the King about ‘real’ happiness and in I 45 when he gives an account of Croesus’ death) with the final evaluation in I 92, 1–2:

Κροῖσῳ δὲ ἐστὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μούνα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβησι τῆσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ, ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἱ τε βόες αἱ χρύσειαι καὶ τῶν κίωνων αἱ πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνηίᾳ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀσπίς χρυσῆ μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιέοντα, τὰ δ’ ἐξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων: τὰ δ’ ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι τῆσι Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροῖσῳ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὅμοια τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι <...> τὰ μὲν νυν ἐς τε Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκῆιά τε ἐόντα καὶ τῶν πατρῴων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὃς οἱ πρὶν ἢ βασιλεῦσαι ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστήκει, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν.

There are many offerings of Croesus’ in Hellas, and not only those of which I have spoken. There is a golden tripod at Thebes in Boeotia, which he dedicated to Apollo of Ismenus; at Ephesus there are the oxen of gold and the greater part of the pillars; and in the temple of Pronaia at Delphi, a golden shield. All these survived to my lifetime; but other of the offerings were destroyed. The temple at Ephesus was founded probably in Alyattes’ reign, and not completed till the period of the Graeco-Persian War. The temple of Athena Pronaia (= before the shrine) was situated outside the temple of Apollo. And the offerings of Croesus at Branchidae of the Milesians, as I learn by inquiry, are equal in weight and like those at Delphi.

Those which he dedicated at Delphi and the shrine of Amphiaraus were his own, the first-fruits of the wealth inherited from his father; the rest came from the estate of an enemy who had headed a faction against Croesus before he became king, and conspired to win the throne of Lydia for Pantaleon<sup>27</sup>.

Secondly, the incident-reaction chain, i.e., the actions of the *hero*-persona and their results (in this case an intemperate Persian king's desire to conquer and rule the known world – *pleonexia*)<sup>28</sup> lead to his defeat and death, thus serving a didactic purpose for the audience who are the vicarious experiencers of the recounted events which are based on the natural parameters of the *acting* and *experiencing* scripts. Moreover, open acknowledgements of religious convictions are interspersed within the text of the *Histories*, as for example in I 91, 1:

ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε· “τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατα ἐστὶ ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῶ. Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος ἀμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὅς ἐὼν δορυφόρος Ἡρακλιδέων, δόλω γυναικίῳ ἐπιστόμενος ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότηα καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδὲν οἱ προσήκουσαν.”

When the Lydians came, and spoke as they had been instructed, the priestess (it is said) made the following reply. “No one may escape his lot, not even a god. Croesus has paid for the sin of his ancestor of the fifth generation before, who was led by the guile of a woman to kill his master, though he was one of the guard of the Heraclidae, and who took to himself the royal state of that master, to which he had no right.”

*Hist.* I 139:

καὶ τόδε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οὐ· τὰ οὐνόματά σφι ἐόντα ὅμοια τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείῃ τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τῷτὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ σίγμα· ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὐρήσεις τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως.

There is another thing that always happens among them; we have noted it although the Persians have not: their names, which agree with the nature of their persons and their nobility, all end in the same letter, that which the Dorians call san, and the Ionians sigma; you will find, if you search, that not some but all Persian names alike end in this letter.

*Hist.* IV 8, 3:

ἐνθεῦτεν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν νῦν Σκυθίην χώρην καλεομένην, καὶ καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν χειμῶνα τε καὶ κρυμὸν, ἐπειρυσάμενον τὴν λεοντέην

<sup>27</sup> This and the subsequent quotations from the *Histories* translated by A.D. GODLEY (Cambridge 1920).

<sup>28</sup> IMMERWAHR 1956: 272 f.



κατυπνῶσαι, τὰς δὲ οἱ ἵππους τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος νεμομένας ἐν τούτῳ τῶ χρόνῳ ἀφανισθῆναι θείῃ τύχῃ.

Heracles came from there to the country now called Scythia, where, encountering wintry and frosty weather, he drew his lion's skin over him and fell asleep, and while he slept his mares, which were grazing yoked to the chariot, were spirited away by divine fortune.

and are supplemented by images of the impious acts of Herodotus' *heroes*, punished consequently by the divinity, e.g. when Cambyses hurts his hip after he has previously hurt the hip of the Egyptian god Apis (III 64):

ἐνθαῦτα ἀκούσαντα Καμβύσεια τὸ Σμέρδιος οὐνομα ἔτυψε ἢ ἀληθείῃ τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου· ὃς ἐδόκει ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τινὰ οἷ ὡς Σμέρδις ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλιῶν θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. μαθὼν δὲ ὡς μάτην ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη τὸν ἀδελφεόν, ἀπέκλαιε Σμέρδι· ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιημεκτήσας τῇ ἀπάσῃ συμφορῇ ἀναθρόσκει ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Σοῦσα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον. καὶ οἱ ἀναθρόσκοντι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦ κολοῦ τοῦ ξίφους ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει, γυμνωθὲν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παίει τὸν μηρόν· τραυματισθεὶς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ αὐτὸς πρότερον τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεὸν Ἄπιον ἔπληξε, ὡς οἱ καιρὴν ἔδοξε τετύφθαι, εἶρετο ὁ Καμβύσης ὅ τι τῇ πόλι οὐνομα εἶη· οἱ δὲ εἶπαν ὅτι Ἀγβάτανα. τῷ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον ἐκέχρηστο ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι τελευτήσειν τὸν βίον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖσι Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβατάνοισι ἐδόκει τελευτήσειν γηραιός, ἐν τοῖσι οἱ ἦν τὰ πάντα πρήγματα· τὸ δὲ χρηστήριον ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Συρίῃ Ἀγβατάνοισι ἔλεγε ἄρα. καὶ δὴ ὡς τότε ἐπειρόμενος ἐπύθετο τῆς πόλιος τὸ οὐνομα, ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ τοῦ τρώματος ἐσωφρόνησε, συλλαβῶν δὲ τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἶπε “ἐνθαῦτα Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου ἐστὶ πεπραμμένον τελευτᾶν”.

The truth of the words and of a dream struck Cambyses the moment he heard the name Smerdis; for he had dreamt that a message had come to him that Smerdis sitting on the royal throne touched heaven with his head; and perceiving that he had killed his brother without cause, he wept bitterly for Smerdis. Having wept, and grieved by all his misfortune, he sprang upon his horse, with intent to march at once to Susa against the Magus. As he sprang upon his horse, the cap fell off the sheath of his sword, and the naked blade pierced his thigh, wounding him in the same place where he had once wounded the Egyptian god Apis; and believing the wound to be mortal, Cambyses asked what was the name of the town where he was. They told him it was Ecbatana. Now a prophecy had before this come to him from Buto, that he would end his life at Ecbatana; Cambyses supposed this to signify that he would die in old age at the Median Ecbatana, his capital city; but as the event proved, the oracle prophesied his death at Ecbatana of Syria. So when he now inquired and learned the name of the town, the shock of his wound, and of the misfortune that came to him from the Magus, brought him to his senses; he understood the prophecy and said: “Here Cambyses son of Cyrus is to die”.

Cleomenes receives divine retribution for demolishing Argos' grove (VI 75):

μαθόντες δὲ Κλεομένηα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, κατῆγον αὐτὸν δέισαντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι ἐς Σπάρτην τοῖσι καὶ πρότερον ἦρχε. κατελθόντα

δὲ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπέλαβε μανίη νοῦσος, ἐόντα καὶ πρότερον ὑπομαργότερον ὄκως γὰρ τεῶ ἐντύχοι Σπαρτιητέων, ἐνέχραυε ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον. ποιόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ταῦτα καὶ παραφρονήσαντα ἔδησαν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ξύλω· ὁ δὲ δεθεὶς τὸν φύλακον μουνωθέντα ἰδὼν τῶν ἄλλων αἰτέει μάχαιραν οὐ βουλομένου δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ φυλάκου διδόναι ἀπέειλε τά μιν αὐτίς ποιήσει, ἐς ὃ δείσας τὰς ἀπειλὰς ὁ φύλακος (ἦν γὰρ τῶν τις εἰλωτέων) διδοῖ οἱ μάχαιραν. Κλεομένης δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν σίδηρον ἄρχετο ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἑωυτὸν λωβώμενος· ἐπιτάμνων γὰρ κατὰ μῆκος τὰς σάρκας προέβαινε ἐκ τῶν κνημέων ἐς τοὺς μηρούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἔς τε τὰ ἰσχία καὶ τὰς λαπάρας, ἐς ὃ ἔς τὴν γαστέρα ἀπίκητο, καὶ ταύτην καταχορδεύων ἀπέθανε τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι Ἑλλήνων, ὅτι τὴν Πυθίην ἀνέγνωσε τὰ περὶ Δημαρήτου λέγειν γενόμενα, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μῦθοι λέγουσι, διότι ἐς Ἐλευσίνα ἐσβαλὼν ἔκειρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν, ὡς δὲ Ἀργεῖοι, ὅτι ἐξ ἱροῦ αὐτῶν τοῦ Ἄργου Ἀργείων τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐκ τῆς μάχης καταγινέων κατέκοπτε καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλλος ἐν ἀλογίῃ ἔχων ἐνέπρησε.

When the Lacedaemonians learned that Cleomenes was doing this, they took fright and brought him back to Sparta to rule on the same terms as before. Cleomenes had already been not entirely in his right mind, and on his return from exile a mad sickness fell upon him: any Spartan that he happened to meet he would hit in the face with his staff. For doing this, and because he was out of his mind, his relatives bound him in the stocks. When he was in the stocks and saw that his guard was left alone, he demanded a dagger; the guard at first refused to give it, but Cleomenes threatened what he would do to him when he was freed, until the guard, who was a helot, was frightened by the threats and gave him the dagger. Cleomenes took the weapon and set about slashing himself from his shins upwards; from the shin to the thigh he cut his flesh lengthways, then from the thigh to the hip and the sides, until he reached the belly, and cut it into strips; thus he died, as most of the Greeks say, because he persuaded the Pythian priestess to tell the tale of Demaratus. The Athenians alone say it was because he invaded Eleusis and laid waste the precinct of the gods. The Argives say it was because when Argives had taken refuge after the battle in their temple of Argus he brought them out and cut them down, then paid no heed to the sacred grove and set it on fire.

etc.<sup>29</sup> All this contributes to the performative force of certain parts of the *Histories* and therefore, to their dramatic value. I assume that especially those parts of the story which depict the tragic lot of the *heroes* with the evaluative commentaries ‘above’ may be arranged to put the audience into the role of spectators who additionally judge the events in ethical terms. It is also widely accepted that the narrator-historian in the *Histories* makes use of particular materials for ideological purposes<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> See also Miltiades’ story in VI 133–136; Artayktes’ story in VII 33 and IX 116–120; Mardonios’ story, beginning in VIII 114 and ending in IX 64. ROMM (1998: 67) claims that “These related ideas of divine balance and moral retribution pervade Herodotus’ understanding of the cosmos, and so they appear everywhere within the text of the *Histories*”.

<sup>30</sup> For the tragic themes in Herodotus, see SAID 2002. Hdt. VIII 5 ff. raises the problem of the character of Themistocles, who is defined as both a saviour and a traitor of Greece. The problem is analysed in BLÖSEL 2001 and RAAFLAUB 1987.

As far as the structure of the *Histories* is concerned, some themes resemble the ‘formats’ known from the Homeric epic and analysed by E. MINCHIN. This is especially true of the ‘ring composition’<sup>31</sup> and the schema of the combat between the Greeks and the barbarians presented by the narrator in the latter books of the *Histories*. The patterns which can be depicted in the ‘ring composition’ correspond in general with the cognitive categories of the Labovian model. The best macro-structural example of this correspondence is the first book of Herodotus which contains the *Lydian Logoi*. The story, known as the *Croesus logos*, reveals Labovian characteristics in a particularly vivid way, with the framing clearly visible in the first and last sentence (I 5, 16 f. and I 91, 1) (WIEŻEL 2011). The same phenomenon occurs in the story about Cyrus, where the sentence at I 95, 1 is framed by the last expression at 130, 2 f. We find here an *abstract* (106 f.), an *orientation* (107), a *complication* (108–113), a *resolution* (120, which could be associated with the smaller ring corresponding with 108), and finally an *evaluation* (130, 2 f.) with a *coda* (130, 13–16).

Another well-known theme in the *Histories*, namely that of a ‘wise adviser’, could also be included in this group of associations. I propose the following outline of this pattern: the *abstract* and *orientation* sections contain background information about the personages of the adviser, his advice, and the person being advised; the *complicating action* embraces the chain of activities leading to and resulting from the armed conflicts, depending also on specific divine interventions; the *resolution* is based on remarks about the consequences of the advice, while the *evaluation* consists in a moral of the episodes told<sup>32</sup>. In the historical *logoi*, as H. IMMERWAHR calls them, I can also see a particular scripting in a series of military campaigns of the years 480 and 479 BCE, divided by IMMERWAHR into eight sections<sup>33</sup>. I identify the first with the *abstract*, the second and the third with the *orientation* category, the fourth, fifth and sixth with the *complicating action*, the seventh with the *resolution* and the last one with the *evaluation* with/or the *coda* category<sup>34</sup>. I would like to locate these ‘formats’ on the *on-plotline* level of the story, moving the evaluative commentaries and personal remarks of the narrator to the *off-plotline* level. This second stratum of the narrative shows Herodotus as a historian, whereas the first one is predominantly modelled after the epic narrator<sup>35</sup>. Finally,

<sup>31</sup> For the *ring composition* in Herodotus, see BECK 1971; IMMERWAHR 1966: 54 ff. In the context of the *Histories* as speech, see esp. SLINGS 2002: 71–73.

<sup>32</sup> The annotated examples of the ‘wise adviser’ theme are collected in BISCHOFF 1932 and LATTIMORE 1939.

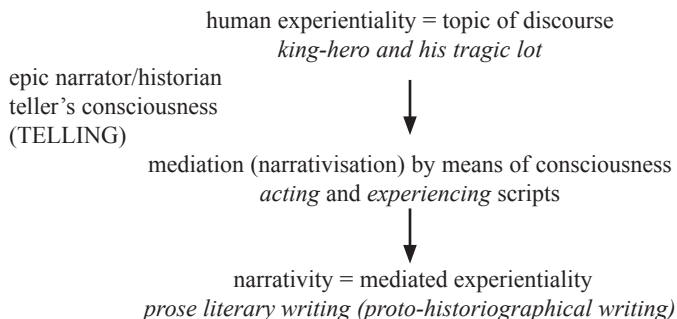
<sup>33</sup> See IMMERWAHR 1966: 68 f.

<sup>34</sup> See IMMERWAHR 1966: ch. 6.

<sup>35</sup> A list of personal statements by Herodotus includes: (οἶδα) I 5, 11; 47, 12; II 17, 5; 23, 2; 122, 7; III 40, 10; 72, 5; 115, 6; 117, 26; IV 15, 2; 157, 7; 195, 7; V 24, 7; VII 26, 8; 214, 9; IX 43, 10; 84, 4; (πυρθάνομαι): I 22, 7; 69, 6; 92, 11; V 111, 5; VII 9, 7; 9, 19; 114, 8; 153, 17; 166, 8; VIII 35, 10; 38, 6; 68, 23; 85, 13; (εὐρίσκω): I 60, 11; 105, 9; 156, 2; II 50, 3; III 36, 9; V 24, 5; 57, 3;

I claim that the patterning in Herodotus' work results not only from open reference to the epic mode of storytelling in his time, but also generally from natural language usage based on the cognitive values of the human mind.

Consequently, the natural narratology model of early classical Greek literary writing may be diagrammed as follows:



### CONCLUSIONS

Instead of drawing a general conclusion from this outline, I will claim that natural narratology could be applied to research on ancient Greek texts, strengthening existing opinions as to the oral and performative value of the Homeric epic and the partly oral nature of Herodotus' *Histories*. This paper seems to be the first attempt to apply this particular approach to these verbal artifacts. I would also like to point out some further relationships between *natural narratology* and the narrative genres in archaic Greece which seem to me to be worth exploring in the future. It would undoubtedly be interesting to examine the verbal layout of the epic and early historiography, especially the use of 'formulas' and other stylistic devices such as particles, while at the same time taking into account 'experience', understood as a 'script' of the natural linguistic behaviour, not only of the teller, but also of the recipient. This work needs to be done despite the fact that many of the problems have already been signalled in the literature. It could be equally useful to deepen the issue of tense-usage, mainly in its relation to the 'natural narrative' model detectable in the Homeric epic and the work of Herodotus. As for the latter work, we should also re-examine the status of an ancient historian from the point of view of our enriched understanding of rationalising history and its literary values. This research, in all its aspects, should be embedded within a general discussion of the oral-literate/oral-written *continuum*.

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VII 8, 17; 10, 44; 15, 14; 184, 3; 187, 8; VIII 30, 4. See also MARINCOLA 1987: 122 ff.; DEWALD 1987 and 2002. For Herodotus as an epic narrator, see DE JONG 1999: 220–223.

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## THE PROBLEM OF HUMAN HAPPINESS IN PLATO'S *GORGIAS* (PLATONIC "CARE FOR THE SOUL")

by

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**ABSTRACT:** Plato in the *Gorgias* discusses the subject of human happiness in the context of people's moral condition and the ethical ideals professed by them. The discussion is conducted by Socrates with young sophists. Sophists take a relativistic view of morality by reducing it to cultural and social values. Socrates is convinced that moral ideas such as righteousness and justice have greater power than do culture and human institutions. Contrary to young Sophists who reduce human nature to biological and social instincts, he also sees an immortal soul in man. The innate quality of the soul is moral sensitivity, which makes man conscious of and focused on moral magnitude. Plato made human happiness dependent on awakening moral sensitivity, giving it a clear ethical meaning. Happiness is derived from, first of all, the moral condition of man and particularly his sense of justice and his sensitivity to another man's ill-fortune. The greatest unhappiness man can experience, according to Plato, is to disgrace himself by harming someone. It is expressed by Plato's principle of "not doing harm".

The question of happiness (the personal happiness of man) is undoubtedly one of the key issues in ancient Greek philosophy. One can even say, without much exaggeration, that ancient Greek philosophy is imbued with a kind of eudaemonism that sets happiness in the highest position among all the values human beings aim at. Even such a great rationalist as Aristotle considered it a crucial and fundamental issue of his ethics (and politics)<sup>1</sup>. Regardless of its typical, commonly experienced meanings, this is one of the most important philosophical issues in general. This question is highly pertinent as it is in fact a question concerning the mystery of human nature and human existence. Its prominence increases when it is raised by such a philosopher as Plato, who always inquires into final matters and expects to be given definite answers.

This last question (the question of the meaning of human existence) introduces the first one (the question of human happiness) into the realm of the most profound mystery (or rather enigma, the term applied by G. COLLI<sup>2</sup>) enshrouding

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<sup>1</sup> Arist. *Eht. Nic.* 1095a, 19.

<sup>2</sup> COLLI 1991: 52–78.

human life – the mystery of being and the related mystery of the existence of the whole world; as ancient philosophers used to put it – the mystery which is metaphysical. The peculiar confluence of the two mysteries (enigmas) – human existence and the world’s existence – doubles the significance of this question. It is particularly discernible in Plato’s philosophy<sup>3</sup>, but it can be found in other philosophers’ reasoning as well, including those preceding Plato. It might even be concluded that in Greek philosophers’ mentality, regardless of their orientation, the mystery (enigma) of a man is solved together with the mystery of the world. Such belief is deeply rooted in the Greek spiritual tradition. Let us not forget that for Greeks a human being is a “microcosm”, thus a “small world”, or “small order” (“small arrangement”), because this is the way Greeks understood and perceived “the world” – as “cosmos” or “order” (“arrangement”) freed from primordial chaos. In the pre-philosophical mythological tradition, the above-mentioned “order” (that is, the rational arrangement of the world) was personified by Moira – cosmic reason and, at the same time, something which can be referred to as “natural law”<sup>4</sup>. These ideas were adopted and developed by Greek natural philosophers in their own manner.

According to the Greeks, the metaphysical mystery (enigma) of a man constitutes a particle of the metaphysical mystery of the world. Therefore, solving the latter enables the partial clarification of the former, as suggested as early as the Orphic myths. In one of them, Dionysus looks into a mirror but instead of his own reflection he can see the reflection of the whole world. The world is thus the natural reflection and manifestation of God himself. If the image were reversed, the world in front of the mirror would be reflected as Dionysus, that is God, since in the deepest structures of its essence the world is God. Just like a human being who – according to another Orphic myth<sup>5</sup> – in all his significant features is both God and a particle of Dionysus. This is the way in which myths uncover the greatest mystery of man and the world: the mystery of their divinity.

Plato mentions the Orphic myths in many of his dialogues, as well as in the *Gorgias*, and adopts, together with the ideas the myths propagate, the reviving spirituality of Orphic mystery plays (initiations)<sup>6</sup>. This spirituality introduced to Plato’s philosophy the particular character of philosophical initiations, which (similarly to the above-mentioned initiations) opened its followers to the divine

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 28 A–48 C.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. KROKIEWICZ 1971: 37–41; KROKIEWICZ 2000: 125–139; JAEGER 2001: 108, 229; DROZDEK 2011: 24 f.; GAJDA 2007: 38–48.

<sup>5</sup> It refers to the famous myth about Dionysus-Zagreus and the Titans. Cf. REALE 1993: vol. I, 459; KROKIEWICZ 1971: 51; DEMBIŃSKA-SIURY 1991: 107 f.; KERÉNYI 2008: 208 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 69 C–D; 70 A, D; 72 D; 76 A, C; 77 D; 80 A–82 E; 88 A; 107 C–108 C; *Gorg.* 493 A–B; 522 E–526 D; *Phaedr.* 250 C; *Men.* 81 B–C; 86 B; 99 C; *Crat.* 400 C; *Rep.* 364 E–365 A; 614 B–620 D; *Leg.* 716 A; *Ep.* II 311 C–D; VII 335 A; *Tim.* 42 B; 90 A–C.



aspect of human existence; yet here the divinity takes the form of absolute Truth and Beauty<sup>7</sup>.

#### TALKING ABOUT HAPPINESS IN PLATO'S *GORGIAS*

The question of human happiness (the personal happiness of man) itself is a subject, discussed in the context of the moral condition of men and their professed ethical ideals, that is approached by Socrates in Plato's *Gorgias*. In the background of the debate initiated by Socrates in the *Gorgias* lies a dispute about the moral role of the art of rhetoric and sophistry in the education of the citizens of Athens<sup>8</sup>.

The Sophists treated morality as an offshoot of culture and civilisation<sup>9</sup>.

Plato saw morality from the perspective of fixed absolute values. Sophists, on the other hand, treated it as a variable element of human culture and civilisation (changing together with this culture). Some of them referred to natural law as overriding the laws legislated by people as part of a given social culture. However, in the face of its inscrutability, Sophists passed the decision whether something is an element of natural law or not onto people and their innate moral instinct (the sense of integrity and moral shame, according to Protagoras' words in Plato's dialogue named after this philosopher)<sup>10</sup>. The major representatives of the "naturalistic" current of sophism, like Hippias, Alcidas or Antiphon, proclaimed the equality of all people before natural law, and they criticised slavery and social inequalities in the name of that law<sup>11</sup>. This current of sophism is addressed in the *Gorgias* by Callicles<sup>12</sup>, who invokes "natural law", but understands it in a completely different way than the above-mentioned sophists, and does not connect it with the noble ideas of social equality proclaimed by them. For Callicles, "natural law" is equivalent to "the law of the stronger". It is "the law of the stronger" which, according to him, regulates the relations both among animals and among countries, and should be the only regulator of human relations – so that stronger individuals could satisfy their needs and desires with impunity, without any inhibitions and compunction, which in Callicles' view are

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<sup>7</sup> Plato, *Phaedo* 64 A–69 D; *Symp.* 210 A–D; *Phaedr.* 245 B–256 E. Cf. LOUTH 1997: 15–32; JAEGER 2001: 1140 f.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. FUSSI 2005; GATTI 2012: 261–288; HADENA 1992: 313–326; KAHN 1983: 75–121; PRZEŁĘCKI 1988: 3–12; STAUFFER 2006: 99–110; WESOLY 2009: 17–30; WESOLY 2011: 99–110.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. GAJDA 1989: 74–85; GAJDA 2009: 31–44.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Plato, *Prot.* 322 C.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. GAJDA 1989: 144–169; REALE 1993: 279–285.

<sup>12</sup> Callicles is a fictional character. Nevertheless, he most probably represents the opinions of authentic figures of his epoch. Cf. GAJDA 1989: 174–176; REALE 1993: 291 f.

typical of the weak, and especially without batting an eyelid when other people are harmed<sup>13</sup>.

According to his view, all the norms and moral principles as well as state law were instituted by weak men as a defence mechanism against stronger – and therefore superior – individuals. And yet, as it was added, only the stronger (superior) individuals are truly destined for a free life, devoid of moral inhibitions and any internal limitations (to say nothing of the external ones). The only determinant of such individuals' conduct should be their own nature, or, putting it precisely, their unrestrained and untamed lusts. All moral principles, all virtues and ethical ideals are nothing but a fabrication by weak men, a cover for their shortcomings and a tool for enchaining strong individuals. Free men have the right (bestowed on them by nature) to disregard any of weak men's efforts and moreover to disregard weak men themselves. They have the right to bring harm and destruction as they please. This is the attitude that warrants happiness. And this is, more or less, the idea presented by Callicles in front of Socrates (Plato's Socrates)<sup>14</sup>.

Callicles, the proponent of the views presented above, is not, as one might have supposed, a simple-minded hedonist. Apparently, he is deeply convinced that nature itself has arranged the life of men – has made them follow their biological lusts. These biological lusts are treated by Callicles as an unflinching call of nature. All of his powers, the powers of a free man, are thus seen as a capability to boldly follow the call. Callicles refers to “the natural law of animals”, which, in his opinion, governs the animal world. It is from this world that he draws his central ethical ideal, the law of the stronger, because this is the law that he perceives as the essence of the natural law of animals. Actually, for Callicles, the animal world is not the only source and verifier of moral principles and codes of behaviour. He also refers to “the natural laws among states”. States, in his view, follow “the law of the stronger” as well. Hence, Callicles transfers the law of the stronger that he discovers to be “natural” into the realm of human societies. Furthermore, he even considers it noble and beautiful to conform to this law. It is also a sign of freedom and strength – not only of their external manifestations, but also of their internal ones. To follow such a law requires courage, claims Callicles, and courage is a feature of a strong man who is truly free (free from any limitations and moral norms). The attitude of a strong and courageous man who strives to satisfy his desires, believing to be thus serving his own true nature, should be appraised as morally beautiful – it is beautiful, because it is “natural”, in harmony with human nature (which appears to differ in no detail from the nature of animals and belligerent countries). Only weak men regard it as shameful. In contrast, the attitude of a weak man, who tames his lust

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<sup>13</sup> Plato, *Gorg.* 483 D–484 C. Cf. VIMERCATI 2008; JAEGER 2001: 701–703.

<sup>14</sup> Plato, *Gorg.* 492 A–C.

and takes other people's good into consideration, is, according to Callicles, opposed to nature and therefore deserves condemnation. Such attitudes are typical of slaves, men enslaved by moral and legal restrictions and, in the first place, of people enchained by their own weakness and incapability to satisfy their own natural wants.

Callicles is aware of other philosophers' views and knows their opinions fairly well on the subjects upon which he elaborates. He even encourages young people to take some philosophical training, although it should be rather short, superficial and not at all designed to ennoble their characters and awaken in them any sensitivity to the world of immaterial values (such an outlook on the role of philosophy is completely alien to him). Instead, the training would be simply an element of general education or shallow erudition. This is the tone adopted by Callicles in the conversation with Socrates (in the *Gorgias*), in which he also adds that philosophy practised for too long or taken too seriously makes people ill-adapted to living in a normal society<sup>15</sup>.

Why should one confine oneself to a short and superficial philosophical training? Because prolonged and deep study of philosophical matters could estrange young men from material life, or even arouse their desire to know the truth about man (a different truth, of course, from the one Callicles knows). What is even more disturbing is that it might strike them with a longing for true beauty (different from the beauty endorsed by Callicles). The students might then discover that Callicles is not quite right about the nature of man. It might turn out that there is something more to it than animal instincts, something far more important and even... more humane<sup>16</sup>! Socrates (Plato's Socrates) knew this well. He spoke of it on numerous occasions in Plato's dialogues. But he also knew how difficult it was to learn the truth about human nature. Reasoning and rational arguments could be found insufficient. This is probably why he is not surprised at his failure to convince his young opponents, Callicles and Polus, with arguments of a logical or at least rational character. For the true sources of Plato's ethical ideals are most probably not to be sought among rational inquiries and intellectual deliberations. They are founded upon an experience of a thoroughly different type than the rational one, although Plato himself struggles to clothe it in the gown of logical reasoning. He was, it seems, conscious of this fact, for had it been otherwise, he would not have resorted to arguments drawn from myths (Orphic myths in particular) – which is his practise in the *Gorgias*, as well as in other dialogues, like the *Phaedo*, *Republic*, *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*.

Plato (Plato's Socrates) in the *Gorgias* adopts a position that is fundamentally different from Callicles'. Contrary to Callicles, and to the Sophists in general, he is convinced that moral ideals, such as righteousness and justice, possess

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 485 A–D. Similar was the argument of Adeimantus. Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 487 B–D.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 501 B.

far more solid ontological grounds than those provided by human culture and institutions. He considers these ideals to be decidedly absolute and unchangeable values (which makes them almost divine), and hence finds them totally independent of human civilisation and culture. Plato could not be further from reducing man and human nature to biological instincts; he recognises something else, something more. In the *Republic*, this other aspect is called “the superhuman and divine element”<sup>17</sup>. In the *Gorgias*, he (his Socrates) speaks simply of the immortal soul<sup>18</sup>. The soul is the governing part of human nature and its essential ability is that of exercising moral and spiritual sensitivity. This ability constitutes man’s natural inclination to seek the ideal values, the so-called spiritual values, represented by the ideas of Good, Beauty and Truth. From an epistemological perspective, it might be said that it is (more or less) an intuitive awareness of ideal (super-sensual) values.

#### HAPPINESS AND MORAL NOBLENES. MORAL EVIL AS THE SICKNESS OF THE SOUL

Plato (Socrates in the *Gorgias*) saw human happiness as dependent on moral and spiritual sensitivity, which is the realm of moral values – strictly speaking, it was the awakening of this kind of sensitivity that was vital. In consequence, he sought happiness not in giving way to the lowest lusts (which are, after all, connected to the carnal or biological nature of the human species), but in the process of forming higher feelings, characterised by nobleness and justice<sup>19</sup>. A noble man is one who is able to control himself and his lust<sup>20</sup>.

It is easy to grasp that someone who is, in a way, an opposite of a noble man – a wrongdoer – could never be happy, at least not in Plato’s eyes, unless he chose to suffer punishment for his iniquities and received justice from the hands of the gods and men<sup>21</sup>. In this case, punishment serves as an element that restores the soul to its natural condition, freeing it from the wickedness that caused anguish and pain<sup>22</sup>. The evil that brings anguish and destruction to the soul is, of course, injustice, disgracefulness and meanness of the soul itself<sup>23</sup>. Evil – born out of wickedness and disgracefulness of the soul – is, according to Plato, a disease which

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 501 A–B. Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 80 A–B. As it is not hard to guess, the divine and superhuman element is the rational soul. Cf. Plato, *Crito*. 47 E–48 A.

<sup>18</sup> Plato, *Gorg.* 493 A–C. The real Socrates probably did not connect his ethical system with a religiously based eschatology. Cf. SARRI 1997: 223–226.

<sup>19</sup> Plato, *Gorg.* 470 E. Cf. also 472 E.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 491 D–E. Cf. 504 D; 506 E; 507 C–D.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 472 E. Cf. also 476 A.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 477 A–478 C.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* 477 D–E.

devastates the soul and which must be healed by all available means. The remedy is, naturally, punishment. For this reason, it is in the interest of a wrongdoer to undergo punishment, because otherwise the moral evil of injustice or another kind of meanness rooted in his soul would, if untreated, ruin him morally<sup>24</sup>.

In Plato's opinion, the moral condition of a man determines what he is worth and how happy he may be. Only a noble and just person may gain true happiness. Hence, happiness has a distinct ethical dimension – we might even risk a thesis that it is in fact one of Plato's ethical categories. Happiness does not depend on social or material conditions. What happiness does depend on is exclusively the moral condition of a man. The hallmark of a noble (and thus happy) soul is the imbedded sense of law and the related inner order, that manifests itself in self-control, self-restraint, justice and courage<sup>25</sup>.

By stating that a good man achieves happiness while failure awaits a wrongdoer, Socrates does not, of course, refer to material success or lack thereof. He knew only too well that as far as material goods are concerned, wicked people usually did far better than the good ones. He also knew that material prosperity was never a condition of his happiness – that was determined by his moral condition and the state of the mind; and if he ever asked the gods for anything, then it was only for the immaterial wealth of wisdom and the inner moral beauty that comes with it. This is the spirit of his famous prayer ending the *Phaedrus*<sup>26</sup>.

#### THE PLATONIC RULE OF “DO NOT HARM” AS A FUNDAMENTAL MORAL PRINCIPLE AND AN ELEMENT OF THE PLATONIC “CARE FOR THE SOUL”

Plato's Socrates in the *Gorgias* was aware that the greatest misfortune he might suffer would be to go to Hades with a soul disgraced because of harming another human being<sup>27</sup>. Neither this belief nor Socrates' moral consciousness in general stem from fear of the eschatological consequences of the earthly life – a fear which, in fact, is a rather primitive emotion. As has already been said, his moral consciousness draws upon inner moral and spiritual sensitivity to what is beautiful and noble, both in the natural and the supernatural sense. Additionally, it is also the consequence of Socrates' understanding of the ontic status of man, which is important as far as Socrates' so-called “ethical intellectualism” is concerned. Not surprisingly, in Socrates' view, man is above all a moral, or even

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* 480 A–B.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 506 E–507 E.

<sup>26</sup> Plato, *Phaedr.* 279 B–C. Cf. GAISER 1990: 59–77.

<sup>27</sup> Plato, *Gorg.* 522 E. The actual Socrates allegedly also professed similar principles, although he did not look forward to any notion of a future prize or punishment, even an after-death one. He was particularly clear about this point in his defence, where he proved himself to be truly above any low motives, including eschatology. See Plato, *Apolog.* 29 A–B.

a spiritual entity, naturally gravitating towards what is morally and spiritually beautiful<sup>28</sup>.

The rule of “Do Not Harm” is mentioned in many of Plato’s dialogues, but in the *Gorgias* it receives the greatest attention<sup>29</sup>.

This is a thesis which Plato’s Socrates supports in various different ways, although, as it will turn out, not effectively enough, because his two young disputants remain unconvinced (whether he managed to convince Gorgias is quite another matter; it appears that Gorgias was past adopting any beliefs whatsoever, whilst he respected anyone’s right to retain any beliefs they chose).

Plato’s Socrates begins with an attempt to use rational arguments and employ logical measures. However, one does not have to be fluent in logic to spot the fact that his reasoning is somewhat faulty from the very start. Socrates uses the thesis stating that man is essentially a spiritual entity – which in itself is not a well-founded claim from a rational perspective – and that this is the source of the conviction that the soul and all her actions constitute the essence of humanity and that human life comes from it. He does not provide a logical grounding for this thesis, though, which means that he uses an unjustified (or not well-enough justified) premise, known to logic as *petitio principii*<sup>30</sup>. Incidentally, a similar mistake is also present in the argument of his adversary, Callicles. The whole situation is perfectly plain, probably not only to the reader of the dialogue, but also to Socrates. This is why, as I have already mentioned above, he turns relatively quickly to arguments of a rather different nature, mythical and mysterious; he refers to the Orphic idea of the immortal soul, one of the most important Orphic beliefs, which were enthusiastically received by some of the Greek philosophers who wanted to incorporate them into their own systems. Socrates begins with a paraphrase of a maxim by Heraclitus of Ephesus (made by Euripides), but he continues in the Orphic (and Pythagorean) spirit, comparing a body to a grave and bodily life to death.

Who knows if life be not death and death life<sup>31</sup>; and that we are very likely dead; I have heard a philosopher say that at this moment we are actually dead, and that the body (*soma*) is our tomb (*sema*), and that the part of the soul which is the seat of the desires is liable to be tossed about by words and blown up and down...<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> The subject is present in other known myths. Cf. the myth about the creation of man from the *Timaeus* and the myth about the chariots in the *Phaedrus*. Cf. REALE 1996.

<sup>29</sup> Plato, *Gorg.* 474 B. See also: *ibid.* 475 A–E; 379 C–D; 483 A–B; 508 B–C; 509 C–D; 527 B; *Rep.* 345 A; *Apolog.* 29 B; 47 E–48 A.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 475 A–E.

<sup>31</sup> Heracl. B 62. Transl. by B. JOWETT; text available online at <http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/gorgias.html>. Cf. MRÓWKA 2004: 188.

<sup>32</sup> Plato, *Gorg.* 492 E–493 A. See also: Plato, *Phaedo* 72 A; 72 E; 82 E; *Phaedr.* 250 C. In the *Phaedrus* there appears also the motif of a soul imprisoned in its body like an oyster in its shell.

The invoking of the famous Orphic idea<sup>33</sup>, which was also acknowledged by Pythagoras and Plato, was probably designed to support the (let us admit, rather clumsy) logical and rational argumentation, that evidently failed to persuade the young (and impetuous) interlocutors. At the same time, the idea seems to suggest that Plato's ethical concepts comprising the rule of "Do Not Harm", take their origins in a cognition of a rather different sort than a rational one, based on the logical principles of reasoning. Plato introduces the relatively well-known Orphic myth of the immortal and divine soul naturally in order to impress Socrates' opponents, and especially the impulsive Callicles, by implying that human nature may be seen quite differently, and in consequence, happiness may be conceived in a completely different manner. It is not necessarily just a never-ending struggle to satisfy desires which by nature cannot be satisfied. Plato (Plato's Socrates) compares the soul of an unrestrained man (or, strictly speaking, this part of the soul that is responsible for desires) to a leaky cask, which is impossible to fill<sup>34</sup>.

A few lines later, Plato refers to this comparison again in a parable about two men who have casks in which they keep liquids that are costly and hard to obtain. The first man's casks are good and solid, whilst the other man's ones are unreliable and leaky. Unavoidably, the former man, having filled his casks, would not need to bother about them any more; the latter would have to refill his casks constantly and with great difficulty. This is how Plato pictured the lives of a moderate (or, as Socrates calls him, orderly) man and an unrestrained one<sup>35</sup>. It turned out that the happiness of the unrestrained one is dubious and questionable, as it requires the constant satisfying of undying desires and perpetually insatiable lusts. As we might have expected, Callicles, who believes that happiness means experiencing pleasure, is not particularly impressed by Socrates' story<sup>36</sup>. Therefore, Socrates continues to persuade him, trying to show that pleasure, although so highly valued by Callicles, is not, in fact, the same as goodness. And yet again, his rational arguments fail to convince his adversary who, in the end, declares himself won over by Socrates but probably does so only out of pure boredom and impatience, for it is doubtful that he might really have been convinced by the old philosopher. In any case, Socrates himself appears to understand it perfectly, because at the conclusion of his argument he resorts, once more, to a myth. This time a heavy-caliber weapon is called upon, namely: the eschatological myth<sup>37</sup>.

The myth is extremely interesting in itself and, in spite of how it looks, plays an important role in Socrates' discussion with his young interlocutors. Before we

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. ALBERT 1980: 96–108 (and *passim*); JAEGER 2007: 146–150; REALE 1993: 447–464; KROKIEWICZ 1971: 51–69.

<sup>34</sup> Plato, *Gorg.* 493 B.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* 493 D–E.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 494 A–C.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* 523 A–526 D.

tackle the myth though, let us take a brief look at another matter which is equally vital if we wish to grasp Plato's mental and spiritual condition and thus may enable us to understand the gist and the function of the myth. Speaking of the soul and its moral condition, Plato's Socrates in the *Gorgias* refers, rather unexpectedly, to a notion of initiation<sup>38</sup>. Actually, the matter of initiation is one of supreme significance, perhaps even more important than the whole logical argument previously conducted by Socrates. Hence, let me quote the whole passage:

...and that the part of the soul which is the seat of the desires is liable to be tossed about by words and blown up and down; and some ingenious person, probably a Sicilian or an Italian, playing with the word, invented a tale in which he called the soul – because of its believing and make-believe nature – a vessel, and the ignorant he called the uninitiated or leaky, and the place in the souls of the uninitiated in which the desires are seated, being the intemperate and incontinent part, he compared to a vessel full of holes, because it can never be satisfied. He is not of your way of thinking, Callicles, for he declares that of all the souls in Hades, meaning the invisible world these uninitiated or leaky persons are the most miserable, and that they pour water into a vessel which is full of holes out of a colander which is similarly perforated. The colander, as my informer assures me, is the soul, and the soul which he compares to a colander is the soul of the ignorant, which is likewise full of holes, and therefore incontinent, owing to a bad memory and want of faith<sup>39</sup>.

Evidently, Plato realises that his argumentation transcends the boundaries of strictly logical reasoning:

These notions are strange enough, but they show the principle which, if I can, I would fain prove to you; that you should change your mind, and, instead of the intemperate and insatiate life, choose that which is orderly and sufficient and has a due provision for daily needs. Do I make any impression on you, and are you coming over to the opinion that the orderly are happier than the intemperate? Or do I fail to persuade you, and, however many tales I rehearse to you, do you continue of the same opinion still?<sup>40</sup>

However, as it may clearly be seen from this last statement, Plato's (Socrates' in the *Gorgias*) aim is not primarily to retain the logical coherence of his reasoning, but, putting it briefly, to achieve Callicles' moral conversion. The change of opinion is not enough, although Socrates seems to believe that such a change would inevitably cause a change in Callicles' whole life (which is a rather crude

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* 493 B.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* 493 B.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 493 C.



formulation of Socrates' aforementioned ethical intellectualism). As we may expect, Socrates knows well from his own experience of the world that opinions do not necessarily influence lives themselves; nonetheless, his main point of interest is life in harmony with human nature – a life that is fine and noble. He surely knows that one does not change one's life just like that, because of a modification of opinions. Life is an existential matter that only an existential experience can change, a kind of inner sensation which may stimulate the spirit and force the man himself to seek new aims. In other words: there is a need for a strong inner impulse coming in the form of a powerful, existential experience. Even the strictest possible argumentation – and we know that it is barely attainable where existential matters are concerned (which is why we should not be surprised by the flaws in Socrates' reasoning) – is helpless with such matters. Something more is needed – and it was found by Socrates (or Plato) in the mythology, chiefly of Orphic origins, although it is masked as a philosophical parabola.

This is also suggested by the fact that the subject of initiation is introduced. Initiation is something achieved not through adopting certain views, but thanks to a spiritual act, which may be more or less profound, but which is always existentially experienced.

#### PHILOSOPHICAL INITIATIONS

We may guess that the kind of initiation mentioned by Plato in the *Gorgias* has to do with the initiations conducted during Orphic or Eleusinian mysteries, although it is also the philosophical initiation experienced by lovers of truth and beauty. They were also not unfamiliar to Plato himself. Plato, as a member of the royal family of Athens, whose ancestor was known for having committed sacrilege in the past, could not be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, despite the fact that all citizens of Athens were granted this possibility on the basis of their citizenship. However, he (Plato) was acquainted with the Orphic mysteries, especially as far as their spiritual dimension is concerned (Plato criticised and refrained from participating in Orphic practices)<sup>41</sup>. In particular, he knew a good deal about the Orphic ideas of love, the immortal soul, reincarnation, purification and initiations themselves, which is also noticeable in the *Gorgias*. Also, Plato's philosophy in general has a distinct mysterial air, even though some of the Orphic myths and practices are denounced in various dialogues. Some of the dialogues, like the *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus* and *Symposium* are also mysterial (Orphic) in character<sup>42</sup>. The

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 364 E–365 A. Here Plato refers mockingly to the Orphic ritual of purification. Nevertheless, he seems to be distinctly sympathetic to Orphic spirituality, and particularly to the so-called Orphic life-style, as well as some of the Orphic ideas.

<sup>42</sup> Many researchers have written about religious and Orphic aspects of the philosophy of Plato. NATORP in his well-known book writes that Plato's philosophy is permeated with religion and is with it one piece: NATORP 1961: 508, 509. ALBERT also thinks that the philosophy of Plato

mysterial air is present in the *Gorgias* as well – it makes its presence most felt in the eschatological myth at the end, although it is also palpable at the earlier stages of the dialogue – and not without effect. Its role is to suggest something important, which may invoke certain feelings in the disputant's soul or may stimulate it in some way<sup>43</sup>.

Coming back to the initiations themselves – the thesis that Socrates may have known the mysterial initiations is supported by his playful but meaningful remark that Callicles was initiated into the great mysteries before the lesser ones<sup>44</sup>. Lesser and greater initiations, of course always coming in that order, were performed, for instance, in Eleusis<sup>45</sup>. It is worth mentioning that the crucial element of the mysteries was the existential experience of the sacrum<sup>46</sup>. In other words – it was the initiation into the divine dimension of human nature and the nature of the world. It was the existential experience of the mystery of the divine nature of one's own soul, the divinity magically encapsulated in one's own self and, similarly, the mystery of the divinity which is both concealed and revealed in the world. To sum up, it was the authentic, existential experience of the sacrum, in all probability mystic in character, or, to say the least, deeply spiritual and such that it introduced the initiated to the world of divine values and, at the same time, prepared them for final, afterlife participation in this divine realm.

#### THE ESCHATOLOGICAL MYTH AS A MORAL PARABLE AND AS THE FINAL ARGUMENT

As already mentioned, in the conclusion of the argument proving that moral nobility is better than disgracefulness and that to suffer injustice is better than

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is deeply religious, and even cult-like: ALBERT 1980: 68 (and *passim*). ALBERT even says that the philosophy of Plato is a continuation of the Greek religion and especially a continuation of the Greek cult's fundamental aim: the restoration of the spiritual relationship with God (*ibid.* 121). ALBERT also accentuates the mysterious, especially Orphic qualities of Plato's philosophy. Similar interpretations of Plato are characteristic for others, and especially for German researchers such as WILLI and FINK: WILLI 1944 (he is convinced that Plato underwent the Orphic initiation and that it must have determined his metaphysical thought); FINK 1970: 54–56. JAEGER also writes about the Orphic influence on Plato (JAEGER 2007: 149). The German Benedictine monk, Odo CASEL, also writes about the Orphic mystery and roots of Plato's philosophy (CASEL 1919: 35–40). The Italian author of a classic work on the history of ancient philosophy is convinced that without Orphism the thinking of philosophers such as Pythagoras, Heraclitus, Empedocles or Plato could not be explained: REALE 1993: 448. Cf. KROKIEWICZ 1971: 7–69; KROKIEWICZ 2000: 52.

<sup>43</sup> I refer here to the communicative function of the myth: the story transfers some kind of message in the form of a philosophical idea, but at the same time the expressive tale, especially in the case of the eschatological myths, inspires their soul and stimulates inner experiences of the message, which are usually ethical.

<sup>44</sup> Plato, *Gorg.* 497 C.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. SZLEZÁK 1997: 81–82.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. BURKERT 2001: 47.

to cause it, as well as that the best thing a man could ever do for himself is to conform to the rule of "Do Not Harm", not only through deeds but also by the use of words<sup>47</sup>, Plato brings up an argument, which is, if we may call it so, an extremely heavy-calibre weapon, namely: the eschatological myth<sup>48</sup>. The story connects the fates of various men after their death and it is summarised by Plato's Socrates at the very beginning:

...that he who has lived all his life in justice and holiness shall go, when he is dead, to the Islands of the Blessed, and dwell there in perfect happiness out of the reach of evil; but that he who has lived unjustly and impiously shall go to the house of vengeance and punishment...<sup>49</sup>

The rest of his story is simply a supplement to this first sentence and practically introduces no new ideas. Nevertheless, thanks to its expressive power, the myth is, or at least may be, rather impressive, which actually seems to be its role – to impress those who hear it, invoke some feelings, for instance fear and apprehension at the thought of "hell" and punishment for any injustice done to other people, and hope for a happy life for those who have never harmed anyone. All this is right, of course, and the message of the eschatological myths is explained by Plato himself in the first Book of the *Republic*<sup>50</sup>. The tale is devised to show the palpable menace of moral evil and to convince readers that there is nothing worse than meanness of soul, but at the same time – that there is nothing more precious and noble than justice and human kindness. Their existence and importance do not cease with the end of the earthly life.

Plato's Socrates calls his myth "a true tale"<sup>51</sup> and suggests that what really matters is not so much the tale itself as its message. The tale alone is only there to carry the message – without the tale, the message would be lifeless or, at best, a crisp, dry formula that would not interest any readers. The tale makes the message clear and gets it across to the audience, which does not exhaust the role of the myth's tale. It also serves as some sort of catalyst for the sensations invoked by the message. Thus, the philosophical myth appears to function in exactly the same way of the dramatic mystical myths, which were often presented partly in the form of a drama, but were also characteristically dramatic in their

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<sup>47</sup> Plato, *Gorg.* 522 C–D.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 523 A–526 D.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 523 A–B. Transl. by B. JOWETT. The myths told by Plato in the *Phaedo* and *Republic* are similar in tone, although different as far as the tale itself is concerned; there they are also used to crown the whole argument.

<sup>50</sup> Plato, *Rep.* 330 D–331 A.

<sup>51</sup> Plato, *Gorg.* 523 A. Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 114 D.

content and interpretation. Hence this is another mark left by the mysterical heritage on the character of Plato's philosophy<sup>52</sup>.

We may expect that Socrates employed the picturesque but also menacing myth for a good purpose. If anything convinced his adversaries to his thesis, it was not rational argumentation, but rather the irrational force of the myth<sup>53</sup>. The myth is an element of Orphic and Eleusinian initiations. In the mysteries, the myth or, strictly speaking, the drama developed on the basis of a myth about the appropriate gods (like Dionisos-Zagreus in the case of the Orphic mysteries, or Kore and Demeter in the Eleusinian mysteries), expresses their impact on the initiate. The *mystes* is initiated (existentially, with all his soul) into divinity (which is present inside him as well as in the world); he experiences the mystery of the divine and supernatural character of his own soul – and the living presence of god in the world<sup>54</sup>.

The myth told by Plato does not lead to such intense feelings, but it can encourage reflection and even the simple sensation of fear of punishment and hope for a prize (as Plato admits in the *Republic*)<sup>55</sup>.

It would be far better, of course, if our lives were not guided by hope for a prize or by fear of punishment for wickedness and meanness – but instead navigated by honesty and righteousness in the simple, manly fashion endorsed by Socrates in Plato's *Gorgias*<sup>56</sup>. However, the majority of people need some motivation to live in honesty – at best it could be religious motivation of the kind offered by Socrates. This is provided by the myth, which awakens hope and fear, and thus may lead to a moral change.

The message of the myth told by Socrates (in the *Gorgias*) is reasonably clear. In its deepest form, it shows that nobleness and righteousness towards other people is an absolute, immortal value, a value in itself. It is also nourishment for the most noble and sublime aspect of man; the aspect that offers existential fulfilment and the completion of the process of creating oneself; at the same time, it enables man to open some kind of a secret door through which another world can be seen – the world of the supernatural and blessed Truth, Beauty and Goodness. Thus, man discovers the mystery of his own happiness.

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<sup>52</sup> Cf. ALBERT 1982: 1–15; ALBERT 1980: 27–38; 96–108; CASEL 1967: 32–40; FRIEDLÄNDER 1964: 182–222; LOUTH 1997: 15–32; PRZEŁĘCKI 1991; See also: HILDEBRANDT 1959; PIEPER 1965; WOLICKA 1994.

<sup>53</sup> We know that the real Socrates was not guided in his life by the mercenary hope of an eternal prize after death, nor the primitive fear of punishment. We know this from his defence (See Plato, *Apol.* 29 A; 40 C–41 B).

<sup>54</sup> Cf. BIANCHI 1976; BURKERT 2001; KERÉNYI 2004; KROKIEWICZ 2000; MYLONAS 1961; REITZENSTEIN 1927; SCHNEIDER 1979; UXXULI 1927.

<sup>55</sup> Plato, *Rep.* 330 D–331 A.

<sup>56</sup> Plato, *Gorg.* 527 B.

On the other hand, this myth suggests that a wrongdoer, even if he escaped punishment in this life, will face the judges on the Day of Judgement; and they, contrary to human ones, will not be misled and deluded by "attire", that is by the defendant's social status and appearances of alleged nobleness. It might be said that such a "court" will correct the errors of the human ones, being their appellate court, and at the same time their last tribunal<sup>57</sup>.

The eschatological myth told in the *Gorgias* should be understood within the context of the thereby promoted Platonic rule of "Do Not Harm", which is the ethical element of the Platonic "care for the soul" (within the meaning of practical ethics), mentioned in many of Plato's dialogues<sup>58</sup>. The rule of "Do Not Harm" is undoubtedly the highest achievement of Ancient Greek ethics<sup>59</sup>. It is founded upon the Platonic concept of the human soul as a spiritual entity. Embedded in this concept is the theme of philosophical initiations, also present in the *Gorgias*. The experience of the supernatural character of the hidden human soul becomes the essence of these initiations. They result in a higher consciousness (an awareness of the supernatural aspect of human existence). In everyday relations with people, it translates into a life led according to the rule of "Do Not Harm". Reaching full consciousness of such a kind is possible only through initiations. "The uninitiated" have to settle for the message of a different nature, i.e. theological or mythological. The eschatological myth falls into this category of arguments. It serves as "an argument for", but also as a medium carrying a certain message and a catalyst of certain inner experiences connected with this message. It is supposed to move not only the recipients' minds but also their hearts, so that they are able to notice the moral and spiritual aspects of human life and understand that what is most important, and, above all, the secret of human happiness, are settled in these particular aspects. And such is the role of the myth.

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<sup>57</sup> Cf. FERRARI 2006: 243.

<sup>58</sup> Plato, *Apol.* 29 B–E; *Phaedo* 107 C–D.

<sup>59</sup> The only higher achievement is the Christian "love of neighbour".

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## CÉSAR ET CLÉOPÂTRE SUR LE NIL

par

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**ABSTRACT:** In 47 BC, after the *bellum Alexandrinum*, Caesar and Cleopatra visited together the country on the Nile. Not much is known about their tour of Egypt, mentioned by ancient writers. Some modern commentators presume that the famous journey was a limited sightseeing tour of the Nile Delta near Alexandria. In this paper, the author attempts to demonstrate the historicity of the grand tour of Egypt in which Caesar and Cleopatra reached the frontier of Nubia. The writer discusses the chronology of the event. It also seems possible that the mosaic from Praeneste (Palestrina) is a reflection of that memorable journey. The luxury travel, Caesar's love for Cleopatra and his apparent neglect of duties as the Roman army commander became a motif which was later applied by Augustan propaganda regarding Mark Antony. This topos found a powerful expression in anti-Cleopatran writings and in the iconography which mocked the *regina-meretrix*.

L'intervention de Jules César en Égypte, dite « guerre d'Alexandrie », a entraîné le retour de Cléopâtre VII au pouvoir dans ce pays. Après la victoire sur le jeune roi Ptolémée XIII le 27 mars 47 av. J.-C. et le retour des vainqueurs à Alexandrie le 6 avril de la même année (ces dates appartiennent à l'ancien calendrier romain antérieur au calendrier julien), César et Cléopâtre ont entrepris ensemble sur le Nil un voyage devenu fameux. Le navire royal de Cléopâtre et de César appartenait au type appelé en grec *thalamegos* (« porteur de cabine », « navire-sleeping »). Le *thalamegos* était un navire de croisière pouvant embarquer de nombreux passagers. Selon Appien d'Alexandrie, le cortège naval du couple célèbre sur le Nil aurait compté quatre cents embarcations : καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐπὶ τετρακοσίων νεῶν, τὴν χώραν θεώμενος περιέπλει μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ τᾶλλα ἡδόμενος αὐτῇ<sup>1</sup>. C'était sans doute un voyage de plaisance, une visite du pays s'accompagnant de tous les plaisirs d'une croisière de luxe. Suétone nous dit que les repas somptueux duraient souvent jusqu'à l'aube : « Cleopatram cum qua et convivia in primam lucem saepe protraxit »<sup>2</sup>.

On évitait la navigation nocturne sur le Nil. Le fleuve était vraiment dangereux, même pour de grands vaisseaux. On s'arrêtait donc pour la nuit, et quand

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<sup>1</sup> App. *Civ.* II 90.

<sup>2</sup> Suet. *Div. Iul.* 52, 1.

il n'y avait pas de résidence appropriée dans la ville voisine, on restait à bord. Naturellement, il ne faut pas nécessairement imaginer le *thalamegos* de Cléopâtre comme une copie du navire monumental de son ancêtre Ptolémée IV (221–204 av. J.-C.). Ce roi, qui avait sans doute voulu impressionner ses contemporains, avait fait construire, entre autres merveilles, un navire incomparable, un véritable palais flottant. C'était aussi un navire fluvial, un *thalamegos*<sup>3</sup>.

La description de ce navire (provenant du texte de Kallixeinos) nous est conservée dans l'ouvrage *Les Deipnosophistes* (« Le banquet des sages ») d'Athénaios de Naucratis, racontant une variété de curiosités. Sa construction différait – selon Kallixeinos – des navires de guerre et des bateaux commerciaux<sup>4</sup>.

Il était bien adapté à la navigation fluviale par son fond plat et son faible tirant d'eau. Il avait une double proue élevée et une poupe façonnée de la même manière. Le bateau mesurait 200 coudées de longueur, la largeur étant de 30 coudées et la hauteur de 40 coudées. Ces proportions lui auraient donné l'aspect d'une longue boîte s'il n'y avait pas eu la proue et la poupe incurvées, modelées sans doute pour évoquer les formes traditionnelles des navires égyptiens. Son mât était haut de 70 coudées. Sur les deux ponts se trouvaient de grandes salles entourées de couloirs en péristyle ornés de colonnes de bois précieux et d'ivoire. Kallixeinos décrit entre autres une magnifique salle à colonnes comportant 20 portes. Ce chef d'œuvre était construit en cèdre odorant de Syrie et en cyprès milésien. Sur le pont supérieur se trouvait un temple d'Aphrodite en rotonde et une somptueuse salle de banquet aux colonnes « en pierre d'Inde ». À la proue, il y avait une chapelle dionysiaque toute dorée, elle aussi entourée de colonnes. Il y avait aussi une grotte artificielle dont le décor en or et pierres précieuses imitait des rochers. Dans cet intérieur se trouvaient des statues de la famille royale. Le pont supérieur, qui était ouvert, portait aussi une salle de banquet au toit décapotable en pourpre. Il est à noter que certains intérieurs comportaient des éléments décoratifs de style égyptien avec des colonnes à chapiteaux lotiformes ou palmiformes. Les éléments dionysiaques omniprésents témoignaient des préférences religieuses du roi.

À l'époque de Cléopâtre, ce bateau merveilleux ne pouvait plus exister, mais son souvenir constituait sans doute une sorte d'étalon pour la construction de bateaux royaux. Il est sûr que Cléopâtre possédait, elle aussi, un navire de dimensions impressionnantes et de décor somptueux. Ceci est indirectement confirmé par l'existence à son époque de grands et luxueux bateaux maritimes dont la description se trouve par exemple chez Plutarque, dans la vie de Marc-Antoine. Les navires de guerre de la flotte alexandrine se distinguaient par leur vitesse. Il est certain que les chantiers navals d'Alexandrie construisaient des bateaux de haute mer et sans doute aussi des embarcations fluviales de grande qualité.

<sup>3</sup> *FGrHist* 627 F 1 (Kallixeinos).

<sup>4</sup> Athen. V 204 D–206 C.

Les bateaux ou barques qui, dans le cortège de Cléopâtre et César, accompagnaient le bateau royal étaient sans doute moins grands. Faut-il les considérer comme de simples petites barques fluviales ou des canots de pêcheurs, comme le pense GERACI<sup>5</sup>? Je ne partage pas sa certitude à ce sujet. Le cortège de César et Cléopâtre était sans doute très nombreux. On transportait aussi des provisions en grande quantité.

Ajoutons que les informations d'Appien doivent toujours être considérées avec beaucoup d'attention. Appien d'Alexandrie était sans doute bien informé sur les choses égyptiennes. Il a aussi écrit une *Histoire égyptienne*, malheureusement perdue, dans laquelle il y avait une description détaillée des événements concernant Cléopâtre et César<sup>6</sup>. GRAINDOR, un commentateur de la guerre alexandrine de César, pensait que pendant le voyage sur le Nil, l'armée n'accompagnait guère le grand Romain dans son inspection du pays où – estimait-il – César n'aurait rien eu à craindre<sup>7</sup>.

GERACI émet avec raison des réserves sur cette remarque, car la pacification complète du pays n'était pas garantie<sup>8</sup>. On pourrait même affirmer que l'idée de GRAINDOR est complètement erronée. Ni César ni Cléopâtre – pour des raisons de nature différente – ne pouvaient se sentir entièrement en sécurité en Haute Égypte. Pour César, ce voyage de plaisance fut sans doute une occasion de pénétrer dans un pays qu'il voyait aussi comme éventuel futur objectif de campagnes militaires. Il était sans doute escorté d'unités choisies. La suite de Cléopâtre, dans laquelle devaient aussi se trouver des gardes, était suffisamment grande pour remplir un nombre impressionnant d'embarcations.

Il est donc évident que César ne voyageait pas sans escorte militaire. Cléopâtre ne pouvait pas non plus se passer de son cortège royal et des transports de ravitaillement. Les barques de transport n'étaient probablement pas petites.

Les sources qui parlent de ce voyage sont très laconiques. Nous apprenons que César fut obligé de l'interrompre en raison d'une menace de révolte de ses soldats : « paene Aethiopia tenus Aegyptum penetravit, nisi exercitus sequi recusasset »<sup>9</sup>. C'est bien probable, si l'on songe aux dangers extérieurs, surtout en Asie Mineure (invasion de Pharnacès). Mais il est également possible qu'il s'agisse chez Suétone d'un topos tiré de l'histoire d'Alexandre le Grand. On peut quand même imaginer l'irritation des soldats et officiers, désireux de marcher contre l'ennemi tandis que leur chef se prélassait en compagnie d'une reine

<sup>5</sup> G. GERACI, *Genesi della provincia romana d'Egitto*, Bologna 1983, p. 35, n. 118.

<sup>6</sup> App. Civ. II 90. Cf. T.J. LUCE Jr., *Appian's Egyptian History*, CPh LIX 1964, pp. 259–262. Voir GERACI, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 28, n. 78.

<sup>7</sup> P. GRAINDOR, *La guerre d'Alexandrie*, Le Caire 1931, p. 160; cf. J. CARCOPINO, *Passion et politique chez les Césars*, Paris 1958, pp. 21 s.

<sup>8</sup> GERACI, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 34, n. 116.

<sup>9</sup> Suet. Div. Iul. 52, 1. Cf. GERACI, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 29.

orientale. Les commentaires formulés à cette époque dans les milieux militaires ont pu jeter une ombre sur la réputation de Jules César à Rome. L'écho de ces accusations se retrouve dans le texte de l'oraison funèbre que Marc-Antoine prononça lors des funérailles de Jules César. Marc-Antoine y défend César accusé d'avoir perdu son temps en Égypte<sup>10</sup>. Encore aujourd'hui, certains savants se sentent aussi obligés de défendre César contre cette accusation de négligence et d'abandon de ses devoirs envers l'État en faveur des plaisirs de l'amour<sup>11</sup>.

L.E. LORD a voulu démontrer que César n'aurait pas pu faire le tour de l'Égypte par manque de temps. Il aurait quitté le pays juste après l'installation des rois, laquelle a eu lieu immédiatement après son retour à Alexandrie après sa victoire sur le roi Ptolémée. Il est vrai que l'auteur de l'opuscule *De bello Alexandrino* passe sous silence l'épisode « touristique » sur le Nil. Il mentionne César quittant l'Égypte et y laissant les rois instaurés depuis « quelques jours »<sup>12</sup>. Ce raisonnement mène LORD à la conclusion suivante : après la victoire du 27 mars, César serait rentré à Alexandrie, y aurait « instauré les rois », et après un délai de quelques jours, vers le 10 avril 47 av. J.-C., aurait quitté le pays<sup>13</sup>. Le texte de Suétone, écrit plus d'un siècle et demi après ces événements, ne serait donc pas fiable, de même que les mentions du voyage qui se trouvent chez Appien et chez Dion Cassius – auteur encore plus tardif. Aussi GERACI, malgré sa position prudente, pense-t-il que ce voyage – qui est un fait avéré – n'a pas dû être long. À l'appui de cette idée, il invoque le texte d'Appien<sup>14</sup>. Le verbe grec περιέπλει lui semble significatif, car en grec, pour un voyage en amont, on se servirait du verbe ἀναπλέω<sup>15</sup>.

César et Cléopâtre se sont-ils bornés à une navigation sur les branches et les canaux du Delta ? Cela n'est pas vraisemblable. L'argument linguistique de GERACI est erroné.

Il nous semble que César et Cléopâtre ont fait sur le Nil un grand voyage, une croisière complète « aller-retour ». Cela justifie l'usage du verbe grec περιπλέω qui signifie non seulement « naviguer autour de... » mais peut aussi indiquer « un tour de visite » ou bien une « navigation aller-retour ». Il faut ajouter que le verbe περιπλέω utilisé par Appien se rapporte au mot « pays » et non au « Nil ». Appien dit : τὸν Νεῖλον ἐπὶ τετρακοσίων νεῶν, τὴν χώραν θεώμενος περιέπλει μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας... « Le Nil » – à l'accusatif – indique le chemin.

<sup>10</sup> Cassius Dio XLIV 46, 2.

<sup>11</sup> « ...his flagrant neglect of the duties of state for the pleasure of love »: p. 19 dans L.E. LORD, *The Date of Julius Caesar's Departure from Alexandria*, JRS XXVIII 1938, pp. 19–40.

<sup>12</sup> *Bell. Alex.* 33: « paucis diebus reges constituti ».

<sup>13</sup> LORD, *op. cit.* (n. 11).

<sup>14</sup> *App. Civ.* II 90. Cf. GERACI, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 34 s.

<sup>15</sup> GERACI, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 34 s.

GERACI met dans son texte grec une virgule après θεώμενος, ce qui change le sens de la citation et semble suggérer le lien entre τὸν Νεῖλον et περιέπλει<sup>16</sup>!

En réalité, il faudrait lire τὴν χώραν [...] περιέπλει. Le passage cité plus haut signifie : « il a fait sur le Nil un tour du pays sur quatre cents bateaux en le visitant avec Cléopâtre et savourant aussi d'autres plaisirs liés à sa présence ».

La mise en question des témoignages univoques concernant ce voyage ne nous semble pas pertinente. L'information de Suétone que César serait arrivé jusqu'en Éthiopie (c'est-à-dire la Nubie) si ses hommes ne s'y étaient pas opposés<sup>17</sup>, laisse GERACI sceptique. Selon lui, une grande distance séparait encore César de ces régions lointaines au moment où il décida de ne pas y aller<sup>18</sup>. Cette interprétation arbitraire du texte ne tient pas compte de la signification de *paene*, adverbe qui précise pourtant l'expression de façon évidente : « il a presque pénétré en Éthiopie voisine de l'Égypte »<sup>19</sup>.

Le texte d'Appien suggère une visite complète du pays. Un tel voyage aurait exigé deux mois environ. Cette période pourrait s'être située entre la mi-avril et la première décade de juin. On pourrait aussi imaginer un itinéraire un peu plus court, une visite de curiosités plus brève et une navigation plus rapide. Six semaines auraient suffi pour un tel voyage jusqu'en Thébaidé. Il n'est pas possible d'en préciser les dates exactes. De toute façon, César et la reine avaient assez de temps pour faire ce voyage. Il a dû s'agir d'un grand périple et non d'une excursion autour d'Alexandrie, à travers les canaux, comme le suggèrent certains commentateurs modernes.

Seul un argument inébranlable démontrant l'impossibilité chronologique d'un voyage de deux mois pourrait nous convaincre, mais tout porte à croire que César a disposé de deux mois libres entre le 6 avril et son départ définitif d'Égypte en juin de la même année. Il pouvait donc se permettre un tour du pays, même un voyage jusqu'à Thèbes, non loin de la Nubie (l'Éthiopie des anciens).

On a vu en ce voyage un tour habituel du propriétaire après la prise du pouvoir. Mais qui était le propriétaire ? César n'avait aucun statut officiel en Égypte. Le conquérant visitait le pays en tant qu'invité de la reine.

Appien nous dit que le séjour de César en Égypte dura neuf mois jusqu'au moment où il nomma Cléopâtre reine de l'Égypte à la place de son frère : καὶ ἐς ταῦτα διετρίφθησαν αὐτῶ μῆνες ἑννέα, μέχρι Κλεοπάτραν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ βασιλεύειν ἀπέφηνεν Αἰγύπτου<sup>20</sup>. Il semble, selon Appien, que la proclamation de Cléopâtre comme reine de l'Égypte ait eu lieu à la fin de cette

<sup>16</sup> GERACI, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 28 et 34.

<sup>17</sup> Suet. *Div. Iul.* 52, 1 : « paene Aethiopia tenus Aegyptum penetravit, nisi exercitus sequi recusasset ».

<sup>18</sup> GERACI, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 34.

<sup>19</sup> Voir supra, n. 17.

<sup>20</sup> App. *Civ.* II 90.

période de neuf mois, donc en juin, si César était arrivé en Égypte au début du mois d'octobre. Cela s'accorde bien avec le texte du *De bello Alexandrino* qui confirme qu'au départ de César, les nouveaux souverains ne régnaient que depuis quelques jours<sup>21</sup>. L'excursion sur le Nil n'a pu avoir lieu après cette période de neuf mois<sup>22</sup>, bien qu'Appien la mentionne séparément. Cette mention se réfère sans doute à un événement survenu pendant le séjour de neuf mois. Dans le récit d'Appien, il faut traiter séparément la description des plaisirs de César en Égypte et la question de la chronologie.

La date de la bataille victorieuse de Zela, le 2 août 47 av. J.-C., est un *terminus ante quem* incontestable pour le départ de César. Avant la bataille, il lui a fallu arriver d'Égypte en Syrie et ensuite – à travers la Cilicie – se rendre sur le théâtre de la guerre.

Le séjour de César en Égypte jusqu'au mois de juin concorde avec le témoignage de Jean Malalas qui dit que César a atteint Antioche sur l'Oronte le 28 juin (ou le 16 avril selon notre compte du temps)<sup>23</sup>. Les lettres de Cicéron donnent un bon appui à cette chronologie. Le 19 juin 47, Cicéron écrit : « de illius Alexandria discessu nihil adhuc rumoris, contraque valde esse impeditum »<sup>24</sup>. Le 5 juillet 47, il écrit : « illum discessisse Alexandria rumor est non firmus »<sup>25</sup>.

Le temps nécessaire à transmettre les nouvelles d'Alexandrie à Rome ne devait pas dépasser trois semaines au maximum, contrairement à ce que pense LORD, qui suppose un minimum de 83 jours<sup>26</sup>. Le séjour prolongé de César en Égypte pesait lourdement sur sa réputation à Rome<sup>27</sup>. Cicéron écrit dans une de ses lettres : « quis enim aut Alexandrini belli tantum moram huic bello adiunctum iri aut nescio quem istum Pharnacem Asiae terrorem inlaturum putaret? » [« Qui aurait pensé qu'un tel délai résulterait de la guerre d'Alexandrie et qu'un Pharnacès pourrait terroriser l'Asie »]<sup>28</sup>.

Plus tard, Dion Cassius, qui détestait Cléopâtre, rédigea tout son récit de la guerre d'Alexandrie pour expliquer pourquoi César, malgré les affaires urgentes à Rome, n'y était pas revenu immédiatement après sa victoire sur Pompée<sup>29</sup>. Au sein de l'armée romaine, les relations du chef avec Cléopâtre devaient aussi

<sup>21</sup> *Bell. Alex.* 33, 3 : « Legiones ... reliquit, quo firmius esset eorum regum imperium, qui neque amorem suorum habere poterant, quod fideliter permanserant in Caesaris amicitia, neque vetustatis auctoritatem, paucis diebus reges constituti ».

<sup>22</sup> GERACI, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 28 s.

<sup>23</sup> Malalas IX 278.

<sup>24</sup> Cic. *Ad Att.* XI 18, 1.

<sup>25</sup> Cic. *Ad Att.* XI 25, 2.

<sup>26</sup> LORD, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> Cass. Dio XLIV 46, 2.

<sup>28</sup> Cic. *Ad fam.* XV 15, 2.

<sup>29</sup> Cass. Dio XLII 34, 1.

susciter des commentaires malicieux. Les amours sur le Nil allaient coûter cher au maître de Rome.

Les rapports de César avec Cléopâtre ne présentaient cependant rien d'exceptionnel. César avait une réputation d'érotomane qui profitait de toute occasion pour avoir des relations avec les deux sexes<sup>30</sup>. Le fait que Cléopâtre fût reine d'Égypte flattait sans doute l'amour propre de cet ambitieux aristocrate avide de pouvoir royal.

Le résultat de cette union charnelle, Ptolémée XV Césarion, naquit en 47. La date du 23 juin de l'an 5 de Cléopâtre qui nous est fournie par la stèle démotique du Sérapeum memphite correspond au 6 septembre 47 du calendrier préjulien. Il n'y a aucune raison de mettre en doute la paternité de César. On maintient parfois que Césarion naquit en 44, après la mort de César, et non en 47. Ces spéculations, que nous n'allons pas analyser ici, sont pourtant contraires au témoignage des sources. Pour les arguments qui tranchent la question, il faut voir l'excellente étude sur Césarion de Heinz HEINEN<sup>31</sup>. L'épisode sur le Nil est devenu un symbole exploité aussi par Cléopâtre. Il semble très probable que la fameuse mosaïque nilotique de Praeneste (Palestrina) soit un ex-voto de Cléopâtre à Fortuna Primigenia à la suite de la naissance de Césarion (comme l'a constaté récemment Guy Weill GOUDCHAUX)<sup>32</sup>, commémorant aussi – c'est notre avis – le voyage sur le Nil de César et Cléopâtre.

Mais ces motifs fluviaux ont été aussi exploités par la propagande anticléopâtrienne, la propagande officielle d'Octavien et de ses successeurs, naturellement sans allusions à Jules César qui, dans son rôle d'amant de Cléopâtre, a été dûment remplacé par Marc-Antoine. Au British Museum, se trouve un fragment de bas-relief en marbre qui a été publié en 2001<sup>33</sup>. On y voit la proue d'un navire avec un homme au torse nu, coiffé d'un bonnet pointu. Derrière lui, on entrevoit une scène érotique qui se déroule sous la voile. La date du bas-relief, fondée sur les critères du style, semble indiquer le premier siècle après J.-C. Son origine est incertaine. Il provient peut-être d'Italie. Le bonnet pointu du marin est un couvre-chef typique des habitants du Delta du Nil dans l'iconographie des mosaïques (Palestrina) et dans la peinture romaine. Devant la proue, on voit le derrière d'un hippopotame. On voit aussi une fleur de lotus stylisée. Il y a même des dauphins, qui vivaient aussi dans les eaux douces du Nil. Le couple d'amants, c'est certainement Marc-Antoine et Cléopâtre, laquelle a été

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<sup>30</sup> Voir p. ex. Cassius Dio XLII 34, 3: ἐκείνη τε γὰρ τέως μὲν δι' ἐτέρων παρ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδικάζετο, ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς τάχιστα τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ κατέμαθεν (ἦν γὰρ ἐρωτικώτατος, καὶ πλείσταίς καὶ ἄλλαις, ὅσαις που περιτύχοι, συνεγίγνετο).

<sup>31</sup> H. HEINEN, *Cäsar und Kaisarion*, Historia XVIII 1969, pp. 181–203.

<sup>32</sup> G.W. GOUDCHAUX, dans : S. WALKER, P. HIGGS (éds.), *Cleopatra of Egypt*, London 2001, pp. 332–334 (no. 351).

<sup>33</sup> WALKER, HIGGS, *op. cit.* (n. 32), no. 356.

représentée conformément aux règles de la propagande d'Auguste : la façon de la représenter dans cet acte sexuel (il s'agit d'un *coitus a tergo*) sert évidemment à humilier la « reine-courtisane ».

Une autre caricature de Cléopâtre VII apparaît sur une lampe datée de la moitié du premier siècle après J.-C.<sup>34</sup> Une femme nue aux traits caractéristiques de Cléopâtre VII se tient debout sur un crocodile. Elle tient une branche de palmier. Ces attributs symbolisent l'Égypte. La végétation aussi est égyptienne. La présence d'un phallus indique le caractère incontestablement érotique de la scène. C'est la Cléopâtre-courtisane qui est représentée littéralement sur le Nil !

Les bruits qui couraient en 47 av. J.-C. à propos de César et Cléopâtre ont largement contribué à un climat social dans lequel les assassins de César ont pu se sentir soutenus par l'opinion publique. Le topos de Cléopâtre-séductrice s'est renforcé avec le temps. Dans la propagande officielle, César et Cléopâtre ont été remplacés par Marc-Antoine et Cléopâtre. Les motifs érotiques rattachés à Cléopâtre ont gardé leur popularité au I<sup>er</sup> et même jusqu'au III<sup>e</sup> siècle. Pour le grand public, le détail n'avait pas beaucoup d'importance, et les histoires de César et de Marc-Antoine mises ensemble ont formé une nouvelle version d'Enée et Didon, à cette différence près que Cléopâtre, dans la mythologie politique des Romains, était toujours stigmatisée comme *regina-meretrix*.

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, no. 357. À côté de l'objet qui se trouve à Londres, il en existe d'autres exemplaires.



L'ÉPYLLION DE VIRGILE SUR ORPHÉE ET EURYDICE  
(*GÉORGIQUES* IV 454–527). PROBLÈME DE L'ÉQUIVALENCE  
DANS QUELQUES TRADUCTIONS EUROPÉENNES  
CONTEMPORAINES

par

ALEKSANDRA ARNDT

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG: Der folgende Artikel befasst sich mit den modernen Übersetzungen eines der Meisterwerke der Antike: *Georgika* von Vergil. Es werden darin drei verschiedene, nämlich französische (Eugène DE SAINT-DENIS), deutsche (Erich EBENER) und polnische (Anna Ludwika CZERNY), Übertragungen des Lehrgedichtes auf ihre dynamische und formelle Äquivalenz hin miteinander verglichen. Die Schwerpunkte liegen auf der Vorstellungsweise der Hauptfiguren des Epyllions am Ende des vierten Buches, des Orpheus und der Eurydike. Darüber hinaus werden in der vergleichender Analyse weitere Komponenten wie der Stimmungsaufbau berücksichtigt.

Un des mythes antiques les plus significatifs pour sa postériorité est l'histoire d'amour entre Pyrame et Thisbé, présentée dans le quatrième livre des *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide (IV 56–166) et qui inspira William Shakespeare pour sa pièce *Roméo et Juliette*. Pour écrire son œuvre, le dramaturge profita de la fameuse traduction anglaise d'Arthur Golding<sup>1</sup>.

Aujourd'hui encore, les passionnés d'histoires d'amour antiques sont, eux aussi, obligés de les lire traduites en langue maternelle. C'est le cas par exemple, du mythe d'Orphée et Eurydice dans les *Géorgiques* de Virgile, poème didactique rédigé en hexamètres dactyliques. Les lecteurs, au moins en France, en Allemagne et en Pologne, peuvent être satisfaits d'avoir à leur disposition plusieurs traductions contemporaines dont la forme et la langue sont différentes.

Les *Géorgiques*, avec leur histoire d'amour surprenante qui a influencé la culture européenne moderne, ont toujours constitué un grand défi pour les traducteurs de toute l'Europe, qui, stimulés par l'esthétique de l'œuvre, en ont fait

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<sup>1</sup> Voir MALSEN 2000 ; RUDD 1988 : 38 ; LERNER 1988 : 121 s.

des traductions poétiques<sup>2</sup>, et parfois, inspirés par la grande œuvre de Virgile, ont même écrit leurs propres poèmes sur l'agriculture<sup>3</sup>.

Cet article a pour but d'analyser les traductions récentes de l'épyllion d'Orphée et Eurydice dans des langues appartenant aux familles linguistiques où il existe une tradition riche et variée de traduction de la poésie épique : romane (français), germanique (allemand) et slave (polonais). Bien évidemment, dans chacune des cultures en question, sont apparues à partir de la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale et jusqu'à maintenant au moins deux, et parfois davantage de traductions des *Géorgiques*, ce qui m'a imposé de définir un critère de choix précis. Dans cet article, j'aborderai surtout les traductions les plus représentatives quant aux diverses traditions métriques dominantes depuis plusieurs siècles dans les trois cultures – prose en France, vers isométriques en Allemagne, hexamètre dactylique en Pologne – lesquelles demeurent compréhensibles pour les lecteurs contemporains malgré leurs dates de parution variables (entre 1956 et 2010). Ce procédé semble être le plus juste pour étudier des traductions provenant de pays dont les façons de traiter les œuvres antiques sont aussi diversifiées. Les évocations de traductions alternatives n'interviendront que comme complément dans l'analyse.

L'analyse, limitée en raison de l'espace à quelques citations choisies, sera subordonnée aux problèmes de l'équivalence dynamique et de l'équivalence formelle dans la traduction. J'essaierai donc de comparer les phrases traduites, « mot à mot », avec l'original, et de voir dans quelle mesure elles conservent le sens des vers. Il s'agira par conséquent de souligner les ressemblances et les différences dans la manière dont les traducteurs contemporains français, allemands et polonais traitent la poésie antique et ses fonctions artistiques et utilitaires.

Premièrement, l'analyse des traductions observera donc les conséquences des équivalences choisies pour rendre le mètre romain (l'hexamètre dactylique), c'est-à-dire la mesure dans laquelle la discipline intérieure de l'œuvre traduite et les moyens stylistiques (*epitheta ornantia*, les synonymes) ont été conservés. J'analyserai également la riche nomenclature des dieux romains, qui abonde souvent en équivalents incompréhensibles pour les lecteurs contemporains. Enfin, la comparaison de la syntaxe complexe de l'épyllion avec celle des traductions me

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<sup>2</sup> Je ne peux présenter ici toute l'histoire des traductions en langues vernaculaires. Il faut toutefois mentionner au moins la plus célèbre des traductions françaises, de l'abbé Jacques Delille, parue pour la première fois en 1770 et rééditée à plusieurs reprises (Paris 1782, 1785, 1809). Dans sa traduction, Delille s'est servi du vers alexandrin, très répandu à l'époque, et, du moins selon CHAUSERIE-LAPRÉE (1996 : 592), « le vers français le plus propre [...] à fournir un correspondant acceptable de l'hexamètre virgilien ».

<sup>3</sup> C'est le cas de Delille qui, après avoir achevé sa traduction des *Géorgiques*, publia *Les Jardins ou l'art d'embellir les paysages* (1782) et *L'Homme des champs, ou les Géorgiques françaises* (1800) qui ont eu beaucoup de succès en France. Pour une revue détaillée de l'influence des *Géorgiques* sur la littérature européenne, voir WILKINSON 1969 : 270–309.

permettra d'évaluer le degré de fidélité des traducteurs vis-à-vis des structures grammaticales du texte latin. Les analyses détaillées montreront ainsi la qualité principale des traductions : art poétique, esprit didactique, clarté ou fidélité par rapport à l'original.

La traduction française d'Eugène DE SAINT-DENIS, dont la première édition est parue en 1957<sup>4</sup>, est fille de la tradition française, c'est-à-dire que la poésie est traduite en prose<sup>5</sup>. Quelles sont les conséquences de la décision de l'auteur français de remplacer les hexamètres dactyliques de l'original latin par du texte en prose<sup>6</sup> ?

Premièrement, lorsqu'on lit le texte en langue d'arrivée, on oublie très vite que l'épyllion fait partie d'un poème didactique appartenant au trésor des histoires d'amour antiques, comme celles des élégies de Tibulle ou Propertius. C'est ainsi que la mise en prose de l'histoire, étant donné son sujet – la passion entre un homme et une femme, dont sont témoins, entre autres, des êtres surnaturels – donne plutôt l'impression de lire un conte de fées.

Mais d'autres moyens employés par l'auteur français accentuent encore cet effet. N'étant pas limité par les contraintes formelles de la métrique, il peut facilement rendre les passages particulièrement hermétiques de l'original plus clairs et plus compréhensibles pour le lecteur contemporain. Les exemples sont nombreux.

En décrivant la confrontation d'Eurydice avec le serpent dans les vers 458 s. :

...immanem ante pedes hydram moritura puella  
servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba...<sup>7</sup>

Virgile renonce à expliquer les circonstances précises de son décès. Il se limite à mentionner que l'épouse d'Orphée a vu dans l'herbe un énorme serpent. Il suggère aux lecteurs le lien entre le reptile et la mort de la jeune fille en lui donnant simplement une épithète, *moritura*. Le traducteur français est plus explicite. Il remplace l'épithète d'Eurydice par une phrase subordonnée où il indique que le serpent est coupable de cette mort :

...la jeune femme ne vit pas devant ses pieds, dans l'herbe haute, un serpent d'eau monstrueux, habitant de ces rives, qui devait causer sa mort...<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Je me sers de l'édition suivante : DE SAINT-DENIS 1995.

<sup>5</sup> La tradition de traduire les poèmes antiques en prose remonte à l'époque de la Renaissance. Un des exemples les plus anciens est la version christianisée des *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide qui date de 1500 (selon BALLARD 1992).

<sup>6</sup> Il faut toutefois souligner que la traduction de SAINT-DENIS a été publiée dans la Collection Budé où les traductions accompagnent la version originale. Elles ont pour fonction de faciliter la lecture dans langue de départ, et par conséquent, restent toujours proches des textes anciens. C'est peut-être la raison pour laquelle même les œuvres poétiques y sont traduites en prose.

<sup>7</sup> Toutes les citations latines des *Géorgiques* viennent de l'édition mentionnée dans la note 16.

<sup>8</sup> Voir la note 4.

En dévoilant au lecteur français les détails passés sous silence chez Virgile, SAINT-DENIS enlève *volens* à sa description un des moyens poétiques présents dans les vers latins. Il enlève la périphrase qui permettait au lecteur de combler lui-même l'espace entre le fait de voir le serpent et l'annonce de la mort de la jeune femme. Mais, ce qui est plus grave, il perd aussi l'épithète *moritura* que Virgile avait accolée à Eurydice pour marquer les étapes de sa vie ainsi que les sentiments profonds que son époux éprouvait pour elle<sup>9</sup>.

Concernant les autres épithètes données par Virgile à Eurydice – *rapta*, *reddita*, *suam*, *frigida* et *miseram* – il y en a encore une par rapport à laquelle l'auteur français ne se montre pas très fidèle. Il s'agit de *rapta*, qui signifie littéralement 'enlevée'. Cet adjectif apparaît à deux reprises dans l'original latin, en mettant chaque fois en évidence un autre aspect du même événement, c'est-à-dire de l'enlèvement d'Eurydice.

Virgile l'utilise une première fois au début de l'épyllion (vers 454–456), où Protée dépeint sous les yeux d'Aristée toute la colère éprouvée par Orphée après le décès de sa femme :

...tibi has miserabilis Orpheus  
haudquaquam ob meritum poenas, ni fata resistant,  
suscitat et rapta graviter pro coniuge saevit.

L'expression « *rapta* [...] coniuge » lui sert à bien expliquer les raisons pour lesquelles le musicien cherche à se venger sur Aristée. En même temps, il met ainsi en valeur le statut d'Eurydice au commencement du récit – elle n'est pas présentée en tant que dryade dont le nom serait précisé, mais surtout en tant que femme d'Orphée, c'est-à-dire de personnage entretenant une relation à la fois forte et formelle avec un homme<sup>10</sup>. SAINT-DENIS, quant à lui, garde dans sa traduction l'état civil de ce personnage mais renonce à l'épithète *rapta* en le remplaçant par l'expression « la perte de » :

...ce châtement, c'est Orphée, si digne de compassion pour son malheur immérité,  
c'est Orphée qui l'appelle sur toi, à moins que les destins ne s'y opposent, et qui  
venge sévèrement la perte de son épouse.

Dans son interprétation de l'histoire, ce n'est donc pas l'enlèvement en tant que tel, mais plutôt le fort ressentiment éprouvé après la perte d'une personne aimée qui met Orphée en colère et le fait penser à une vengeance. Certes, grâce

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<sup>9</sup> L'épithète *moritura* est en revanche bien conservée dans une autre traduction française récente, celle d'A. MICHEL, J. DION et P. HEUZÉ (1997 : 341) en prose rythmique. Les traducteurs la traduisent par : « elle allait [...] mourir ».

<sup>10</sup> La manière de présenter Eurydice en tant que subordonnée à Orphée correspond plutôt à celle d'Euripide qui, dans son *Alceste*, renonce lui aussi à écrire le nom « Eurydice » et suggère nettement qu'elle était la raison pour laquelle Orphée est descendu aux Enfers.

à ce changement de mots, la souffrance du musicien devient plus évidente et plus compréhensible. Le changement de mots contribue donc à élargir la description du personnage d'Orphée, à voir dans son âme et à ressentir sa tristesse. Mais d'un autre côté, avec la perte de l'adjectif *rapta*, le traducteur prive ses lecteurs d'une information sur les circonstances dans lesquelles Eurydice a perdu la vie : en effet, le mot choisi par Virgile montrait bien que le processus s'est effectué d'une manière soudaine et inattendue, la jeune femme a été « ravie » à son existence terrestre. D'une certaine manière, la traduction de SAINT-DENIS renforce encore l'idée de Virgile de pousser Eurydice dans l'ombre d'Orphée.

Le deuxième endroit où Virgile donne à Eurydice l'épithète *rapta* se trouve dans le vers 519 : « [Orpheus] raptam Eurydicen atque inrita Ditis/ dona querens... ». On peut s'imaginer que dans ce vers également, en choisissant le même participe, le poète a voulu souligner le destin tragique de l'épouse d'Orphée dont la vie s'arrêta trop vite, dont la mort fut causée par d'autres personnes ou, peut être, par d'autres circonstances<sup>11</sup>. Son intention était probablement de montrer le musicien dans un état de choc, complètement surpris par le jugement des dieux.

Le traducteur a de nouveau recours à l'expression « perte de... ». Son attachement à cette expression l'amène à cacher à ses lecteurs certaines nuances des derniers moments d'Eurydice sur la terre, et en outre, il crée dans sa version de l'histoire une atmosphère plus larmoyante que dans l'original latin.

Une autre ingérence de SAINT-DENIS dans le texte de l'épyllion apparaît dans le passage de six vers où Eurydice fait ses adieux à Orphée à la sortie des Enfers, peu avant de se transformer en fumée et de disparaître pour toujours. Chez Virgile, elle se sépare de lui sur les mots suivants (497 s.) :

Iamque vale : feror ingenti circumdata nocte  
invalidasque tibi tendens, heu ! non tua, palmas.

Et voilà comment se présentent les deux vers dans la traduction française :

Et maintenant, adieu ! je suis emportée dans la nuit qui m'entoure et je tends vers  
toi des mains impuissantes, hélas ! je ne suis plus à toi.

On peut remarquer facilement que cette fois, le traducteur change surtout l'ordre des mots par rapport à la version de départ. Plus précisément, il met à la fin de la phrase l'expression *non tua* du cinquième pied de l'hexamètre<sup>12</sup>. Ainsi, tandis que dans l'original latin, c'était surtout le geste tragique des « invalidas [...] palmas » qui attirait l'attention par sa position – pour des raisons métriques

<sup>11</sup> *Rapta* pourrait être ici synonyme du participe *erepta*, 'arrachée (par la mort)'. Le phénomène consistant à remplacer une expression développée par un mot simple (en latin *simplex pro composito*) apparaît souvent dans la poésie.

<sup>12</sup> Par ailleurs, il omet également l'adjectif *ingenti*, ce qui ne semble cependant pas changer l'atmosphère sombre de la phrase.

ou artistiques<sup>13</sup> – dans le vers (le premier et le dernier mot), dans le texte d'arrivée, la partie de la déclaration d'Eurydice qui devient la plus importante est celle où la dryade exprime sa tristesse de ne plus appartenir à son cher époux. De la sorte, SAINT-DENIS augmente, cette fois encore, le portrait d'Eurydice créé par Virgile : il devient celui d'une femme qui se légitime uniquement par sa relation avec son mari et refuse la pensée de ne plus lui appartenir après sa mort.

Voyons maintenant la traduction allemande de Dietrich EBENER, parue pour la première fois en 1983<sup>14</sup>. L'auteur y a repris la tradition des traductions isométriques, caractéristique du domaine linguistique auquel il appartient, et que la prosodie de la langue allemande rend possible.

La première impression qu'on éprouve à la lecture de sa version du passage, c'est que – par rapport à la traduction française en prose – elle est beaucoup plus dynamique et dramatique ; on peut y ressentir un rythme particulier. Dans ce sens, elle ressemble plus à l'œuvre d'origine. Mais EBENER a-t-il réussi à garder dans le texte toutes ses nuances et subtilités, ou sa traduction a-t-elle été plutôt victime des contraintes formelles ?

Comme avant lui SAINT-DENIS, l'auteur allemand a fait preuve – du moins quant à la description d'Eurydice – d'une certaine indépendance artistique. Ses stratégies de traduction de l'épithète *rapta* de la dryade se montrent cependant assez différentes de celles du traducteur français.

Répétons tout d'abord le vers de l'épyllion où, dans l'original latin, apparaît pour la première fois le participe mentionné ci-dessus : « suscitatur et rapta graviter pro coniuge saevit ». L'auteur allemand ne le conserve pas ; à cet endroit, il introduit le substantif *Tod*, 'la mort' : « voller Erbitterung grollt er über den Tod der Gemahlin »<sup>15</sup>. La première explication de ce changement tient, bien entendu, à des raisons métriques. *Entrissen*, l'équivalent le plus précis de *rapta*, aurait été trop long pour être employé en tant que complément du mot *Gemahlin* dans le vers hexamétrique – ce qui a lieu par exemple dans une traduction allemande en prose faite par Otto SCHÖNBERGER : « Orpheus [...] wütet schwer wegen seiner entrissenen Gattin »<sup>16</sup>.

Le mot *Tod* permet certes au traducteur de garder la forme de son épyllion, mais il change un peu l'atmosphère par rapport à la version originale. Grâce à ce substantif, EBENER arrive à créer dans le récit une ambiance extrêmement sombre – en fait, en utilisant un terme qui se rapporte à l'aspect biologique de la vie humaine, il ne laisse aucun doute quant à l'irrévocabilité de la disparition d'Eurydice, il lui enlève la vie de manière littérale. Ce n'était pas le cas dans

<sup>13</sup> Cf. PEARCE 1966.

<sup>14</sup> Des informations précises sur les traducteurs allemands de l'œuvre de Virgile, dont les *Géorgiques*, sont présentées dans KLESSMANN 2009.

<sup>15</sup> Je me sers de l'édition suivante : EBENER 1987.

<sup>16</sup> Citation tirée de l'édition suivante : SCHÖNBERGER 2010.

la version latine ni dans la version française, dont les auteurs se sont servis d'euphémismes.

Il reprend ensuite le mot *Tod* encore à trois reprises, ce qui a pour conséquence d'aggraver l'atmosphère déprimante. La première fois, il ne s'agit que de rendre très précisément le participe *moritura* par « dem Tode geweiht ». Par contre, les deux autres occurrences paraissent plus intéressantes, et en tant que telles, méritent d'avantage d'attention.

Lorsque Virgile décrit la situation en Thrace après le décès d'Eurydice, il commence par la réaction des autres dryades. Nous apprenons alors que :

At chorus aequalis dryadum clamore supremos  
implerunt montis... (460 s.)

Bien entendu, l'expression *chorus aequalis*, 'le chœur de même âge', fait référence à l'épouse d'Orphée, mentionnée deux vers plus haut comme *puella*. EBENER, quant à lui, complète sa traduction de la phrase en y ajoutant le substantif *Tote*, 'morte' :

Aber der Chor der Dryaden, so alt wie die Tote, erfüllte  
gellend mit Klagen die Berge...

Cet enrichissement de l'original latin ne se laisse pas expliquer uniquement par des besoins métriques – car au lieu de se servir de « so alt wie die Tote », le traducteur aurait pu mettre tout simplement d'autres formules du même nombre de syllabes, par exemple « des gleichen Alters » (« Aber der Chor der Dryaden des gleichen Alters erfüllte/ gellend mit Klagen die Berge »)<sup>17</sup>.

Grâce à l'option choisie, il souligne de nouveau le statut d'Eurydice en tant que mortelle dont l'existence terrestre est terminée. De plus, il rend ainsi encore plus évidente et plus compréhensible la tristesse éprouvée par les nymphes. Enfin, avec l'adjectif *Tote*, il augmente l'écart entre Eurydice sans vie et ses amies vivantes.

Fidèle à sa stratégie de traduction de mettre en évidence tout d'abord la mortalité de la dryade, EBENER emploie le mot *Tod* pour la dernière fois dans le vers 519 où Virgile montre Orphée, désespéré après sa sortie des Enfers, qui pleure *raptam Eurydicen*, 'Eurydice enlevée' : « den Tod der Gattin beklagend ». Certes, il aurait pu proposer au lieu de *Tod* par exemple le mot *Raub*, qui est à la fois monosyllabique et plus proche de l'épithète latine. Mais il semble que cette fois, l'attachement du traducteur à la « rhétorique de la mort » se justifie réellement.

Premièrement, il imite ainsi un des moyens stylistiques de Virgile, à savoir la limitation du nombre d'épithètes données à Eurydice et leur utilisation répétitive. Comme le poète romain reprend dans la partie finale de son récit le

<sup>17</sup> Cette proposition de traduction est de moi.

participe du début, EBENER reprend le substantif *Tod* déjà employé pour rendre le premier *raptam*.

Deuxièmement, il construit ainsi un certain lien entre la visite d'Orphée aux Enfers et le décès de sa femme. Ayant décrit en détail dans les vers précédents le royaume des morts, avec Eurydice parmi ses habitants, il amène le lecteur à se souvenir du vers en question. Pour la première fois, le mot *Tod* de la traduction allemande évoque des associations très précises. On pourrait presque penser que dans la version virgilienne, ce n'était pas le cas.

Malheureusement, l'imitation fidèle de l'original latin ne fonctionne pas toujours dans la version d'EBENER. Parfois, sa spécificité aurait requis de la part de l'auteur allemand une plus grande indépendance. Il s'agit cette fois de la nomenclature à l'aide de laquelle Virgile compose les personnages de sexe féminin dans son épyllion.

En fait, sur le plan verbal, le poète romain place dans son texte les femmes mariées et les femmes non-mariées sur la même échelle de valeur. Tout d'abord, afin d'introduire dans l'histoire de Protée la personne d'Eurydice, il l'appelle *coniuge*, 'épouse' ; ensuite, il la fait apparaître sous le nom de *puella*, 'fille'. Ensuite, lorsqu'il nomme des habitants des Enfers, il parle entre autres de « in-nuptae [...] puellae », 'les filles célibataires', c'est-à-dire les vierges. D'où vient cette richesse ? Virgile aurait-il commis une erreur ? Nullement. Au contraire, il était assez fréquent dans la poésie augustiniennne, surtout dans l'élégie, de présenter les femmes mariées comme *puellae*, principalement lorsqu'il s'agissait de jeunes femmes. Par exemple, Tibulle donne souvent ce nom à Délie, sa maîtresse, mariée à un soldat<sup>18</sup> : « At tu, fallacis coniunx incaute puellae » (« Mais toi, imprudent mari d'une fille qui te trompe »<sup>19</sup> ; I 6, 15). La nomenclature lui sert d'ailleurs aussi de propagande : en fait, il n'hésite pas à menacer son élue d'une mort cruelle au cas où elle ne lui serait pas fidèle<sup>20</sup>, et cette menace est censée paraître plus affreuse à Délie alors qu'il l'appelle *fille*...

Chez Virgile, la situation est certainement un peu différente, car Eurydice, en tant que nymphe, ne vieillit pas. De ce point de vue, le substantif *puella* ne semble donc pas nécessaire. Néanmoins, il souligne d'une certaine manière la fraîcheur de sa relation avec Orphée ; en outre, il augmente nettement le contraste entre la mort rapide de la dryade et la perspective de la très longue vie qu'elle aurait pu mener sur terre, comme le suggère aussi le mot *puellae* par rapport aux filles d'Érèbe.

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<sup>18</sup> WATSON (1983 : 119) considère que « *Virgo*, a young unmarried female, is basically a term which defines the girl's social position ; there is an increasing emphasis over the centuries on physical virginity. *Puella*, a more general term, has the emotional association of a diminutive and so can be applied to both female children and older girls viewed as erotic objects ».

<sup>19</sup> Notre traduction.

<sup>20</sup> Voir surtout Tibull. I 6, 77–84.



EBENER était probablement conscient des fonctions de ce mot. Cependant, son idée de le traduire littéralement par *Mädchen* pose certaines questions. Citons tout d'abord les vers qui traitent de la morsure mortelle d'Eurydice (456–458) :

...voller Erbitterung grollt er über den Tod der Gemahlin.  
Diese entrann dir über den Strom in kopflosem Fliehen ;  
dabei erblickte das Mädchen, dem Tode geweiht schon, am Ufer...

A vrai dire, aucune des désignations de la nymphe (ni *Gemahlin* en tant qu'équivalent de *coniuge*, ni *Mädchen* en tant qu'équivalent de *puella*) ne semblent correctes dans le segment évoqué. Ce qui gêne déjà à la lecture superficielle, c'est la très grande dissonance entre les deux. En effet, dans la langue allemande, *Gemahlin* n'est employé que dans les contextes officiels, administratifs, ou afin de montrer un respect spécial envers une femme<sup>21</sup> ; le mot appartient donc au registre soutenu de la langue<sup>22</sup>. Par contre, *Mädchen* est un mot presque familier qui fait référence soit à une enfant, soit à une adolescente<sup>23</sup>, ce qui n'était pas le cas d'Eurydice. En introduisant dans le texte allemand deux mots tellement différents, le traducteur change donc non seulement l'homogénéité du style de Virgile, mais aussi le caractère d'un de ses personnages.

Heureusement, dans sa description des habitants des Enfers, EBENER parvient à éviter cette erreur lorsqu'il présente les *innuptae puellae* de l'original latin (476) comme « Mädchen [...] die der Hochzeit/ harrten ». On pourrait même dire que le choix de l'équivalent allemand de *puella* est raisonné. Effectivement, le mot *Mädchen* lié à une jeune fille célibataire souligne bien le malheur d'une mort prématurée.

Ici, il faut rappeler la manière dont SAINT-DENIS résout le problème posé par la richesse des significations du mot *puella*. Il sait très bien distinguer les sens du mot dans les deux vers évoqués ci-dessus. Ainsi, il peuple les Enfers, entre autres, de *jeunes filles mortes avant le mariage*. Par contre, lorsqu'il parle d'Eurydice au début du récit, il la présente comme *une jeune femme*. De cette façon, il ne la prive ni de la jeunesse, ni de la maturité nécessaire pour entretenir une relation amoureuse avec un homme.

Comme nous le voyons, le texte de Virgile est plein de pièges linguistiques qui sont un vrai défi pour ses traducteurs. Voyons maintenant, comment s'est

<sup>21</sup> Duden 1989, s.v. *Gemahl* (la forme masculine de *Gemahlin*), la définition est la suivante : « Ehemann, Gatte (wird gewöhnlich auf den Ehemann einer anderen Frau bezogen und schliesst einen höheren gesellschaftlichen Status ein).

<sup>22</sup> Il correspond donc à la différence entre les termes latins *coniunx* et *uxor* dont le premier est plutôt familier tandis que le deuxième apparaît souvent dans les contextes juridiques.

<sup>23</sup> Duden 1989 définit *Mädchen* (s.v.) comme : (1a) « Kind weibliches Geschlechts », (b) « junge, jüngere weibliche Person », (2) « Freundin (einen junges Mannes) ». Par contre, HERMANN propose (s.v. *Mädchen*) une définition un peu différente : « erwachsene unverheiratete junge Frau », ce qui démontre bien l'inadéquation de ce terme dans le cas d'Eurydice.

débrouillée Anna Ludwika CZERNY, traductrice polonaise de l'épyllion. Sa version, parue en 1956, s'est soumise à la tradition locale qui consiste à transposer les vers antiques, notamment l'hexamètre dactylique, en vers rimés de treize syllabes<sup>24</sup>.

Ce qui frappe dès la première lecture de la traduction polonaise, c'est le vieillissement de la langue qui rend la compréhension du texte assez difficile<sup>25</sup>. En dehors de cela, on note que les vers de treize syllabes correspondent précisément aux hexamètres de l'original latin. On constate donc que la traductrice s'est efforcée de placer dans chaque vers toute l'information de son équivalent latin. Néanmoins, le nombre invariable de syllabes et l'insuffisance des rimes lui ont posé certains problèmes et l'ont limitée dans son élan artistique. Ainsi, CZERNY est souvent obligée de ne rendre en polonais que le sens général des vers, sans s'occuper des détails donnés par Virgile (élimination), ou de remplacer de longs mots par des synonymes plus courts (substitution). Par ailleurs, il lui arrive aussi d'ajouter des mots absents de l'original afin de permettre certaines rimes (augmentation).

Les conséquences de ces trois procédés de traduction peuvent être différentes. Parfois, pour ajouter de nouveaux mots à sa traduction, l'auteur parvient même à « améliorer » l'original latin. C'est par exemple le cas de la réaction des dryades à la mort d'Eurydice. Tandis que Virgile parle simplement de *clamore*, 'le cri', des nymphes :

At chorus aequalis dryadum clamore supremos  
implerunt montis... (460 s.)

CZERNY développe la phrase et écrit :

I chór Dryjad rówieśnic płaczem w wielkiej wrzawie  
Napełnił szczyty...<sup>26</sup>

...le chœur des Dryades ses compagnes du même âge remplit les sommets de pleurs  
et de tapage<sup>27</sup>.

Elle enrichit donc sa version de l'expression « w wielkiej wrzawie », 'de tapage', très probablement dans le but de rimer avec « w trawie », 'dans l'herbe',

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<sup>24</sup> Cette longue tradition est pour l'instant très critiquée par les littéraires qui y voient une certaine menace pour la qualité poétique des traductions – voir par exemple PARANDOWSKI 1955 : 301.

<sup>25</sup> Cela confirme l'opinion commune selon laquelle les traductions vieillissent plus rapidement que l'original. Bien entendu, la langue d'arrivée ne peut pas être considérée comme la raison unique du vieillissement de la traduction. RUBIO TOVAR (2013 : 202) parle encore de la « adopción de nuevas ideas estéticas y nuevas actitudes ante los textos originales ».

<sup>26</sup> Je me sers de l'édition suivante : CZERNY 1956.

<sup>27</sup> Toutes les traductions françaises de la version de CZERNY sont de moi.

du vers précédent. Mais quelles sont les conséquences de ce procédé pour le contenu de l'histoire ? Avec l'augmentation due au *tapage*, CZERNY crée dans sa traduction une atmosphère de chaos et de douleur insoutenable qui domine les montagnes après l'événement tragique ; elle dépeint au lecteur un groupe de dryades qui pleurent et qui clament leurs premiers ressentiments d'une manière spontanée, voire chaotique. Bien entendu, cela fait penser aux situations de la vie où les décès inattendus de jeunes personnes provoquent des réactions similaires. On pourrait donc dire que la traductrice polonaise rend les nymphes plus humaines dans leur comportement que ne l'avait fait Virgile, mais sans changer les intentions artistiques.

Mais il arrive aussi que la dépendance de CZERNY du mètre choisi tourne mal. Ce sont surtout les cas où, limitée par le nombre de syllabes, elle enlève de la traduction des détails pertinents pour toute l'histoire. Cela se produit par exemple au vers 464 où il est question de la lyre d'Orphée, un instrument fait de la carapace creuse d'une tortue. Virgile précise dans l'épyllion que c'était de cet instrument que jouait le musicien pour se consoler de la mort d'Eurydice : « Ipse cava solans aegrum testudine amorem... » (464). La difficulté que pose le mot latin *testudo*, signifiant à la fois la carapace de tortue et l'instrument de musique que l'on construit à partir d'elle<sup>28</sup>, est déjà visible dans la traduction en prose de SAINT-DENIS. L'auteur français qui, comme nous l'avons vu, n'hésite pas à développer dans sa traduction des parties de l'original particulièrement condensées, se contente ici d'une demi-mesure. Il traduit *cava testudine* par 'lyre creuse', ce qui conserve l'information sur la forme de l'instrument, mais passe sous silence son origine animale.

En ce qui concerne la traduction de CZERNY, elle n'arrive pas non plus à le suggérer : dans sa version, tous les détails donnés par le poète latin sont réduits au mot *lira*, 'la lyre', car la contrainte des treize syllabes ne laisse pas d'espace pour une explication plus complète. Il en résulte que les lecteurs polonais de l'épyllion virgilien ne perçoivent pas que c'est aussi grâce à son instrument exceptionnel qu'Orphée jouira de sa gloire de musicien de génie dans la littérature antique<sup>29</sup>. Dans la suite de la traduction, on a l'impression que CZERNY tente de compenser ce manque d'informations concernant l'attribut musical d'Orphée.

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<sup>28</sup> Une définition très précise de cet instrument est donnée par WEST 1992 : 56 s. : « Words for 'tortoise' (*chelys*, *chelynnā*) sometimes stand for 'lyre' in poetry. The size and markings of shells depicted in art indicate that the tortoise used was the *testudo marginata*, whose carapace nowadays grows to between nine and twelve inches in length and four to five in depth. The arms may sometimes have been made from animal horns or ivory, but the usual material will have been wood. They were held fast against the upper rim of the shell by being jammed under one of the cane spars, which in the case of one of the Argive lyres (sixth–fifth century) formed two arches intersecting at right angles and oriented on the major and minor axes of the shell's ellipse. Strings were of twisted sheep's gut, of sinew, or perhaps sometimes of flax ».

<sup>29</sup> KATAN (1999 : 128–144) distingue trois grands mécanismes de déplacement des éléments culturels dans la traduction : la généralisation, la suppression et la distorsion. Suivant ses

Elle essaye ainsi d'exagérer par rapport à l'original latin le rôle qu'il joue pour faire sortir Eurydice du royaume d'Hadès. Mais comment s'y prend-elle? Voyons tout d'abord la version de départ.

Virgile, tout en décrivant les tentatives démesurées du héros pour arriver à ce but (sa descente audacieuse aux Enfers et ses chants magiques), ne laisse aucun doute sur le fait que le destin d'Eurydice dépend des habitants des Enfers. Ce n'est que grâce à leur indulgence exceptionnelle, à leur bienveillance momentanée et à leur reconnaissance pour son talent musical qu'Orphée peut récupérer son épouse. La dépendance d'Orphée par rapport aux dieux souterrains et sa passivité se manifestent le mieux dans les vers 486 s. où est décrit le voyage de retour des époux sur la terre :

redditaque Eurydice superas veniebat ad auras  
pone sequens (namque hanc dederat Proserpina legem)...

Dans ces vers, le participe lié à la dryade, *reddita*, 'rendue', démontre déjà la subordination d'Orphée par rapport à des êtres beaucoup plus puissants que lui. Ce sont donc eux qui décident de libérer Eurydice et de la rendre au héros. Lui, de son côté, ne peut qu'accepter ce geste, sans avoir même le droit de laisser passer sa femme devant lui : la configuration dans laquelle les époux quittent les Enfers est, elle aussi, imposée par leur reine, Proserpine...

Avant d'analyser la traduction de CZERNY, il faut voir comment les autres traducteurs ont traité ce passage. SAINT-DENIS a su garder dans sa version la signification des deux vers, et notamment le participe problématique. C'est d'autant plus intéressant que dans le cas de *rapta*, l'épithète précédente d'Eurydice, il avait proposé un équivalent assez éloigné du mot latin. Mais cette fois, il s'attache à une traduction fidèle. Il reprend bien la forme passive présente chez Virgile :

Eurydice lui était rendue et remontait vers les airs en marchant derrière lui (car Proserpine lui en avait fait une loi)...

Voici comment EBENER traduit la même phrase :

[Orpheus] hatte Eurydike wiedererhalten ; sie folgte dem Gatten  
aufwärts zur Oberwelt, wie es Proserpina festgelegt hatte.

Au lieu de *reddita*, il propose « hatte wiedererhalten », 'avait récupéré', remplaçant donc le participe par un verbe. Mais il faut souligner que la substitution ne change pas fondamentalement la position d'Orphée par rapport aux dieux : il

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catégories, on pourrait donc parler dans le cas de CZERNY de suppression comprise en tant qu'omission d'information.

demeure soumis à leurs choix. Par contre, ce qu'a imposé Proserpine n'est pas très clair dans la traduction d'EBENER : donne-t-elle des instructions précises sur l'ordre dans lequel les époux doivent sortir des Enfers, ou donne-t-elle seulement des indications générales sur la direction du voyage ? Malheureusement, l'incertitude à ce propos n'indique pas au lecteur allemand quel était le vrai degré de dépendance d'Orphée par rapport aux dieux.

En ce qui concerne la traductrice polonaise, elle propose une traduction plus fidèle que celle d'EBENER. Elle parvient en effet à préciser le caractère des consignes de Proserpine, mais en même temps, elle remplace *reddita* par 'regagnée', ce qui suggère un haut fait de la part d'Orphée, un rôle actif de sa part dans la restitution de son épouse<sup>30</sup> :

Eurydyka zdobyta szła za nim w poranny  
Blask, krok za krokiem w ślady – wedle Persefony  
Zleceń...

Eurydice regagnée marchait vers le clair matin sur ses pas, selon les conseils de Perséphone.

Il y a au moins deux explications possibles. L'explication la plus simple concerne bien entendu le mètre : la décision éventuelle de traduire *reddita* de manière littérale – comme 'rendue', en polonais 'odzyskana' – aurait coûté à la traductrice une syllabe de plus dans le vers et ne lui aurait pas permis de conserver d'autres informations de l'original latin<sup>31</sup>.

Mais il se peut aussi que le choix de traduction de Czerny ait été influencé par la version fragmentaire des *Géorgiques* faite trois ans auparavant par une philologue classique, Zofia ABRAMOWICZÓWNA<sup>32</sup>. Cette fameuse helléniste a traduit, elle aussi, des hexamètres virgiliens, dont l'épyllion d'Orphée, suivant la tradition polonaise qui demande une traduction en vers avec, au besoin, la possibilité de créer des vers plus longs, de seize ou même de dix-sept syllabes ; cette pratique, nommée « hexamètre polonais », n'était pas inconnue d'autres traducteurs polonais<sup>33</sup> qui en ont profité également afin d'obtenir une plus grande liberté d'action artistique<sup>34</sup>. On ne peut donc pas exclure que la version d'ABRAMOWICZÓWNA ait

<sup>30</sup> L'activité d'Orphée dans la traduction de CZERNY ressemble un peu à la volonté d'agir déclarée par Orphée dans *Alceste* d'Euripide (vers 357–362).

<sup>31</sup> Théoriquement, CZERNY aurait pu traduire *reddita* par 'oddana' qui compte aussi trois syllabes, mais ce procédé aurait changé le sens de la phrase.

<sup>32</sup> ABRAMOWICZÓWNA 2006.

<sup>33</sup> Voir par exemple ŻYBERT-PRUCHNICKA 2012.

<sup>34</sup> Ce prolongement artificiel a souvent perturbé le rythme du mètre latin et lui a fait perdre sa discipline intérieure. C'est aussi le cas chez ABRAMOWICZÓWNA dont les vers paraissent parfois un peu longs et prolixes. Mais d'un autre côté, cela lui a permis de transposer en polonais tous les détails donnés par Virgile dans son récit. Par exemple, elle est l'unique traductrice qui mette dans

influencé CZERNY dans sa traduction du participe. C'est cependant peu probable, d'autant que cette dernière n'imité sa devancière ni sur le plan linguistique, ni sur le plan stylistique.

D'autre part, on peut se demander si l'indépendance de CZERNY dans son travail de traduction ne va pas trop loin. Peut-être aurait-il été préférable qu'elle s'inspire de la version des *Géorgiques* d'ABRAMOWICZÓWNA, réputée pour sa connaissance de l'Antiquité<sup>35</sup> ? En tout cas, il résulte de sa traduction de l'épylion qu'elle n'a pas conservé le coloris du texte de départ, remplaçant les noms propres latins du récit de Virgile par des équivalents grecs ou slaves. Sa traduction est donc plutôt une adaptation pour les lecteurs polonais.

Le premier de ses procédés de traduction est visible par exemple dans la partie du texte déjà citée qui parle de la sortie d'Eurydice des Enfers. L'auteur romain, pour évoquer la reine du royaume des morts, emploie son nom latin, *Proserpina* :

pone sequens (namque hanc dederat Proserpina legem),  
cum subita incautum dementia cepit amantem...

Il applique donc l'*interpretatio Romana* dans son texte, probablement afin de faciliter la lecture de son public romain. La traductrice polonaise ignore cette petite nuance et se sert de la version grecque du nom, *Perséphone* :

...krok za krokiem w ślady – wedle Persefony  
Zleceń – nagle, niebaczny, szaleństwem rażony!

Sur ses pas – selon les conseils de Perséphone – soudain, inattentif, paralysé de folie.

Pourquoi agit-elle de cette manière ? On peut tenter d'expliquer sa décision de plusieurs façons. L'explication la plus simple est une question de rime : le nom grec de la déesse permet à l'auteur de trouver une rime pour *rażony*, 'paralysé', au vers suivant ; en s'en servant, elle parvient donc à garder la forme choisie pour la version polonaise du poème. Mais de cette façon, elle change aussi la signification du vers en question par rapport au vers latin. Pourquoi ? L'intention de Virgile était de montrer que c'est à cause de la loi violée qu'Orphée a perdu sa femme. C'est pourquoi le poète met le mot *legem* en position finale dans le vers. Par contre, le personnage de Proserpine n'a pas beaucoup d'importance pour lui, car dans les hexamètres suivants, où il fait référence au problème de la loi divine, il passe son nom sous silence et donne toute la puissance législative au roi des

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sa version toutes les informations à propos de la lyre d'Orphée. Son idée de traduire *reddita* par 'regagnée' semble en revanche déjà moins réussie, pour les raisons expliquées ci-dessus.

<sup>35</sup> Anna Ludwika CZERNY était poétesse.

Enfers<sup>36</sup> : « immitis rupta tyranni foedera » (492) et « inrita Ditis dona » (519). Cependant, dans la version de la traductrice polonaise, c'est la reine des Enfers, dont le nom est placé à la fin du vers, qui dicte sa loi dans l'histoire. C'est sur elle, et non sur la règle qu'elle impose, que l'attention des lecteurs est attirée<sup>37</sup>. Par la suite, ceux-ci associent Perséphone à une image de puissance.

Par ailleurs, il est possible que, comme Virgile, la traductrice ait cherché à rendre le texte plus accessible pour ses propres lecteurs<sup>38</sup>. En effet, la nomenclature grecque des dieux anciens, à l'exception de la déesse Artémis/Diane, a presque toujours été mieux connue en Pologne que son équivalent latin. Ainsi toute sa version du texte, qui traite de personnages grecs en territoire grec, paraît plus homogène. Cette homogénéité est encore accentuée par le fait qu'elle renonce aussi à reprendre d'autres noms de l'original virgilien et qu'elle les remplace par leurs équivalents grecs. C'est par exemple le cas dans le vers 519 où, chez Virgile, apparaît Dis, le nom latin du roi des Enfers : « inrita Ditis/ dona querens ». CZERNY pour sa part lui donne l'identité grecque et le fait apparaître dans son texte comme Pluton : « szukał<sup>39</sup> darów Plutona wrogich » [« il chercha les dons ennemis de Pluton »].

Quant à la position du nom dans le vers, comme c'était aussi le cas pour Proserpine, elle est de nouveau à l'opposé de l'idée de Virgile qui met généralement en évidence le dieu des Enfers. Qu'il l'appelle *Dis* ou *tyrannus*, comme dans le vers 492 : « effusus labor atque immitis rupta tyranni... », il met toujours son nom à la fin du vers. CZERNY, en revanche, apprend à ses lecteurs qu'il jouait dans le royaume des morts un rôle moins important que sa femme Proserpine...<sup>40</sup>.

Mais il arrive également que la traductrice aille plus loin, en introduisant dans le texte polonais de la nomenclature chrétienne. Dans le vers initial de l'histoire, où Virgile emploie le mot *numinis*, 'divinité', elle parle de *Bożyc* : « Bożyca

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<sup>36</sup> RICHTER (1957 : 398) confirme la remarque avec les mots suivants : « Wie wenig Wert Verg. persönlich auf eine einseitige Bevorzugung Proserpinas legt, beweisen die Formulierungen *immitis rupta tyranni foedera* (492 f.) und *inrita Ditis dona* (519 f.) ».

<sup>37</sup> En théorie, le mot 'zleceń' qui commence le vers suivant jouit également d'une position privilégiée dans la traduction (cf. DLUSKA 1980), mais il ne peut être mis en relief que durant une lecture orale, laquelle ne se pratique plus.

<sup>38</sup> On peut envisager encore une troisième explication, s'appuyant sur une hypothèse de WESOŁOWSKA 2011. Elle cherche dans son article à expliquer pourquoi Ovide emploie dans ses *Fastes* deux versions du nom de la fille de Cérès : la grecque (Perséphone) et la latine (Proserpine). Elle conclut que le poète emploie la nomenclature grecque entre autres au moment où le personnage se trouve déjà aux Enfers, par allusion aux origines grecques de cette tradition. Suivant cette théorie, on peut admettre que CZERNY reprend le même jeu intertextuel.

<sup>39</sup> Par ailleurs, la traductrice confond ici le mot *querens*, 'déplorant', avec le mot *quaerens*, 'cherchant'.

<sup>40</sup> Avec sa transformation du texte d'arrivée, on a presque l'impression que CZERNY fait partie de ces traductrices féministes postulant « el derecho como traductoras a intervenir en los textos que traducen » (MOYA 2010 : 196).

gniew cię ściga, za błąd wielki płacisz... » [« Te poursuit la colère du Bożyc, tu paies pour une grande erreur... »]. Que signifie ce terme ? Il désigne en fait le Fils de Dieu<sup>41</sup>. Mais il faut préciser qu'il appartient au groupe des archaïsmes et que son apparition la plus célèbre se trouve dans l'hymne religieux polonais le plus ancien, datant du Moyen Age, intitulé *Bogurodzica*, 'Mère de Dieu', que les chevaliers chantaient souvent comme hymne national avant les grandes batailles. Aujourd'hui, presque tous les mots du *Bogurodzica*, y compris *Bożyc*, demandent une explication. On peut donc se demander quelles sont les conséquences de l'utilisation de ce mot dans une traduction qui date de 1956. En fait, je crois qu'à la première lecture, il est assez obscur pour les lecteurs et entrave la compréhension des vers suivants. Mais même ceux qui fournissent l'effort de chercher la signification du mot seront désinformés quant au caractère de l'épyllion. S'agit-il réellement d'un texte qui se base sur la mythologie grecque, ou plutôt d'un texte qui mélange des éléments appartenant à différents systèmes religieux ?

Le traducteur allemand, lui non plus, ne prend pas toujours exemple sur la nomenclature employée dans le texte de Virgile. Plus précisément, il se permet une seule fois d'agir contre l'idée de l'écrivain latin. Tandis que celui-ci présente dans son récit le royaume de Dis (467 s.):

Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis,  
et caligantem nigra formidine lucum,

EBENER dépeint ainsi le royaume de Pluton :

Auch in den Schlund von Taenarum stieg er, den ragenden Eingang  
Plutons, gelangte zum finsternen Hain, den Entsetzen umdüstert...

Certes, cet échange est motivé par le mètre choisi par le traducteur pour sa version. *Pluton* compte deux syllabes et *Dis* une seule. Mais il serait exagéré de prétendre que le degré d'intervention dans le texte de départ est le même chez EBENER que chez CZERNY. Bien qu'il transfère le nom de la position finale à la position initiale du vers, il ne prive le dieu ni de sa puissance, ni de sa supériorité par rapport à Proserpine. Il respecte les fonctions assignées aux personnages par le poète latin.

Cette analyse de trois traductions de l'épyllion d'Orphée et Eurydice appartenant à trois domaines linguistiques différents démontre leurs niveaux assez différents. Les traducteurs, attachés à des traditions métriques nationales, ont rendu avec plus ou moins de succès dans leurs langues d'arrivée la subtilité de cette belle histoire d'amour. Il faut souligner qu'ils n'ont pas toujours été très fidèles à la manière virgilienne de présenter le destin tragique des deux amants. Les changements stylistiques qu'ils ont introduits dans leurs traductions ont été

<sup>41</sup> Ainsi défini par RECZEK 1968 s.v. *Bożyc*.



subordonnés à deux buts différents, soit à l'explicitation des idées de Virgile, soit à leur nette transformation. En ce qui concerne le premier cas, il leur est arrivé d'enrichir le portrait psychologique d'Orphée, de faire mieux comprendre aux lecteurs sa situation émotionnelle après la perte de son épouse, ainsi que de justifier son grand désir de vengeance. C'est surtout le traducteur français, SAINT-DENIS, qui a élargi la description du personnage du chanteur de Thrace. Le traducteur allemand, EBENER, a pour sa part choisi surtout de transformer l'atmosphère du conte et de la « remplir » de la mort plus que ne le voulait le texte original. La version polonaise de CZERNY est un cas plutôt à part dans l'analyse. La traductrice, évidemment limitée dans son élan par le choix des rimes, n'a pas réussi à donner à son texte une qualité homogène. Les changements observés donnent l'impression d'être le fruit du hasard. Ils n'orientent pas la lecture de l'épyllion dans l'un des deux sens évoqués, comme dans les deux autres traductions, mais se rapportent chaotiquement à la fois à l'atmosphère et aux héros de second plan. L'effet obtenu dans la traduction de CZERNY est donc celui d'une absence de vision artistique cohérente. Chacune des trois traductions, indépendamment de ses qualités, a certainement demandé un grand travail à son auteur. C'est pourquoi l'on pourra déplorer que leurs noms restent, dans les éditions traduites des *Géorgiques*, dans l'ombre de Virgile, comme Eurydice est restée dans celle d'Orphée.

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DEFINING PHILOSOPHY (I):  
AN INQUIRY INTO THE INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF AMMONIUS'  
*PROOIMION* TO HIS COMMENTARY ON THE *ISAGOGE*  
OF PORPHYRY (*IN ISAG.* 1, 1–17 BUSSE)\*

by

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ABSTRACT: Introducing a work which forms, effectively, a type of philosophical preface to the Aristotelian *Categories*, the opening passage of Ammonius' *Commentary on Porphyry's "Eisagoge"* (*In Isag.* 1, 1–17 Busse) was originally intended as the very first step in a philosophical instruction. As such, it demanded considerable authorial effort: after all, it needs to account for several, often incompatible demands, such as establishing the authority of Ammonius (without sacrificing that of Porphyry), establishing the teacher–pupil relationship, indicating the *skopos* of the work (but also that of the entire philosophy course). As a result, the opening sentences of the Ammonian proem remain a testimony to the complexity and intricacy of exegetical effort itself, but also, on a more formal level, to the pedagogical mastery of the Alexandrian.

Regardless of the principal focus of his or her interest, a scholar looking at a commentary is put in a very specific position: while the text which has been studied is a product of an individual mindset and, from the structuralist perspective, an independent, autonomous work, it is also a work heavily dependent (for its emergence, overall structure, and character) on the text which is being commented upon. Even more confusingly, it is also dependent on an earlier, quite frequently no longer existing, exegetical tradition<sup>1</sup>. To balance the relevant perspectives, to account for the varied strands of thought and complex compositional and semantic issues is not easy, not even when dealing with a work which would, at the time of its birth, have been considered elementary. In fact, the

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<sup>1</sup> For the importance of earlier commentaries, compare e.g. FAZZO 2004; HADOT 1997; 2014: 136–141, and others. The dependence on the earlier tradition is particularly manifest in the case of commentaries on the *Categoriae* – their proems routinely conform to the preset paradigm, a circumstance analysed in detail by PLEZIA (1949) and, more recently, by MANSFELD (1994).

introductory character may be seen as a complicating factor: after all, the beginning is a cornerstone of proper instruction, an assumption which tends to imbue the relevant texts with particular importance, causing them to be approached with immense care and diligence.

The subject of the present study is the *prooimion* to the commentary on Porphyrius' *Isagoge* produced by Ammonius, son of Hermias, the head of the Neoplatonic school of Alexandria in the early sixth century CE or rather the very opening paragraphs of that work. Providing a basic introduction to Aristotle's terminology, the *Isagoge* proved to be one of the most important texts of imperial philosophy, the text which would necessarily influence the reading of the whole Aristotelian *corpus*. In its own turn, Ammonius' text may be seen right from the opening sentence as one of the more persuasive (not to mention lucid) illustrations of the Neoplatonic art of instruction as practiced in the Alexandrian school<sup>2</sup>. At the same time, the opening of the said work is a treasure trove for one interested in the interplay between hypo and hypertexts within the exegetical tradition: after all, the *In Isagogen* is a commentary on the text written as the introduction to *Categoriae*, the (philosophical) beginner's text *par excellence*. It includes the commentary on Porphyry's explanation of the five concepts of Aristotelian philosophy the knowledge of which he considers indispensable for anyone attempting to read the Stagirite's work (the five are: *genos*, *eidos*, *diaphora*, *idion*, *sumbebekos*<sup>3</sup>), concepts (and terms) one needs to assimilate before even attempting a reading of the text otherwise considered the most basic of Aristotelian works, the very foundation of his philosophy. This particular position results in a nexus of various demands and entanglements of the text: the *prooimion* needs to relate to these particular entanglements in accounting for the specific needs of the audience, but also in paying appropriate homage to the text being commented upon and, in turn, its own points of reference. However, being an independent work by a highly educated author fully conscious of the possible advantages of a well composed exposition, it is equipped with a proem – and this proem, seemingly quite far removed from Porphyry's text, seeks to define and coherently describe philosophy, the very subject of the student's intended study. This is an interesting manoeuvre which will be repeated by both Elias and David: instead of being confronted with Porphyry's text itself, a text which is considered a necessary introduction to what is viewed as a *prooimion* of philosophy, the student is first exposed to a lengthy discussion of philosophy as such, which effectively introduces the underlying theme of the *Isagoge*, i.e. the art

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<sup>2</sup> On the educational importance of Neoplatonic prologues compare HOFFMANN 1998; HADOT 1991.

<sup>3</sup> These terms in Boethius' Latin translation: *genus*, *species*, *differentia*, *proprium*, *accidens*. On the priority of the *Categoriae* in the Neoplatonic corpus, compare e.g. Simplicius *In Cat.* 3, 18–19 K. (“the *Categories* is the first book of Aristotle's which we encounter”, transl. by M. CHASE).

of definition, but also, at the same time, highlighting the notions of the opening, beginning of study. And one may say it is to be expected in the circumstances that such a discussion will be conducted in a most rigorous manner.

My principal interest, however, lies not so much with the whole of the said introduction (this would necessarily call for an extended comparison of Elias and David, as well as for extended analyses of the poetic and prosaic texts invoked in the course of exposition), but rather with the opening paragraph (Amm. *In Isag.* 1, 2–17 Busse). I consider this paragraph to be both intentionally programmatic and illustrative of the approach to be assumed in both the proem and the commentary itself. Hence, while several references will be made to other sections of the proem or to actual exegetical parts, I shall not attempt an exhaustive analysis of Ammonius' definition of philosophy nor an in-depth study of his division of this particular subject. Instead, I shall investigate the composition and internal logic of the proem's opening as an autonomous text set against the background of the Porphyrian and the Aristotelian hypotext.

The commentator begins his discussion innocently enough by noting the overall aim of the introduction (for now, significantly, the *skopos* of the *Isagoge* fades into the background, overshadowed by the totality of the intellectual endeavour):

**Μέλλοντας** ἡμᾶς ἄρχεσθαι φιλοσόφων λόγων ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι μαθεῖν τί ποτέ ἐστι φιλοσοφία.

Since we intend to embark on the study of philosophy, it is necessary to establish what is philosophy.

(Amm. *In Isag.* 1, 2–3 B.)<sup>4</sup>

The phrase employed, μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς ἄρχεσθαι, appears to highlight the notion of beginning: in saying “we intend to begin” rather than “as we begin” (ἀρχόμενους), the author emphasises the intent, the future, the implicitly uncertain outcome of the action. Though such an opening is hardly unique (indeed, one notes a similar opening in Philoponus' commentary on *De anima*)<sup>5</sup>, the emphasis on the intent and beginning may be seen as mirroring the common perception of the *Categoriae* themselves, which are seen as an introduction to philosophy proper, the first step in the study of logic, itself a prerequisite in any

<sup>4</sup> All translations from Ammonius' *In Isagogen* quoted in this paper are by the author. They are far from perfect and serve a very practical purpose of clarifying the main argument.

<sup>5</sup> Μέλλοντας ἡμᾶς τῶν περὶ ψυχῆς ἀκροᾶσθαι λόγων ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν πρότερον περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων τῆς ψυχῆς, ποσαχῶς τε διαιροῦνται καὶ ποίας ἐκάστη τῆς ὀνομασίας τετύχηκεν, κτλ. (Philop. *In De anima* 1, 5 sq.). While the two commentaries share a similar emphasis on the notion of orderly exposition, the *In De anima* appears centered not so much on the order of philosophical instruction as such as on the order of forthcoming considerations concerning the soul. By contrast, his commentaries on the *Physica*, *De generatione*, *Meteorologica* etc. tend to open with references to the sequence of Aristotelian works on natural philosophy (I intend to discuss the structure and content of Philoponus' proems elsewhere).

philosophical inquiry. The success of the endeavour is then portrayed as implicitly dependent on one knowing the nature of the subject being studied: effectively, one needs to know the nature of philosophy before beginning philosophical instruction. Manifestly, the author reminds us of the introductory nature of the text and the instruction therewith contained, a fact that is all the more important once we recollect a somewhat similar emphasis in the text which is to be commented upon, i.e. the *Isagoge*:

αὐτίκα περὶ τῶν γενῶν τε καὶ εἰδῶν τὸ μὲν εἶτε ὑφέστηκεν εἶτε καὶ ἐν μόναις ψιλαῖς ἐπινοίαις κείται εἶτε καὶ ὑφεστηκότα σώματά ἐστιν ἢ ἀσώματα καὶ πρότερον χωριστὰ ἢ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ὑφεστῶτα, **παραιτήσομαι λέγειν βαθυτάτης οὔσης τῆς τοιαύτης πραγματείας καὶ ἄλλης μείζονος δεομένης ἐξετάσεως**.

For example, about genera and species – whether they subsist, whether they actually depend on bare thoughts alone, whether if they actually subsist they are bodies or incorporeal and whether they are separable or are in perceptible items and subsist about them – these matters I shall decline to discuss, such a subject being very deep and demanding another and larger discussion.

(Porphyr. *Isag.* 1, 9–14; transl. by J. BARNES)

Thus, while briefly outlining the scope of his work, Porphyry is intent on emphasising the complexity of the matter at hand: the subject calls for far more extended treatment than that which he is able to provide at the present point. In doing so, he conversely highlights the introductory nature of his discussion – after all, he is providing the student with a sketch of certain basic concepts of Aristotelianism, concepts that are indispensable to any attempt at understanding the Stagirite’s writings. Therefore, we may also compare the opening phrase of the *In Isag.* to that of the Ammonian *In Categoriais* (i.e. to the opening sentence of the commentary on the first actual Aristotelian work to be studied by an aspiring student):

Ἐπειδὴ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους ἐντὸς ἐθέλομεν γενέσθαι φιλοσοφίας, φέρε τινὰ δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰς ταύτην ἡμῖν συμβαλλόμενα ζητήσωμεν...

(Amm. *In Cat.* 1, 3–4 B.)

The differences appear manifest: the *In Isag.* opens a way into the study of philosophical works as such, while the *In Cat.* seems to be introduced as serving a much more precise aim of providing an introduction into the study of Aristotle, a point which is beautifully highlighted in COHEN and MATTHEWS’ translation (“Since we want to delve into Aristotle’s philosophy, as a useful introduction to it for us, let us raise some questions, ten in number”; COHEN, MATTHEWS 1991: 9).

Next (1, 10–15), the Alexandrian proceeds to illustrate the need he had indicated by drawing parallels with instruction related to the two pillars of ancient *paideia* i.e. *grammatike* and *rhetorike*. In the proper course of instruction, he

implies, one embarking on the study of letters effectively begins (*archesthai*) with defining his study subject. It needs to be noted that the two definitions are somewhat differently structured:

[G] γραμματική ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων,  
 [R] ῥητορική ἐστὶ δύναμις τεχνικὴ πιθανοῦ λόγου ἐν πράγματι πολιτικῶ τέλος ἔχουσα τὸ εὖ λέγειν<sup>6</sup>.

Clearly, the definitions differ in their structure, for an important element of [R] remains unparalleled in [G]: while the definition of rhetorics accounts for the specific scope of the lore, the definition of *grammatike* appears to refer to study matter only. One would do well to remember the difference, for it becomes of paramount importance in later explorations. Also, one immediately notices that the two *horismoi* differ as far as another constitutive element of the *definiens* is concerned: while the study of literature [G] is described in terms of ἐμπειρία, i.e. experience, the invoked *horismos* of rhetorics [R] relies on the notion of δύναμις, i.e. power, ability<sup>7</sup>, this latter being further denoted as τεχνική, i.e. participating in the nature of τέχνηαι, the arts. Significantly, neither is defined in terms of science (ἐπιστήμη), while the ‘for the major part’ reservation figures prominently in [G]<sup>8</sup> – at the same time, [R] hints at the stochastic nature of rhetorics, an art which aims at persuasion without ever being assured of achieving its end, a notion emphasised e.g. in Alexander of Aphrodisias commentary on the *Topica*<sup>9</sup>.

Instructively, the two ‘quoted’ definitions are preceded by an account of definition as such; after all, one needs to know what definition is, a point Ammonius is in fact quick to make:

καὶ πῶς δυνατὸν δι’ ὀρισμοῦ μαθεῖν πρᾶγμα ἀγνοουμένου τοῦ τί ἐστὶν ὀρισμός;

How would it be possible for a one ignorant what is definition to learn something through such means?

(*In Isag.* 1, 5–6 B.)

<sup>6</sup> A rough translation of the two would present us with the following phrasing: “G as Grammar is experience concerning sayings of the poets and writers on how they are for the most part, and R as Rhetorics is a technical skill of constructing a credible argument on political matters, its aim being to persuade”.

<sup>7</sup> Compare the considerations on the nature of different sorts of knowledge contained in the proem to *Scholia in Euclidis librum primum* (p. 71.7–72.18 H.). The definition of rhetoric employed by Ammonius (Ῥητορική ἐστὶ δύναμις τεχνικὴ πιθανοῦ λόγου ἐν πράγματι πολιτικῶ, τέλος ἔχουσα τὸ εὖ λέγειν) derives from Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ *De imitatione* (26 U.–R.) and is known to have gained considerable ascendancy in the subject literature, its lifespan extending well into the Byzantine era: on this issue, cf. CИХОЦКА 1994: 18–26; 2004: 77–110.

<sup>8</sup> On the importance of this notion in the Aristotelian theory of science, cf. MIGNUCCI 1981.

<sup>9</sup> On this issue, cf. IERODIAKONOU 1995.

Manifestly, the acquisition of knowledge via *horismos* is impossible until we know what definition is: only having acquired this knowledge does a man become capable of employing this particular instrument for his own intellectual benefit. Also, a point that will become increasingly clear, one needs to know the true nature of definition in order to understand and evaluate any existing *horismoi* or even attempts at a *horismos*. If one persists without this particular knowledge, he (or she) will probably be unable to recognise the true definition at all, or, for that matter, misconstrue the instances of false or quasi-definitions where these latter appear<sup>10</sup>. Ammonius' account of *horismos*, however, contains both a definition (D) and seemingly secondary explanations concerning the actual *onoma* [E]:

[D.] ὀρισμὸς τοίνυν ἐστὶ λόγος σύντομος δεικνὺς τὴν τοῦ πράγματος φύσιν.  
[E.] ὀρισμὸς δὲ λέγεται ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ὄρων· ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι περιλαμβάνουσι τὸ χωρίον καὶ χωρίζουσι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ὀρισμοὶ περιλαμβάνουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ χωρίζουσι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων

[D.] Definition is a brief description which reflects the nature of a thing being defined. [E.] The name *horismos* comes from the transposition of limits (*horoi*) known from land measurement; definitions describe things defined by separating them from all others in the same manner in which those land limits delineate one property from another.

(Amm. *In Isag.* 1, 6–10 B.)

Such a relatively detailed account of *horismos*, mirroring the one formulated in Ps.-Galen's *Definitiones medicae*<sup>11</sup>, appears to contrast with the brevity of [G] and [R]: at the same moment, however, the two seem to fulfill the demands formulated with regard to *horismos* as such. Brief as they are, they do indicate the proper and unique within the nature of the *definiendum* proper, i.e. the art of literary study and rhetorics respectively. Why, then, is the actual definition [D]<sup>12</sup> provided with additional explanations focused on the actual term *horismos*,

<sup>10</sup> As is the case e.g. with the famous definition of the soul in Aristotle's *De anima*, the definition which famously falls short of the demands governing *horismos*, and providing an approximation rather than actual definition of *psukhe* (compare Philoponus, *In De anima* 205, 29 sq.).

<sup>11</sup> *Def. med.* 19, p. 349, 7 K.: 'Ὄρισμὸς ἐστὶ λόγος σύντομος δηλωτικῶς τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ὑποκειμένου πράγματος. ὀρισμὸς δὲ λέγεται ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ὀροθεσιῶν. Significantly, Ps.-Galen and Ammonius are listed as the earliest instances of this account in the *TLG*.

<sup>12</sup> On the account of definition, cf. Platonic *Meno* (72 C 6–D 1): *kān ei pollai kai pantodaapai eisin, en ge ti eidos tauton apasai echousin di' o eisin aretai, eis o kalos pou echi apoblepsanta ton apokrinomenon tw erwthhsanti ekeino dhlwosai, o tyghanei ousa areti*; the thing sought by Socrates in the above passage is rendered by CHARLES (2010a: 5) as: "that one thing in virtue of which all cases of F are F" and corresponds to the *definiens*: yet, in the Platonic work, the account appears inclusive, its emphasis falling on the element which remains common to "all cases of F". In Ammonius, the account appears conversely exclusive, the emphasis falling on the difference or on the separation (*khoridzesthai*) from "what is not F". After all, as duly noted by



explanations which invoke the notion of metaphor and touch upon the nature of philosophical language [E]? The most likely explanation involves the long debate concerning the definition and its relationship with the name (*onoma*), a discussion witnessed e.g. in the *Metaphysics*:

ὥστε τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι ἐστὶν ὅσων ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν ὀρισμός. ὀρισμὸς δ' ἐστὶν οὐκ ἂν ὄνομα λόγῳ ταῦτὸ σημαίνει (πάντες γὰρ ἂν εἶεν οἱ λόγοι ὅροι· ἔσται γὰρ ὄνομα ὀτρωοῦν λόγῳ, ὥστε καὶ ἡ Ἰλιάς ὀρισμὸς ἔσται), ἀλλ' ἐὰν πρώτου τινὸς ἦ· τοιαῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ὅσα λέγεται μὴ τῷ ἄλλο κατ' ἄλλου λέγεσθαι.

Therefore there is an essence only of those things whose formula is definition. But we have a definition not where we have a word and a formula identical in meaning (for in that case all formulae would be definitions; for there will be some name formula whatever, so that even the *Iliad* would be a definition), but where there is a formula of something primary; and primary things are those which do not involve one thing's being said of another.

(*Metaph.* 1030 a 6–11; transl. by W.D. Ross)

Thus, one may infer that in indicating the connection between the term *horismos* and the actual function of the definition, the philosopher hints at the debates concerning *onoma* and its meaning, debates which will be of considerable importance in later discussions concerning the *skopos* of the *Categoriae* proper<sup>13</sup>. Even more importantly, the supplementary information hints at a problem to come, i.e. particular nature of philosophical language, a fact brought to readers' attention in Porphyry's dialogic commentary on the *Categoriae*:

Διὰ τί κατηγορίας ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ καλουμένης τῆς ἐν ἐγκλήματι πρὸς τὰς δικαιολογίας, ἢ ἀντίκειται ἢ ἀπολογία, ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης οὐ προελόμενος διδάσκειν, πῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις τῶν ἀντιδίκων κατηγοροῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι, ὅπερ οὐ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τῷδε καλεῖται τῷ ὀνόματι, ξενίζειν εἴλετο κατηγορίας ἐπιγράψας τὸ βιβλίον;

Why, given that in ordinary usage (*sunêtheia*) the term *katêgoria* denotes the speech of the prosecution against someone at a trial, which is opposed by the defendant's speech (*apologia*), and that Aristotle's intention was not to instruct us about how to argue accusations against opponents in lawcourts, but about something else, for which this word is not used in ordinary Greek, did he choose to violate accepted usage by giving his book the title *Categories*?

(Porph. *In Cat.* 55, 3–7 B.; transl. by S.K. STRANGE)<sup>14</sup>

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the Stagirite himself: ὁ ὀρισμὸς οὐσίας τινὸς γνωρισμὸς (90 b 16), or ὁ μὲν οὖν ὀρισμὸς τί ἐστι δηλοῖ (91 a 1).

<sup>13</sup> On the issue, cf. Amm. *In Cat.* 8, 20–13, 2.

<sup>14</sup> STRANGE (1992: 29, n. 2) is quick to point out that the defence of Aristotle's innovation appears a central point in the exegesis of the work.

Thus, Porphyry feels obliged to highlight the peculiarity of Aristotle's philosophical *Fachsprache* with its terms employed in a way foreign to their everyday use. Consequently, he emphasises the innovativeness and magnitude of the philosophical endeavour, while at the same time underlining its intimate and complex relationship with language. Since similar discussions accompany the notion of *entelecheia* and other philosophical terms, the introduction of an explanatory note in the definition of *horismos* in the actual introduction to the philosophical study may be seen as a hint of problems to come.

Concerning the exclusive nature of the *horismos*, one may also invoke the testimony of Ammonius himself, as noted in his commentary on the *Categoriae*:

ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὀρισμὸς μόνῳ καὶ παντὶ ὑπάρχει, οὗ ἔστιν ὀρισμὸς, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὀριστὸν ἀντιστρέφει, οὕτως τὸ ἴδιον μόνῳ καὶ παντὶ ὑπάρχει, οὗ ἔστιν ἴδιον, καὶ ἀντιστρέφουσι πρὸς ἄλληλα.

For just as a definition belongs to all and only that of which it is definition and is convertible with what it defines, so too a *proprium* belongs to all and only that of which it is the *proprium*, and they are convertible with one another.

(Amm. *In Cat.* 44, 11–16; transl. by S.M. COHEN, G.B. MATTHEWS)

While the thus emphasised need for definition may rightly be considered a straightforward effect of the more general rules of exposition dominant in the imperial era, as discussed e.g. by BARTON<sup>15</sup>, and related to the position of definition both in Aristotelian and in Stoic teachings<sup>16</sup>, it undoubtedly allows for an easy opening and, even more importantly, serves to introduce – almost *en passant*, when discussing the reasons motivating the search – the first descriptive account of philosophy as the lore of definitions. The exact formula is as follows:

δεῖ οὖν καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας τὸν ὀρισμὸν μαθεῖν, αὕτη γὰρ ἔστιν ἢ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιστήμαις τε καὶ τέχναις τοὺς ὀρισμοὺς παρέχουσα.

Thus one should also learn the definition of philosophy, since it is precisely philosophy which provides definitions for all other arts and knowledge.

(Amm. *In Isag.* 1, 15–17 B.)

The move is extremely interesting, for while such an account may be seen as concordant with definitions to come later, it portrays philosophy as a defining science (or, for that matter, a science of definitions)<sup>17</sup>, thus reflecting on what Ammonius will say later on the nature of human cognitive achievements. Furthermore, the notion appears compatible (thus alluding to the ultimate

<sup>15</sup> Cf. BARTON 1994 *passim*; see also the brief outline of MARÓTH 1994: 5–12.

<sup>16</sup> On this issue, cf. CHIBA 2010; CRIVELLI 2010; SORABJI 2010.

<sup>17</sup> The problems involved in such an understanding of philosophy (and related to the Aristotelian definition in terms of *episteme epistemon*) will be subject to detailed discussion at another time.

hypotext, the *Categoriae*) with a notion of philosophy which will be openly acknowledged as Aristotelian and which is later quoted in the proem:

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὀρισμὸς Ἀριστοτέλους ἐκ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς αὐτῆς, ἣς ἔχει πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας, λέγων “φιλοσοφία ἐστὶ τέχνη τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστήμη ἐπιστημῶν”, τοιῶδέ τινα τρόπον πρὸς ταύτην ἰότητος τὴν ἀπόδοσιν.

There is yet another definition of philosophy, one originating with Aristotle, which refers to the precedence it has over all other arts and disciplines: the definition says that it is the art of arts and knowledge of knowledge, etc.

(Amm. *In Isag.* 6, 25–28 B.)

Thus, the account highlights the centrality of philosophical lore, a centrality which would support and sufficiently justify its supremacy among the sciences: as the defining power lies with philosophy, all other sciences prove necessarily dependant on this particular discipline for their theoretical structure – effectively, all other types of knowledge rely on philosophy for their own definitions<sup>18</sup>.

Let us consider what comes after this opening paragraph: having stressed the need for definition, and, indeed, the crucial function of philosophy as THE defining science, Ammonius effectively drowns his reader in examples of *horismoi* as no less than three different definitions appear within the space of a mere seventeen lines of BUSSE’s edition. None of these is the definition of philosophy, the definition which – as we have recently learned – is deemed necessary for any consideration of the Porphyrian work: instead, the definitions are of medicine and astronomy. Each *techne* is described in two ways: based on its subject and based on its *telos*, thus reflecting the previously sketched theoretical overview of *horismos*. Only at 2, 11 does the philosopher return to his main subject by noting:

μάθωμεν οὖν καὶ τί ὑπόκειται τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ τί τὸ τέλος αὐτῆς· καὶ οὕτω δυνησόμεθα τὸν ὀρισμὸν αὐτῆς ἀποδοῦναι.

Thus, we should learn what constitutes the matter and the aim of philosophy; in this way we will be able to find its definition.

(Amm. *In Isag.* 2, 11–12 B.)

It is at this stage that he first points to the uniqueness of philosophy: while other disciplines account for the particular (which results in a relative ease in describing their respective *hule*), philosophy considers the general. The radical

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<sup>18</sup> One is reminded of the theories of Posidonius or Geminus as discussed by DRAKE 1989. The notion returns in a slightly different form in Elias’ commentary on the *Isagoge*: invoking the ease of definition characteristic of literary studies, rhetorics and medicine, he notes: πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσοφία τοῦτο πράξει εὐρέτις οὔσα τούτων καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῆς χρήσεται εἰς ἑαυτήν· ταύτης γὰρ εὔρημα ἢ ὀριστική καὶ ἡ διαρετική (3, 26–28 B.).

nature of this difference corresponds to that concerning *telos*: in contrast with other disciplines which aim at *to poiein*, philosophy aims at cognition (this is quite a shift in the account, for one may easily point out that *poiesis* is hardly the aim of astronomy, unless one assumes the approach of Ptolemy<sup>19</sup>; either way, astronomy is consistently described as *episteme* rather than *techne* by Ammonius himself). It is only once this uniqueness has been highlighted that the commentator mentions the multiplicity of definitions – yet, he is quick to limit his discussion to five, with possible additions. His choice, motivated by an alleged desire to avoid a charge of excessive pride (ἵνα δὲ μὴ τοῖς φιλαίτιοις ἀκαίρου φιλοτιμίας ἐν τῷ παρόντι δῶμεν ἔγκλημα, *In Isag.* 2, 17–18 B.) appears carefully made, set to demonstrate that the *horismoi* of philosophy can be construed according to all the above-mentioned principles:

δύο μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν ἐκ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου δύο δὲ ἐκ τοῦ τέλους καὶ ἕτερος ἐκ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς, ἧς ἔχει πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας

Two definitions derive from its matter, two from its aim; one derives from its precedence over other knowledge.

(Amm. *In Isag.* 2, 20–21 B.)

Interestingly, the closing mention of the ἐκ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς repeats the arrangement of the opening paragraph, where the Aristotelian notion of philosophy as the defining science appears last – it will also return in later considerations (the respective discussion starts at 6, 25). It appears, however, to counter the argument voiced in 2, 4–5, where Ammonius distinguishes between three kinds of actual definition, i.e. between definitions from matter (*hupokeimenon*), from aim (*telos*), and combined (*sunamphoteron*). Plainly, at this point in the discussion he seems to regard the three as equal, with no precedence given to any of the enumerated types. In 2, 20–21 the *sunamphoteron* is substituted with ἐκ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς. Coming at the close of the argument concerning the uniqueness of philosophy, the science of the general, aiming at cognition rather than practice, the change may be taken as a further illustration of this unique character. In accordance with its divergence from the more particular disciplines, philosophy can (and will) be described in terms of supremacy, such a definition being more illustrative than any *ek sunamphoterou* that worked for the other sciences, but would, of necessity, seem repetitive in the case of philosophy (a circumstance borne out in the later discussion of the four respective definitions).

Incidentally, the emphasis on the *horismos* so manifest in the preface may be seen as corresponding to the actual content, but even more importantly, to the opening paragraph of the object of Ammonian exposition, the *Isagoge*, a paragraph which is subjected to detailed discussion once the actual commentary

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Ptol. *Apotelesm.* I 1.

begins (*In Isag.* 24, 1–34, 15). Strikingly, the *Isagoge* opens with a statement concerning the necessary prerequisites of the actual exegesis of the *Categoriae*:

Ὅντος ἀναγκαίου, Χρυσασόριε, καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν παρὰ Ἀριστοτέλει κατηγοριῶν διδασκαλίαν τοῦ γινῶναι τί γένος καὶ τί διαφορὰ τί τε εἶδος καὶ τί ἴδιον καὶ τί συμβεβηκός, εἰς τε τὴν τῶν ὀρισμῶν ἀπόδοσιν καὶ ὅλως εἰς τὰ περὶ διαιρέσεως καὶ ἀποδείξεως χρησίμης οὔσης τῆς τούτων θεωρίας, σύντομόν σοι παράδοσιν ποιούμενος πειράσομαι διὰ βραχέων ὥσπερ ἐν εἰσαγωγῆς τρόπῳ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἐπέλθειν, τῶν μὲν βαθυτέρων ἀπεχόμενος ζητημάτων, τῶν δ' ἀπλουστέρων συμμέτρως στοχαζόμενος.

It being necessary, Chrysaorius, even for a schooling in Aristotle's predications, to know what is a genus and what a difference and what a species and what a property and what an accident – and also for the presentation of definitions, and generally for matters concerning division and proof, the study of which is useful, – I shall attempt, in making you a concise exposition, to rehearse, briefly and as in the manner of introduction, what the older masters say, avoiding deeper inquiries and aiming suitably at the more simple.

(Porph. *Isag.* 1, 3–9; transl. by J. BARNES)

Indispensable elements of actual instruction (including the indication of scope, possible application, and the nearly inevitable reference to the predecessors), as well as the problem of *horismos* figure prominently in this brief, yet sophisticated introduction: as a result the content appears crowded together, the impression being of haste and urgency<sup>20</sup>. The proem highlights the supplementary nature of the work, hastily pointing forward to the proper object of philosophical investigation, i.e. the Aristotelian treatise as such. As a result, it seems hardly surprising that in introducing the study of this Porphyrian masterwork, Ammonius will seek to supplement the actual analyses of the text with an exposition concerning the nature and character of philosophy: this is not only in agreement with a more general 'rhetorical' tendency: it also looks forward to the explorations contained in the *In Isag.* 24 sqq. As the actual exegesis begins, Ammonius emphasises the omnipresent desire for good, relating this desire to the attainment of individual perfection:

Πάντα τὰ ὄντα αὐτοφυῶς ἐφίεται τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἐπειδὴ περ τῶν ὄντων ἀπάτων μία ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τὸ ἀγαθόν. πάντα οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὡς οἰκεῖον

<sup>20</sup> For BARNES (2003: 24), the opening sentence of the *Isagoge* is "constipated" and "ambiguous", a fact possibly explaining the length of Ammonius' commentary on the passage. That Porphyry saw fit to write an introductory essay intended to ease the student into the reading of Aristotle is hardly surprising once we take into account the advanced nature of the Aristotelian text, its *in medias res* beginning, which forgoes any sort of proem or introductory passage (in fact, the *Categoriae* open with a definition of homonyms 1 a 1 sq.). This, at least for the Neoplatonic eye, results in an abruptness bordering on didactic inefficacy (cf. *In Cat.* 60, 2–4, quoted in a similar context by BARNES 2003: 29), a weakness Porphyry's *Isagoge* strives to minimise. For the purpose of the principal argument, one may want to note that in its emphasis on the *horismos*, Ammonius' text appears to pay homage to Aristotle's *Categoriae* (the *Urtext* of the present commentary).

ἀγαθὸν ἀνατείνεται, καὶ τελειοῦται τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον μετέχον ἐκείνου κατὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα μέτρα.

Everything desires the good out of its own nature, for the good is the sole principle of all being. Thus, everything aims at the good as its own, and every being achieves its perfection in participating in the good in accordance with its own mean.

(Amm. *In Isag.* 24, 2–5 B.)

The explanation, one notes, effectively links the exegesis to the content of the proem – time after time we hear that philosophical inquiry constitutes the *teleiotes* of the human soul: this close connection serves to emphasise the structural unity of the work and, significantly, to justify the length of the considerations devoted to philosophy as such.

Subsequently, Ammonius focuses on the meaning of the opening ἀναγκαίου of the *Isagoge* (an element reminiscent of Porphyry’s preoccupation with the notion of *kategoria* in the opening paragraphs of the *In Cat.*) and then proceeds to note: ἀναγκαῖον ἐνταῦθα λέγει τὸ βιβλίον ὡς πρὸς μείζον ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ ἀνάγων (*In Isag.* 24, 19). He then remarks on two possible senses of ἀναγκαῖον: consequently, he mentions useful (χρήσιμον) and necessary as excluding the other possibility (ἀντιδιαρούμενον τῷ ἐνδεχομένῳ, in the sense in which in beings equipped with lungs, breath is necessary for living). One is inclined to think that it is this second, stronger meaning that he has in mind when introducing problems related to the definition of philosophy: while one may be inclined to think that the sense “useful” would be sufficient, such an assumption would noticeably weaken the argument: what Ammonius is striving to indicate is that it is essential to know what one is discussing before starting the actual exposition.

The above discussion was intended to portray the internal dynamics of Ammonius’ commentary, but also to highlight the peculiar position of the commentary’s proem as an introduction to the exegesis of an existing text as well as a highly sophisticated work of rhetorical proficiency in its own right. The analysis reveals the consistent care that was exercised in the composition of the work right from its very beginning, the attention to detail which foreshadows that of the actual exegetical effort and the subtle mechanisms of persuasion at work in the commentary. It also highlights the individuality of the authorial voice in a somewhat hostile milieu: in a commentary the author remains in constant negotiation with the primary text and the commentary tradition as such, his choices being necessarily influenced by the dynamics of both the text and earlier, existing tradition, but also reflecting his own priorities that govern the actual commentary.

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THE TREES OF THE SUN AND MOON IN THE *ALEXANDER  
ROMANCE* (III 17): GENUINE INDIAN DETAIL?\*

by

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ABSTRACT: The visit of Alexander the Great to the Oracular Trees in the *Alexander Romance* is easily regarded as pure fantasy; and the names given to the trees are plainly corrupt in the earliest MS (A). This paper argues that the episode could reflect a visit by the originator of the account, who will have been a member of Alexander's entourage, to a real sacred grove in India. The writer argues that the description of the grove and the trees bears many resemblances to what is known and can be observed of present-day tree worship in northern India. The possibility that the male and female trees may be a pipal and a neem is employed to suggest that the names, now corrupt, were originally something like Vasu(deva) and Ma, gods commonly associated with these two trees. Furthermore, at the present day Indians frequently assert that trees communicate with them or 'speak' to them; such an idea would have been startling to a Greek, who could well have used it to construct a story that the trees speak 'oracles', even though oracular practices are not otherwise found in Indian religion, past or present.

Among the many Indian trees described by the writers on Alexander's expedition, two stand out for their oddity: the oracular Trees of the Sun and Moon in *AR* III17<sup>1</sup>. The passage forms part of Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India, and is present in all recensions of the *AR*<sup>2</sup>. Though the letter as a whole is somewhat lacunose in A, the passage about the trees is present in full with only one apparent corruption. The episode also appears, in slightly different form, in the Latin *Letter to Aristotle about India*<sup>3</sup>. The Latin is generally supposed to

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\* I have benefited from discussions of earlier drafts with Richard SEAFORD and Aleksandra SZALC, as well as from the acute observations of an anonymous reader regarding Indological matters.

<sup>1</sup> Currently the only available edition of the oldest recension, α, which is represented by a single MS (A), is that of W. KROLL, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, Berlin 1958. Volume III of the new edition by R. STONEMAN and T. GARGIULO, containing Book III of the *AR* (with the Latin *Letter*, Palladius' *De Bragmanibus*, and the papyri and single inscription), is still forthcoming.

<sup>2</sup> For a full discussion of the recensions of the *AR*, see R. STONEMAN, *The Greek Alexander Romance*, Harmondsworth 1991, pp. 28–32, and idem, *Il romanzo di Alessandro*, Milano 2007, vol. I, pp. LXXXIII–LXXXVIII.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by F. PFISTER, *Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman*, Heidelberg 1910, pp. 21–37; translated in R. STONEMAN, *Legends of Alexander the Great*, London 2012, pp. 3–19. Different oracles are given from those in the *AR*.

be a translation of a lost Greek original of which the account in A and the later recensions is an abridgement<sup>4</sup>.

For the purposes of my argument here, I shall concentrate on the earliest version, that of A, and the adaptation of that in the *Latin Letter*, which is independent of any of the later Greek recensions. In A, the passage in question describes how, after Alexander's conquest of India,

Some of the wise men of the kingdom came and said, "Your majesty, we have something to show you which deserves your special attention. We will show you the trees that speak with a human voice". And they brought Alexander to a *paradeisos*<sup>5</sup> where there was a sanctuary of the Sun and the Moon. There was a guardpost here, and two trees closely resembling cypresses<sup>6</sup>. Around these stood trees that resembled what in Egypt is called the myrrh-nut<sup>7</sup>, and their fruits were also similar. The two trees in the middle of the garden spoke, the one with a man's voice, the other with a woman's<sup>8</sup>. The name of the male one was Sun, and of the female one Moon, or in their own language, *Mouthou emausai*.

Offerings may have been made to the trees since they are surrounded by the skins of lions and panthers, though it is perhaps more likely that these are for sitting on to meditate, particularly as the skins are of female animals for the female tree, male for the male tree. (In present-day India, sadhus, holy men, are normally exhorted to sit on animal skins for meditation.)<sup>9</sup> No iron is allowed to be brought into the sanctuary, and in the *Latin Letter* further elements of ritual purity are also required: Alexander and his companions have to remove their rings, clothes and shoes, and to kiss the trees and request a prophetic utterance.

The episode seems to have been known to Philostratus, who clearly evokes it when the Indian king addresses a tree: "You tree there [...] speak to the wise Apollonius"<sup>10</sup>. It is also parodied by Lucian<sup>11</sup>, who describes vines in India which can speak Lydian, Indian and Greek: men must beware of kissing them, because they instantly become very drunk.

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<sup>4</sup> See STONEMAN, *Legends...* (n. 3), pp. XXII–XXIV.

<sup>5</sup> In later recensions it is simply a "place".

<sup>6</sup> The Greek text is somewhat disordered but not unclear: εἷς τινα παράδεισον, ἔνθα ἥλιος καὶ [ἡ] σελήνη ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου. Κατὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς φρουρὰ ἱερὸν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης. Later recensions rearrange the order of words.

<sup>7</sup> This is the myrobalan tree, or amala/ambla/amblaki in Hindi. The *Latin Letter* makes it opobalsamum, *Commiphora opobalsamum*, i.e. balm of Gilead: presumably the author of this version was unfamiliar with the myrobalan.

<sup>8</sup> A: ἀρρένων [...] θηλείων λογισμῶ.

<sup>9</sup> D. HARTSUIKER, *Sadhus*, London 2014, p. 125. The Sanskrit author Panini (probably fourth century BC), in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* IV 2, 12 and IV 84 refers to the use of leopard and tiger skins as upholstery for chariots.

<sup>10</sup> Philostr. *VA* VI 10, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Lucian. *VHI* 1, 8.

The episode may easily be dismissed as pure fantasy. The names of the trees are clearly corrupt; as in so many places, the scribe of A, unsure of the text he was copying, put down a string of letters that made no sense<sup>12</sup>. A gives *μουθου εμαουσαι*, R and B have *μουθεα μαθους* (C omits the name, as does the Latin *Letter*). It should be noted that the Armenian version, made probably in the fifth century and thus using an earlier Greek text than that of the 10<sup>th</sup> century A, transliterates the expression as *mouthouam avousa*<sup>13</sup>. (KROLL, using RAABE'S retroversion of the Armenian into Greek, read this as *mouthonam aousa*.) The Syriac gives the names as Mitora and Mayosa<sup>14</sup>. Adolf AUSFELD<sup>15</sup> proposed that the expression might conceal the names of the Iranian gods Mithras and Mao; however, there is no obvious reason why Iranian gods should be involved in this episode and the explanation fails to convince. A better solution is to hand which relates the episode to the *Realien* of Indian religion and may enable us to restore the text.

David HABERMAN, in his fine book *People Trees*<sup>16</sup> describes religious practice in modern India relating to a number of trees, including the pipal (ashvattha), banyan (*vata*), bilva or wood apple, neem (*nimba*) and amlaki or myrobalan<sup>17</sup>. The latter, *phyllanthus emblica* or Indian gooseberry, is "generally considered to be a form of the goddess Mother Earth, who is worshipped in this form to destroy sins, insure [sic] health and safety for the family, and help attain individually desired ends"<sup>18</sup>. This tree is thus entirely suitable to be the inhabitant of a sacred grove<sup>19</sup>. However, none of the other four trees looks like anything like a cypress, though all receive cult (*pūja*) in various forms. Commonly, women bind their

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<sup>12</sup> The exemplar from which the scribe of A worked was clearly a poor one. At 41, 12 he notes there are two pages missing in his copy. In other places he could not read what was in it: for example, the list of proper names at 2, 2 is severely garbled, and in some places the scribe simply put a series of strokes, *////*, in place of letters he could not read in his exemplar. The horoscope in I 12 (396 v in the MS) is largely gibberish, and the exemplar was clearly no better, since the scribes of later MSS, from the β recension onwards, omitted it entirely. In other places they tried to reconstruct what the exemplar might have said, with varying degrees of success. Proper names are naturally particularly vulnerable to corruption of this kind.

<sup>13</sup> A.M. WOLOHOJIAN, *The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes*, New York 1969, p. 129.

<sup>14</sup> E.A.W. BUDGE, *History of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1889, p. 104.

<sup>15</sup> A. AUSFELD, *Der griechische Alexanderroman*, Leipzig 1907, p. 94.

<sup>16</sup> D. HABERMAN, *People Trees: Tree Worship in Northern India*, Oxford 2013.

<sup>17</sup> Even banana and kadamba trees are sometimes honoured: HABERMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 16), pp. 54–56.

<sup>18</sup> HABERMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 54, cf. p. 187. See also S. MENON, *Trees of India*, Hong Kong 2000, p. 68: "The amla is a sacred tree for many Hindus and amla-pūja is common in some parts of India".

<sup>19</sup> On sacred groves in general, see N. KRISHNA, M. AMIRTHALINGAM, *Sacred Plants of India*, Gurgaon 2014, pp. 53–57; K. MALHOTRA, Y. GOKALE, K. DAS, *Sacred Groves of India: An Annotated Bibliography*, New Delhi 2000.

trunks with red and yellow thread to pray for the prosperity of their families. They pray to them, bow before them, make offerings of marigolds (since animal sacrifice is no longer practised in most parts of India), circumambulate them, kiss them, paint them red (as in the case of a *Kṛṣṇa* tree in Varanasi) and make wishes at them. Several of these practices are echoed in the Alexander episode, including, in the Latin version, the injunction to pray silently to the trees and to kiss them, as well as Alexander's proposal in the *Romance* to deck the trees with garlands. Wishing trees, to be sure, occur in many cultures, and in Muslim countries (and even at Glastonbury, England) it is common to see trees hung with scraps of paper or cloth representing prayers.

The idea of offering worship to a tree is thus a normal one in present-day Indian religion<sup>20</sup>. Furthermore, such attitudes can be traced back to earliest times. *Ṛg Veda* X 146, 6 is a beautiful hymn to Aranyani, goddess of the forest, "the Mother of all sylvan things, who tills not but hath stores of food"<sup>21</sup>. *RV* X 97, 4 f. runs:

O mothers, called "plants", o goddesses, I implore you in this way:  
 "Might I gain a horse, a cow, a garment, in gaining [= curing] your very self, O man".  
 Your seat is in the *aśvattha*-tree; your nest is made in the *parṇa*-tree:  
 you will surely get a share in the cow when you will gain [= cure] the man.

The ashvattha or pipal tree is *ficus religiosa*, while *parṇa*, generally just meaning "leaf", is often applied specifically to *Butea monosperma*, Flame of the forest<sup>22</sup>. *RV* VII 35, 5 says: "Luck for us be the plant, the trees; luck be the victorious lord of the dusky realm".

Tree worship was conspicuous enough to impress the Alexander historians as well, since Quintus Curtius (we cannot say which of Alexander's companion he got the information from) refers to the "divine status of trees" in India<sup>23</sup>.

In view of the longevity of many customs in India, and the static nature of its culture, I believe it is worth employing data about present-day practices to see whether they can illuminate what we are told of the practice in antiquity. There is naturally a risk in such a proceeding, and it is undoubtedly true that what is now called "Hinduism" did not exist in Alexander's day: but it is precisely the practices of "village Hinduism" that can be traced back furthest in Indian history<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> HABERMAN'S research relates mainly to Varanasi and Bodhgaya, but the phenomenon may be observed throughout India, and traced back to Indus Valley times: HABERMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 16), pp. 48–57; KRISHNA, AMIRTHALINGAM, *op. cit.* (n. 19), pp. 12–36.

<sup>21</sup> S.W. JAMISON, J.P. BRERETON, *The Rigveda: The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*, vols. I–III, Oxford 2014.

<sup>22</sup> I thank the anonymous reader for this detail.

<sup>23</sup> Curt. VIII 9, 34. On tree worship in the post-Vedic period, see the chapter in KRISHNA, AMIRTHALINGAM, *op. cit.* (n. 19), pp. 17–32.

<sup>24</sup> A. PARPOLA, *The Roots of Hinduism: The Early Aryans and the Indus Civilization*, Oxford 2015, p. 306. The author specifies beliefs and practices relating to trees and crocodiles as particularly enduring.

The approach was practised with interesting results for Greek religion by J.C. LAWSON<sup>25</sup>, and what follows is an attempt offered in a similar spirit regarding Indian religion.

Of the many sacred trees in India, two stand out for importance, the pipal and the neem. The pipal is perhaps the holiest tree in India, further sanctified by its association with the Buddha, who achieved enlightenment sitting under the one at Bodhgaya, known as the bodhi tree. It is regarded as a masculine tree<sup>26</sup>. The neem is widely regarded as a beneficent and friendly tree, and is usually thought of as feminine<sup>27</sup>. Many trees in fact have a feminine aspect, being the home of a yakshi or (feminine) tree spirit. (Yakshas, masculine, are also common.)

HABERMAN describes a conversation with two Hindu workers who were in charge of sweeping the temple at Bodhgaya:

For us there are two sacred trees. One is a god [*devata*]; the other is a goddess [*devi*]. The first is the pipal; the second is the neem. The pipal is Vasudeva; the neem tree is Shervahani<sup>28</sup>.

The pipal is conceived as the form of one or other god, normally Vishnu. An informant told HABERMAN that the pipal tree is regularly conceived as being Vasudeva<sup>29</sup>. It is either the residence or, more commonly, the embodied form, of Vasudeva<sup>30</sup>. “The great wonder is that the gods take the form of trees [...]. Vishnu is the tree itself. It is the form of Vishnu”<sup>31</sup>.

“Shervahani”, which means “she who rides a tiger”, generally refers to Durga, but in his conversation HABERMAN elicited that the neem (*azadirachta indica*) could also be the goddess Shitala<sup>32</sup>; furthermore, an informant in Varanasi (Banaras) told him that the neem tree growing in the middle of his sweet shop was Ma, the Mother, who might take the form of Durga or Shitala or indeed another goddess. Many people simply address the neem tree as “Nima Mai, Neem

<sup>25</sup> J.C. LAWSON, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Cambridge 1910.

<sup>26</sup> MENON, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 105; Haberman, *op. cit.* (n. 16), chapters 3 and 4.

<sup>27</sup> KRISHNA, AMIRTHALINGAM, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 209, note that it is often masculine in Rajasthan and the Punjab, so that women conceal their faces when passing a neem tree.

<sup>28</sup> HABERMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 139; see also p. 103.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103. The informant stated “all pipal trees are sacred [*pavitra*] as they are a form of Vasudeva”. HABERMAN (p. 105) generalises that Hindus most commonly view pipal trees as “as an embodied form of Vishnu”.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>31</sup> *Skanda Purana* 152.1, quoted in HABERMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 16), pp. 31 and 51. The idea of the World Tree may also be present here: see *RV* I 24, 7. In a popular myth (KRISHNA, AMIRTHALINGAM, *op. cit.* [n. 19], p. 21), the gods are said to live in trees because of a curse laid on them by Parvati.

<sup>32</sup> Sometimes, too, she is Kali, or Vana Durga, the “forest goddess”: KRISHNA, AMIRTHALINGAM, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 209.

Mother”<sup>33</sup>. In the period when Alexander visited India, most of the Hindu divinities known at the present day (Vishnu, Shiva, Durga) had not emerged as distinct individuals; however, the generic names Vasu and Mother were widespread and are exemplified in the Vedas and Brahmanas<sup>34</sup>. Sometimes the trees even intertwine, or are said to be “married”<sup>35</sup>.

Can the names Vāsu(deva) and Ma (or the corresponding Sanskrit *mātā*, late Prakrit *māī*) be concealed in the *AR*’s *mouthouam avousa*? (“Deva” is simply a suffix meaning “god”). I am tempted to restore an original text something like Μα θεα (or Μαθα) και Υασου (or Ουασου)<sup>36</sup>. The unfamiliar names, Ma and Vasu, could easily be garbled, as has occurred often in A. Palaeographically the corruption is easy to envision: ΜΑΘΕΑΚΑΙΟΥΑΣΟΥ becomes ΜΟΥΘΕΑΜΑΥΟΥΣΑ. It is even possible that a Greek ear heard MA as MOU and wrote the name down accordingly, just as Greek Omphis probably represents an original Ambhi, and Paurava became Porus (but with ω rather than ου)<sup>37</sup>. The oracular trees would therefore be the (male) pipal and the (female) neem.

The *AR* makes explicit not only that the trees are male and female but that they are trees of the sun and moon respectively. The most obvious source for this detail is the reference by Ctesias<sup>38</sup> to a sanctuary of the Sun and Moon somewhere in the “uninhabitable region” of India. However, it is notable that the author of the *Alexander Romance* elsewhere avoided introducing wonders that had already appeared in Ctesias, so this may be an independent contribution, and it is worth looking for Indian sources<sup>39</sup>. The pipal is sometimes said to be “the abode of the Sun on earth”<sup>40</sup> and is associated with the sacred fire: in kindling the sacrificial fire

<sup>33</sup> HABERMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 138, see also p. 186; KRISHNA, AMIRTHALINGAM, *op. cit.* (n. 19), pp. 209 f.

<sup>34</sup> See for example D.L. ECK, *Banaras: City of Light*, Gurgaon 1983, pp. 60–65; J. BASU, *India of the Age of the Brahmanas*, Calcutta 1969, pp. 191–202.

<sup>35</sup> HABERMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 156. In the eleventh century Persian *Shahnameh* the trees visited by Alexander are said to twine together into a single tree, one trunk being male and the other female. See the translation by Dick DAVIS (Harmondsworth 2006, p. 517). Pliny’s account (*NH* XVI 162) of the two forms of bamboo, male and female, is probably irrelevant here.

<sup>36</sup> But I have not found any instance of Skt/Prkt [t] becoming θ in Greek.

<sup>37</sup> Other distortions of Indian names are plentiful in the Alexander historians. For example, Krishnapura became Cleisobora. For a comprehensive list of identifications, see A.M. SHASTRI, *Varahamihira’s India*, New Delhi 1996, pp. 74–94.

<sup>38</sup> *FGrH* 688 F 45, 17.

<sup>39</sup> Even if it does derive from Ctesias, one might argue that Ctesias’ report had also to be based on some Indian reality. See further K. KARTTUNEN, *India in Early Greek Literature*, Helsinki 1989, p. 220, citing L. GUNDERSON, *Alexander’s Letter to Aristotle about India*, Meisenheim am Glan 1980, pp. 111 f. A. NICHOLS, *Ctesias: On India*, London 2011, pp. 106 f., thinks the report is probably authentic; D. LENFANT, *Ctesias de Cnide*, Paris 2004, pp. 303–305, is dubious. See also HABERMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 16), pp. 107, 125.

<sup>40</sup> HABERMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 68.

“the friction drill was made from pipal wood and was considered male, whereas the friction pan was made from sami wood and considered female”<sup>41</sup>.

I have not been able to discover any corresponding match between the neem tree and the moon. The Moon is generally male or masculine in India. However, it is not hard to suppose that a Greek, with his inbuilt “polar” habits of thinking<sup>42</sup>, on hearing that one of a pair of trees was that of the Sun, would instantly assume that the other was that of the Moon<sup>43</sup>. Certainly the pipal is a tree of the daytime, which people often fear to approach at night because it is the home of ghosts (Skt *bhuta*). “People only visit and worship the pipal tree during the day, especially during the morning hours”<sup>44</sup>.

The neem tree, on the other hand, is a friendly tree, which people love to have close to their houses. One common form of Ma is as Shitala, “the smallpox goddess”, whose functions extend much more widely to protection of children and health in general. The pipal is worshipped because it is beneficial to the soul, the neem for good health, and the banyan for long life<sup>45</sup>. “To most Indians, the neem has for centuries been the symbol of good health and harbinger of good times”<sup>46</sup>.

It seems then highly likely that the author of this episode of the *Alexander Romance* was writing out of first hand knowledge acquired on a visit to a sacred grove containing a pipal and a neem tree, identified to him as Vasu and Ma(ta), and perhaps associated also with day and night *pūja* respectively. It would be reasonable to assume that the passage derives from a writer who travelled with Alexander, and tried to describe what he saw<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72. The sami (or shami, or khejari; *prosopis spicigera*), the Indian mesquite, also has a number of religious associations besides its importance in creating fire: KRISHNA, AMIRTHALINGAM *op. cit.* (n. 19), pp. 171–175. W. DONIGER O’FLAHERTY, *Śiva, the Erotic Ascetic*, Oxford 1981, p. 284, notes that Agni, the fire-god, hides in a śami tree.

<sup>42</sup> G.E.R. LLOYD, *Polarity and Analogy. Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought*, Cambridge 1966.

<sup>43</sup> Oppositions between Sun and Moon do occur in Indian religion: for example, the god Shiva, who wears the moon in his hair, is celebrated in the annual Shaiva-ratri by night at the new moon in January/February, while Rama, an avatar of the Sun god, is celebrated at noon in March or April. See HARTSUIKER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), pp. 116 f. Bardesanes (*FGrH* 719 F 1, 2) refers to an androgynous statue adorned with engravings of Sun and Moon: this is often interpreted as an early form of Ardhanārīśvāna Śiva. The sun is shown on the right, male side of the statue, and the moon on the left, female side. I thank the anonymous reader for this reference.

<sup>44</sup> HABERMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 16), pp. 107, 125.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>46</sup> MENON, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 94.

<sup>47</sup> Large parts of the *Alexander Romance* certainly go back to the time of Alexander or the generation after. Other elements of genuine information about India include the account of the naked philosophers (R. STONEMAN, *JHS* CXV 1995, pp. 99–114; A. SZALC, *Eos* XCVIII 2011, pp. 8–25); and perhaps the story of the search for the water of life (A. SZALC, *In Search of Water of Life: the Alexander Romance and Indian Mythology*, in: R. STONEMAN, K. ERICKSON, I. NETTON [eds.], *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East*, Groningen 2012, pp. 327–338). For the large number of elements

The trees in the Alexander texts give Alexander “oracles” of a doleful kind, regarding his death (the date of which is the subject of an obsessive quest by the hero in the *Romance*) and that of his close relatives. No Indian tree is said, as far as I know, to give oracles, and indeed oracular practice, in the sense of seeking verbal responses from a divine being<sup>48</sup>, does not seem to occur in India, past or present, though Brahmans always had a reputation – indeed, an official function – as fortune-tellers<sup>49</sup>. Should we assume that the Greek narrator has now let his imagination take the lead, in composing a Greek episode on an Indian substructure? Not necessarily.

HABERMAN quotes many examples of people who say that they communicate with trees, and that the trees communicate with them too. “The many prayers addressed to trees certainly depend upon the assumption that trees can hear and respond to human petitions, but the further assertion is made that sensitive humans can also hear trees [...]. ‘Sensitive people can hear trees speak in a way’”. “Balbir Mathura, founder of the organization Trees for Life [...] experienced a close relationship with a [lemon] tree. [...] One day he felt as though the tree spoke to him”<sup>50</sup>. Such a possibility is implied by the *Rig Veda* passage quoted above, “To us may herbs and forest trees be gracious”<sup>51</sup>.

The Greek author could thus suppose that these trees might respond to worship by saying something to Alexander, particularly since one of the most famous Greek oracles was a tree oracle, namely that at Dodona. (However, priestesses seem to have replaced the rustling tree in late archaic times, perhaps because the tree fell down.)<sup>52</sup> However, Indian literature also recognizes the possibility that trees may speak: in the *Milindapañha* (*The Questions of King Milinda*) IV 3, 19 f.<sup>53</sup> the sage Nagasena responds to the question how it can be said that a tree speaks by explaining that it is in fact the “dryad” (in RHYS DAVIDS’ translation) dwelling therein that speaks. In the *Jātakas*, the Bodhisattva is several times reborn as a tree spirit<sup>54</sup>. A relief on a railing at Bodhgaya from the Maurya period

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indicating an origin in the Ptolemaic period, probably in Egypt, see R. STONEMAN, *Il romanzo...* (n. 2), pp. XLIII–LII, and idem, *The Author of the Alexander Romance*, in: M. PASCHALIS, S. PANAYOTAKIS, G. SCHMELING (eds.) *Readers and Writers in the Ancient Novel*, Groningen 2009, pp. 142–154.

<sup>48</sup> Seeking verbal responses, a peculiarly Greek practice, is a different thing from divination by birds, entrails, weather signs and so on, all of which are common in early India: see R. STONEMAN, *The Ancient Oracles: Making the Gods Speak*, London 2011, pp. 13–15.

<sup>49</sup> Megasthenes is the earliest witness, in his description of the so-called “Seven Castes”: F 32 SCHWANBECK = *FGrH* 715 F 19; *Att. Ind.* 11, 4–7.

<sup>50</sup> HABERMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 187.

<sup>51</sup> *RV* VII 35, 5.

<sup>52</sup> H.W. PARKE, *The Oracles of Zeus*, Oxford 1967, pp. 75 f.

<sup>53</sup> *The Questions of King Milinda*, translated from the Pali by T.W. RHYS DAVIDS, parts I–II, Oxford 1890–1894 (Sacred Books of the East, vols. XXXV–XXXVI; reprinted New York 1963).

<sup>54</sup> As pointed out by the anonymous reader.



depicts a tree from which two arms project handing gifts to a worshipper<sup>55</sup> – another example of active participation by the tree in dialogue.

Communication with trees, especially the neem, is frequently assisted in present-day India by fixing face masks to the tree. Giving the tree human features makes it easier to talk to it<sup>56</sup>. I am put in mind of the famous illustration in a copy of the Persian *Shahnameh* in the Bodleian Library<sup>57</sup>, which depicts Alexander/Iskandar gazing in perplexity into the branches of a tree which is hung with heads of humans and animals. While this seems to be a transference of the Arab legend of the Waq-waq tree whose fruit consists of human heads (or small human beings)<sup>58</sup>, it is perhaps possible that the Persian illustrator was also aware of the Indian practice of attaching faces to trees. I am not aware of any text or version of the *Alexander Romance* that describes the trees as being hung with heads; in fact, in the Greek and Latin texts Alexander searches the branches suspiciously for some concealed parrot or other speaking creature. The coincidence of the current practice with the Persian illustration seems, regrettably, to be just that: a coincidence; yet it does again express the idea of two-way conversation between human and tree.

No other surviving text about Alexander's sojourn in India mentions anything like this episode with the speaking trees. It is probably not very likely that any such event took place, though Alexander did show curiosity about native religious traditions on other occasions, notably in the visit to the oracle at Siwa and in his alleged support restoration of the Temple of Bel in Babylon, as well as in his interview-at-a-distance with the naked philosophers of Taxila. But that is not a reason to suppose that the author of the *Romance* invented his story "out of whole cloth". Rather, he made a good story, and one which fitted his theme of Alexander's curiosity about the future, on the basis of a known and observed Indian practice of tree worship. Strabo wrote contemptuously that "all those who wrote about India preferred the marvellous to the true". Researches by J.M. BIGWOOD and K. KARTTUNEN on Ctesias<sup>59</sup>, and Harry FALK's on Megasthenes<sup>60</sup>, suggest that the truth about India was often more marvellous than Strabo could imagine. Greeks did not worship trees, but when they

<sup>55</sup> KRISHNA, AMIRTHALINGAM, *op. cit.* (n. 19), pp. 34 f., with illustration.

<sup>56</sup> HABERMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 16), pp. 150 ff., with several photographs.

<sup>57</sup> MS Ouseley Add. 176, fol. 311b.

<sup>58</sup> The waq-waq tree is described by Captain Buzurg ibn Shahriyar in his *Books of the Marvels of India* (English translation, London 1928), p. 37. There is a full discussion in J. BALTRUŠAITIS, *Le Moyen Âge fantastique. Antiquités et exotisme dans l'art gothique*, Paris 21981, pp. 124–140, esp. p. 126.

<sup>59</sup> J.M. BIGWOOD, *Ctesias' Description of Babylon*, AJAH III 1978, pp. 32–52; idem, *Ctesias' Parrot*, CQ XLIII 1993, pp. 321–327, for example; K. KARTTUNEN, *The India of Ctesias and its Critics*, in: U.P. ARORA (ed.), *Graeco-Indica. India's Cultural Contacts with the Greek World. In Memory of Demetrius Galanos (1760–1833)*, New Delhi 1991, pp. 74–78.

<sup>60</sup> H. FALK, *The Seven "Castes" of Megasthenes*, in: ARORA, *op. cit.* (n. 59), pp. 48–56.

saw Indians who did, they were not likely to forget it. And the author of the *Romance* paid enough attention to remember that the trees were those of the gods Vasu(deva) and Ma, though their actual names escaped him. As the author of the *Letter* wrote (ch. 1), “Truly marvellous is Mother Earth, who brings to birth so many things both good and bad, including plants and animals in so many different forms. Even if a man could see all those things it would hardly be possible for him to learn all their names, so many and various are they”<sup>61</sup>.

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<sup>61</sup> Cf. Theophr. *Hist. pl.* IV 4, 5: “there are also many more [trees] which are different from those found among the Greeks, but which have no names”.

## AURELIUS VALERIUS TULLIANUS SYMMACHUS – PROCONSUL OF ACHAEA?

by

JACEK WIEWIOROWSKI

**ABSTRACT:** The present paper discusses the question of the identity of Symmachus, the recipient of *Cod. Theod.* II 15, 1 and II 4, 1. (a. 319). According to Caillan DAVENPORT's survey concerning Roman governors of Achaia under Diocletian and Constantine, the man was the proconsul of Achaia named Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus, later consul in 330 AD, but he was not mentioned in two Greek inscriptions from Megara and Argos, engraved probably in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The present author deduces that a certain Symmachus was probably the proconsul of Achaia, although the final answer regarding the question of his title in *Cod. Theod.* II 15, 1 requires a careful analysis of the manuscripts which preserved it and there is still some doubt as to whether we should include the consul Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus in the list of governors of this province.

An article published in “*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*” in 2013 by Caillan DAVENPORT provides a comprehensive survey concerning Roman governors of Achaia under Diocletian and Constantine (DAVENPORT 2013). Davenport followed the opinion that Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus, later consul in 330 AD was earlier proconsul of Achaia, a fact attested by two constitutions preserved in the *Codex Theodosianus*, dated to 319 AD: *Cod. Theod.* II 4, 1; II 15, 1 (DAVENPORT 2013: 229 f.). He contested simultaneously the idea that the same man was mentioned in two Greek inscriptions from Megara and Argos dedicated to a Phosphorius<sup>1</sup>, following the most recent and probably correct opinion that they were engraved in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>2</sup>. In this paper I wish to

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<sup>1</sup> Φ]οσφορίου Μεγαρηῆς ἀριστονόοιο/ καμόντες/ εἰκόνα λαϊνέην στήσαν ἐπ' εὐδικίης,/ οὐνεκα πυργώσας πόλιας κρατεραλγέα/ θούρο[ν]/ τεῦξεν ἀτάρβητον δήϊον ἔνααῆτες (*IG IV*<sup>2</sup> 1129 B = Robert 1948b: 60); Εἰκόνα Φωσφορίου μεγακύδεος/ ἀνθυπάτοιο/ Ἀρχέλεως Δαναοῖς στήσε χαριζόμενος./ Ψ(ηφίσματι) Β(ουλῆς) (*IG IV* 1608 = ROBERT 1948a: 23).

<sup>2</sup> At least since REINACH (1900), Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus has been included among the proconsuls of Achaia by some scholars. See e.g. PREMEREINSTEIN 1923: esp. 74–76; POLARA 1974; BARNES 1982: 104 (followed by CORCORAN 2000: 190, 309, 310); CAMERON 1999: 489–492. This notion is based on the possible early date of the inscriptions combined with the information about the *cursus honorum* of his son, Lucius Aurelius Tullianus Symmachus *signo* Phosphorius and the fact that *signa* were frequently handed down in families (cf. *CIL* VI 1698: “Phosphorii.

discuss both of the imperial enactments mentioned above in detail once again, as the problem is in fact much more complicated.

Firstly, it is true that a Symmachus is mentioned in *Cod. Theod.* II 4, 1 (4<sup>th</sup> February 319): “Imp. Constant(inus) A(ugustus) ad Symmachum. [...] Dat. prid. non. Febr. Sirmio, accepta VIII id. Mart. Corintho Constantino A. V et Licinio C. cons.”.

The constitution is partially preserved by *Cod. Iust.* V 40, 2: “Imp. Constantinus A. et Licin. C. ad Symmachum. [...] D. prid. non. Febr. Constantino A. V et Licinio C. cons.”. According to the *Codex Theodosianus*, this imperial enactment was issued by Constantine himself in Sirmium on 4<sup>th</sup> February, 319, while it had already been delivered to Symmachus on 8<sup>th</sup> March, 319, in Corinth<sup>3</sup>. In the *Codex Iustinianus*, the place and time of the constitution’s *acceptio* were removed and the whole constitution was attributed to Constantine and Licinius.

DAVENPORT omitted to note however that at least since Otto SEECK’s *Regesten*, the constitution has usually been dated to 318 AD and Symmachus was frequently called by modern authors *vicarius Moesiae*<sup>4</sup> (or *Macedoniae*<sup>5</sup>), also because of the information given by another imperial enactment, issued on 25<sup>th</sup> July, 319 – *Cod. Theod.* II 15, 1 = *Cod. Iust.* II 20, 8: “Imp. Constant(inus) A.

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Lucio Aur(elio) Avianio Symmacho v(iro) c(larissimo)...”; see e.g. *PLRE* I 863–865, 883, 871: s.vv. *Symmachus* 1; *Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus* 6; *Lucius Aurelius Tullianus Symmachus signo Phosphorius* 3). GEHN (2012) summarised earlier discussions concerning the two inscriptions. He does express some hesitation with respect to the inscription of Megara, which was engraved on the other side of the stone mentioning Plutarchus, most probably also a proconsul of Achaëa: “However we should note that, while it is always assumed that the Phosphorius inscription is later than that to Plutarchus, the two are on opposite sides of the base, and their relative chronology could perhaps be reversed. If so, Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus, *signo Phosphorius*, would again become a candidate for our honorand! A close inspection of the base itself might shed some light on the two inscriptions’ relative chronology”. See the inscription of Plutarchus – *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1129. Cf <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail.php?record=LSA-56> and e.g. ROBERT 1948b: 94–102; *PLRE* I 707 f. (s.v. *Plutarchus* 3). POLARA (1974: 266 f.) also argued for the inclusion of *Pap. Theadelpheia* 12 = *Pap. Sakaon* 65 into the discussion. CAMERON (1999: 490, n. 81) correctly noticed that POLARA was wrong; this source is dated 11<sup>th</sup> September, 328, and it does not mention any member of the Symmachi family. Cf. BAGNALL, *Worp* 1980: 12 and <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.sakaon;65>. About the archive of Aurelius Sakaon, cf. GEENS 2013.

<sup>3</sup> On the unusual speed of its delivery, see CORCORAN 2000: 158, n. 160. *Cod. Theod.* II 4, 1. is a rare example of a constitution which preserved both the place of *datio* and the place of *acceptio*. See e.g. LEPORE 2000: 354.

<sup>4</sup> SEECK 1919: 56, 57, 166, 168. See also McGEACHY 1942: 6; GROAG 1946: 21, 54 f.; CHASTAGNOL 1959: 157 (s.v. *Symmachus* 5); CHASTAGNOL 1962: 112; CAMERON 1964: 21 f.; CHASTAGNOL 1970: 187; *PLRE* I 871 and 883 (s.vv. *Symmachus* 1; *Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus* 6); ARNHEIM 1972: 84; NELLEN 1977: 23–25; KUHOFF 1983: esp. 369 f., n. 74; PORENA 2005: 208 f.

<sup>5</sup> SEECK 1883: XLI; PREMERSTEIN 1923: esp. 74–76; SEECK 1931. This idea is not correct – the diocese of Macedonia is first attested in 327 AD. See *Cod. Theod.* XI 3, 2 (a. 327): “Acacio comiti Macedoniae”. Cf. JONES 1964: 105, 107; KUHOFF 1983: 370, n. 75.

ad Symmachum vic(arium). [...] Dat. VIII Kal. Aug. Naisso Constantino A. V et Licinio C. cons.”.

Nevertheless, we should remember that Theodor MOMMSEN quoted the inscription of this constitution “Imp. Constant. A. ad Symmachum vic.” as “Imp. Constant(inus) A. ad Symmachum vic(arium)”, following three manuscripts of the *Breviarium Alaricianum*<sup>6</sup>: Berolinensis Phillipianus 61 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Phill. 1761), 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> cent.; Parisinus 4403 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 4403), 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> cent.; and Monacensis 22501 (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 22501), 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> cent.<sup>7</sup>

Other manuscripts provide different versions again: *vicarium* (Wallersteinensis: Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, I.2.2<sup>o</sup>4, 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> cent.; this version is also given in *Cod. Iust.* II 20, 8); *barronianum* (Gothanus fol. 84: Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Memb. I 84, 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> cent.)<sup>8</sup>; *vc* (Oxonienis Bodleianus Seldenianus B. 16: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Selden. B. 16, between 1125–1137); *virum clarum* (Parisinus 4405: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 4405, 9<sup>th</sup> cent.); *v consol* (Eporediensis 35: Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, XXXV (17), 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> cent.).

MOMMSEN’S version was welcomed by SEECK, who left 319 as the year of issue of *Cod. Theod.* II 15, 1<sup>o</sup>. He also accepted the possibility that it was in fact Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus himself who, as vicar in 318–319, was the recipient of *Cod. Theod.* II 4, 1 and *Cod. Theod.* II 15, 1. In the same year he simultaneously established that the recipient of *Cod. Theod.* IX 1, 2 = *Cod. Iust.* VI 1, 5 (13<sup>th</sup> January, 319) in Corinth was a certain Ianuarinus: “Idem A. [Constantinus] ad Ianuarinum”. According to SEECK, Ianuarinus/Ianuarium was the addressee of three other constitutions from 319: *Cod. Iust.* VI 1, 5 (15<sup>th</sup> February, 319): “Idem A. [Imperator Constantinus] ad Ianuarium”; *Cod. Iust.* XI 68, 2 (15<sup>th</sup> February, 319): “Imperator Constantinus A. Ianuario com.[iti] Or.[itientis]”; *Cod. Theod.* IX 37, 1 = *Cod. Iust.* IX 42, 2 (26<sup>th</sup> November, 319): “Imp. Constantinus A. ad Ianuarinum p(raefectum) U(rbi)”. SEECK rightly noticed that the different versions of the name would be connected with mistakes in the manuscripts and that the recipient of all the mentioned constitutions was the same person. SEECK also pointed out correctly that *praefectus urbi* is excluded in

<sup>6</sup> On the manuscripts of the breviary (with bibliographies), see: *Bibliotheca Legum. Eine Handschriftendatenbank zum weltlichen Recht im Frankenreich*, available at <http://www.leges.uni-koeln.de/blog/leges/lex-romana-visigothorum/page/10/>.

<sup>7</sup> Th. MOMMSEN, in: *Cod. Theod.*, vol. I 1, pp. LXV–LXXXI and vol. I 2, p. 98. His version was followed by PHARR 1952: 40 and 49. Cf. *Brev.* II 15, 1. See also POLARA 1974: 264; CAMERON 1999: 490. DAVENPORT (2013: 230, n. 47) only mentions this question. On the work of Th. MOMMSEN on the edition of *Cod. Theod.*, see e.g. CROKE 1993.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Th. MOMMSEN, in: *Cod. Theod.*, vol. I 1, p. LXXIII.

<sup>9</sup> SEECK 1919: 56, 62 f. and esp. 117 f. Cf. also POLARA 1974 and more recently CAMERON 1999: 489–492. PLRE I 853 incorrectly dated the issue of both constitutions to 318 AD.

the case of Ianuarius<sup>10</sup> and the *comitiva Orientis* is impossible as well because in 319 the eastern part of the empire was ruled by Licinius<sup>11</sup>. Therefore he suggested that any other high post is possible – also including the proconsulship of Achaia (which GOTHOFREDUS 1738: vol. III, 4, note (b), had already envisaged). Still, SEECK found that the reading *com. r. p. (comes rei privatae)* instead of *com. Or.* was viable (also in the light of *Cod. Iust.* VI 1, 5 and XI 68, 2 concerning “städtlichen Sklaven und kaiserlichen Colonen”, and *Cod. Theod.* IX 1, 2 concerning the confiscations which were connected with the jurisdiction “des Verwalters der Domänen”; SEECK 1919: 118). The fact that *Cod. Theod.* IX 37, 1 = *Cod. Iust.* IX 42, 2 focused on criminal procedure was explained by SEECK with an ambiguous statement that the criminal process was usually connected with confiscation and therefore the *comitiva rei privatae* is not excluded, while this constitution would be additional to *Cod. Theod.* IX 1, 2 = *Cod. Iust.* VI 1, 5 (SEECK 1919: 118).

Thus SEECK did not address the controversy of the two Moesian vicars (Symmachus and Ianuarinus) – as asserted by Cameron, followed in this respect by DAVENPORT (CAMERON 1999: 489; DAVENPORT 2013: 230, n. 47) – but he tried to evade the problems connected with the texts of all the constitutions discussed above.

However, SEECK’s concept is now commonly rejected and Ianuarinus is assumed to have been the vicar of the Moesias in 319, also because his next post was *vicarius* in Rome (*urbis Romae?*) in 320, the usual next step of the *cursus honorum* in the case of diocesan vicars<sup>12</sup>. That is why the idea that Ianuarinus had previously occupied the senatorial office of governor of Achaia was rejected too – it does not fit with the general rules concerning the *cursus honorum* of late Roman imperial officials (e.g. KUHOFF 1983: 243–248). Roland DELMAIRE stressed that the *res privata* remained under *magistri* at least until 320 and therefore Ianuarinus could not have been *comes rei privatae* in 319 (DELMAIRE 1989a: 30–32; DELMAIRE 1989b: 25). Although DELMAIRE’s notion should be rejected<sup>13</sup>, a fully independent *comes rei privatae* is attested for the first time much later

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<sup>10</sup> See the *fasti* of prefects compiled by CHASTAGNOL (1962: 70–74) and BARNES (1982: 110–122).

<sup>11</sup> *Comes Orientis* is first attested in ca 335 AD. See SEECK 1901: 631, 659 f.; DOWNEY 1939; PETIT 1955: 253–258, esp. 253; ENSSLIN 1958: 2024 f.; LIEBESCHUETZ 1972: 110 f.; VOGLER 1979: 243; OLSZANIEC 2007; FILIPCZAK 2009: 92–94, 213.

<sup>12</sup> See *Cod. Theod.* IX 21, 2 = *Cod. Iust.* IX 24, 1; *Cod. Theod.* IX 34, 3. Cf. ENSSLIN 1936: 320 f.; GROAG 1946: 21–24; CHASTAGNOL 1962: 219, 463 (No. 3); ARNHEIM 1970: 604; *PLRE* I 453 (s.v. *Ianuarius I*); KUHOFF 1983: esp. 364, n. 51; BARNES 1982: 143; CAMERON 1999: 489 f.

<sup>13</sup> DELMAIRE’s opinion was based mostly on two inscriptions (*CIL* V 2781; III 12043) which preserved the text of an imperial *edictum de accusationibus*, where *magistri rei privatae* are mentioned. However, as correctly proved by CORCORAN (2000: esp. 288–291; 2002; 2007; 2012, with a bibliography of previous studies), this edict should be re-dated to ca 305 AD.

(DELMAIRE 1989a: 30–38). For this reason, Ianuarius could not have been an officer of this kind either.

The thesis claiming that Ianuarius was a vicar in the Balkans in 319 is therefore based only on the fact that Corinth was the place of *acceptio* of *Cod. Theod.* IX 1, 2 = *Cod. Iust.* VI 1, 5 (13<sup>th</sup> January, 319), supplemented by the knowledge that he was a vicar in Rome in 320.

In turn, the possible post of vicar in the case of Symmachus is suggested in certain manuscripts which preserved *Cod. Theod.* II 15, 1; many authors, however, including DAVENPORT, believe that he was a senatorial proconsul of Achaea in 318<sup>14</sup>. It should be emphasised that in fact they subscribe to the opinion of Jacobus GODEFROY (1587–1652), presented in his commentary to the Theodosian Code<sup>15</sup>. He stated that Symmachus was proconsul of Achaea because he was called *v.c.*, i.e. *vir clarissimus* in *Cod. Theod.* 2.15.1, the standard designation of senatorial rank, while vicars were not *clarissimi* then, and that the *Cod. Theod.* 2.4.1 was received in Corinth, the town usually called the capital of proconsular Achaia (cf. also HAENSCH 1997: 322–328; BROWN 2008: 57–61).

Godefroy relied on the limited number of manuscripts (see Th. MOMMSEN in: *Cod. Theod.*, vol. I 1, pp. CXVI f.). One of those was Oxoniensis Bodleianus Seldenianus B. 16, where the version “Imp. Constant(inus) A. ad Symmachum *v.c.*” in *Cod. Theod.* II 15, 1 was preserved<sup>16</sup>. As MOMMSEN correctly stated, “Oxoniensis liber fortasse inter eos (i.e. copies of the Breviary of Alaric), quos habemus, primum locum obtinet”<sup>17</sup>. He rightly noticed that GODEFROY had made the same prosopographical and historical mistakes but “in rebus ad Romanorum ius et rerum administrationem spectantibus nemo adhuc Gothofredum nec superavit nec aequavit” (Th. MOMMSEN in: *Cod. Theod.*, vol. I 1, p. CXVII). As was

<sup>14</sup> REINACH 1900; PREMIERSTEIN 1923: esp. 74–76; POLARA 1974; BARNES 1982: 104 (followed by CORCORAN 2000: 190, 309, 310); CAMERON 1999: 489–492; DAVENPORT 2013: 229 f.

<sup>15</sup> GOTHOFREDUS 1736: vol. I, 111, note (c): “*Symmacho*, huic eidem inseribitur ipso Anno *lex u. inf. de dolo malo*: quae & ipsa agit de *denuntiatione litis*: ubi additum, *V.C* id est, Virum clarissimum: pro quo in *Cod. Iust. Vicarium*, male. Certe, cum haec *lex* ad eum data, dicatur *Acc. Corintho*, Proconsulum Achaiae oportet, de quo ad subscriptionem adhuc”. However, doubts had been expressed already by Johann Daniel RITTER (1709–1775), in: GOTHOFREDUS 1736: vol. I, 111, note (c) *in fine*, stating: “Hoc quid sit, non capio”.

<sup>16</sup> Th. MOMMSEN, in: *Cod. Theod.*, vol. I 2, p. 98. However, Gustav HÄNEL (in: *Brev.*, p. 50) provided only this version of the inscription, although his edition was based on many manuscripts of the *Breviary of Alaric* (cf. *Brev.*, esp. pp. XL–XLIX and 50, note b, on *Titulus XV De dolo malo*). For the Oxoniensis Bodleianus Seldenianus B. 16, cf. <http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/selden/selden-b.html>. See also WITTE 1831; G. HÄNEL, in: *Brev.* pp. LV–LVII; Th. MOMMSEN, in: *Cod. Theod.*, vol. I 1, pp. LXV–LXVII; P.M. MEYER, in: *Cod. Theod.*, vol. II, p. XLVIII. About the author of the Oxoniensis Bodleianus Seldenianus B. 16, see THOMPSON 2003: esp. 205 f.

<sup>17</sup> Th. MOMMSEN, in *Cod. Theod.*, vol. I, p. CXXXII. Probably its archetype belonged to the first generation of expanded forms of the *Breviarium Alaricianum*. Cf. VESSEY 1993: 182.

remarked above, the abbreviation *v.c.* was the standard designation of senatorial rank and GODEFROY could be right in this case as well<sup>18</sup>.

If we adopt SEECK's concept, i.e. that Ianuarius/Ianuarius was a high imperial officer of unknown status, it might be theoretically possible that Symmachus did simultaneously hold the post of vicar of Moesia in Corinth.

However, the abbreviation used in *Cod. Iust.* XI 68, 2 (15<sup>th</sup> February, 319): *com. Or.* might also be a deformed *comes provinciarum*, which would correspond with the familiar manner of referring to Ianuarius/Ianuarius by name in *Cod. Theod.* IX 1, 2 = *Cod. Iust.* IX 40, 2 (13<sup>th</sup> January, 319) and *Cod. Iust.* VI 1, 5 (15<sup>th</sup> February, 319). *Comites provinciarum* were the emperor's trusted personal envoys who seemed to be Constantine's most important innovation with regard to the administration of dioceses<sup>19</sup>. Through *comites provinciarum*, Constantine wanted to exercise better control of those dioceses where his personal appearance was impossible and it would have happened in 319 when Constantine stayed in Sirmium, Naissus and Serdica but not in Corinth (BARNES 1982: 74). *Comes provinciarum* most probably never acted simultaneously together with vicars and *agentes vices praefectorum praetorio*<sup>20</sup>. *Comes provinciarum* would later be appointed the vicar of the diocese<sup>21</sup> and the same could have happened to Ianuarius/Ianuarius, who first may have played the role of a *comes* in Corinth and then subsequently might have been awarded the post of vicar in Rome. The *comitiva provinciarum* of Ianuarius/Ianuarius supports the opinion that Symmachus was a proconsul. But it does not mean that the latter should be identified with Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus, although the name Symmachus was indeed rare and different *signa* were noticed among Symmachi<sup>22</sup>. This family seems to have been prominent at least since the last decades of the 3rd century (CAMERON 1999: 477–480), but the available data about all its members is too limited to conclude that Symmachus, the recipient of *Cod. Theod.* II 15, 1 and II 4, 1 was certainly no one else but Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus, consul in 330.

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<sup>18</sup> Thus correctly CAMERON 1999: 490. Cf. HIRSCHFELD 1901; KOCH 1903: 11–22. Cf. also <http://classics.case.edu/asgle/bookshelf/abbreviations-in-latin-inscriptions/norefv/>.

<sup>19</sup> On those officials, see e.g. WIEWIORSKI 2013, with previous studies.

<sup>20</sup> The last known count T. Flavius Laetus (a. 337–340), mentioned in an inscription from the Spanish Mérida (ed. CHASTAGNOL 1976) is frequently mentioned as the one single proof attesting to the simultaneous activity of *comes* and *vicarius*. The theory is disputable. Cf. WIEWIORSKI 2011.

<sup>21</sup> C. Annii Tiberianus, of North African origin, is known as a *comes Africae* (a. 325–326). It was as a *comes* that he arrived later in the diocese of Hispania (a. 332), was *vicarius Hispaniarum* in 335 and then in 336–337 became *praefectus praetorio Galliarum*. On Tiberianus, see i.a. PALLU DE LESSERT 1901: 178–181; CHASTAGNOL 1965: 272 (No. 2); *PLRE* 1911 f. (s.v. C. Annii Tiberianus 5); DUPONT 1973: 328; KUHOFF 1983: esp. 114–118, 355; VILELLA 1992: 93.

<sup>22</sup> CAMERON 1999: 490 f. About heredity of *signa* see: LAMBERTZ 1913: esp. 103; LAMBERTZ 1914: esp. 112, 117–123; KAJANTO 1966: 66 f.



To conclude: there is no doubt that the recipient of *Cod. Theod.* II 15, 1 and II 4, 1 was a certain Symmachus, most probably the proconsul of Achaea (however the final answer regarding the question of Symmachus' title in *Cod. Theod.* II 15, 1 requires the manuscripts which preserved it to be studied once again<sup>23</sup>). But there is still some doubt whether we should include the consul Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus in a list of governors of this province<sup>24</sup>.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

- Brev.:* *Breviarium Alarici (Lex Romana Visigothorum)*, ed. G. HÄNEL, Lipsiae 1849).  
*Cod. Iust.:* *Codex Iustinianus (Corpus iuris civilis, vol. II, ed. P. KRUEGER, Berolini 1954).*  
*Cod. Theod.:* *Codex Theodosianus (Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes, ed. Th. MOMMSEN, P.M. MEYER, vols. I–II, Berolini 1954).*  
*IG IV:* *Inscriptiones Graecae, vol. IV: Inscriptiones Graecae Aeginae, Pityonesi, Cecrypholiae, Argolidis, ed. M. FRAENKEL, Berolini 1902 (Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Peloponnesi et insularum vicinarum, vol. I).*  
*IG IV<sup>2</sup>:* *Inscriptiones Graecae, vol. IV: Inscriptiones Argolidis. Editio minor, ed. F. HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, Berolini 1929.*  
*PLRE I:* *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, vol. 1, eds. A.H.M. JONES, J.R. MARTINDALE, J. MORRIS, Cambridge 1971.*

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<sup>23</sup> I have suggested this already in my preliminary statement: WIEWIOROWSKI 2014: 149–154.

<sup>24</sup> So did *PLRE* I 863, stating incorrectly however that Symmachus and Ianuarinus were vicars of Moesia, respectively in 318 and 319. About the consulship of Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus, see also BAGNALL, CAMERON, SCHWARTZ, WORP 1987: 194 f.

<sup>25</sup> The convention of *L'Année Philologique* has been applied for periodicals; last access to the websites: 15.07.2015.

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IT IS NOT WHAT IT APPEARS TO BE: A NOTE  
ON THEODORE PRODROMOS' *AGAINST A LUSTFUL OLD WOMAN*<sup>\*</sup>

by

PRZEMYSŁAW MARCINIAK

**ABSTRACT:** This article discusses Theodore Prodromos' work *Against a Lustful Old Woman*, which is a satire directed against a proverbial older woman who despite her age attempts to find a younger lover. This paper offers a new interpretation of the poem according to which Prodromos while using traditional literary topoi of depicting “a crone in heat again” discusses in fact a much more serious problem of *hypokrisis*. This is one of the recurring themes in Prodromic works where *hypokrisis* is understood as ‘playing a part’, ‘pretending’ and ‘mimicry’ – people play their parts in life, pretend that they are somebody else.

Theodore Prodromos' satire *Against a Lustful Old Woman* (Κατὰ φιλοπόρνου γράσος, here abbreviated as *Adv. an. libid.*) is a curious text<sup>1</sup>. It consists of 102 verses and tells a very simple story – the narrator furiously attacks an older woman, who despite her age and social expectations, attempts to have an erotic life. He showers the protagonists with elaborate invectives whose origins go back to ancient times<sup>2</sup>. After deriding her sexual past (76 f.: Πάλαι ποτ' ἦς χρήσιμος

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<sup>1</sup> The text of the poem (no. 150 in HÖRANDNER's catalogue) was preserved in fifteen manuscripts and erroneously ascribed to Manuel Philes in the nineteenth-century edition by MILLER, see E. MILLER (ed.), *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, vol. II, Parisii 1857, pp. 306–311. There exists also an earlier edition by Thorlaciuss from an unidentified manuscript, which also ascribes this poem to Manuel Philes. Thorlaciuss provided a summary/translation of the text into Latin, bowdlerising the work and omitting all sexually-oriented passages; see M.B. THORLACIUS, *Proclusiones et opuscula academica argumenti maxime philologici*, vol. III, Hauniae 1815, pp. 65–68. The first modern edition (as yet unpublished) was prepared by T. MIGLIORINI, *Gli scritti satirici in greco letterario di Teodoro Prodromo: introduzione, edizione, traduzione e commenti*, diss. Università di Pisa 2010.

<sup>2</sup> See for instance: Ἀτλαντικὸν πέλαγος, Αἰγαῖον βάθος, / Πόντε, Προποντίς, ὠκεάνειον στόμα, / Θάλασσα ταύτης πάμπαν ἀλμυρωτέρα / [...] / Ὡ τέλμα πηλοῦ καὶ βαθύτης ἰλύος, / Τῆς ἐγγέλυος οἴκε καὶ τοῦ βατράχου (“O, Atlantic Ocean, Aegean depth, / Sea, the Fore-Sea, mouth of the ocean, / Sea wholly saltier than sea itself / [...] / O, muddy swamp and depth of mud, / O, house of eel and of frog!”, 9–11 and 14 f.). This type of nautical erotic imagery also has a very long history reaching back to archaic Greek poetry (e.g. Alcaeus fr. 73; Archilochus fr. 196a WEST) and Greek comedy; see J. HENDERSON, *The Maculate Muse. Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*, New York–Oxford 1991, pp. 161 f.

ἴσως εἰς ἔρον,/ Πάλαι ποτ' ἦς ἔρωτος ἀνθρώποις δέλος)<sup>3</sup> and the inappropriateness of her current behaviour (39–42: Καὶ μὴν ἔδει σε τοῦτο συνιδεῖν τέως,/ Ὡς πάντα καλὰ τῶ προσήκοντι χρόνῳ./ Χρόνῳ τρυγᾶς τὸν βότρυν ἐκ τῆς ἀμπέλου,/ Χρόνῳ δρεπάνην εἰς τὸν ἄσταχυν φέρεις), the narrator states that she deserves to be sent to Hades<sup>4</sup>.

This poem appears to stand out from the rest of the Prodroomic literary output and in a sense it is closer to the spirit of Protochoprodroomic poems, whose Prodroomic authorship is now accepted by most scholars<sup>5</sup>. Prodroomos builds his satire upon a very traditional way of depicting an old woman, “the crone in heat again” (γραῦς ἀναθυᾶ, Pherecr. fr. 35 Κοσκ). The text, in fact an elaborate invective, uses literary imagery taken from Aristophanes, epigrammatic tradition and Lucian. One of the main direct literary models for the Prodroomic poem appears to be a scene between the Old Woman, Chremylos and a Youth from the *Plutus* by Aristophanes (959 ff.), which was a standard Byzantine school text<sup>6</sup>. Apart from the obvious verbal reminiscences (*Pl.* 1024: γραὸς καπρῶσης = *Adv. an. libid.* 5: καπρῶσα; *Pl.* 1086 σαπρά = *Adv. an. libid.* 8) there are also similarities which are especially visible in the catalogue of invectives directed against an old woman (*Pl.* 1056–1059 ~ *Adv. an. libid.* 22–25). In line 91 the narrator calls

<sup>3</sup> “Long ago you used to be perhaps useful in love affairs,/ Long ago you used to be a bait of love for people”.

<sup>4</sup> “Τί γοῦν πάθοι, καὶ τίνος εὐθύνης τύχοι;/ Πολλὰ παρ' ὑμῖν τῶν βασάνων ιδέαι,/ Πολλοὶ κολασμῶν καὶ διάφοροι τρόποι;/ Εἰς δὲ πρέπει μάλιστα ταύτη τῆκρίσει;/ Τῶ γὰρ παλαιῶ καὶ γέροντι Κερβέρῳ/ Ἡ γραῦς δοθήτω καὶ δότω τὰς εὐθύνας;/ Καίτοι πρὸς οὕτως ὀστρακωθὲν σαρκίον/ Ἐξασθενησίει καὶ τὸ Κερβέρου στόμα” (“What should she suffer, what kind of punishment?/ You have many sorts of tortures./ Many punishments of various kinds./ One is especially fitting this judgment:/ To the ancient and old Cerberus/ May this old woman be given and may she give accounts to him./ Even though the body is as hard as shell/ Might prove a challenge for Cerberus’ muzzle”, 95–102).

<sup>5</sup> M. ALEXIOU, *Ploys of Performance: Games and Play in the Ptochoprodroomic Poems*, Dumbarton Oaks Papers LIII 1999, pp. 91–109. For a different view on the identification of Prodroomos and Ptochoprodroomos, see H. EIDENEIER, *Tou Ptochoprodroomou*, in: M. HINTERBERGER, E. SCHIFFER (eds.), *Byzantinische Sprachkunst: Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Berlin–New York 2007, pp. 56–76.

<sup>6</sup> This relationship between these two texts was also noted by MIGLIORINI in his commentary but he stated only as follows: “Pl. 1059 ss., un brano che sembra qui riecheggiato in parecchi punti”; (*op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 9). MIGLIORINI points also to the texts of Michael Psellos and Christophoros of Mytilene as possible sources of inspiration for Prodroomos. Their texts show lexical similarities, but their context is very different. Psellos’ *Against the Monk Sabbaites* is a furious and personal attack on; see F. CONCA, *La lingua e lo stile dei carmi satirici di Psello (Contro il Sabbaita; Contro il Monaco Iacopo)*, *Eikasmos* XII 2001, pp. 187–196; E. V. MALTESE, *Osservazioni sul carne Contro il Sabbaita di Michele Psello*, in: A. M. TARAGNA (ed.), *La poesia tardoantica e medievale: Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, Alessandria 2004, pp. 207–214. A thorough analysis of the poem can be found in F. BERNARD, *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry 1025–1081*, Oxford 2014, pp. 280–290. Similarly, personal in tone is Christophoros’ text *Against the Monk Andrew*. The dependence on Aristophanic comedies was also noted by P. ROILLOS, *Amphoteroglossia. A Poetics of the Twelfth-Century Medieval Greek Novel*, Cambridge–London 2005, p. 291, n. 228.

on lamps and beds as the witnesses of the old hag's promiscuity. This passage (90–93), as Enrico MAGNELLI has shown, is most likely borrowed from Lucian's *The Downward Journey, or the Tyrant*, where the bed and the lamp are summoned up to testify against Megapenthes (*Catapl.* 27)<sup>7</sup>. However, calling on beds and lamps as witnesses of erotic/love activities is a literary motif present already in Hellenistic epigrams<sup>8</sup>. Finally, when emphasising the old age of the protagonist, the narrator evokes a relatively unknown fictional character from Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* (*Dial. mort.* 16), Thucritus (ὦ μιὰρὰ γραῦς Θουκρίτου παλαιτέρα, “O cursed old hag older than Thucritus”)<sup>9</sup>. Thucritus is also very old, and his name is used as a symbol for old age in yet another poem by Prodrimos<sup>10</sup>. What is particularly interesting, however, is the fact that the name Thucritus was never before associated with such a figure in extant literature<sup>11</sup>. The only other twelfth-century example comes from the understudied text entitled *Anacharsis* ascribed to Prodrimos' disciple, Niketas Eugenianos<sup>12</sup>. As I have argued elsewhere, this might be a sign of the activity of the “Lucianic circle” initiated by Prodrimos<sup>13</sup>. The use of this particular invective is also a clear sign that Prodrimos evokes the Lucianic tradition and, in my opinion, it signals that the poem is more than yet another exercise in composing an attack on an erotically inclined old lady.

It is worth mentioning that judging from the number of copies and its influence on other literary texts, Prodrimos' poem enjoyed considerable popularity. The influence of the work is visible, for instance, in the *Dramation* by Michael Hapluchair (12<sup>th</sup> cent.), who describes the lamentations of the Wise Man about Tyche, who mistakenly entered the house of the Uneducated Man when she was on her way to his house<sup>14</sup>. In the *Dramation* Tyche boasts of her power (31 f.:

<sup>7</sup> E. MAGNELLI, *Prodromea (con una nota su Gregorio di Nazianzo)*, Medioevo Greco X 2010, pp. 110–144, esp. 116–122.

<sup>8</sup> For the bed as witness, see for instance Asclepiades, *AP* V 181, 11 f.: εἰπὲ δὲ σημείον, Βάκχων ὅτι πέντ' ἐφίλησεν/ ἐξῆς, ὦν κλίνη μάρτυς ἐπεγράφετο; for the lamp, see Asclepiades, *AP* V 7: Λύχνη, σὲ γὰρ παρευῶσα τρίς ὤμοσεν Ἡράκλεια/ ἦξειν, κούχ ἦκει· λύχνη, σὺ δ', εἰ θεὸς εἶ,/ τὴν δολίην ἀπάμνον· ὅταν φίλον ἔνδον ἔχουσα/ παίζῃ, ἀποσβεσθεῖς μηκέτι φῶς παρέχε.

<sup>9</sup> The Lucianic dialogue tells the story of a young legacy hunter, Terpsion, who squandered his own means and health through striving to inherit the wealth of the nonagenarian Thucritus, and ultimately died before him.

<sup>10</sup> *Against an Old Man with a Long Beard* (lines 3 and 61): “Yow ow ow! That bushy beard, which that decrepit, putrid old man, Thucritus, lets fall all the way down to his breast” (transl. by J. KUCHARSKI).

<sup>11</sup> For some later examples, see Manuel Philes, *Carmina* IV 90, 2.

<sup>12</sup> D.A. CHRESTIDES, *Markiana anekdota: Anacharsis ē Ananias: Epistoles, Sigillio*, Thessalonike 1984, pp. 395 f.: ἀλλὰ κρονόληρόν με Θούκριτον ἦγηται.

<sup>13</sup> P. MARCINIAK, *Reinventing Lucian in Byzantium*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* LXX 2017, forthcoming.

<sup>14</sup> This work, inspired to a great extent by the works of Theodore Prodrimos, belongs to the so-called “beggar poetry” – complaints of *literati* suffering from a surplus of knowledge and

“I rule the earth, I reach the heavens/ everything yields to me from afar”<sup>15</sup>. The Wise Man responds to this claim with a fierce attack (33 f.: “You filthy old hag, mankind’s greatest evil,/ filthy old hag, steeped in evil!”). This exchange of arguments (powerful Tyche vs. Tyche as a source of mankind’s evil) is in fact built on verses borrowed from Prodrornos’ works. The invective against Tyche is a direct quotation from that against the old hag (*Adv. an. libid.* 1 = *Dramation* 33), while the image of all-powerful Tyche is similar to that of Providence in the texts authored by Theodore Prodrornos.

Prodrornos penned two works about Providence: a poem *Verses of Complaint against Providence* and a prose treatise *On Those Who Blaspheme against Providence on Account of Poverty* (H 151). As Nikolaos ZAGKLAS noted, these two texts should be understood as rhetorical exercises, *anaskeue* and *kataskeue*: “the prose work is a sort of *anaskeue*, rebutting the statement that Providence is to be blamed for this inequality, while the poem is a *kataskeue* offering confirmation to the statement that this inequality is directed by Providence”<sup>16</sup>.

The motif of the “bad fate”, inequality and injustice is one of the favourite literary topics in Prodrornos’ works, one which perhaps might have been important to him because of his own infelicities in life – sickness (Prodrornos suffered from smallpox<sup>17</sup>) and possibly falling out of favour<sup>18</sup>. As ZAGKLAS rightly observed, Prodrornic works against Providence cannot be viewed as blasphemy but rather “they must be construed in the light of the concept of religious *parrhesia*”<sup>19</sup>. *Dramation* by Haplucheir cannot, however, be interpreted in the same way. Haplucheir uses in his text a well-established literary topos of Fate as responsible for inequality in life. However, regardless of Haplucheir’s interpretation of Prodrornos’ work, in my opinion *Against the Lustful Old Woman* is open to a more sophisticated analysis than is usually suggested<sup>20</sup>.

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a lack of money. Edition: P.L.M. LEONE, *Michaelis Hapluchiris Versus cum excerptis*, Byzantion XXXIX 1969, pp. 251–283. On the intertextual relationships between the *Dramation* and the works of Prodrornos, see W. HÖRANDNER, *Prodrornos-Reminiszenzen bei Dichtern der Nikänischen Zeit*, Byzantinische Forschungen IV 1972, pp. 98–104. Cf. also W. HÖRANDNER, *Musterautoren und ihre Nachahmer: Indizien für Elemente einer byzantinischen Poetik*, in: P. ODORICO, P.A. AGAPITOS, M. HINTERBERGER (eds.), “Doux remède...”. *Poésie et poétique à Byzance. Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> colloque international philologique “EPMHNEIA”*, Paris 23–24–25 février 2006, Paris 2009, pp. 201–217.

<sup>15</sup> N. ZAGKLAS, *Theodore Prodrornos: the Neglected Poems (Edition, Translation and Commentary)*, diss. Universität Wien 2014, p. 306.

<sup>16</sup> ZAGKLAS, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 324. See also ROILOS, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 297.

<sup>17</sup> See W. HÖRANDNER (ed.), *Theodoros Prodrornos: Historische Gedichte*, Wien 1974, pp. 30 f.; P.S. CODELLAS, *The Case of Smallpox of Theodore Prodrornos*, Bulletin of the History of Medicine XX 1946, pp. 207–215.

<sup>18</sup> A. MAIURI, *Una nuova poesia di Teodoro Prodrorno in greco volgare*, BZ XXIII 1919, pp. 397–407.

<sup>19</sup> ZAGKLAS, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 320.

<sup>20</sup> See for instance MIGLIORINI, *Gli scritti satirici...* (n. 1), pp. 9 f.



One of the recurring themes in Prodicomic works is *hypokrisis* understood as “playing a part”, “pretending” and “mimicry” – people play their parts in life, pretend that they are somebody else. Similarly to Lucian, Prodicomos often explores what it means to “imitate” and to “stage”, to “lie”. Lucianic preoccupation with mimicry and pretending goes as far as drawing attention to “the artificiality of his own first-person voice”<sup>21</sup>. This, I think, applies also to Prodicomos, who in his texts assumes various personae, thus “deconstructing” the real Prodicomos – even when he declares that he stuttered (*PG CXXXIII*, 1297 f.), a modern scholar does not exclude that this self-reference could be a literary invention<sup>22</sup>. When Prodicomos says that Lucian mostly lied (*PG CXXXIII*, 1295: τοῦτο γε μόνον οὐχὶ ψευσάμενος<sup>23</sup>), this should not be construed as a moral judgement but rather as an expression of the understanding that Lucian experiments and plays with lies and *hypokrisis*. In the dialogue *Amarantos or the Passions of an Old Man* the end of the protagonist’s insincere behaviour is described in theatrical terms: “Ἀλλ’ ἡ χθές, ὦ φιλότις, τό τε δράμα ὑφείλετο καὶ περιείλετο τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὸ ἀληθές ἐξεπόμευεσεν” (“But yesterday, my dear, unveiled the drama and took away the *skene* and openly paraded the truth”) and the notary Chaeremon is said to “play the part of a grieving person”<sup>24</sup>. Stratocles, an older philosopher, who marries a young girl, pretends to be someone he is not – a young groom. His extensive make-up and hair-cut make him look like a mime. This description has twofold meaning, not only does it imply that Stratocles indeed resembles a mime but it also means that he is impersonating somebody else<sup>25</sup>. In a prose treatise *On Those Who Blaspheme against Providence on Account of Poverty*, Prodicomos explores this topic even further when he describes how certain appearances can be deceitful. He discusses the example of an old man (*PG CXXXIII*, 1296) who appears to be θεοπρεπής and ἱερός. Yet in fact he is just a thief. Prodicomos then goes on to say:

<sup>21</sup> J. KÖNIG, *Greek Literature in the Roman Empire*, London, 2009, p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> ZAGKLAS, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 67.

<sup>23</sup> A similar statement appears in the fourteenth-century allegorical interpretation of the *Lucius or the Ass* by Alexios Makrembolites; see A. PΑPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Μακρεμβολίτου ἀλληγορία εἰς τὸν Λούκιον ἢ ὄνον*, *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvetšeniija* 1899, p. 19: Εἰ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι σχεδὸν τοῖς αὐτοῦ λόγοις Λουκιανὸς καταψεύδεται, λῆρος φαινόμενος σαφῆς καὶ τερατολόγος καὶ φλῆναφος, ἀλλ’ οὖν ἐν τῇ κατ’ αὐτὸν δραματουργίᾳ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ ἀληθέστατος (“Even though Lucian lies in nearly all his texts, he appears to be silly, plain, a marvel-monger and a babbler, yet in this story [that is in *Lucius or the Ass*] he seems to me very trustworthy”).

<sup>24</sup> T. MIGLIORINI, *Teodoro Prodromo, Amaranto*, *Medioevo Greco VII* 2007, pp. 183–247. I am using the unpublished English translation by E. CULLHED.

<sup>25</sup> See also E. CULLHED, *Teodoro Pródromo en el Jardín de Epicuro*, in: R. ÁLVAREZ, L. ALMANDÓS (eds.), *Aproximaciones interdisciplinarias a la Antigüedad griega y latina. VI Jornadas Filológicas, Bogotá. Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Universidad de los Andes, Universidad de la Sabana, Bogotá* 2015, pp. 369–393.

Ὅρας ὡς ὑποκρίσει ζῶμεν ἄνθρωποι τὰ πολλά· καὶ πλανώμεθα περὶ τὸν ὄνον  
τῆ λεοντικῆ καὶ τῆ νυμφικῆ στολῆ περὶ τὴν γαλῆν. [...] οὕτω σκηνὴ βαθεῖα  
περὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ παίζομεν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ παιζόμεθα.

See how we people for the most part live in *hypocrisy*. And we are deceived by the  
ass disguised as a lion and a weasel disguised as a bride. [...] In this way we are on  
the big stage and we are both actors and the audience.

The issue of *hypokrisis* appears not only in Prodromic works, it is also a topic of a treatise written by one of Prodromos' contemporaries, Eustathios of Thessalonike. The learned bishop conflates the modern *hypocrisy* with the the ancient art of imitation<sup>26</sup>.

I would like to argue that *Against the Lustful Old Woman* explores the topic of *hypokrisis*, to put it in Prodromos' own words, "a weasel disguised as a bride" (this is an allusion to Aesop's fable about a weasel turned into a bride). The poem focuses on describing how the old protagonist attempts to conceal her age, her aged appearance, how she plays a young girl she is not anymore. She uses make-up in a similar way to Stratocles in order to deceive the spectators and to appear younger<sup>27</sup>. Even her rekindled sexual appetite is just one more prop in her spectacle. In other words, the body of the old hag becomes a corporeal performance presented to play with potential spectators<sup>28</sup>. However, the machinations of an old woman will ultimately be seen through, and her efforts to conceal her true age as well as her attempts to seduce a younger lover using material means will fail. As the narrator says, proverbially, nobody is so stupid as to eat dung mixed with honey or to marry a pig covered with gold (68 f.)<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> T.L.F. TAFEL (ed.), *Eustathii Opuscula*, Francofurti ad Menum 1832, p. 89, 35–54: "In the old days *hypokrisis* and the artist who practiced it represented something good. Since, though, it was impossible that even that good thing would be left uncorrupted [...] wily life contrived such things, plotting an invidious craft against beneficial *hypokrisis*. First it invented satyr dramas – mixture of deeds and words of heroic figures that combined seriousness with laughter; [...] and after this satiric combination of the serious with the hilarious, the comic *hypokrisis* flourished. This *hypokrisis* did not deal with heroic characters anymore, except incidentally. In general, this kind of *hypokrisis*, which was involved with vulgar matters and thus represented a violated form of its genre, would have passed unnoticed if the comic poems had not enticed the ears of the spectators and, thanks to their eloquence, had not survived as reading material for those who lead prudent lives" (translation after Roilos, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 233 f.).

<sup>27</sup> Ἔω γράϊς ὠχρὰ κᾶν πλανᾶς ψιμιθίω ("O, old pale crone, event though you deceive with white lead", 26).

<sup>28</sup> On similar corporeal performances in the holy context, see S. CONSTANTINOU, *Female Corporeal Performances. Reading the Body in Byzantine Passions and Lives of Holy Woman*, Uppsala 2005.

<sup>29</sup> Ἦ τίς φάγοι μέλιτι συμμιγῆ κόπρον,/ Ἦ χρυσοπάστω συζυγῆ δελφακίω,/ Εἰ μὴ βλαβείη τόν τε νοῦν καὶ τὰς φρένας.

Prodromos' text is apparently built from literary clichés and plays with a typical representation of a woman in Byzantine society<sup>30</sup>. Yet, in my opinion this is just the first, most obvious, layer. There is also a subtler message which in my opinion corresponds with one of the main themes of Prodromic literary output. To claim that Prodromos is interested in *hypokrisis* because Lucian, one of his literary masters, pursued this topic would be a simplification. Prodromos' social conditions, the constant risk from other rhetors, the danger of falling out of favour, of being replaced by "a juggler"<sup>31</sup> could make him perceive the world around him as full of people pretending to be someone else in order to acquire what they desired.

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<sup>30</sup> C. GALATARIOTOU, *Holy Women and Witches: Aspects of Byzantine Concepts of Gender*, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies IX 1984–1985, pp. 59–102; J. HERRIN, *In Search of Byzantine Women: Three Avenues of Approach*, in: A. CAMERON, A. KUERT (eds.), *Images of Women in Antiquity*, London 1993, p. 172.

<sup>31</sup> MAIURI, *op. cit.* (n. 18), pp. 39–41.



## FAWNS AND GENDER. A NOTE ON SAPPHO'S TITHONUS POEM

by

GJERT VESTRHEIM

ABSTRACT: Much has been made of the absence of gender markers in this poem, but this absence is not surprising in a poem of this length and type, and consequently is of little significance to its interpretation. Furthermore, the comparison with *νεβρίοισι*, fawns, clearly points to both a female speaker and female addressees as well.

Since the publication of the Cologne papyrus in 2004<sup>1</sup>, scholars have repeatedly commented upon the fact that neither the gender of the speaker nor that of the addressees in the so-called Tithonus Poem is made explicit. JANKO (2005) was the first to describe this poem as “ambiguously gendered”. He developed the subject thus:

...one other peculiarity. This ode is unisex. Nowhere does the speaker state her gender, indicate the gender of the young people whom she is addressing, or signal the sex towards which the speaker's and addressee's desires incline. Not even the “fawns” to which the speaker is likened in line 6 are gendered: the word is neuter<sup>2</sup>.

RAWLES made a similar observation in ZPE CLVII 2006, p. 4. Referring to JANKO, he notes “the remarkable absence of gendered words to indicate either the singer or the addressees”. This has since been reiterated by Ellen GREENE, who, also referring to JANKO, comments on the address to the *παῖδες* in line 1 and claims that “while it may be tempting to think of the poem's addressees, the *paides*, as referring to the girls whom many believe comprise a circle of affiliation in Sappho's poems, the poem itself does not support such a reading”. She

<sup>1</sup> M. GRONEWALD, R.W. DANIEL, *Ein neuer Sappho-Papyrus*, ZPE CXLVII 2004, pp. 1–8.

<sup>2</sup> R. JANKO, *Sappho Revisited*, Times Literary Supplement, 23–30 December 2005, p. 19, an abbreviated version of a paper given at a seminar on Lesbos in August 2005. At the time of writing the full version is still awaiting publication in A.L. PIERRIS (ed.), *Proceedings of the Symposium Lesbium*.

concludes that “the fact that the poem’s addressees are ambiguously gendered gives the poem wider scope”<sup>3</sup>.

Nevertheless, there is nothing peculiar about this “absence of gendered words” or, more precisely, the absence of words that identify the natural gender of the things they signify.

The term παῖδες is commonly used to address groups of young people, both male and female. The fact that the word can be both masculine and feminine does not mean that those addressed by it would be “ambiguously gendered”, no more than they would be by the English “children”, the German “Kinder” or the Modern Greek παιδιά. The ambiguities of the word (which may also mean “slaves”) are not translated into those signified by it. If the address in Sappho’s poem had been followed by an extensive description of the addressees, the continued absence of words that identified their natural gender would have become increasingly strange, but this is not the case: there is no further mention of the addressees after the imperative in lines 1 and 2.

This absence of gender markers may have facilitated the re-use of the poem and thus given it “wider scope”, and the poem may even have been composed with this in mind. Yet this does not, as GREENE claims, rule out a reading of the παῖδες as girls of a “circle of affiliation”. The poem *can* support such a reading, even though it is not the only reading it can support. As I will go on to argue, the imagery of the poem strongly supports the identification of the addressees as girls, although these girls need not have constituted a “circle of affiliation” and may have made up only part of the original audience for Sappho’s poem.

The absence of gender markers referring to the speaker in the poem is equally unsurprising. Since neither finite verb forms nor first person pronouns are gendered in Greek, the speaker’s gender may easily remain undisclosed for quite some time, even when speaking in the first person. Therefore, in a poem of such modest length, and where less than half of it (effectively lines 3–5 and 7) is spoken in the first person, the absence of gender markers referring to the speaker is hardly significant. The speaker has no need to “state her gender”; it is not necessary to her argument, and since the poem would presumably be known as the words of Sappho (whether performed by her or by others), the speaker’s gender would in any case be self-evident.

In fact, among the major fragments we find the same “ungendered” speaker in Sappho fr. 2, 16 and 96 (VOIGT), while in both fr. 1 and 94 the speaker’s gender is only disclosed once, when she quotes others who are addressing her by name. Even in the detailed self-description of fr. 31 it is first disclosed in v. 14. Here, as in the Tithonus poem, the self-description proceeds in the form of a description

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<sup>3</sup> E. GREENE, *Sappho 58. Philosophical Reflections on Death and Aging*, in: E. GREENE, M.B. SKINNER (eds.), *The New Sappho on Old Age*, Cambridge, MA–London 2009, p. 157.

of various parts of the body; the absence of gender markers for the speaker is a consequence of this method.

This “ungendered” speaker is not unique to Sappho. We find it in Alcaeus as well, e.g. in fr. 34, 38, 69, 70 (VOIGT). We also find it in Anacreon, e.g. fr. 357 and 358 (*PMG*), while in fr. 395 and 417 the speaker’s gender is disclosed by a single participle; fr. 395 is of some interest here since it too features an aged speaker describing himself by way of various parts of his body. Yet, there is hardly any doubt that the speaker in all these poems is a man, and that his intended audience is male, even when this is not explicitly indicated by grammatical forms.

Concerning Sappho’s reluctance to “signal the sex towards which the speaker’s and addressee’s desires incline”, this too seems to me to be of doubtful significance. This is a poem about age, not sex, and there is no reason why such a signal should be necessary. Still, the subject of age is intimately connected to that of sex in a way which is often ignored: the world of sex is also the world of ageing, which is, in the ancient Greek context, opposed to the world of dancing symbolised by the fawns. Sex leads to pregnancy and childbirth, with their inherent dangers and unavoidable physical stresses. These, in their turn, accelerate ageing. Sex also leads to ageing in purely social terms, as it turns daughters into mothers.

Dancing, on the other hand, belongs to maidenhood. A married woman would, for much of her time, be either pregnant or recovering from childbirth, states that are not easily compatible with dancing. This goes a long way towards explaining the fact that while choruses of young, unmarried women were a common feature of Greek life, choruses of married women were not<sup>4</sup>.

The speaker of this poem has long since entered the world of sex and ageing and looks back on the time when her body, like those of her addressees, was still tender<sup>5</sup> and fit for dancing. The fawns are an apt symbol for the agility of dancing youth, and contrast with the slowness and heaviness which are features not only of old age but also of pregnancy. Furthermore, they are also a decidedly female symbol.

The νεβρίοισι of Sappho’s poem are neuter because νέβριον is a diminutive, and as noted by GRONEWALD and DANIEL in *ZPE CXLVII* 2004, p. 8, this form is found only here<sup>6</sup>. This diminutive does not mean that the animals would have

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<sup>4</sup> For an overview of the evidence for choruses of different age-groups, cf. C. CALAME, *Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece: their Morphology, Religious Role, and Social Function*, transl. by D. COLLINS, J. ORION, Lanham 1997, pp. 26–30.

<sup>5</sup> The adjective ἄπαλον was suggested by the editors GRONEWALD and DANIEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 7. The conjecture ἔμοι δ’ ἄπαλον πρὶν was put forward by V. DI BENEDETTO in *ZPE CXLIX* 2004, p. 5, and supported by M. WEST, *ZPE CLI* 2005, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> In Archilochus fr. 196a 47 (WEST) νεβρ[ may be either νεβρόν or νέβριον. For an overview of the various conjectures, see B. KRAMER, D. HAGEDORN (eds.), *Kölner Papyri (P. Köln)*, vol. 2, Opladen 1978, pp. 28 f.

been perceived as “unisex”, just as the masculine of the regular form does not mean that they would have been perceived as male<sup>7</sup>. On the contrary, diminutives are rarely used of men, but frequently of women, particularly in prostitutes’ names such as Κωνώπιον (Call. *Ep.* 63 PFEIFFER), Βοίδιον and Λεόντιον (Plut. *Mor.* 1097 D–E) or Ελάφιον (Ar. *Thesm.*)<sup>8</sup>. The latter, meaning “little deer”, surely implies that the deer was seen as an image of femininity.

This perceived femininity of the deer is confirmed by the use of νεβροί and ἔλαφοι in comparisons. In the passages noted by GRONEWALD and DANIEL, νεβροί are compared to the dancing women of the chorus in Eur. *El.* 860 f. and *Bacch.* 866 and to a girl dancing in Bacchyl. 13, 84 ff.; ἔλαφοι are compared to the chorus in Ar. *Lys.* 1318 and to the girls running in *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 174 ff., while in Ar. *Thesm.*, as noted above, Ελάφιον is the name of a dancing-girl.

Further examples can be added: Archilochus compares the seduced girl to a νεβρός or νέβριον in fr. 196, 47 (WEST). In Thgn. 949 f. the νεβρός is the victim of a lion; the couplet reappears as 1278cd, suggesting that “the compiler must have judged the imagery to be erotic”<sup>9</sup>. The unhappy woman speaking in Alc. fr. 10 (Voigt) compares herself to an ἔλαφος, while in Anacr. fr. 408 the νεβρός is an image of vulnerability. In a pederastic poem by Rhianos (*AP* XII 146) the boy is called a νεβρός, and in Call. *Ep.* 31 (PFEIFFER) the erotic pursuit is compared to the hunting of a δορκάλις, which may be any kind of deer. In Horace’s *Ode* I 23 the girl avoiding the poet is compared to an *inuleus*, while in *AP* V 292 a girl is referred to both as δορκάλις and δάμαλις (heifer).

As illustrated by the last example cited above, young girls are also frequently compared to heifers or fillies, young animals that have not yet been tamed<sup>10</sup>. Deer, of course, are not tamed, but hunted. In consequence they are nervous and agile, so it is only natural to compare them to dancers as well as to the objects of erotic pursuit.

Thus far we can identify two areas where comparisons with deer are common: while the passages noted by GRONEWALD and DANIEL were all about dancing, most or all of those cited above are erotic. In erotic contexts the comparison may be with either boys or girls, while in the context of dancing it is always with girls or (in drama) with women.

When grown men are compared to deer, the sense is negative. In Homer, deer are usually mentioned in the context of hunting, their main characteristic being

<sup>7</sup> The word for the fully grown animal, ἔλαφος, can be both feminine and masculine. Νεβρός is usually masculine, but does occasionally occur in the feminine (*Il.* IV 243, Eur. *Bacch.* 866, *Trag. adesp.* 419); in none of these cases does the context demand restriction to the female of the species.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. L. McCLURE, *Courtesans at Table. Gender and Literary Culture in Athenaeus*, New York–London 2003, pp. 71 and 183–201.

<sup>9</sup> D.E. GERBER (ed.), *Greek Elegiac Poetry*, Cambridge, MA–London 1999, p. 311.

<sup>10</sup> CALAME, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 238–244.



their propensity for flight. In human terms this is of course considered unmanly: In *Il.* I 225 Achilles accuses Agamemnon of having the heart of an ἔλαφος. In *Il.* XXII 1 the Trojans flee like deer, and so does Hector in *Il.* XXII 189. In *Il.* XIII 101–104 Poseidon reminds the Greeks of how the Trojan warriors used to flee like female deer (ἐλάφοισιν [...] αἶ). The choice of the feminine form serves to emphasise the unmanliness of their behaviour; among deer both sexes are of course equally prone to flight. The deer is also a symbol of cowardice in Archilochus 280 WEST.

Thus, even in comparisons with men, deer represent feminine qualities. Deer are images of unmanly flight, of feminine vulnerability and of feminine grace. A male speaker would therefore hardly speak longingly of the time when he danced like a little fawn, or when his skin was soft to the touch (the conjecture ἄπαλον in line 3). We can thus be reasonably sure that the speaker in our poem is a woman, and that she is addressing other younger women.

Their youth is contrasted with her age, and the point is that they are able to dance the way she once did, like little fawns. The fawns thus become comparanda for the addressees as well as for the speaker. The image of the dancing fawns is decidedly feminine, and would therefore have been inappropriate in an address to a male or mixed audience.

This contrast between the infirmity of the old speaker and the agile young addressees clearly resembles Alcman fr. 26. There the addressees are maidens (παρσενικαί), but the speaker is a man, a point emphasised by the comparison with the female halcyons carrying the aged kingfisher. In Sappho's poem the speaker also contrasts her own condition with that of her addressees. Here, however, the femininity of both speaker and addressees is emphasised through another image from the animal kingdom, namely that of the feminine grace of the young deer.

A similar address by a male poet to a group of maidens (κοῦραι) is *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 166–176; here the poet's self-description does not mention old age or infirmity, but blindness, which would of course also have left him unable to dance. Both here and in Alcman's poem we must presume that the male poet addressed the girls in front of a larger audience. This lends some support to the assumption that Sappho's poem was addressed to a wider audience as well.



THE METRICAL ASPECTS OF THE PAEAN CRY  
IN CALLIMACHUS' *HYMN TO APOLLO*\*

by

JERZY DANIELEWICZ

ABSTRACT: The paean cry ἰή ἰη παιῶνον in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, placed at the beginning of hexameter and filling its first half up to the medial caesura (as a self-contained colon, *hemiepes femininum*), is characterised by a peculiar duality of rhythm. On the one hand, it succumbs to the epic rules which allow for the 'metrical' lengthening and shortening of vowels. As a result, the ἰή at the beginning of 25, 80, 97 and 103 loses its status of a fully-fledged exclamation, and the expected scansion of the doubled ἰή is - ~ ~ -. It may be argued, however, that the 'normal', unforced rhythm of the Callimachean version of the cry is iambic – as in Herodas' *Women Making a Dedication and Sacrifice to Asclepius* 82 and 85. The author propounds the hypothesis that Callimachus constructed his paean cry so as to permit it to be pronounced either way: as dactyls/spondees or iambs. Such a rhythmical ambiguity (admitting other than hexametric models), as well as the relatively frequent repetition of the paean cry, are meant to emphasise the 'paeanic' character of the hymn.

The paean refrain appears several times in Callimachus, primarily in his *Hymn to Apollo* (*Hymn 2*)<sup>1</sup>. Callimachus' specificity lies mainly in the fact that its essential element, i.e. ἰή, is replaced with ἰή<sup>2</sup>. The poet uses the form with the rough breathing in lines 21, 25, 80, 97 and 103 of the hymn, and also in fr. 18, 6 HARDER = 18, 6 Pf. (in the epithet Ἰήϊε)<sup>3</sup>; it is restored in fr. 260, 10 Pf. = *Hecale* 69, 10 HOLLIS (π[ί]άντες [ι]ή παιῶνον ἀνέκλαγον).

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<sup>1</sup> The inclusion of the paean cry in Callimachus' hymn to Apollo, according to recent scholarship, marks this poem as a paean, see Susan A. STEPHENS, *Callimachus. The Hymns*, Oxford 2015, pp. 86 and 97. Ian RUTHERFORD in his magisterial study *Pindar's Paeans: A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre*, Oxford 2001, p. 130, considers the passages of Callimachus' *Hymn 2* which contain or allude to that cry as 'generic signatures' and concludes: "I am strongly tempted to call it a παιῶν; at the very least, it is a sensitive and beautiful homage to the genre".

<sup>2</sup> Outside Callimachus, the only exception in the extant texts is, to my knowledge, Ἰη- in the epithet of Phoebus at Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* II 702: καλὸν Ἰηπαιῶνον Ἰηπαιῶνα Φοῖβον (as a variant in the Laurentian MS).

<sup>3</sup> The line reads: σοὶ χέρας ἡέρ]ταζεν, Ἰήϊε, πολλὰ δ' ἀπέιλει.

The dichotomy *iḥ* / *iḥ̄*, rooted in the ancient attempts to explain the etymology of the expression<sup>4</sup>, has been thoroughly discussed by other scholars<sup>5</sup>. I touch upon this problem here merely because of its possible implications for the question of Callimachus' originality in shaping the paean cry. Ian RUTHERFORD<sup>6</sup> is of the opinion that "it would be unlike Callimachus to use the rough breathing unless it was independently attested"; whereas William D. FURLEY and Jan Maarten BREMER comment on such novelty: "this looks like Alexandrian cleverness", clearly pointing out Callimachus as the proper innovator<sup>7</sup>.

In order to further define Callimachus' specificity, I intend to take a closer look at the metrical shape of the paean cries in the *Hymn to Apollo*, an aspect which appears outside the scope of interest of the Callimachean scholarship. What deserves special attention, in my view, is the treatment of vowels within the paeanic formula. The poet differentiates the quantity of the initial *iota* of the exclamation *iḥ* according to its position within the hexameter. When used for the first time in the hymn (at 21) in the course of the verse, it is scanned quite regularly<sup>8</sup> as ~ -: *ὀππὸθ' ἰḥ παιῆον ἰḥ̄ παιῆον ἀκούση*. When shifted to the beginning of verse, however, it succumbs to the epic rules, which allow for the 'metrical lengthening' of the (normally) short *iota* in the princeps position. A further consequence of this metrical 'epicisation' is shortening of the *eta* at word-end before another vowel. As a result, the doubled *iḥ* at the beginning of 25, 80, 97 and 103 (*iḥ̄ iḥ̄*) must be scanned ~ ~ ~ -, compare 25: *ἰḥ̄ ἰḥ̄ φθέγγεσθε· κακὸν μακάρεσσιν ἐρίζειν*.

Although one has to admit that Callimachus in his hexametric hymn may simply have followed the epic tradition, it is difficult not to notice that the transposition of the cry to the beginning of the verse in all four above-indicated lines was an intentional act. I believe that the poet wanted to achieve rhythmically identical, self-contained cola of the form D -, filling the first half of the hexameter up to the medial caesura. The cry reaches its final shape gradually, preceded with an introductory, partial formula at 25, and an intermediate, locally orientated variant at 80:

25	<i>ἰḥ̄ ἰḥ̄ φθέγγεσθε· κακὸν μακάρεσσιν ἐρίζειν</i>
80	<i>ἰḥ̄ ἰḥ̄ Καρνείε πολὺλλιτε, σείο δὲ βωμοί</i>
97	<i>ἰḥ̄ ἰḥ̄ παιῆον ἀκούομεν, οὐνεκα τοῦτο</i>
103	<i>ἰḥ̄ ἰḥ̄ παιῆον, ἦει βέλος, εὐθύ σε μήτηρ</i>

<sup>4</sup> For an ancient discussion of the cry, see Ath. XV 701 C–F. Cf. also *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 469, 41–57 Kallierges.

<sup>5</sup> A comprehensive presentation of the problem can be found in RUTHERFORD, *op. cit.* (n. 1), esp. p. 25 with nn. 7 and 8, and in Annette HARDER, *Callimachus, Aetia: Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*, vol. II: *Commentary*, Oxford 2012, pp. 192 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 18, n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Greek Hymns*, vol. I: *The Texts in Translation*, Tübingen 2001, p. 134, n. 121.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the hexametric *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 517: *Κρήτες πρὸς Πυθῶ καὶ ἱπαιῆον ἄειδον*.

The proper cry ἰῆ ἰῆ παῖνον, easily detachable from the rest of the verse, becomes here an equivalent of a 'real' ritual refrain (called ἐφύμνιον at 101).

It should be noted that the adaptation of the cry to the colon D - (*hemiepes femininum*) was made at the cost of depriving the initial ἰῆ, which in that metrical *sedes* is subject to lengthening and correction, of the status of a fully-fledged exclamation. This is not the case in lyric poetry, compare Pindar's paean II (fr. 52b, 35 MAEHLER): ἰῆ ἰῆ Παῖάν, a colon defined by SNELL and MAEHLER as acephalous pherecratean.

The 'normal', unforced rhythm of the Callimachean version of the cry is iambic; specifically, it is iambic dimeter catalectic of the form - - - - - -, which can fill the first part of iambic trimeter or scazon; for the latter possibility, compare Herodas, mime IV (*Women Making a Dedication and Sacrifice to Asclepius*), lines 82 and 85<sup>9</sup>:

ἰῆ ἰῆ Παῖνον, εὐμενῆς εἶης  
 .....  
 ἰῆ ἰῆ Παῖνον, ὧδε ταῦτ' εἶη,

These two lines from Herodas seem to form the only parallel to the Callimachean version of the paean cry (in the surviving texts). They encourage us to take into consideration an alluring hypothesis that Callimachus constructed his paean cry so as to permit it to be pronounced either way: as dactyls/spondees or iambs<sup>10</sup>. Such a rhythmical ambiguity (admitting other than hexametric models), as well as the relatively frequent repetition of the paean cry in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, are meant to emphasise its 'paeanic' character<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> The case observed by Lutz KÄPPEL, *Paian. Studien zur Geschichte einer Gattung*, Berlin–New York 1992, p. 67, and classified as a Paian-‘Zitat’ (but, strikingly, omitted by RUTHERFORD, *op. cit.* [n. 1]).

<sup>10</sup> Symptomatically, at the end of the series of five paean cries, in line 103, Callimachus himself suggests the brevity of the *iota* in the ἰῆ by deriving it from ἴει (~ -), which supports the iambic scansion of the preceding cry. Klaus STRUNK, *Frühe Vocalveränderungen in der griechischen Literatur*, Glotta XXXVIII 1959, pp. 74–89, at 80, favours the interpretation of the cry in the categories of an appeal for action: “ἰῆ ἰῆ παῖνον soll hier verstanden werden als ἴει, ἴει, παῖ, ἰόν”; the obtained sequence is evidently iambic. A prerequisite for such an interpretation was that η and εἰ were becoming identical in pronunciation in the time of Callimachus (both were supposedly pronounced as [i]).

<sup>11</sup> The view now rapidly gaining in popularity; see, most recently, Jane LIGHTFOOT, *Callimachus, Hymn 2 and the Genre of Paean* (forthcoming). Let me point out here that I expressed such an opinion four decades ago (Jerzy DANIELEWICZ, *Morfologia hymnu antycznego* [“Morphology of the Ancient Hymn”], Poznań 1976, pp. 52 f.).



CONIECTANEA (III)\*

scripsit

CAROLUS M. LUCARINI

(1) Phrynichus, *Ecloga* 370 F.<sup>1</sup>: χρεολυτῆσαι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τῶν δ' Ἀττικῶν τὸ τὰ χρέα διαλύσασθαι.

Quid significet ἀγαθῶν equidem non video ipseque FISCHER de genuinitate lectionis dubitat. Ego scriberem ἀμαθῶν, cfr. Phryn. *Praep. soph.* 1, ll. 5 sq. DE BORRIES: οἱ δὲ ἀπολελυμένως λέγοντες ἀφήλιξ, ἀφήλικες ἀμαθέστατοι.

(2) *Scholia in Aristophanis Pacem* 363 a<sup>2</sup>: οὐδὲν πονηρόν R: ὅτι πονηρός. ἄδηλον RV δέ, V πότερον κύριον ὄνομα ἢ ἐπώνυμον.

Pro certo habet scholiasta Κιλλικῶντα, cuius mentionem facit Aristophanes, malum fuisse, sed ambigit utrum Κιλλικῶν sit nomen an cognomen. Fortasse post πονηρός excidit <δηλον>, cfr. Palladius, *Scholia in Hipp. de fract.* 20, l. 11 IRMER (καὶ ὅτι μὲν γνήσιόν ἐστιν, δηλον, ποίου δὲ Ἴπποκράτους ἐστίν, ἄδηλον ἡμῖν ἐστιν); Alex. Aphr. *In Aristot. Metaph.* p. 445, 31 HAYDUCK (ἀλλ' εἰ περὶ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν ἀληθῶς νῦν μὲν ἄδηλον, ὅτι δὲ ἔνια, ἵνα μὴ πάντα λέγωμεν μαθήματα, ἢ ἀκίνητά ἐστι καὶ ἢ χωριστὰ θεωρεῖ ἢ μαθηματικῆ, δηλον).

(3) *Ibid.* 363 d (cfr. *FGrHist* 115, F 111): οὐδὲν πονηρόν: οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως φησὶν οὐδὲν πονηρόν ποιεῖν ταῦτα πράττειν εἶναι, ἅπερ καὶ Κιλλικῶν. ὁ γὰρ τοι Κιλλικῶν ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ διαβόητός ἐστιν. φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν Σάμον ἢ Μίλητον προδοῦναι Πριηνεῦσι. Θεόφραστος [Θεόπομπος cī. PRELLER] δὲ ἐν τῷ γ' τῶν ἱστοριῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ Σύρον φησὶν αὐτὸν τὴν νῆσον προδεδωκέναι Σαμίοις. πυνθανομένων δὲ πολλακίς αὐτοῦ τινων, τί μέλλοι ποιεῖν, ἔλεγε “πάντα ἀγαθὰ”. “πάντα οὖν ἀγαθὰ – φησί – ποιῶ, ὡς ἔφη καὶ Κιλλικῶν”. τῆς δὲ προδοσίας τοιαύτην ὑποσχεῖν τιμωρίαν. Θεαγένην τινὰ

\* Coniectaneorum fasciculos priores publici iuris feci in commentariis periodicis q.i. Philologus (XL 2006, pp. 350–354) et Eos (XCIV 2007, pp. 313–315). Gratias ago iudici anonymo ephemeridis, qui nonnulla vel correxit vel addidit.

<sup>1</sup> E. FISCHER, *Die Ekloge des Phrynichos*, Berlin–New York 1974.

<sup>2</sup> *Scholia vetera et recentiora in Aristophanis Pacem*, ed. D. HOLWERDA, Groningen 1982.

ἄνδρα Σύριον, τῆς νήσου τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κιλλικῶντος προδοθείσης πολίτην, πρὸ πολλοῦ μετοικήσαντα εἰς τὴν Σάμον κρεωπολεῖν καὶ οὕτως ἀπάγειν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον. ἀγανακτήσαντα δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιστάντος τοῦ Κιλλικῶντος ὠνήσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ κρέας δοῦναι κρατεῖν αὐτῶ, ἵνα ἀποκόψῃ τὸ περιττόν. τοῦ δὲ πεισθέντος καὶ κρατοῦντος, τοῦ Κιλλικῶντος, προφάσει τοῦ πλεονάζον ἀποκόψαι τὸ κρέας ἐπανατεινάμενον τὴν κοπίδα κόψαι τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Κιλλικῶντος καὶ εἰπεῖν· “ὡς ταύτη τῇ χειρὶ ἑτέραν οὐ προδώσεις πόλιν”.

(a) Post verba ἐν τῷ ἰγ' τῶν ἱστοριῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ *suspicio* aliquid excidisse velut <χρόνων> (cfr. Diog. Laert. II 110: ἱστορίας γεγραφῶς τὰς κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ). (b) Nusquam inveni ἀπάγειν τὸν βίον pro “degere vitam” (quid significet ἀπάγειν τὸν βίον nos docet Greg. Nyss. *Orat. VIII de beat.*, XLIV 1273 MIGNE: τὴν διὰ κακίας τὸν βίον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀπάγουσαν). Lege mecum **διάγειν** τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον (cfr. LSJ s.v. *διάγω* II 1 et e.g. Ioh. Chrys. *In martyres Aegyptios*, L 698 MIGNE: διὰ ῥαθυμίας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον διαγαγόντα). (c) In periodo τοῦ δὲ πεισθέντος [...] καὶ εἰπεῖν verba τοῦ Κιλλικῶντος iam pro additiis aliqui deleverunt, sed plura sunt exsecanda. **Dele** τοῦ Κιλλικῶντος **προφάσει τοῦ πλεονάζον ἀποκόψαι τὸ κρέας** et omnia quadrabunt; neque causa interpolationis longe quaerenda, cum verba addita sint ne quis de vi verbi κρατεῖν (“tenere”, “porrigere”) ambigeret.

(4) *Ibid.* 1183 c: τόπος Ἀθήνησιν παρὰ πρυτανεῖον ἐν ᾧ ἐστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες, οὓς ἐπωνύμους καλοῦσιν. ἐπειδὴ οὖν κατάλογον δεήσῃ γενέσθαι στρατείας, προσγράφοντες τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν καταλεγόμενων ἐπὶ ἐνὸς προτιθέασι τούτων τῶν ἀνδριάντων ὑπὲρ τοῦ φανερόν ἐκεῖσε γίνεσθαι τοῖς καταλεγόμενοις.

Προσγράφειν significat aliquid iam scriptis addere, quod hic vix procedit. Lege mecum **προ[σ]γράφοντες**.

(5) Erasmus Roterodamus, *Apologia contra Sanctium Caranzam* 89, 649–651 de Jonge<sup>3</sup>: “‘Servus’ perpetuum conditionis utilitatem sonat vulgo, quam fere comitatur animus illiberalis et parendi necessitas potius quam voluntas”.

Quid significet utilitatem equidem non video; scribe potius **vilitatem**, ut 89, ll. 642 sq.: “Nam ‘servi’ nomen absolute positum vulgo sonat indignitatem ac vilitatem conditionis.

(6) *Ibid.* 90, 659–661: “Rursum si quis ‘servum’ velit appellare, quod pro nostris peccatis vinculus, sit caesus et crucifixus, formam servi pro tempore suscepit hactenus veram.

<sup>3</sup> Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami *Opera omnia*, vol. IX 8, ed. H.J. DE JONGE, Leiden–Boston 2015.



Novus editor editiones veteres secutus post *vinctus* virgulam posuit, sed hoc modo oratio claudicat. Pone virgulam post *sit*, cum hoc verbum tam ad *vinctus* quam ad *caesus* et ad *crucifixus* referendum sit.

(7) Idem, *Apologia ad Prodromon Stunicae* 190, 52–54: “Si quis illi largiatur idem esse mysterium et sacramentum, evicit aliquo modo dici sacramentum; non evicit esse sacramentum iuxta exactam huius vocabuli rationem de qua nos agebamus”.

Erasmus perfectum *evicit* scripsisse non adducor ut credam. Cfr. infra ll. 54–56: “quod si quis non largiatur illi [...] ne hoc quidem evincit ex hoc loco matrimonium aliquo modo dici sacramentum”. Est igitur etiam in nostro loco utrobique *evincit* restituendum.

*Coloniae Agrippinae et Panhormi*



LE LETTERE AGGIUNTE DA PALAMEDE E SIMONIDE  
E L'ALFABETO LATINO. NOTA A PLIN. *HN* VII 192  
(E MAX. VICTORIN. *GL* VI 194, 11–16 + AUDAX *GL* VII 325, 1–6)

di

FEDERICO BIDDAU

ABSTRACT: The lists of letters credited to Palamedes and Simonides by Pliny, Maximus Victorinus, Audax and St. Isidore, in spite of some explicable differences, depend ultimately on the same source and correspond. They include H and Y, and not Z. Pliny's problematic statement after their mention can be best understood by turning it into a negative clause: two solutions are proposed.

Plin. *HN* VII 192:

Litteras semper arbitror Assyrias fuisse, sed alii apud Aegyptios a Mercurio, ut Gellius, alii apud Syros repertas uolunt, utrique in Graeciam attulisse e Phoenice Cadmum sedecim numero, quibus Troiano bello Palameden adiecisse quattuor hac figura H Y Φ X, totidem post eum Simoniden melicum Ψ Ξ Ω Θ, quarum omnium uis in nostris recognoscitur.

Come si può ben immaginare, questi elenchi di lettere greche non ci sono stati trasmessi nel modo più stabile e pacifico. Faccio mia la scelta del SCHILLING<sup>1</sup>, che rende conto al meglio della tradizione manoscritta (con qualche dubbio riguardo alla posizione di Y e Ψ, facilmente scambiati a causa della loro somiglianza). Della sua spiegazione invece è condivisibile solo l'argomento paleografico, mentre considerazioni sull'effettiva verosimiglianza storica della presenza di una lettera o di un'altra alla luce delle nostre conoscenze sono di limitata utilità per ricostruire le informazioni disponibili a Plinio. Piuttosto, a sostegno di questa sistemazione e contro altre più incaute – a partire da quella del MAYHOFF<sup>2</sup>, ripresa ancora in anni recenti, che attribuisce a Palamede Z Y Φ e X<sup>3</sup> – è opportuno

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<sup>1</sup> Plinè l' Ancien, *Histoire naturelle, livre VII*, texte établi, traduit et commenté par R. SCHILLING, Paris 1977.

<sup>2</sup> C. Plini Secundi *Naturalis historia*, recognovit et scripturae discrepantia adiecta iterum edidit C. MAYHOFF, vol. II, Lipsiae 1909.

<sup>3</sup> Così anche G. WINKLER (a quattro mani con R. KÖNIG, [München] 1975) e, pur dopo il SCHILLING, ancora p. es. G.B. CONTE, G. RANUCCI (Torino 1983) ed E. DEL BARRIO SANZ (Madrid 2003).

considerare un altro argomento non abbastanza valorizzato. Tre autori tardi, Max. Victorin. *GL* VI 194, 11–16, Audax *GL* VII 325, 1–6, e meno precisamente Isid. *Etym.* I 3, 6, riprendono più o meno da vicino le parole di Plinio, mostrando di attingere alla stessa tradizione, cosicché il testo di ciascuno dei quattro autori illumina quello degli altri tre.

I due grammatici parlano quasi all'unisono, e dopo aver menzionato gli Assiri o Mercurio Egizio come inventori delle lettere, aver detto che il Fenicio Cadmo le introdusse in Grecia e averne anche dato un elenco assente in Plinio, aggiungono: “Iisque [hisque *Audace*] Troiano bello Palamedem addidisse quattuor [scil. constat], H Ψ X Φ, post eum Simonidem melicum totidem [alias quattuor *Audace*], Z Ξ Ω Θ”. Questo è il testo dato dal KEIL (*GL*), ma da uno studio attento dei suoi apparati risulta che il quartetto di Simonide, in entrambi gli autori, era piuttosto Y Ξ Ω (o forse O) e Θ. L'intervento del KEIL, come lui stesso ammette, è un tentativo di razionalizzare il testo dei grammatici e di farli rientrare nella tradizione per cui Y è una lettera originaria (e infatti il KEIL la sostituisce al tràdito Ω nel relativo elenco) e Z, lettera duplice, un'invenzione più tarda. Ma non sempre si può pretendere razionalità e coerenza dai grammatici tardoantichi, né la tradizione manoscritta può essere totalmente ignorata, tanto più che i testi affini di Plinio e S. Isidoro confermano la presenza dell'Y nei quartetti.

Da parte sua S. Isidoro ignora gli Assiri e Mercurio Egizio, ma parla dell'introduzione delle lettere in Grecia da parte del Fenicio Cadmo, dandone anche lui l'elenco, e aggiunge: “His Palamedes troiano bello tres adiecit H X Ω; post quem Simonides melicus tres alias adiecit Ψ Ξ Θ”. I quartetti di Plinio e dei grammatici qui diventano terzetti, ma questo particolare non deve ingannare: S. Isidoro doveva avere a disposizione gli stessi quartetti degli altri, ma in un testo corrotto che confondeva Y con Ψ e Φ con Ω (lo si immagini in forma di Ϟ con l'asta centrale alta, come veniva scritto allora). Dunque nella sua fonte il *doctor egregius* leggeva H Ψ Ω X per Palamede, Ψ Ξ Ω Θ per Simonide; e vedendo che i due avevano introdotto ciascuno lo stesso numero di lettere (cfr. *totidem* in Plinio e Massimo Vittorino), ed essendo più sensibile dei grammatici a razionalità e coerenza, eliminò gli apparenti doppietti lasciando H X e Ω a Palamede, Ψ Ξ e Θ a Simonide.

I dati di questi tre autori quindi portano precisamente agli stessi quartetti che la tradizione di Plinio consente di ricostruire, col medesimo dubbio sulla posizione di Y e Ψ e senza la presenza di Z, introdotto a forza dal KEIL nei grammatici e dal MAYHOFF in Plinio. Non inganni il seguito del testo pliniano così come l'hanno pubblicato il MAYHOFF e altri dopo di lui: “Aristoteles decem et octo

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Simile anche la scelta di H. RACKHAM (Cambridge 1942), che segue D. DETLEFSEN (Berolini 1867): Z Ψ Φ e X per Palamede, Y Ξ Ω e Θ per Simonide.

priscas fuisse et duas ab Epicharmo additas X Z<sup>4</sup> quam a Palamede mauult<sup>5</sup>, da cui si dedurrebbe che lo Z dovesse figurare nel quartetto di Palamede. Anche qui la scelta del MAYHOFF è incauta: in realtà i testimoni omettono le due lettere in questione, e XZ (o forse Ω Z, il primo segno è equivoco) è aggiunto solo dalla seconda mano di un codice (F), che si rivela spesso inattendibile<sup>5</sup>. D'altra parte che a Palamede si attribuisse l'H (insieme al X e ad altre lettere) sembra trovar conferma anche in Serv. ad *Aen.* II 81<sup>6</sup>.

Oltre agli intricati problemi che pongono i quartetti di lettere, però, questo passo ha anche un'altra difficoltà molto più trascurata. Stando al testo tràdito, per Plinio tutte le lettere ricordate avrebbero un corrispondente fonetico tra quelle latine: un'affermazione sorprendente, visto che si tratta senza eccezione di lettere tipicamente greche, estranee all'alfabeto latino<sup>7</sup>. Non a torto Françoise DESBORDES ebbe a scrivere che essa "richiederebbe almeno qualche spiegazione"<sup>8</sup>. Ma Plinio non ne dà alcuna, forse perché pensava che le sue parole fossero tanto manifestamente chiare e vere da non averne bisogno.

Si è tentato di intendere il passo come se Plinio volesse dire che il valore fonetico di quelle otto lettere si può rappresentare in un modo o nell'altro anche coi caratteri latini, magari combinati in digrammi<sup>9</sup>. Ma così si forza troppo il testo: lì non si parla di rappresentare le lettere greche tramite espedienti grafici, ma di riconoscerne il valore fonetico in quelle latine, che è tutt'altra cosa. Senza contare che in ogni caso il valore di Y non si lascia rappresentare tramite l'alfabeto latino del tempo di Plinio<sup>10</sup>, e quindi anche questa interpretazione lascia il testo problematico senza che si capisca la ragione dell'incongruenza. Né si può credere che Plinio si stesse riferendo all'alfabeto in generale ed intendesse solo dire che alla fine le lettere assire erano arrivate a Roma: non subito dopo aver elencato le lettere aggiunte dai Greci, così vistosamente estranee al latino.

<sup>4</sup> Il RACKHAM, sempre sulla scorta del DETLEFSEN, stampa Ψ Z, mentre il SCHILLING, qui seguito da CONTE, RANUCCI, Φ X.

<sup>5</sup> Sull'inaffidabilità di questa seconda mano vd. lo stesso MAYHOFF, vol. I, Lipsiae 1906, pp. 527 s. Stando all'apparato del SCHILLING la seconda mano di un altro codice (E) aggiunge invece Θ X, a rendere lo Z ancor meno probabile.

<sup>6</sup> Anche se Servio la prende per la lettera latina e parla di *H aspiratio*. Non sembra invece confrontabile Hyg. *Fab.* 277, che potrebbe attingere ad altri filoni paralleli sul tema, come anche Tac. *Ann.* XI 14.

<sup>7</sup> È noto che Y e Z, pur introdotte nell'uso latino già nel corso del I sec. a. C., furono a lungo sentite come lettere straniere, che non facevano parte dell'alfabeto latino. Ancora Quintiliano, una quindicina d'anni dopo la morte di Plinio, chiama la X *nostrarum ultima* (*Inst.* I 4, 9; cf. *in nostris* in Plinio).

<sup>8</sup> F. DESBORDES, *Idées romaines sur l'écriture*, Lille 1990, p. 145. La DESBORDES leggeva il primo quartetto come H X Φ Z (*op. cit.*, p. 138).

<sup>9</sup> Così da ultimo M. BEAGON, *The Elder Pliny on the Human Animal. Natural History, Book 7*, Oxford 2005, p. 424.

<sup>10</sup> Vd. n. 7. Lo stesso varrebbe per lo Z, incluso a torto nei quartetti dal MAYHOFF e dal KEIL.

Inoltre dell'alfabetizzazione del Lazio si occupa solo alla fine della sezione tematica, nell'ultima frase del § 193, dopo aver riferito tutte le tradizioni greche a lui note sull'origine delle lettere. La nostra frase quindi non può che essere un'osservazione estemporanea, per inciso, a proposito delle lettere di Palamede e Simonide appena menzionate. Così com'è, insomma, il testo ci lascia in cerca di spiegazioni con la DESBORDES.

Provo a darne una io: il testo di Plinio in origine non aveva davvero gran bisogno di chiarimenti, ma la sua trasmissione gli ha fatto dire una cosa diversa ed effettivamente problematica, facendo cadere una negazione. Plinio quindi, riferendosi alle lettere espressamente menzionate (a tutte, non solo all'ultimo gruppo: per questo *omnium*), doveva aver detto: "Tutte lettere il cui valore fonetico *non* si riconosce tra le nostre".

Su come potesse suonare questa frase con la negazione mi vengono in mente due diverse ipotesi. Una è con *uix* dopo *uis*, che spiegherebbe molto facilmente la corruzione: "quarum omnium uis **uix** in nostris recognoscitur". *Vix* propriamente vuol dire 'appena, a stento', ma occasionalmente arriva ad equivalere a una mera negazione (cfr. *minus*, 'meno' ma spesso anche 'non'). Il passo più chiaro è forse Prop. III 21, 7: "*uix* [...] aut semel admittit" ("non mi riceve punto, o una volta sola")<sup>11</sup>, ma cfr. anche per es. Cic. *Verr.* II 2, 159, o *Tusc.* II 57. Del resto l'avverbio a volte si accompagna ad *aliquis*, come in Cic. *Verr.* I 12, dove ha il valore limitativo che gli è proprio e si contrappone in positivo a *nullo modo*; ma altre volte si accompagna a *quisquam*, come in Cic. *Mur.* 56, dove equivale appunto ad una negazione<sup>12</sup>. Nel passo di Plinio l'uso di una negazione più sfumata del solito *non* potrebbe essere dovuto alla presenza di *omnes*, che non si lega bene con una negazione esplicita.

L'altra possibilità è appunto che sia caduto *non* dopo *nostris*: "quarum omnium uis in nostris **non** recognoscitur". Come accennavo or ora l'espressione latina sarebbe poco naturale: più normale sarebbe stato "quarum nullius uis in nostris recognoscitur", mentre il tipo *omnes non* attecchisce solo in epoca più tarda; eppure anche in questo caso si trova un parallelo utile in Properzio, che dimostra come un'espressione del genere in effetti non fosse impossibile neanche in età classica: "semper [...] non nostis" = *nunquam nostis*, "non sapete mai" (II 28, 13). Una generazione dopo Plinio si esprime in modo paragonabile anche il giurista Giavoleno: "omnimodo [...] non possit" = *nullo modo possit* (*Dig.* XXXVIII 5, 12).

<sup>11</sup> Il testo non è pacifico, e c'è chi, senza riconoscere quest'uso, preferisce emendare *uix* in *bis*; ma vd. le considerazioni di P. FEDELI, *Properzio, il libro terzo delle Elegie*, Bari 1985, p. 611 (*ad loc.*), che richiama anche il parallelo di Prop. II 4, 22.

<sup>12</sup> *Vix* come negazione eufemistica: O. HEY, *Euphemismus und Verwandtes im Lateinischen*, ALLG XI 1900, pp. 515–536: 527 s.; J.B. HOFMANN, *La lingua d'uso latina*, a cura di L. RICOTTILLI, Bologna 1985, § 133.

In un caso e nell'altro con un semplice ritocco quella frase sconcertante sembra diventare chiara e vera, e non aver più alcun bisogno di spiegazioni; ma a ben vedere non lo è nemmeno così: non è proprio vero che tutte le lettere elencate non hanno un corrispettivo fonetico latino. In particolare non è vero per lo *csi*, che nell'alfabeto latino ha un perfetto corrispettivo fonetico nella *ics*; e Plinio parla del valore fonetico. È un'incongruenza molto minore e meno evidente di quella che risultava dal testo tradito, ma resta pur sempre un'affermazione problematica. Io però credo che si possa azzardare una spiegazione anche per questa incongruenza, e questa volta non si tratterebbe di un errore della tradizione, ma di una svista dell'autore.

Raccogliendo le tradizioni sulle lettere aggiunte in un secondo momento all'alfabeto greco, Plinio avrà notato a un primo sguardo che erano tutte lettere prettamente greche, come abbiamo osservato anche noi. In un primo tempo quindi avrà scritto o inteso scrivere qualcosa come: “*quae omnes uix in nostris recognoscuntur*”. Poi però si sarà accorto che nel primo quartetto figuravano l'*H* e il *X*, che esistevano anche in latino, solo con un valore fonetico diverso. Allora avrà introdotto nella sua considerazione il concetto di valore fonetico, *uis*, senza rendersi conto che in questo modo ciò che diceva non valeva più per lo *Ξ*.

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## DELPHI THROUGHOUT THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS: HONOURS AND PRIVILEGES IN DELPHIC DECREES\*

by

DOMINIKA GRZESIK

The chief purpose of my dissertation was to re-examine the history of the Delphic city by means of considering an abundant body of post-classical epigraphic evidence, that is, honorific decrees granted by the citizens of Delphi. My study on Delphic decrees uncovered many previously unknown aspects of the history of this extraordinary place. A relatively small Greek city-state with an undersized population, Delphi's fame nonetheless rivalled that of Athens, Sparta or Thebes. Well-known as the site of a famous oracle of Apollo, Delphi is known as a treasure trove of preserved epigraphic material, with almost 5,000 pieces of evidence recorded: indeed, no other Greek *polis*, save for the largest and the best explored, Athens, produced more inscriptions than Delphi. The Delphic material yielded almost a thousand honorific decrees, those who received them being honoured for their services to the city and its citizens. Developed and improved throughout the centuries, the Delphic scheme of bestowing honours and privileges upon public benefactors ran remarkably smoothly. My PhD thesis offers a new perspective on the Delphic decree culture and on the practice of bestowing honours and privileges in Delphi.

The scope of this dissertation was to investigate the Delphic *polis* and the honorific decrees and privileges awarded by its people. Nevertheless, at this point I should stress that the Delphic territory comprised three centres: the Delphic *polis*

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\* The following text is a summary of the doctoral dissertation supervised by Prof. Krzysztof NAWOTKA (University of Wrocław) and Prof. Graham OLIVER (University of Liverpool), presented to the Faculty of the Department of History, University of Wrocław, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and defended at the said Department on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2015. The dissertation was reviewed by Prof. Maria MUSIELAK (Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań) and Prof. Andrzej Łoś (University of Lower Silesia).

with its citizens, the sanctuary of Apollo with its oracle, and the Amphictyony, whose role was to administer and watch over the sanctuary. These three centres had much shared history; in fact, they greatly influenced one another and one would not be what it was without the other two. Those studying the history of the Delphic *polis* cannot exclude concurrent developments in the Amphictyony and the sanctuary: accordingly, although this dissertation concentrates on the Delphic city-state, occasional references to the Amphictyony or sanctuary do appear in the text.

The chronological span of the dissertation covers the Hellenistic and Roman periods, starting from the mid-fourth c. BC and ending with the late second c. AD, although I occasionally went beyond these dates. The mid-fourth c. BC *terminus* was chosen for the following reasons. Firstly, M. MUSIELAK devoted her work to the Delphic *polis* in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (380–280 BC)<sup>1</sup>; my dissertation is, after a fashion, a continuation and extension of MUSIELAK's research. Secondly, the interim period between 360–320 BC was labelled by French scholars as a “période de comptes”<sup>2</sup>, as mid-fourth century Delphi, destroyed by the earthquake of 373/372 BC, was being extensively rebuilt and refurbished<sup>3</sup>. At approximately the same time, the sanctuary was occupied by Phocians wishing to assert their claim on Delphi, thus bringing about the start of the Third Sacred War<sup>4</sup>. When the war came to an end and the rebuilding work was finished, Delphi and the temple entered a new era, beginning with Philip II's victory at Chaeronea and his subjugation of the Greek city-states: the analysis of the said period constitutes the bulk of my dissertation. In turn, after the late second c. AD Delphic honorific decrees disappear from the body of epigraphic evidence: pertinently, this period constitutes the *terminus ad quem* for the scope of this dissertation.

To date, no book or paper has comprehensively discussed the Delphic decree culture and honorific practice. In my dissertation, I aimed to achieve three

<sup>1</sup> M. MUSIELAK, *Miasto-państwo Delfy w IV w. p.n.e. Studium z historii społeczeństwa greckiego*, Poznań 1989.

<sup>2</sup> A. JACQUEMIN, D. MULLIEZ, G. ROUGEMONT, *Choix d'inscriptions de Delphes, traduites et commentées*, Athènes 2012, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> On the rebuilding effort, see e.g.: P. AMANDRY, E. HANSEN, *Le temple d'Apollon du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 2010 (Fouilles de Delphes II: Topographie et architecture 14); M. MAASS, *Das antike Delphi*, München 2007, pp. 87–94; M. MUSIELAK, *Rola Delfijczyków, Amfiktionów, Hellenów w budowie świątyni Apollina Pytyjskiego*, Eos LXXI 1983, pp. 309–316; H.W. PARKE, D.E.W. WORMELL, *The Delphic Oracle*, Oxford 1956, vol. I, p. 227; P. SÁNCHEZ, *L'Amphictionie des Pyles et de Delphes: recherches sur son rôle historique, des origines au II<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère*, Stuttgart 2001, pp. 128–151.

<sup>4</sup> F. DELTENNE, *La dotation du débout de la troisième guerre sacrée. Retours sur l'interprétation des comptes de Delphes*, BCH CXXXIV 2010, pp. 97–116; M. SCOTT, *Delphi: A History of the Center of the Ancient World*, Princeton 2014, pp. 149–162; J. BUCKLER, *Thebes, Delphi and the Outbreak of the Third Sacred War*, in: P. ROESCH, G. ARGOU (eds.), *La Béotie antique*, Paris 1985, pp. 237–246; J. BUCKLER, *Philip II and the Sacred War*, Leiden 1997; M. MUSIELAK, *Wojna fokejska (356–346) – ideologia i propaganda*, in: L. MORAWIECKI, P. BERDOWSKI (eds.), *Ideologia i propaganda w starożytności. Materiały konferencji Komisji Historii Starożytnej PTH, Rzeszów 12–14 września 2000*, Rzeszów 2004, pp. 125–135.

main goals. Firstly, I sought to examine Delphi's external and internal relations. Scanning the texts of honorific decrees for personal references to specific awardees, I could trace contacts between Delphi and Hellenistic monarchs, the Roman state, other Greek city-states and *koina*, as well as other Mediterranean states; in addition to tracing connections between Delphi and foreigners, I investigated interactions between the Delphic *polis* and its own citizens. As a result, my research showcased the manner in which the Delphic *polis* cultivated relations with the dominant powers of the Hellenistic and Roman world, and what kind of impact the contacts with other Greek *poleis* had on Delphi and its citizens. Secondly, the aim of my research was to explore honours and privileges bestowed by the people of Delphi on the city's benefactors. What mattered most were the questions about the actual value and meaning of the honours that were granted. What kind of gain did they bring to the personal, political and material awardees? Was there any discernible regularity in the practice of bestowing honours in Delphi – and if so, did it evolve in time? Which privileges were the most desired ones and why? Who received the best honours and what was the reason for bestowing them upon these people? In the process of looking for answers to the aforementioned questions, I was able to study the practice of granting honours and privileges in Delphic decrees throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Lastly, the final aim of this dissertation was to investigate the Delphic decree culture. Almost a thousand preserved honorific decrees from Delphi provide one with fascinating source material for such inquiries. Briefly speaking, Delphic decrees can be classified into three types: full, abbreviated and semi-abbreviated documents. Within the dissertation I examined the formulae of decrees, standard patterns, core formulaic elements, the evolution of patterns over time etc.

As mentioned before, the period under scrutiny spans over 500 years, including both the Hellenistic and Roman epochs. In the diachronic context, one of my objectives was to answer the following questions: Does the Roman context bring about any changes in the source material – and if so, what kind of difference does it make in the recording of Delphic honours, as seen in the inscribed decrees at Delphi? Are changes in honorific practice discernible in the long run and can they be ascribed to specific historical developments?

Due to the vast number of honorific decrees of Delphi that have been preserved, it was not the purpose of my work to analyse other types of Delphic inscriptions, for instance *tituli honorarii* or manumission records. Furthermore, the entire body of Amphictyonic documents had to be excluded from my analysis, as they tend to deal with matters that were beyond the scope of my dissertation.

The dissertation opens with a chapter devoted to honorands, divided into four sections. In the first one, I explore contacts between Delphi, Hellenistic monarchies, the Roman state and Roman emperors; in the second section, I deal with relations between Delphi and other Greek *poleis* and *koina*, for instance the Aetolian League, Thessaly, Athens and other regions. These two sections

constitute an investigation into Delphic international policy in the period under discussion; in contrast, in the third section I look at internal relations, or the practice of granting honours and privileges to citizens of Delphi. In the last section, I focus on honorands who were awarded for their contributions to or participation in Delphic festivals – for example, participants and organisers of the Pythian Games and the Soteria festival. Proceeding further, in chapter two of my dissertation I consider honours and privileges awarded in Delphic honorific decrees. The first 53 pages are devoted to analysing particular privileges, their order within the chapter being based mainly on their appearance in the formulation. After that part a “General overview” follows, a section in which I jointly analyse and compare all the honours which were bestowed, also delving into the issues of the inheritance and renewal of privilege. The next part of my dissertation is chapter three, in which I discuss the generalia of Delphic decree formulae, with the motivation clause – containing the rationale for granting honours and privileges in the first place – discussed separately in chapter four, first the general motives and then specific reasons. The thesis ends with the conclusions section and two appendices: Appendix one contains Delphic full pattern and semi-abbreviated decrees, whereas Appendix two is devoted to abbreviated documents. In every chapter, the main conclusions were summarised in a short section at the end; furthermore, I collected and reanalysed general research results at the end of my dissertation, drawing general conclusions. These are as follows:

In comparison to their heyday in the Archaic and Classical period, the Delphic sanctuary and *polis* experienced a decline in the post-classical period, but – in contrast to some scholars’ views – they were emphatically not abandoned<sup>5</sup>. Granted, royal donations to Delphi in the Hellenistic period were quite small (with the significant exception of the Attalid dynasty), reflecting their general disinterest in that *polis*; nonetheless, it was in this very period that the number of granted honours and voted decrees reached its highest level ever. Indeed, the body of evidence attests to the fact that Delphi cultivated relations with almost the entire Mediterranean region, refuting SCOTT’s unsubstantiated assertion that Delphi was reduced in its status to a parochial sanctuary. The inhabitants of the Greek and Mediterranean worlds continued to visit Delphi, participate in Delphic festivals and sponsor the city, coveting the honour of being awarded one of highly-sought Delphic honours and privileges. The data show that the citizens of Delphi willingly bestowed over thirty different types of privileges on meritorious foreign benefactors. Furthermore, the citizen body granted *asylia* to sanctuaries in Smyrna, Teos, and Chalcedon<sup>6</sup>, recognized new festivals – such as

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<sup>5</sup> E.g. SCOTT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 174; PARKE, WORMELL, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 244.

<sup>6</sup> *FdD* IV 153 (246 or 242 BC) Smyrna; *FdD* II 134c (c. 205/204–203/202 BC) Teos; *FdD* IV 372 (230–200 BC) Chalcedon.

Panathenaia and Eumeneia<sup>7</sup> – and guarded the sanctuary of Apollo, bestowing *promanteia* on selected people.

In the Hellenistic period, Delphi's hard-won political independence came to an end and was never regained in the period under analysis. The Macedonians controlled the city from the 350s onwards; after several decades the Aetolian League seized Delphi from the Macedonians and ruled it for over a century, establishing its own officials (*epimeletai*), reorganizing the Soteria festival and holding sway over the Amphictyonic council. After Antiochos III's defeat in the battle of Magnesia, the Aetolian League lost their supremacy over Delphi to the Romans. Consequently, despite the Roman Senate's guarantee of nominal freedom given to Delphi, neither Delphi nor any other Greek city was truly free under the Romans.

Nevertheless, Delphic honorific decrees of the Hellenistic period suggest that the city attempted to win back a measure of its former independence. Through decreeing an immense number of privileges and honours to foreigners (citizens of other Greek *poleis* and non-Greek states), the people of Delphi strove to establish and maintain relations with the representatives of the Greek world without any external interference, engaging in the international politics of the day on their own terms. Accordingly, through the award of honorific decrees, Delphi forged ties with other Greek *poleis*, *koina*, Hellenistic monarchs and their *philoï*, as well as with the Roman state. The award system could be used offensively – for instance, to morally support a state in war and rally friends against a common enemy: for a case in point, while under Macedonian oppression, the citizens of Delphi awarded collective *promanteia* to the Aetolians allied with the Thebans against Alexander the Great. Arguably, the most interesting use of the Delphic decree was as independence propaganda: the city bestowed a relatively small number of honours on its overlords, Aetolians and Thessalians, and thus projected an image of self-reliance by overtly snubbing citizens of those *poleis* who formally ruled it.

My theory that Delphi consciously supported or opposed political factions through honorific decrees is validated when we link the country of origin of honours with their administrative positions and professions. Contacts between Delphi and Macedonia, Aetolia, Thessaly and Rome were utilitarian and strictly political in nature: consequently, the uncommon awardees from these states were almost always public officials and magistrates. As soon as the political climate changed and Delphi passed from hand to hand, the city decrees no longer honoured its former overlords, instead showing a tendency to give lip service to their new masters. However, no matter if they were under the Macedonians or the Aetolians, Delphi issued only the bare minimum of decrees honouring the officials, continuing the snubbing tactics I described before. The powers of the day

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<sup>7</sup> É. WILL, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique*, Nancy 1967, vol. II, pp. 291 f.

that did not oppress Delphi at the time were honoured, although I believe that honours given to their representatives were an expression of careful sycophancy rather than noble sentiment. In contrast, among the honorands from Athens, Thebes, Ionian and Arcadian cities one prevalingly finds many professional artists, entertainers, religious thinkers, philosophers and intellectuals, a trend which suggests that the Delphic community genuinely appreciated and acknowledged their cultural contributions to the oracular *polis* and its festivities.

The advent of Rome brought about a number of changes in Delphic decree culture. The number of enacted decrees significantly decreased in comparison to the third and second centuries BC. The preserved documentation of the Imperial period shows an increase in *tituli honorarii* and a sharp decline in the number of decrees; the regression continued into the Imperial period, when the formulae of full decrees were reduced and simplified. Under Hadrian and Plutarch, the Delphic sanctuary and *polis* entered a second period of prosperity, with the number of granted honours and privileges increasing after centuries of decline: artists, erudites and philosophers associated with the Second Sophistic movement flocked to the city, beautified through generous donations from Herodes Atticus, a prominent philanthropist and patron of public works. Nevertheless, the body of evidence indicates that even in that period the number of decrees never again rose to the peak numbers of the third and second centuries BC.

The Hellenistic period was not only the *floruit* of Delphic decree culture, but also the heyday of its democratic system. In the third and second centuries BC, the democratic culture in Delphi rapidly developed, an advance reflected by the fact that the majority of decrees were passed only after the community put them to the vote. The third century BC was the age in which the Delphic decree culture issued the largest number of them, whereas in the next century decree formulae achieved previously unattainable standards of literary quality. The decrees of the second century BC reached the most complex stage of their development: the standard pattern featured the largest number of additional elements, whereas the formulae took on their most extensive and informative form.

The honorific decrees of Delphi demonstrate the important role played by the Delphic assembly, as the majority of decrees were enacted by the *demos*. Judging by honorific decrees only, it is impossible to fully comprehend the role of Delphic *boule* within the democratic system of the *poleis*; nonetheless, it appears that the Delphic council was of far less importance than the Delphic assembly.

To conclude, my PhD thesis constitutes but an introduction to Delphic honorific culture in post-classical times: I intend to continue my research, which will hopefully shed new light on the history of this extraordinary *polis*.

## GREEK LITERATURE AND CULTURAL LIFE EAST OF THE EUPHRATES. THE GREEKS AND BUDDHISM\*

by

OLGA KUBICA

My PhD dissertation is devoted to the issue of the relations of Greeks to Buddhism in the territory of the Hellenistic Far East, which corresponds to ancient Bactria and Northwest India, from the time of the conquest of these areas by Alexander the Great to the fall of the Indo-Greek kingdom (around 10 AD). The theme of the Greco-Buddhist relations is introduced in the wider context of Greco-Indian relations. The topic, despite its attractiveness, had not so far been fully developed. Perhaps the reason for this is the vastness of the issue or its complexity. A thorough examination of this topic requires a knowledge of both Greece and India, the workshop of the ancient historian and the classical philologist, as well as the indologist, archaeologist and numismatist. For this reason, the project of writing this dissertation was a huge challenge.

The main thesis of the dissertation is the assumption that despite the fact that mutual relationships and interactions between the Greek world and the Buddhist religion were undoubtedly present, still the phenomenon known conventionally as Greco-Buddhism never really occurred.

In the introduction to the work, the major turning points in the study of the Greek presence in India are presented. At the outset the thesis presents some views, erroneous in the author's opinion, held by previous researchers in this

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field, such as the British imperialist view emphasising the missionary aspect of Greek culture<sup>1</sup>, and the Indian nationalist position, whose representatives<sup>2</sup> have been trying to regain the “property rights” to the history of the Greeks in India. Personally, the author agrees with the views of G.R. PARKER<sup>3</sup> about the falsity of the monolithic vision of culture, or of R. MAIRS<sup>4</sup> about the need to study the territories of the Hellenistic Far East in the context of contemporary research on ethnicity, and of S. GARTON<sup>5</sup> about the need to look at past events in the context of the collective memory. Therefore, the following theories have been chosen as a theoretical basis for further deliberations: M. HALBWACHS<sup>6</sup> theory of the collective memory and P. NORA<sup>7</sup> theory of the so-called *lieux de memoire*, or “sites of memory”. Moreover, the theories on ethnicity with the main emphasis on the theory of “mixture” (*mestizaje*)<sup>8</sup> and the concept of transculturalism<sup>9</sup>, and above all, the theory of the so-called “middle ground” by R. WHITE<sup>10</sup>, based on the theory of M. de CERTEAU<sup>11</sup> about the “strategies” and “tactics”, have been selected to contribute to the theoretical basis of this work.

In the first chapter a broader context is presented for the subject under consideration, which allows one to look at the relationship of the Greeks with Buddhism in the so-called *longue durée* of contacts between the East and the West. The theory by K. JASPERS<sup>12</sup> of the so-called “Axial Age” (*Achsenzeit*) is introduced first. It is regarded here as an intellectual challenge rather than a real phenomenon documented in sources. Then, the early relations between the Greeks and India are shown, with an emphasis on the role of the Achaemenid Empire as an intermediary

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. W.W. TARN, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge 1938.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. A.K. NARAIN, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford 1957.

<sup>3</sup> G.R. PARKER, *Hellenism in an Afghan Context*, in: H.P. RAY, D.T. POTTS (eds.), *Memory as History: The Legacy of Alexander in Asia*, New Delhi 2007, pp. 170–191.

<sup>4</sup> R. MAIRS, *Greek Identity and the Settler Community in Hellenistic Bactria and Arachosia*, *Migrations & Identities I* 2008, pp. 19–43.

<sup>5</sup> S. GARTON, “Wild Follies and Ostentations Displays”: *Reflections on Alexander the Great in India and the Question of Collective Memory*, in: RAY, POTTS, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 1–15.

<sup>6</sup> M. HALBWACHS, *On Collective Memory*, edited, translated, and with an introduction by L.A. COSER, Chicago 1992.

<sup>7</sup> P. NORA, *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*, *Representations XXVI* 1989, pp. 7–24.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. e.g. J.L. AMSSELLE, *Mestizo Logics: Anthropology of Identity in Africa and Elsewhere*, transl. by C. ROYAL, Stanford 1998.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. e.g. M. KRAIDY, *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization*, Philadelphia 2005.

<sup>10</sup> R. WHITE, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, Cambridge 1991.

<sup>11</sup> M. de CERTEAU, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, transl. by S. RENDALL, Berkeley 1984.

<sup>12</sup> K. JASPERS, *Vom Ursprung und Ziel der Geschichte*, München 1949 (Eng. transl. by M. BULLOCK: *The Origin and Goal of History*, London 1953).



in these relations. In this context the example of Scylax of Caryanda is carefully studied in order to show the role of Greek historiography in shaping the image of India. Subsequently, the first direct contact of the Greeks with India during Alexander's expedition is presented. Two issues are shown here in detail, namely the cultural baggage of Alexander and his entourage, and his encounters with the "naked philosophers". This section refers to the Greek perspective on India. As regards the Indian context, the state of Indian philosophy before Alexander is presented with an emphasis on the characteristics of Buddhism from its origins to the time of Aśoka, and the presence of the term *Yavana* in Indian sources. This section is written in the form of a review of the state of research in order to show certain trends in research on this topic and the possible ambiguity of the term *Yavana*. Also attached is a table showing the occurrence of the term *Yavana*.

The second chapter directly concerns the main subject. It is devoted to the edicts of Aśoka, in which the king proclaims victory by *Dhamma* on all his frontiers as far as the lands belonging to the Hellenistic rulers, Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander. Reflections on these edicts are introduced in the context of the reflections on Aśoka, as he is remembered, as a Buddhist ruler known from Buddhist legends, and in history, as the emperor Piyadasi known from his edicts. The extraordinary story is also shown about the discovery of Aśoka as the author of his edicts as a result of J. PRINSEP's deciphering the Brāhmī script<sup>13</sup>, which provided an opportunity to present an excursus about the origin of this script. Then, the relations between the Greeks and Aśoka are presented in the context of the relations between the Greeks and the Mauryas. It is demonstrated that the Greeks had a good relationship with the Mauryas and that they probably supported the Buddhist Mauryas in opposition to the Brahman Śuṅgas, because Aśoka's policy of *Dhamma* corresponded to their needs; namely, it contributed to the development of trade, which in turn caused an increase in the importance of merchants and traders, thus loosening the social system imposed by the Brahmans. In addition, the great Mauryan Empire included a diversity of people and cultures, and therefore Aśoka adopted a policy of tolerance towards dissenting views. In addition, this chapter includes discussion of the original name of Aśoka, the persecution of Buddhists by Puṣyamitra, an inscription from Junāgaḍh relating to *Yavana-rāja* Tuṣāspa and the Śramaṇas, i.e. Indian ascetics, from among whom the Buddha also derived.

The third chapter refers to the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. This chapter fills the chronological gap between the times of Aśoka and the Indo-Greek kingdom and provides a context for the next chapter. Its purpose is to demonstrate that the policy of Aśoka did not have such a huge impact on the spread of Buddhism among the Greeks as it might seem to have had according to the edicts of the

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<sup>13</sup> J. PRINSEP, *Further Elucidation of the lāt or Silastambha Inscriptions from Various Sources*, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal VI 1837, pp. 790–797.

Indian ruler. In addition, this chapter illustrates the situation of the Greeks in India. Since most of the “Greek” material from the Hellenistic Far East comes from the area of ancient Bactria, the examination of this area made it possible to better understand how the Greeks functioned in the East. To this end, two issues were examined in more detail: firstly, Ai Khanoum as a *lieu de mémoire*, and secondly, several Greek inscriptions from the Hellenistic Far East, namely two inscriptions found in Kandahar in Afghanistan; the inscription of the son of Aristonax and the inscription of Sophytos; and one inscription found in Kulob in Tajikistan of a certain Heliodotus, which was also compared with the Indian inscription of Heliodorus. From the examined material it follows that the Greeks in Bactria tried to maintain Greek culture and lifestyle. This was possible due to the weakness of the native culture of Bactria at that time. Thanks to that, Greek culture became the dominant culture in these areas, which cannot be said about India, where Indian culture was so strong that the Greeks had little space to develop their own culture and had to “blend in with the surroundings”.

The fourth chapter is devoted to Menander and the Indo-Greek kingdom. Its main purpose is to demonstrate how the fact that the Indo-Greek ruler is the main character in the Buddhist dialogue *Milindapañha* made some European researchers, especially those with classical training, try to interpret the dialogue in the context of Greek literature and trace the Greek influence, while it should be analysed in the context of Buddhist literature, especially the extant Chinese version of this dialogue. Because the dialogue shows Menander’s conversion to Buddhism, sources relating to Menander which may shed light on the character of this ruler are presented in this chapter. In the course of the analysis of these sources, one may come to the conclusion that perhaps they relate to two different Menanders, one of the second century BC and the second from a later period, probably from the turn of our era, as evidenced by the Bajaur reliquary inscription. At the end of this chapter, a section on Gandhāra in the times of Menander is included, providing an introduction to the next chapter.

The fifth chapter concerns the region of Gandhāra, or rather Greater Gandhāra. As a context for considering the Greek influence in Gandhāra, the archaeology and chronology of the region is discussed. Theories on three types of Greek influence are examined here: in art, language and Buddhist religiosity. As regards the Greek influence in the art of Gandhāra, the views of A. FOUCHER are presented. He coined the term *l’art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*<sup>14</sup> to determine the Greek impact on the creation of the anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha, and the polemic with his views is expressed by A. COOMARASWAMI<sup>15</sup>, who argued in favour of the Indian origin of these images. In the conclusion it

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<sup>14</sup> A. FOUCHER, *L’art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra: étude sur les origines de l’influence classique dans l’art bouddhique de l’Inde et de l’Extrême-Orient*, vols. I–III, Paris 1905–1951.

<sup>15</sup> A. COOMARASWAMI, *The Origin of the Buddha Image*, *The Art Bulletin* IX 1927, pp. 287–329.

is asserted that the truth is somewhere in between. The Greeks undeniably had a huge impact on the art of Gandhāra, but not only on Buddhist art, which is why the term Greco-Buddhist art seems to be inadequate. Due to the vastness of the topic, it was unreasonable to analyse all the Greek motifs in the art of Gandhāra, so the analysis is limited to the most popular theme of Heracles-Vajrapāṇi. As regards the Greek influence in the language of Gandhāra, the origin and development of the Gāndhārī dialect is examined and the works preserved in this dialect are discussed, such as *Gāndhārī Dhammapada* or the British Library Fragments. These passages show that the Gāndhārī dialect was created through complicated transcultural processes and therefore many influences can be detected here, including Greek (e.g. loanwords). Moreover a theory is presented of the establishment of the Dharmaguptaka sect by a Greek monk, which seems insufficiently documented; and the theory of the impact of Greek papyrus on the adoption of the scroll form for Gāndhārī texts is also presented, although this may be an example of accommodation to a foreign model. As regards the Greek influence on Buddhist religiosity, the views of S. BLAIR<sup>16</sup> are presented about the impact of the Greeks on the perception by Buddhists of the Buddha as a god, which seems to be possible, although difficult to prove unambiguously.

The last chapter does not apply directly to the Greeks living in India, but to the Greeks who lived in the Mediterranean world. Two sources which have been discussed here, namely the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* by Philostratus and *Ἰνδικά* by Bardaisan, are dated to the period long after the fall of the Indo-Greek kingdom, but they relate to the aftermath of Greco-Buddhist relations. Both of these works were written in the third century AD, but the *Life of Apollonius* supposedly refers to earlier times, namely to the first century AD. However, as is clear from the analysis of the text, the state of knowledge about India represented in this work relates rather to the times of Philostratus than of Apollonius. Thus, these works are analysed for the image of India in the eyes of the Greeks in the third century AD. Especially valuable is the account of Bardaisan, because he took his information on India and on the Buddhist Order first-hand, namely from Indian monks sent to the emperor Elagabalus.

In addition, the Greek versions of the edicts of Aśoka are attached to the thesis with a translation by the author of this dissertation, photos and descriptions of the coins of Menander from the Garstang Museum in Liverpool, and Greek inscriptions from the Hellenistic Far East: the inscription of the son of Aristonax, the inscription of Sophytos, and the inscription of Heliodotus, also with translations by the author.

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<sup>16</sup> S. BLAIR, *Answers for Milinda: Hellenistic Influence on the Development of Gandharan Buddhism*, TCNJ Journal of Student Scholarship XI 2009, pp. 1–11.



## GREEK MYTH IN CICERO'S ORATIONS \*

by

DAMIAN PIERZAK

Ancient oratory was a realm where everything had its fixed place, everything served a specific purpose, and, perhaps most importantly, had to be adjusted to the specific circumstances, tastes, and expectations of the audience gathered for a trial or assembled for a public meeting. Considering both the severe restrictions of the art, and the sometimes prejudiced attitude of the Romans, one of the most striking features of Cicero's orations, often completely neglected by the scholars, seems to be the occasional references to Greek mythology, as they belong to the so-called *exempla externa* – examples from outside the native Roman tradition. Why would so accomplished a speaker, who had already been nicknamed a *Graeculus*, take further risks by employing such a tool? What was he trying to achieve by alluding to mythical stories? What were his sources of inspiration? These are the main points which I aimed to raise in my doctoral thesis.

Despite the fact that there is a vast amount of secondary literature on almost every aspect of the great orator's life and literary output, it turned out that such a research project has virtually no antecedent. Commentators have usually been satisfied with merely picking up an allusion and explaining who the mythological character in question was<sup>1</sup>. A book by C. STEELE which offers an interpretation of the motifs of Telephus, Orpheus, and partly Medea, and a few articles, though instructive, cannot be said to treat the subject comprehensively, thus

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\* The paper is a summary of my PhD thesis written under the supervision of Prof. Jerzy STYKA, to whom I hereby express my gratitude, and presented to the committee of the Faculty of Philology at the University of Silesia in Katowice in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, defended on 2.12.2015. The referees were Prof. Katarzyna MARCINIAK and Prof. Antoni BOBROWSKI.

<sup>1</sup> Among the editions with commentaries, these two deserve a special mention: H. VRETSKA, K. VRETSKA (eds.), Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Pro Archia Poeta*, Darmstadt 1979, and J.T. RAMSEY (ed.), Cicero, *Philippics I–II*, Cambridge 2003, as they contain a little more substantial discussion regarding mythology.

forming but a foundation for a more detailed discussion<sup>2</sup>. Some other branches of Ciceronian studies, however, have been developing since the beginning of the last century. Three of them, above all, proved useful regarding the mythological *exemplum*, one of which concerned the interrelations between the stage and the rostra<sup>3</sup>, the second the use of Latin poetry by Cicero in both his speeches and his treatises<sup>4</sup>, and the third the question of Roman myths and the status of mythology in Roman literary and “popular” culture<sup>5</sup>. Some pieces of information on this subject, moreover, can be found in an extensive literature devoted to the rhetorical strategies of Cicero, which does not require close inspection for the present purposes<sup>6</sup>. None of the surveys known to me, however, provides an adequate methodology nor is there any serious approach to the matter. My primary concern was to supply both.

First, then, it seemed necessary to establish what the mythological *exemplum* was according to ancient theory, and whether there are reasons to speak of such

<sup>2</sup> See C.E.W. STEELE, *Cicero, Rhetoric, and Empire*, Oxford–New York 2001; D.P. KUBIAK, *Piso's Madness (Cic. In Pis. 21 and 47)*, *AJPh* CX 1989, pp. 237–245; A.R. DYCK, *Evidence and Rhetoric in Cicero's Pro Roscio Amerino: The Case against Sex. Roscius*, *CQ* LIII 2003, pp. 235–246; P. ASSEMAKER, *Pignus salutis atque imperii. L'enjeu du Palladium dans les luttes politiques de la fin de la République*, *LÉC* LXXV 2007, pp. 381–412. By the time I was preparing the dissertation I was unfortunately unable to reach I.K. KÖSTER, *Feasting Centaurs and Destructing Consuls in Cicero's In Pisonem*, *ICS* XXXIX 2014, pp. 63–79.

<sup>3</sup> See esp. C. KLODT, *Prozessparteien und politische Gegner als dramatis personae. Charakterstilisierung in Ciceros Reden*, in: B.-J. SCHRÖDER, J.-P. SCHRÖDER (eds.), *Studium declamatorium. Untersuchungen zu Schulübungen und Prunkreden von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*, München–Leipzig 2003, pp. 35–106. For some other recent scholarship, cf. J. AXER, *Śmierć gladiatora. O pewnych aspektach techniki retorycznej w mowie Cyclerona Pro Milone*, *Eos* LXXVII 1989, pp. 31–43 (at p. 41, n. 19).

<sup>4</sup> The standard work is still W. ZILLINGER, *Cicero und die altrömischen Dichter*, diss. Würzburg 1911. See more recently e.g. E. MALCOVATI, *Cicerone e la poesia*, Pavia 1943; H. NORTH, *The Use of Poetry in the Training of the Ancient Orator*, *Traditio* VIII 1952, pp. 1–33; D.R. SHACKLETON BAILEY, *Cicero and Early Latin Poetry*, *ICS* VIII 1983, pp. 239–249; M.R. PETACCIA, *Der Orestes-Mythos in der lateinischen archaischen Tragödie und im politisch-religiösen Zusammenhang der römischen Republik*, in: G. MANUWALD (ed.), *Identität und Alterität in der frühromischen Tragödie*, Würzburg 2000, pp. 87–111.

<sup>5</sup> Esp. the book by J.N. BREMMER and N. HORSFALL, *Roman Myth and Mythography*, London 1987, and the articles in F. GRAF (ed.), *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft. Das Paradigma Roms*, Leipzig–Stuttgart 1993. Cf. R. CARRÉ, *L'utilisation politique du mythe dans la Rome républicaine*, *Civilisations* XLVI 1998, pp. 151–192.

<sup>6</sup> For an up to date bibliography, the reader is referred to: J.M. MAY (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Cicero. Oratory and Rhetoric*, Leiden 2002. For Cicero's rhetorical strategies, the works most useful to me were W. STROH, *Taxis und Taktik: die advokatische Dispositionskunst in Ciceros Gerichtsreden*, Stuttgart 1975 and C.J. CLASSEN, *Recht – Rhetorik – Politik. Untersuchungen zu Ciceros rhetorischer Strategie*, Darmstadt 1985 and for his use of *exempla* in general H. VAN DER BLOM, *Cicero's Role Models. The Political Strategy of a Newcomer*, New York 2010. A recent collection of essays, M.S. CELENTANO, P. CHIRON, P. MACK (eds.), *Rhetorical Arguments. Essays in Honour of Lucia Calboli Montefusco*, Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 2015, which seems to contain a good deal of discussion on the subject, has been inaccessible to me.

a category at all. For the most part, unfortunately, our sources are silent about this sort of paradigm, but the way some of the authors writing on the subject of rhetoric, above all Aristotle, Quintilian, and Cicero, express themselves, would imply that a clear line of demarcation between the historical and the mythological example cannot or does not need to be drawn<sup>7</sup>. From their point of view, the broadly conceived “past” (πρότερον γεγενημένα παραδείγματα) alongside the actual historical records encompassed what one would currently define as “myth”. It could therefore be anything from the past useful to convince the audience (“ex omni antiquitate utile ad persuadendum”). U. REINHARDT observed that what differentiates the mythological paradigm from a common metonymy is its ingrained quality to refer to a specific plot, a narrative possessing a context<sup>8</sup>.

This very *point of reference* – as a distinguishing factor of myth in the *text* – became a landmark on our way in search of a proper methodology. From a wide range of various theories concerning myth, two notions of Ernst CASSIRER were particularly serviceable to our purposes, i.e. “the unity of feelings” (emotions are at the centre of mythical thinking), and especially “the law of metamorphosis”, according to which each element of a mythical narrative may represent virtually everything, and in the case of symbolical reality even temporarily *turn into this*<sup>9</sup>. In this form, it was a philosophical idea pertaining primarily to the sphere of language. Such an understanding of the function of myth, however, was then introduced to literary criticism by Northrop FRYE when he stated that “the basic structure of myth is a metaphor, which is very similar in form to the equation, being a statement of identity of the ‘A is B’ type”<sup>10</sup>. “The law of metamorphosis”, together with terms from literary criticism such as the point of reference and the designate, the *illustrans* and the *illustrandum*, or the signifier and the signified, yielded us suitable foundations for the system created by Quintilian<sup>11</sup>. The

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<sup>7</sup> See Cic. *Inv.* I 49; *Rhet. Her.* III 9; Quint. *Inst.* V 11, 6, etc. Cf. BREMMER, HORSFALL, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 5; F. GRAF, *Der Mythos bei den Römern. Forschungs- und Problemgeschichte*, in: IDEM (ed.), *Mythos...* (n. 5), pp. 25–43 (at p. 26).

<sup>8</sup> See U. REINHARDT, *Mythologische Beispiele in der Neuen Komödie (Menander, Plautus, Terenz)*, vol. I, diss. Mainz 1974, p. 10: „Doch fehlt ihnen meist jenes Mindestmaß an mythischem Geschehenhintergrund, jene Konkretisierung, die erst ein mythologisches Beispiel ausmacht”.

<sup>9</sup> See E. CASSIRER, *Language and Myth*, transl. by LANGER, New York 1953, pp. 32, 56; IDEM, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*, ed. by C. ROSENKRANZ, Hamburg 2010, p. 47: „Das <Bild> stellt die <Sache> nicht dar – es ist die Sache; es vertritt sie nicht nur, sondern es wirkt gleich ihr, so daß es sie in ihrer unmittelbaren Gegenwart ersetzt”.

<sup>10</sup> See N. FRYE, *Myth as Information*, *The Hudson Review* VII 1954, pp. 228–235 = IDEM, *Anatomy of Criticism. Four Essays*, Princeton–Oxford 2000, p. 123. I have outlined his views in a more detailed way in D. PIERZAK, *A Reading of Greek Myth in Cicero's Speeches. The Case of Medea*, in: M. BUDZOWSKA, J. CZERWIŃSKA (eds.), *Ancient Myths in the Making of Culture*, Frankfurt a. M. 2015, pp. 57–66 (esp. at pp. 57 f.).

<sup>11</sup> See Quint. *Inst.* V 11, with a valuable discussion by B.J. PRICE, *Paradeigma and exemplum in Ancient Rhetorical Theory*, diss. Univ. of California, Berkeley 1975, esp. p. 155. Cf. now

rhetorician divided examples into four main categories. The *exemplum (totum) simile* is a relation in which a point of reference and a designate have almost equal status, and perform nearly the same action in nearly the same circumstances (A = B); the *dissimile* occurs wherever one difference between “A” and “B” regarding a point of comparison (*genus, modus, tempus, locus, etc.*) is discernable, provided that it does not concern the main verb (*Inst.* V 11, 7 ~ *Liv.* VIII 7, 1); *exemplum impar* which in turn becomes divided into *exemplum ex maiore ad minus (ductum)* and *exemplum ex minore ad maius*. The difference between *imparia* lies in the unequal nature and status of the protagonists whose actions are much the same; finally, *exemplum contrarium*, which aims at pointing to the clash between “A” and “B” that vary in two respects, one of which concerns the main verb. To put it simply, despite the number of words, according to the above-mentioned scheme, the speaker avails himself of the mythological paradigm in order to juxtapose an element of symbolical reality alongside a participant in a trial on a level of similarity which would influence the emotions of the hearers in a way most expedient to him.

A mode of describing the relationship between the speaker, the message, and the recipient, on the other hand, which best suited our task as being uncomplicated and to the point, appeared to be the one found in Aristotle’s *Art of Rhetoric* (e.g. 1358 b). A brief examination of the mutual dependence of those three items revealed to us that apart from the message, which in our case was selected passages of the speeches from the time of the late republic, one has to deal with the intellectual background (φρόνησις) of the orator and with the question of to what extent the audience was prepared to apprehend a mythological allusion. The first part of the dissertation (excluding the methodological introduction outlined above), therefore, concentrated on what might be called Cicero’s rhetorical invention on the one hand, and the level of knowledge of Greek myths among the Romans on the other.

While exploring the issues of the orator’s and his contemporaries’ education we managed to identify two of the possible sources of inspiration from Greek myth in his speeches. We have called one of them *progymnasmata*, i.e. rhetorical school exercises, which were still practiced by the orator as he got older, during his periods of *otium*<sup>12</sup>. Short deliberations upon familiar dilemmas concerning mythological characters belonged here, e.g. whether Odysseus murdered Ajax (*Cic. Inv.* I 11), or if Orestes justly killed his own mother<sup>13</sup>. The second included private reading of Greek or Latin texts (Homer, Ennius’ *Annales*, etc.), whether

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S. ŚNIEŻEWSKI, *Terminologia retoryczna w Institutio oratoria Kwintyliana*, Kraków 2014 (pp. 132 f.) of which I was unaware until after submitting my thesis.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Cic. Att.* IX 4, 1 = 173 SB; *Quint. Inst.* II 4, 24; *Suet. Rhet.* 25, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. G. CALBOLI, *La retorica preciceroniana e la politica a Roma*, in: W. LUDWIG (ed.), *Éloquence et rhétorique chez Cicéron*, Vandœuvres–Genève 1982, pp. 41–99 (at pp. 75–77);



instructed by the *grammaticus* or undertaken by a Roman as his leisure activity<sup>14</sup>. To classify these we have employed Quintilian's term *fabula poetica (sensu stricto)*.

Studies of Cicero's rhetorical theory and practice, moreover, allowed us to single out *decorum* as a category playing a significant role in shaping the mythological *exempla*. Whether or not their use was appropriate under given circumstances depended above all on at whom they were aimed. The cognitive capacities of the recipients would determine the permissible level of sophistication, as it were, of a given paradigm which must not at any point transgress the rules of clarity (*perspicuitas*, σαφήνεια)<sup>15</sup>. Additionally, whenever a character participates in a dialogue or performs an internal monologue, his or her speech should meet the expectations of the audience<sup>16</sup>. The speaker also had to take into account the form of the mythological allusion, for such digression could either make him appear G(r)reek ("ineptum et Graeculum putent") or make the audience feel illiterate<sup>17</sup>. That is why in the *Pro Sexto Roscio*, when evoking the fate of Orestes, Cicero does not give a specific author ("poetae tradiderunt"), which is also the case in the *De haruspicum responso*, where he confines himself to call upon the reports of the poets ("quos poetae ferunt") about Giants<sup>18</sup>. K. DEMOEN has provided us with useful distinctions in this respect which he himself described as "elaboration". Let us bring forth the relevant portion of his comprehensive article:

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J. FAIRWEATHER, *Seneca the Elder*, Cambridge 1981, pp. 117–119, 152, 158; S.F. BONNER, *Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire*, Liverpool <sup>2</sup>1969, passim.

<sup>14</sup> On the difficult question of Cicero's own reading in the mid-fifties (to a large extent inspired by his preparing of the *De oratore*) contrast ZILLINGER, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 67–69 with H.D. JOCELYN, *Greek Poetry in Cicero's Prose Writings*, YCS XXIII 1973, pp. 61–111 (at p. 63, n. 93).

<sup>15</sup> See Cic. *De or.* III 167; Quint. *Inst.* VIII 6, 14–16, VIII 6, 52; Apsines, *Rhet.* p. 373 SPENGLER. Cf. K. ALEWELL, *Über das rhetorische ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΓΜΑ. Theorie, Beispielsammlungen, Verwendung in der Kaiserzeit*, diss. Kiel, Leipzig 1912, p. 32.

<sup>16</sup> See Cic. *Off.* I 97: "ut si Aeacus aut Minos diceret 'oderint dum metuant' aut 'natis sepulchro ipse est parens' *indecorum videretur*, quod eos fuisse iustos accepimus; at Atreo dicente plausus excitantur, *est enim digna persona oratio*"; Quint. *Inst.* XI 1, 31/37: "Ipsum etiam *eloquentiae genus alios aliud decet*: [...] verba adversus Agamemnonem a Thersite habita ridetur: da illa Diomedii alii cui pari, magnum animum ferre prae se videbuntur"; Diog. Laert. VII 160.

<sup>17</sup> See e.g. Cic. *De or.* I 102 and 222; *Pis.* 70; *Tusc.* I 86; H. SCHOENBERGER, *Beispiele aus der Geschichte, ein rhetorisches Kunstmittel in Ciceros Reden*, diss. Erlangen, Augsburg 1910, p. 34; P. DELACY, *Cicero's Invective against Piso*, TAPhA LXXII 1941, pp. 49–58 (at pp. 56, 58). Cf. Cic. *Scaur.* 4; H. GUIE, *Cicero's Attitude to the Greeks*, G&R IX 1962, pp. 142–159 (at pp. 148, 150).

<sup>18</sup> See Cic. *S. Rosc.* 66 and *Har. resp.* 20 respectively. Cf. *Schol. Bob.* ad Cic. *Mil.* 8, p. 65, 5–7 HILDEBRANDT = 114, 8–10 STANGL: "Levitatem habent summam fictiones fabularum, sed quid adiecit? *Doctissimi homines memoriae prodiderunt*; ut scriptorum peritia det exemplo quamvis minus idoneo firmitatem".

The elaboration of the history quoted in the *exemplum* can vary from a lengthy *narration* through a short *mentioning* to an anonymous *allusion*, depending on how well known it is and on the persuasive or stylistic requirements<sup>19</sup>.

We have already stressed that the attitude and the education of the audience is of great importance in this sort of study. How well acquainted with Greek myths were the Romans who attended the trials or public meetings, and from where did they acquire their knowledge on it was the subject of another chapter of the earlier part of the dissertation. First, then, we called attention to the mythical landscape, so to speak, the representations of which were named, just for the sake of argument, *fabulae propriae*. The Greek *mythoi* here are for the most part channelled through such media as, for instance, the architectural and public space of the City itself<sup>20</sup> as well as commonplaces (*locutiones tritae*) inspired by myth<sup>21</sup>, and the records of Trojan genealogies of the great noble families<sup>22</sup>.

The last source of inspiration, which was perhaps the most important one, are stage performances of Latin tragedies. By referring almost word for word to the tragic phraseology, the speaker could manage to create in the minds of the listeners a clear association between a character from a play and someone participating in the trial<sup>23</sup>. As C. KLODT rightly put it

Sie [*scil.* die Dramatisierung von prozessrelevanten Geschehen] dient vielmehr der Beeinflussung der emotionalen Disposition der Richter gegenüber den Prozessparteien in dem Sinne, dass Affekte, die sich mit einer aus der Literatur und speziell von der Schaubühne bekannten Figur bzw. einem solchen Typus verknüpfen, auf die stilisierte und fiktionalisierte Person übertragen werden sollen<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> See K. DEMOEN, *A Paradigm for the Analysis of Paradigms: The Rhetorical Exemplum in Ancient and Imperial Greek Theory*, *Rhetorica* XV 1997, pp. 125–158 (at pp. 141f.; emphases of the original). Cf. Quint. *Inst.* V 11, 15 f.

<sup>20</sup> See Cic. *Orat.* 74; *Fam.* VII 23, 2 = 209 SB; *Vitr.* VII 5, 2; *Plin. NH* XXXV 134; H.G. BEYEN, *Die pompeianische Wanddekorationen vom zweiten bis zum vierten Stil*, Bd. II, Dodrecht 1960, pp. 260–350; T. HÖLSCHER, *Mythen als Exempel der Geschichte*, in: GRAF (ed.), *Mythos...* (n. 5), pp. 67–87; A. VISCOGLIOSI, *LTUR* IV 1999, s.v. “Porticus Philippi”: “essa è spesso citata per le opere d’arte, specialmente di pittura, che vi erano esposte: la Elena di Zeuxis [...] e un ciclo Troiano di Theorus [...]”.

<sup>21</sup> See Cic. *Fin.* V 55 and *Tusc.* I 92 for the myth of Endymion. Cf. A. OTTO, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Hildesheim 1962 (1890), passim (esp. p. XXVII); M. SWOBODA, *De proverbii a Cicerone adhibitis*, Toruń 1963, p. 49.

<sup>22</sup> On the treatises *De familiis Troianis*, see e.g. T.P. WISEMAN, *Legendary Genealogies in the Late-Republican Rome*, G&R, XXI 1974, pp. 153–164; H. CHANTRAINE, *Münzbild und Familiengeschichte in der römischen Republik*, *Gymnasium* XC 1983, pp. 530–545 (at pp. 539 f.); CARRÉ, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 153.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. e.g. Cic. *Man.* 22 and *Trag. inc.* 165–171 R.<sup>3</sup> = Cic. *Nat. D.* III 67.

<sup>24</sup> See KLODT, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 100.

Given the joint character of the experiences of the audience and the spectators, therefore, we described all the *exempla* which could be shown to derive from tragedy as *fabulae scaenicae*.

The research material in the main part of the dissertation is divided into the following three sections: "the cyclic tradition", "the monomythical tradition", and "the mythological evocations". Thematic criterion seemed much more justified than a chronological one, although on more than one occasion in the course of the analysis we have demonstrated that an evolution of Cicero's rhetorical invention as regards mythological allusions can be discerned<sup>25</sup>.

Within the Trojan cycle we have included narratives concentrated around the Achilles figure, the events leading to the capture of the city, and those which did not fit in with the two above-mentioned themes, i.e. the theft / rescue of the Palladium and the destiny of Telephus. The next subchapter was primarily devoted to the Atreides saga, encompassing the themes of matricide, madness, and the curse resting upon the house of Pelops. It is worth noticing that although the division of material had almost exclusively practical purposes, the examples from the cyclic tradition were the most numerous.

Chapter five covered these paradigms which to a greater or lesser degree concerned single characters: the fate of Medea, the labours and the legacy of Herakles, the music and / or death of Orpheus, and the dilemmas of Athenian king Erechtheus. The last chapter, "the mythological evocations", began with another king of the Attic main city-state, Theseus, to whom the battle with Centaurs and the Minotaur figure could be loosely linked; following this came the Homeric episodes serving to ridicule the opponents, i.e. the cup of Circe, Scylla, and Charybdis. The analysis closed with creatures known from the *Theogony*, such as Pegasus and the Giants, which could hardly be ascribed to any of the previous sections.

All the passages where the speaker referred to a Greek myth were discussed in the following manner: first the historical and rhetorical background of the speech was outlined, then the mythical story was traced back to its original (determinable) source, and the possible media (e.g. a stage performance, a proverb, etc.) through which the knowledge of it was accessible to the Romans were sought for. Next, the relation between the point of reference and the designate was established in order to identify the speaker's intention. Finally, each *exemplum* was classified as pertaining to either of the categories: *progymnasmata*,

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<sup>25</sup> For example, there are some stylistic improvements on the Orestes paradigm (see esp. *S. Rosc.* 66 f. and *Pis.* 46 f.); moreover, after noticing that the Palladium motif, which he himself used at least twice, became *too* fashionable, if our interpretation is correct, Cicero switched to the *ancilia* of the Salii instead; finally, in the *Philippics*, nowhere did he build an *exemplum* according to Quintilian's (*totum*) *simile*-category which was previously the commonest one. Of course, in all those cases, especially the latter two, the speaker's *modus operandi* could have depended on specific circumstances of the speech, but why not allow a change in his inclinations?

*fabulae poeticae*, *fabulae propriae*, or *fabulae scaenicae*. Additionally, its form was described in agreement with the classification (the so-called “elaboration”) suggested by K. DEMOEN.

After all the mythological allusions were examined according to this formula, the collected results were collated in the “conclusion”, so that more exact correspondences between the discussed *exempla* could be determined. The closing remarks began with a description of “the law of metamorphosis”, followed by an investigation into the possible sources of inspiration, and a survey of the form of mythological examples. The analysis of the passages we have studied showed that mythological *exemplum* in Cicero’s orations is a rhetorical strategy which aims at developing a symbolical relation between a mythological character (point of reference) and one of the people participating in the communication situation in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (designate), arousing certain emotions in the third parties, both who have a direct (judges) and an indirect (the audience) impact upon the course of the trial. The speaker’s goal may be auto presentation (“I am a better man than Thyestes” – *Planc.* 49), a depiction of the defendant or the witnesses for the defence in bright colours (e.g. “even the stones respond to Archias’ poetry” – *Arch.* 19), or, conversely, a ridiculing of an opponent (“the rites were conducted by a priest descended from ‘the guardians’ tribe” – *Dom.* 134), and finally, a denigration of political enemies (“Piso is certainly even more insane than Athamas and Orestes” – *Pis.* 46). The latter function, i.e. to present the opponent as a villain, apparently predominates.

It follows that the mythological *exemplum* in Cicero’s orations served not only as either a part of the ornamentation or an illustration of an idea, but also as a means of argumentation<sup>26</sup>. The late Roman republic was a time when Greek mythology, through various communication media and especially the theatre, entered into the cultural identity of the inhabitants of the Apennine Peninsula. As a result, it must have been convenient for a speaker to develop an association between a mythical character and an actual person, which contributed considerably to the overall emotional appeal. Somewhat contrary to what might have been expected, out of the four categories into which the possible sources of inspiration were divided, the least favoured turned out to be the *progymnasmata*. Although the commentators tend to ascribe most of the allusions to “some lost Latin tragedy”<sup>27</sup>, we have proved that there was a wide range of various cultural phenomena in the Roman public sphere redolent of mythical stories, be it archi-

<sup>26</sup> See KLODT, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 100. *Contra* JOCELYN, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 63. Cf. H.V. CANTER, *Mythology in Cicero*, CJ XXXII 1936, pp. 39–41; M. RADIN, *Literary References in Cicero’s Orationes*, CJ VI 1911, pp. 209–217 (at pp. 215 f.).

<sup>27</sup> Cic. *Mur.* 60 is an obvious example. See e.g. CLASSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 162, n. 172; J. ADAMIETZ (ed.), Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Pro Murena*, Darmstadt 1989, *ad loc.* (p. 204); C.P. CRAIG, *Cato’s Stoicism and the Understanding of Cicero’s Speech Pro Murena*, TAPhA CXVI 1986, pp. 229–239 (at p. 232 with n. 8).

tektural representations on the way to the Forum, or proverbs featuring characters known from myths. The *fabulae scaenicae*, however, seemed most suitable for Cicero whenever he was delivering a speech at a time not far removed from theatrical performances (*ludi scaenici*).

From the fact that almost all the paradigms fell into the categories of either a short mention or an allusion, an inference can be made about Cicero being generally inclined to refer only to those narratives known to the audience, which is further confirmed by a statement from Quintilian, implying that his readers must have easily recognised an *exemplum* which is relatively vague to us<sup>28</sup>. In cases of giving a less popular name or detail, Cicero was particular about pretending that he was not quite familiar with its exact source, in order both not to pass as too erudite nor to make his listeners feel uncomfortable with their own lack of knowledge<sup>29</sup>. He always paid special attention to shaping an allusion to Greek myth so that it would be comprehensible to a Roman, and would provide him temporary relief from the harsh rhetorical jargon of the *argumentatio*.

In addition, three tables were appended in order to present the results in a more transparent way and a bibliography singling out the primary sources (the more important editions of Cicero and the editions with commentaries) and the secondary literature (general and detailed studies) was attached.

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<sup>28</sup> On the *exemplum* (mentioned in the previous note) concerning Achilles and one of his teachers, about whose identity there can (so far) be no certainty, Quintilian comments (*Inst.* VIII 6, 30): “neutrum enim nomen est positum et utrumque intellegitur”.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. n. 17 above. Add Cic. *Sest.* 48 and *Scaur.* 4.



**Fabian MEINEL**, *Pollution and Crisis in Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, XIV + 278 pp., ISBN 978-1-107-04446-3, £99.00.

Fabian MEINEL'S (henceforth: M.) monograph aims to provide a detailed study of ritual pollution in Greek tragedy, which, as the author argues, constitutes an important subtext in the representation of tragic "crises", that is, in the most general sense, "difficult situations" (p. 9). After a brief introduction outlining the principles of his approach – "a focus on description" instead of defining the essence of tragic pollution (p. 13) – M. proceeds to put them into action in his reading of ten plays: *Hippolytus* and *Oedipus Rex* (ch. 1), *Antigone* (ch. 2), the *Oresteia* and *Iphigenia in Tauris* (ch. 3), *Oedipus at Colonus*, *Ion* and Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* (ch. 4).

In the *Hippolytus* pollution provides an "alternative model of causation", one transcending the divine frame set by the opening and concluding epiphanies (p. 45). Everything begins on Crete, with Phaedra's mother Pasiphae and her "disposition towards errant erotic desire" (p. 27); inherited by Phaedra in her passion for Hippolytus, it surfaces as the μίασμα of the φρήν (*Hipp.* 316). We are thus invited to see in this celebrated turn of phrase not an adroit metaphor, but a very concrete phenomenon, grounded in the concept of hereditary pollution on the one hand, and in Hippocratic gynaecology on the other: a quasi-medical affliction caused by excess of blood, which – due to sexual abstinence – does not find release in menstruation and therefore besets the φρήν (pp. 41–43). The stage is thus ready for yet another strand of pollution which ensues as a consequence of Phaedra's suicide. Taking place in a "period of particular vulnerability" (p. 30), which is Theseus' sacred embassy to a sanctuary, this event produces a polluting ritual transgression and thus sets in motion the entire chain of disastrous events, perhaps "as the ultimate cause of *Hippolytus*' tragic action", or "at least as a potential contributing factor" (p. 32).

The medical reading of Phaedra's "pollution of the mind" blunts the poetic force of its juxtaposition with the tangible impurity caused by murder: it is not the hands which are defiled by blood, but the midriff (M. is keen to stress the somatic aspect of the φρήν), polluted by undischarged menses. Its grounding in the religious discourse of classical Greece seems equally questionable, since, unlike many other cultures, the ancient Greeks attached no particular μίασμα to menstruation<sup>1</sup>. The idea of Theseus' sacred embassy is also problematic. Only in passing is he described as θεωρός (*Hipp.* 792, 807), which may indeed suggest that he has been away on a visit to an oracle, and thus provide the reason for his absence. However, to assume that this rather insignificant and almost deliberately vague motif necessarily evokes a very particular and complex religious ceremony, the sacred θεωρία sent annually from Athens to Delos – a period of particular vulnerability, during which even legal executions (including that of Socrates) were suspended – may seem slightly too adventurous. To deduce from so tenuous an association an entire framework of ritual vulnerability, disrupted by Phaedra's death, is bound to lack plausibility.

With the *Oedipus Rex* M. explores the limits of ritual pollution and its discourses. He begins with the familiar and plausible argument that μίασμα (along with its cognates) initially serves as the keyword in diagnosing the condition of Thebes and of Oedipus himself: both the hero and the city "collapse into one, so that Oedipus appears not only as afflicted by *miasma*, or the source of *miasma*, but in his essence and very being as *miasma*" (p. 64). After the fateful recognition,

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<sup>1</sup> R. PARKER, *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford 1983, pp. 100–102.

however, the discourse of ritual pollution eventually fails to do full justice to the extent of Oedipus' personal misery, "to comprehensively grasp the suffering of the man on stage" (p. 67).

The chief argument in support of this otherwise stimulating reading is the uneven distribution of μῖασμα-words throughout the play: all five instances – referring explicitly or obliquely to Oedipus himself – occur before the recognition, and none after. As such, this observation would have much to commend to it; however, as M. himself observes (p. 67), the play's exodos is riddled with other terms denoting ritual impurity and referring to the eponymous hero: ἄγος, κηλίς, ἄναγνος – to name just these three. In order to prove his point, M. would have to show that there is indeed a significant semantic gap between the latter notions and μῖασμα – which he does not, merely dismissing them as "imprecise" or "vague" (p. 67).

The relationship between pollution and law informs M.'s view of Sophocles' *Antigone*. In short: laws create stability within civic space and within its fundamental distinctions (p. 77), pollution, on the other hand, upsets them. One such distinction is that between friend and foe, which the μῖασμα of mutual fratricide, that of Eteocles and Polynices (*Ant.* 172), obviously confuses. Creon through his decree seeks to reestablish this fundamental opposition (p. 92), and to subsequently sequester pollution both topographically – by casting the unburied corpse outside the civic space (p. 96) – and discursively, by controlling it through language (pp. 97 f.). Tragedy ensues when these efforts are frustrated, as pollution resists Creon's attempts and encroaches upon civic space in various forms: scraps of Polynices' body carried to the altars by carrion birds, confusion of categories, such as that of male vs. female (pp. 98 f.), and finally piles of corpses (Antigone, Haemon, Eurydice) which multiply and make their way into the very heart of the *polis*, Creon's palace (pp. 105 f.). As such, pollution remains a nameless phenomenon – as in Tiresias' report (*Ant.* 998–1032) – and thus defies the control which Creon attempts to exercise over it through language. In conclusion, the reader is invited to look at Polynices' decomposing body as a metaphor of the internal strife within Thebes, to which end M. has to overcome the troublesome absence of any plausible hints thereof in the text of the play itself.

I was quite disappointed not to find in this otherwise original reading more emphasis on the germs of instability within the "stabilising" drive of Creon's edicts; M. is right to argue that Polynices defies firm categorisation along the friend-foe dichotomy (perhaps φίλος would be a better term in the former's stead). Surprisingly enough, however, he ignores the most explicit statement of disruption within spatial categories – below and above, along with life and death ("burying" Antigone alive; refusing to bury the dead Polynices) – engendered by the decree (*Ant.* 1068–1071).

The dialectic of pollution and stability is taken through to the next chapter, which deals with the *Oresteia*. This time it is justice (δίκη) which is negotiated through the discourse of ritual impurity. M.'s view of these issues is surprisingly conservative. The first two parts of the trilogy dramatise δίκη in its vengeful, violent and talionic guise: bloodshed is met with bloodshed; the killing of a murderer cleanses one pollution, but produces another. This endless paradox of impure purification through homicidal vengeance is put to an end in the concluding part of the trilogy with the establishment of the Areopagus, and the institution of the legal trial which supersedes the logic of revenge and pollution. Ritual purity is no longer relevant to Orestes' release: what matters now are "terms of wider justice" determined in the newly-founded court of law (pp. 138 f.).

The evolutionary paradigm underlying such an approach has been already subject to decades of criticism<sup>2</sup>. I will limit myself to one point, namely that the question of pollution is in the end no longer relevant and gives way to a new order of justice. The crowning argument which leads Athena to cast her vote (and thus determine the issue of the trial) has little to do with the right and wrong of Orestes' deed or with his motivation and other "external factors" (as M. argues at pp. 125

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<sup>2</sup> Going back as early as H. LLOYD-JONES, *Zeus in Aeschylus*, JHS LXXVI 1956, p. 64; cf. also S. GOLDHILL, *Reading Greek Tragedy*, Cambridge 1986, pp. 37–41, for an overview of earlier debate.



and 132 f.). She is ultimately persuaded by Apollo's (in)famous physiological ruminations which establish not the justice of matricide, but the fact that Clytemnestra and her son were not related by blood (*Eum.* 657 f.). This point, in turn, is made in a direct response to the Erinyes' questioning of Orestes' ritual status: "having spilt on the ground his mother's blood of his own (μητρὸς αἵμ' ὀμαιμον) – will he then live in his father's house in Argos? At which public altars will he sacrifice? Which lustral water of a phratry will admit him?" (*Eum.* 653–656). The issue of ritual purity is thus very much at stake during the trial, to the point of actually determining its outcome and securing Orestes' release from the Erinyes.

Next comes the Euripidean "sequel" to Aeschylus' *Oresteia*: the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. This play, frequently deplored or dismissed as un-tragic (despite Aristotle's admiration), is taken very seriously by M. His main emphasis is on its ambiguity and open-endedness: in his quest for release from the matricidal toils Orestes is repeatedly frustrated (Delphi, Areopagus), and thus the very last of remedies – which gives the play its plot – is bound to appear equally elusive. Not only is it advocated by the same gods whose authority has already been called into question on previous occasions. More importantly, it is negotiated through a very ambiguous pattern of pollution and purification, woven into an entire plot of false ritual, in the light of which the status of Orestes, both before and after, is bound to appear equally equivocal: the illusory (and metatheatrical) nature of the ritual itself is taken by M. (quite plausibly) for the illusory nature of Orestes' release in general. Will the false purification cleanse him from real pollution? Is his pollution indeed real and tangible, or rather goes beyond "the concreteness of ritual categorization", prefiguring thus its internalisation in the later *Orestes*? (p. 160) Will the exotic adventure lead to release, or is the future as bleak and pessimistic as the hero's existence up to this point? This is no inane, documentary inquiry into the events beyond the tragedy's closure, but a rewarding and thought-provoking exploration of issues inevitably raised by the play's twisting plot and the ambiguity of its discourses.

As a minor point, I find M.'s reading of *IT* 704 f. (ἀγνισθεῖς φόνωι) as "purified by killing" (pp. 149 f.) very attractive. I would be tempted to refer this turn of phrase to *Eum.* 603: ἐλευθέρα φόνωι (SCHUTZ's emendation of φόνου, accepted by PAGE, WEST and SOMMERSTEIN), which refers to Clytemnestra's ritual status, "liberated [from pollution?] by [her own] death".

The final chapter brings together three plays which, according to M., combine the discourses of pollution and citizenship: Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women*, Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, and Euripides' *Ion*. In the *Supp.* pollution is the expression of identity crisis: the civic is tantamount to pure, whereas the "Other" – to the polluted. The "otherness" is explored in the collective persona of the Danaids: what sets them apart from the civic realm is their composite ethnic identity (barbarian and Greek) on the one hand, and – somewhat paradoxically – their abnormal insistence on sexual purity (ἀγνεία). The polluting potential of their otherness finds its expression in their threat to commit suicide within the pure (ἀγνός) space of the sanctuary. This crisis is consequently resolved by redefining the "standards of Argive purity" (p. 203), so as to allow the incorporation of the Danaids' problematic ethnic identity into the citizen body, and by negotiating their movement – both literal and conceptual – from the purity of the sanctuary to the civic space of the *polis*, and from the purity of their virginal status to a "wifely", that is a "civic" one (p. 198). Seeing, however, that purity defines also civic space, the argument risks running into conundrum, and M. is thus forced to differentiate the "sacred" space of the sanctuary from the "quasi-sacred" space of the *polis* (p. 202).

A deeper engagement with the dynamics of the civic and the sacred, along with the relevant ideas and notions, such as ὄσιος on the one hand and ἀγνός (along with ἱερός) on the other, would certainly provide M. with a much better interpretive template. Instead, however, M. seeks to explain the intersections between civic and ritual purity through an adventurous reading of a single passage in the text of the play, where the foundational hero, Apis, is said to have "cleansed" (ἐκκαθαίρει) the land of Argos from "man-destroying [not man-eating – JK] monsters" (κνώδαλα βροτοφθόρα) which have arisen from old pollutions (*Supp.* 264 f.). According to M., this ritual purification acquires "socio-political" overtones, and effectively brings about civic purity, because

the said monsters constitute the “totally other, the opposite of the civic self” (p. 193). I believe this would require a more detailed justification, as there is nothing in the text itself which sets these vaguely described creatures in a conceptual opposition with the symbolic order of society (as is undoubtedly the case of, say, Polyphemus). Without firmly establishing (instead of merely asserting) their “total otherness”, the entire argument which rests on this premise is bound to appear shaky.

In a rather brief “excursus to Colonus” M. explores the ritual and civic status of Oedipus in Sophocles’ second eponymous play. He argues plausibly for its indeterminacy in both cases, and hence for hero’s liminality, who is “safely enclosed within the civilized space of the polis”, and yet at the same time “beyond its familiar human limits”<sup>3</sup>: in the shrine of the dread goddesses, where mortals dare not tread. I am less persuaded by M.’s insistence on linking Oedipus’ liminal status with the fact that “throughout the greater part of the play, the hero is seated on the boundary between two distinct spaces, the sacred space of the shrine and the profane ground outside it” (pp. 211 f.). The shrine itself is a part of the *polis*’ landscape, and yet at the same time excluded from it<sup>4</sup>: making it into Oedipus’ final resting place underscores his liminal status much more profoundly than his temporary dwelling on its boundaries.

Like the Danaids the eponymous hero of the *Ion* exchanges ritual for civic – or rather ethnic – purity (p. 228). He is shown by M. to be a liminal figure at the outset, and is subsequently incorporated into the civic space of Athens. As in the case of the Danaids, his liminality is inherently bound with ritual purity, and underscored by topography (the sacred space of the Delphic sanctuary), by sexual chastity, and by his problematic identity (being a foundling). I am less persuaded by M.’s insistence on the imperfections of Ion’s purity, which he seeks in the fact that the young man remains “outside in the area before the temple” (pp. 228, 234), and not within. This in turn is to suggest “dissonances” in the image of “Athenian purity” (p. 235) – because the two apparently constitute a mathematical proportion. While I am more than happy with the conclusion that the *Ion* explores, problematises and perhaps clarifies (p. 241) the question of Athenian citizenship, autochthony and civic purity, I am much less excited about the manner in which this conclusion was reached.

A minor point: Ion’s praise of μέτρια (*Ion* 632) can hardly be taken to imply remaining in the “middle”, “on the boundary”, that is in the betwixt-and-between status of liminality, and thus opposed to the civic ideal of “taking part in political affairs” (p. 235); μέτρια means due measure and as such taps into an entire nexus of civic ideals centred around the notion *sophrosyne*; furthermore, its praise in Ion’s diatribe is not contrasted with political life, but with its perverse abomination, that is tyranny (*Ion* 621–633).

In the “Envoi” it is briefly argued that “tragedy resembles pollution because like pollution it negotiates a variety of (socio-political and other) problems” (p. 246), which, according to M., “throws the doors wide open towards a giant topic [...]: Aristotle and his idea of tragic catharsis”. This naïve cliffhanger strikes a discordant note with the remainder of the study, based on meticulous – though frequently too adventurous – engagement with the relevant texts. M.’s book has a great deal to recommend it, and one can only wish that his many thought-provoking observations were not seasoned so abundantly with idiosyncratic assertions, which hinge on inane word-play (καθαρμόζουσα – καθαρμός: pp. 31 f.; φόνος πέπηγεν – ἄρειος πάγος: pp. 130 f.) and wildly arbitrary associations.

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<sup>3</sup> Ch. SEGAL, *Tragedy and Civilization. An Interpretation of Sophocles*, Norman<sup>2</sup>1993, p. 369.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. F. DE POLIGNAC, *Cults, Territory and the Origins of the Greek State [La naissance de la cité grecque]*, transl. by J. LLOYD, Chicago 1995, pp. 33–41.

**Callimachus, *The Hymns*. Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by Susan A. STEPHENS**, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, XV + 324 pp., ISBN 978-01-997-8307-6, £64.00 (hb.) / ISBN 978-01-997-8304-5, £19.49 (pb.).

The latest edition of Callimachus' *Hymns* is unique among post-war editions, since in a single volume it contains no more and no fewer than six of his poems. Since Émile CAHEN's work (*Les Hymnes de Callimaque, commentaire explicatif et critique*, Paris 1930), readers have had at their disposal editions of individual hymns or collections of all the poet's works. There have been three post-war editions of the whole or greater part of Callimachus's œuvre. Pride of place belongs to Rudolf PFEIFFER's monumental *Callimachus*, vol. II: *Hymni et Epigrammata* (Oxford 1953); then there is A.W. MAIR's volume in the Loeb Classical Library series (*Callimachus: Hymns and Epigrams*, Cambridge, MA–London 1955), which was based on a pre-war edition and was supplemented and rearranged. More recently there appeared a German edition (Kallimachos, *Werke*, edited and translated by Markus ASPER, Darmstadt 2004). The last two of these works additionally contain prose translations, into English and German respectively.

The idea that the poetry of Callimachus is erudite and intertextual does not fully reflect the scale of the question. For this reason, when reading the hymns a commentary is almost essential. Unfortunately, in the collected editions the commentary is usually rather laconic, even if we consider the type of hints to the reader attached by PFEIFFER as scholia to the text of the hymns. This is why editions of the various individual hymns, with commentaries, are so helpful and useful.

In the time that has elapsed between MAIR's and ASPER's publications, individual editions of all six of Callimachus' works have appeared, each comprising an introduction, original text, translation and commentary. These are: F. BORNEMANN, *Callimachi Hymnus in Dianam*, Firenze 1968; G.R. MCLENNAN, *Callimachus: Hymn to Zeus. Introduction and Commentary*, Rome 1977; F. WILLIAMS, *Callimachus: Hymn to Apollo. A Commentary*, New York 1978; W.H. MINEUR, *Callimachus: Hymn to Delos. Introduction and Commentary*, Leiden 1984; N. HOPKINSON, *Callimachus: Hymn to Demeter*, Cambridge 1984; and A.W. BULLOCH, *Callimachus: The Fifth Hymn*, Cambridge 1985. These works all have a similar layout, but differ in terms of editorial approach, as well as in size and quality.

The editor of the latest collection of Callimachus' hymns, Susan A. STEPHENS [= S.], has chosen a type of golden mean, combining the two methods of presentation. The collection is all the more important in that apart from the poet's epigrams it is, in fact, his only work to have survived intact. Indeed, the six hymns should be viewed as integral parts of a single work originally compiled by Callimachus, with the individual pieces combining to form a creative dialogue.

S.'s multifaceted commentary should contribute significantly to bringing the collection of hymns to a wider audience. Although her commentary is larger than in the collected editions, S. has made certain cuts to prevent the work from growing too long. Hence, as she herself admits, she has not included information on the language of the original, especially Callimachus' play on the epic dialect of Homer, and has reduced her coverage of metre and of geographical information as well as of historical data concerning the cults of the deities (p. VII). For the same reason, for more complicated or controversial questions she points readers to editions of the individual hymns (e.g. to HOPKINSON, see p. 289), where the viewpoints are expanded in more detail.

Despite this, the commentary focuses on a relatively large number of philological issues, though not to such an extent as, for example, in WILLIAMS's work. This is very useful even for students of classical Greek. A typical example appears on p. 132, where S. notes that ἐμολεν is the aorist tense of βλώσκω, meaning 'go', 'come'. In other places, however, a little more commentary would have been useful. For example, I have always been curious, perhaps naively, about which

towns – 30 in all – were dedicated to Artemis (*Hymn to Artemis* 3, 33 f.), something that none of the commentaries so far have answered.

In her preface, S. introduces certain innovations compared to previous editions: eight maps showing towns and cult-sites, illustrating the places mentioned in the narrative parts of the hymns and sanctuaries where rituals were performed in the so-called mimetic hymns. After a general introduction, she provides the texts of the hymns, each preceded by its own introduction which is divided into four parts: preliminary information, cults of deities mentioned, literary allusions, and links with the court of the Ptolemies. Following the original text is a translation, in prose, as per a British tradition established at the start of the twentieth century, and finally a philological and textual commentary.

An introduction is always a combination of the new author's work with that of earlier researchers. Its size and scope is decided by the new author and usually comes down to personal preferences. S., for example, devotes a relatively large amount of space to the dating of the hymns (pp. 16–21) and less to the problem of their sequencing (pp. 12–14). It would seem that since the dating is largely assumption, while Callimachus' arrangement of the hymns was deliberate and gave rise to new meanings, more space should be devoted to this issue given its scholarly value.

In turn, S.'s personal contribution to research on the poetic devices used by Callimachus is to draw attention to the musicality of his phrases, achieved through the use of anaphora and paronomasia. Additionally, as she notes, the unusual word order in the hymns highlights the actual position of characters or objects in relation to others described in the same sentence (see p. 28).

S. also thoroughly examines the nature of Callimachus' hexameter, focusing on the important issue of how changes in the metre lead to the regulation of rhythm (pp. 29–34). She goes on to present a clear and up-to-date manuscript tradition for the hymns which have come down to us thanks to manuscripts derived from an archetype known as Ψ; the latter contains, besides the hymns of Callimachus with their scholia, the *Homeric Hymns*, the *Hymns* of Proclus, the *Orphic Hymns* and the epic poem *Orphic Argonautica* (pp. 38–43). Additionally, S. examines the papyrus finds containing fragments of Callimachus' hymns and their usefulness as sources for editorial restorations (pp. 43–46). It is also worth mentioning the illustrations accompanying three of the hymns and the tables comparing the Epic-Ionic and Doric dialects used by Callimachus (pp. 36–38), and also the maps which are of great help in understanding the poet's works, which demand considerable knowledge of the ancient world.

It is also interesting how modern life can affect how we perceive antiquity. For example, S. devotes an entire paragraph to the multi-ethnicity of Alexandria, which on the one hand shows her ability to see parallels between present and past, and on the other to use modern developments in order to understand ancient culture (pp. 6 f.).

When it comes to the editions themselves, S. states that she prefers PFEIFFER'S work to the newer, separate editions of the hymns (p. 46). For the greater part she tends to agree with the editorial choices made by PFEIFFER; but not always. In the *Hymn to Zeus* (1, 36) she chooses the manuscript reading (πρωτίστη γενεῆ) instead of the conjectures of SCHNEIDER and PFEIFFER (πρωτίστη γεγεῆ), and in the *Hymn to Artemis* (3, 101) instead of Ἀναύρου she uses ἀναύρου; next in the *Hymn to Delos* (4, 161) she restores the papyrus text somewhat differently (ἴκετο instead of ἴετο). Also in this poem (4, 326) she returns to the form ἐλοχεύσατο in place of ἐλοχεύσαο. Finally, she prefers the Doric form μέστα over μέσφα (*On the Bath of Pallas* 5, 55; cf. *Hymn to Demeter* 6, 128), which is entirely justified as the song was written in this dialect.

This brief summary shows that S.'s changes to PFEIFFER'S text (which may be regarded as the standard edition) alter the meaning of Callimachus' text slightly in a few cases or not at all. However, two of her choices do indeed result in a variant reading of the original. The first is to replace the name of the Thessalian river, the Anauros, with the noun ἀναυρος ('mountain-torrent', LSJ), from which it clearly derives. As she says herself, Callimachus' use of a noun where the name of a river is expected is "surely intended geographic wordplay" (p. 135). I would add that this is a bold choice, as the scholia to the hymn preserve the reading Ἀναυρος, and nowhere in

the surviving ancient texts does the noun ἄναυρος appear in the singular: it is always in the plural (cf. Mosch. 2, 31; Nic. *Al.* 235; Lyc. 1424, etc.). Nevertheless, the scene described in this passage (3, 87–109) takes place in Arcadia, whereas the Anauros is a Thessalian river. Furthermore, a deer mentioned in the text, which is later captured by Hercules, is in mythology called the Ceryneian Hind after the Achaean town of Ceryneia, which is actually located to the north of Arcadia, but still on the Peloponnese (unlike Thessaly), whereas the Celadon river mentioned in line 107, a small mountain tributary of the Alpheus, is probably the same as the ‘mountain-torrent’ in line 101. Callimachus’ use of the singular was undoubtedly intended to achieve surprise, one of the favourite devices of the Alexandrian poets. Further spice is added in that the name of the Celadon river is also significant, as it derives from the noun κέλαδος: ‘a noise as of rushing waters’. So, Callimachus was playing with both etymology and readers’ expectations.

The second change concerns the ending of the *Hymn to Delos* (line 326). S. returns to the manuscript reading (ἐλοχεύσατο ‘whom she bore’), abandoning WILAMOWITZ’s emendation which was followed by PFEIFFER (ἐλοχεύσαο ‘for whom you acted as a midwife’). Indeed, the manuscript version suggests that the poem’s closing words were addressed to Artemis, someone [as she is a goddess not a person!] not mentioned earlier in the hymn. To corroborate her preference S. (p. 232) cites from Euripides’ *Ion* (921 f.: ... ἐλοχεύσατο / Λατῶ Δίιοίσι σε κάποις), which may be a parallel. For my part I would add that WILAMOWITZ’s emendation can be further challenged if we agree that the six hymns of Callimachus constitute a single author’s collection, presumably edited by the poet prior to publication. The *Hymn to Delos* is in fact one of a pair of hymns, along with the preceding hymn which is dedicated to none other than Artemis, as can be seen among other things from their length (both are the longest hymns) and character (narrative-Homeric, non-mimetic, and also, in contrast to the first two and last two hymns, not dedicated, respectively, only to male or female divinities, but to a goddess and a god). So, the reference to Artemis addressed in the preceding, twinned hymn, seems in this context to be entirely justified.

And so, the uniqueness of S.’s edition lies in its multifaceted nature and usefulness. Besides her thorough and at the same time restrained editorial work, she offers readers considerable assistance in understanding Callimachus’ challenging text, including an extensive general introduction and separate introductions for each hymn (compare WILLIAMS’s introduction to the *Hymn to Apollo*, which numbers just five pages), rich illustrative material, and finally a generous commentary for each of the hymns. This means that the reader is able to delve into the multitude of meanings in the individual poems, and yet is also in a position to see the numerous motifs, scenes and duplicated words that link them together. As a result, thanks to this new edition, the very erudite and narratively complex text opens itself up to the modern reader more widely than ever before.

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**Caterina MORDEGLIA (a cura di), *Lupus in fabula. Fedro e la favola latina tra Antichità e Medioevo. Studi offerti a Ferruccio Bertini***, Bologna: Pàtron Editore, 2014 (Testi e manuali per l'insegnamento universitario del Latino 131), 340 pp., ISBN 978-88-555-3280-8, €36.00.

Il corvo che perde un bel pezzo di formaggio diventando vittima della propria vanità suscitata dall'adulazione della volpe furba... La cicala che balla e canta tutta l'estate, ma muore di fame d'inverno, mentre la formica laboriosa, di cibo, ne ha abbastanza... Il lupo che divora l'agnello indifeso... Conosciamo bene questi caratteri, incontrati per la prima volta probabilmente durante la nostra infanzia, *pace* Rousseau scandalizzato da quella "horrible leçon pour l'enfance" che se ne trae ("Je demande si c'est à des enfans de six ans qu'il faut apprendre qu'il y a des hommes qui flattent et mentent pour leur profit?"<sup>1</sup>).

I protagonisti animaleschi delle favole antiche sono entrati a far parte del nostro mondo in una misura di cui spesso non ci rendiamo conto nella vita quotidiana, proprio perché ci sono così vicini. Infatti sono presenti nelle locuzioni fisse (*furbo come una volpe* o *debole come un agnello*), nei proverbi (*avere una serpe in seno*) o addirittura nelle opere degli autori moderni. Le versioni di Jean de La Fontaine, contro le quali Rousseau lanciava le sue accuse, sono solo un esempio entro una serie lunga ed ininterrotta di rielaborazioni sempre nuove che riempiono le biblioteche e librerie, soprattutto le sezioni per l'infanzia, quasi in ogni lingua del mondo.

Ovviamente i bambini non erano i destinatari principali delle favole in oggetto, sebbene il pubblico giovane se ne sia subito appropriato. Forse questa è una delle ragioni per cui le favole non vengono ancora trattate tanto seriamente quanto lo meriterebbero. Sembra che rappresentino "un genere 'minore' rispetto agli altri", come osserva (p. 8) Caterina MORDEGLIA [= M.] – la curatrice del volume *Lupus in fabula. Fedro e la favola latina tra Antichità e Medioevo*. Nel caso di Fedro la situazione diventa ancora più complicata, dal momento che questo favolista, fino ad ora assai misterioso, vive all'ombra del suo "fratello maggiore" Esopo, nonostante l'Europa abbia un debito enorme nei confronti dell'autore latino che ci ha assicurato l'accesso alle favole esopiche anche quando l'Occidente aveva perduto la padronanza della lingua greca. Con il volume in oggetto, M. ha raccolto la sfida di pagare una gran parte di questo debito ed è riuscita in questo compito ambizioso splendidamente.

Il volume è dedicato a Ferruccio BERTINI (1941–2012), latinista di vasti interessi che comprendevano appunto Fedro, ma anche Cicerone, la letteratura latina medioevale, nonché Plauto e Terenzio<sup>2</sup>; a quest'ultimo allude del resto il titolo *Lupus in fabula*. Il volume è apparso nella collana "Testi e manuali per l'insegnamento universitario del Latino" (no. 131) curata da Alfonso TRAINA e Ivano DIONIGI, il che dà al libro la garanzia di un'ottima qualità, che i contributi raccolti ed editi da M. confermano pienamente. All'origine dell'opera sono due progetti della curatrice: *Le favole di Fedro. Percorsi testuali e letterari dall'Antichità al Medioevo*, culminato in un convegno internazionale arricchito da una mostra dedicata all'iconografia della favola, e *La favola latina: origini, evoluzione, Fortleben* che ha completato ed ampliato la prima tappa di studi.

L'approccio utilizzato nel volume è diacronico ed interdisciplinare. Dopo l'*Introduzione* di M. e una rassegna degli studi di BERTINI su Fedro, intrapresa da Franco CARDINI (*La favola medioevale*

<sup>1</sup> J.-J. ROUSSEAU, *L'Émil, ou de l'éducation* (1762), in: eisdem, *Œuvres complètes*, vol. 2, Paris 1835, p. 456.

<sup>2</sup> A. BISANTI, *Domenico Romano (1922–2012) e Ferruccio Bertini (1941–2012). In memoriam*, «Mediaeval Sophia». Studi e ricerche sui saperi medievali, Peer e-Review semestrale dell'Officina di Studi Medievali 11 (gennaio–giugno 2012), pp. 5–8 ([www.mediaevalsophia.net](http://www.mediaevalsophia.net), accesso: 27.01.2016).

nella ricerca di Ferruccio Bertini), gli altri contributi seguono: in italiano, inglese o tedesco, ciascuno preceduto da un utile *abstract* in inglese. M. ha sistemato le indagini in base al criterio del contenuto – dalle questioni principali nella critica fedriana alla problematica della ricezione delle favole – non disgiunto da quello della cronologia. Nondimeno l'orizzonte vastissimo della ricerca fa sì che sia impossibile inquadrare tutto il materiale in una cornice omogenea, quindi la struttura del volume realizza anche il concetto antico della ποικιλία, o meglio – nel caso dell'autore latino – della *varietas*. Tale struttura si rivela molto opportuna ed efficace in quanto capace di offrire spunti preziosi di ricerca su vari aspetti dell'argomento anche per il futuro. Per di più, i continui cambiamenti di prospettiva – per esempio da un *case study* ad un problema di portata più generale, dall'analisi di una tradizione “nazionale” dell'interpretazione di Fedro al suo *Fortleben* in paesi diversi – rendono la lettura del volume dinamica e particolarmente stimolante per gli specialisti di vari aspetti del mondo antico e moderno.

E così si comincia con una riflessione di vasto respiro: Lucia RODLER presenta la teoria della favola e della fiaba come genere letterario (*Morfologia della favola*), Renzo TOSI analizza le favole di Fedro come fonte dei proverbi latini, numerosi dei quali fioriscono tuttora in tante lingue europee (*Favola e proverbio nella cultura classica: alcune osservazioni*) e Silvia MATTIACCI si occupa del personaggio stesso di Fedro e del suo programma letterario (*Il liberto 'greco' in cerca di un'identità romana: autorappresentazione e programma letterario in Fedro*).

Dopo questa parte teorica il resto del volume è dedicato alla fortuna di Fedro attraverso l'antichità stessa e il medioevo: tuttavia, gli autori anche qui vanno oltre quanto ci si può aspettare sulla base del titolo della raccolta. Infatti, la prospettiva tematica dei contributi si estende fino al Novecento.

All'inizio Mariarosaria PUGLIARELLO analizza la presenza di Fedro nel sistema scolastico romano (*Fedro nella scuola del grammaticus*) e Klaus GRUBMÜLLER si occupa di un *case study* particolare, cioè dell'adattamento della favola *Il lupo e l'agnello* ai valori del Cristianesimo, arrivando persino a trattare dell'opera di Martin Lutero (*Contra calumniosos. Die Phaedrus-Fabel von "Wolf und Lamm" im Mittelalter*).

I tre contributi successivi propongono approfondimenti sulla trasmissione materiale delle favole di Fedro, senza tener conto della quale sarebbe impossibile indagare pienamente il loro *Fortleben*: il posto delle favole nei codici medioevali viene presentato da Giovanni FIESOLI (*Le raccolte favolistiche antiche nei manoscritti e negli inventari medievali*); Paolo GATTI, a 35 anni di distanza dal suo primo intervento in materia, ritorna al concetto dell'unitaria trasmissione testuale dell'opera fedriana (*Ancora su Fedro, Ademaro, Perotti*); Caterina MORDEGLIA invece analizza un codice quasi ignoto agli studiosi, di proprietà di Aldo Manuzio il Giovane, che contiene 23 favole di Fedro (*Aldo Manuzio il Giovane e un nuovo manoscritto umanistico di Fedro: indagini preliminari*).

Successivamente, Giuseppe CREMASCOLI inquadra un problema importantissimo nella critica esopica e fedriana, vale a dire quello del ruolo degli animali pervenienti dalle favole nelle prediche (*Gli animali della favolistica nella predicazione medievale*). Un'altra riflessione su uno dei problemi fondamentali negli studi sulla favola – i rapporti fra la tradizione greco-latina e quella orientale – viene presentato da Armando BISANTI (*Tradizione fedriana e tradizione orientale nella favolistica mediolatina – Status quaestionis*).

Seguiamo, poi, le varie strategie di adattamento dell'opera di Fedro o di Esopo, di cui Fedro fu mediatore in Europa, nella cultura francese – grazie a Massimo BONAFIN (*Tradizione esopica e Roman de Renart*), tedesca – grazie a Carla DEL ZOTTO (*L'asino e il lupo nel Wälscher Gast e nel Reinhart Fuchs*), nederlandese – grazie a Davide BERTAGNOLLI (*Innovazioni e strategie di cristianizzazione nelle favole dell'Esopet medio-nederlandese*), e italiana – grazie ad Alessandra DI RICCO (*Nel Settecento italiano: contributo a una geografia della favola*).

Gert-Jan VAN DIJK di nuovo cambia la nostra prospettiva e ci invita ad un viaggio sulle tracce della volpe e dell'aquila nella letteratura mondiale (*1094 VD. The Fable of the Fox and the Eagle in World Literature*). Paola PALLOTTINO, sempre nel contesto mondiale, analizza l'iconografia favolistica fino al Novecento, provando che l'illustrazione delle favole è rilevante non solo nelle

edizioni moderne per i bambini: al contrario, essa poteva trasmettere messaggi seri persino nel campo dell'alchimia (*Lupus in tabula. Evoluzione iconografica delle favole dal XIV al XX secolo*).

Il volume è chiuso da un *Indice degli autori e dei testi* preceduto da un intervento di Flavio OREGGIO (*Il mio amico Fedro*), un comico e cabarettista contemporaneo italiano: questa può sembrare una decisione assai insolita agli studiosi più tradizionalisti; nondimeno è ben affondata nella materia stessa. Infatti M. dimostra così – con coraggio degno di rilievo – che come studiosi non dovremmo chiuderci in una torre eburnea, perché la tradizione antica e le favole animalesche di Esopo e di Fedro in particolare sono una parte integrante e viva della nostra cultura, pure nel Terzo Millennio. Ci rendiamo dunque conto di nuovo che il volume ci offre un quadro veramente profondo della problematica. I riferimenti ai tempi più recenti permeano i contributi: non solo quando i titoli lo indicano esplicitamente – per esempio nel caso degli interventi di DI RICCO o PALLOTTINO – ma anche in studi come quello della RODLER che, analizzando la morfologia della favola, evoca l'opera di Leonardo Sciascia. Per lo più, il risultato dei contributi dimostra che abbiamo a che fare qui con un fenomeno che eccede la nozione del *Fortleben*. Fedro non solo “continua a vivere”, ma la sua opera si inserisce in un processo ininterrotto di interpretazioni sempre nuove attraverso i secoli. È un dialogo cui le generazioni che vengono non assistono passivamente, ma adattano i testi di Fedro ai propri bisogni, esattamente come accadde per esempio quando gli autori delle prediche avevano scoperto il potenziale delle favole come strumento di comunicazione con i fratelli e le sorelle nella fede cristiana.

Anche oggi le favole di Esopo e di Fedro continuano a offrire i momenti di gioia e di riflessione sia agli adulti, sia ai bambini. Nutrono la nostra immaginazione. Occorre osservare che Ferruccio BERTINI soleva chiamare Fedro “un precursore di Walt Disney”... *Last but not least*, esse sono la fonte di stereotipi tanto pericolosi quanto utili per capire meglio l'ordine della nostra realtà e di quella dei nostri antenati. Un fenomeno da prendere sul serio, senza dubbio. Lo capiva Sciascia, scrivendo *Le favole della dattatura* (1950). Lo capiva pure Rousseau, che non tanto era contrario alle favole, quanto esigeva dai loro lettori una certa maturità<sup>3</sup>. Questo emerge chiaramente anche dal volume curato da M., che ci rende consapevoli del contributo di Fedro nel popolare la nostra cultura con le figure emblematiche degli animali e con le storie che ancora oggi definiscono le nostre categorie del pensiero<sup>4</sup>.

Un aspetto non secondario del volume è il ricordo di Ferruccio BERTINI, maestro di M., che percorre le pagine della studiosa e degli altri contributori in modo discreto e sempre toccante.

Katarzyna Marciniak  
Facoltà di “Artes Liberales”, Università di Varsavia

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<sup>3</sup> Si veda per esempio H.R. CELL, *Rousseau and La Fontaine: Postponing the Time of Fables*, in: L. CLARK, G. LAFRANCE (a cura di), *Rousseau and Criticism / Rousseau et la Critique*, Ottawa 1995, pp. 219–230; T.E. LEWIS, *Rousseau and the Fable: Rethinking the Fabulous Nature of Educational Philosophy*, *Educational Theory* LXII 2012, pp. 323–341.

<sup>4</sup> L'interesse al volume curato da M. viene attestato dalle recensioni pubblicate sui giornali, come per esempio: E. DOSSI, *Quello che ci insegna Fedro «Autore politico e sociale»*, *Corriere Trentino*, 01.05.2015, p. 6; G.B., *La letteratura oltre il principato Fedro, padre della favola latina*, *Corriere dell'Alto Adige*, 23.04.2015, p. 13. Per più recensioni si veda il sito dell'editore: [www.patroneditore.com/volumi/1770/ricerca\\_digital\\_downloads.html](http://www.patroneditore.com/volumi/1770/ricerca_digital_downloads.html) (accesso 28.01.2016). Si veda anche la recensione pubblicata il 29 gennaio 2016 da V. Jennings sul BMCR: <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2016/2016-01-29.html> (accesso 29.01.2016).



## PROTOKÓŁ Z POSIEDZENIA ZARZĄDU GŁÓWNEGO POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO

Posiedzenie Zarządu Głównego Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego odbyło się 24 września 2015 o godz. 18:00 w Toruniu według następującego programu:

1. Sprawy bieżące.
2. Sprawozdanie z działalności Zarządu Głównego PTF w ostatnich dwóch latach.
3. Sprawozdania z działalności Oddziałów Terenowych PTF.
4. Informacja redaktora naczelnego „Eos”.
5. Sprawozdanie Przewodniczącego Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego.
6. Wolne wnioski.

Obrady otworzył i przewodniczył im prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF, pan profesor Gościwit Malinowski. Na protokolanta obrad wyznaczył panią doktor Małgorzatę Cieśluk. Na wstępie poddano pod głosowanie porządek obrad i wniosek formalny o wprowadzenie do porządku obrad sprawozdania Fundacji „Traditio Europae”. Oba wnioski zostały przyjęte jednogłośnie. Następnie przedstawiono komunikat organizatorów CVI Walnego Zgromadzenia PTF co do trybu posiedzeń panelowych oraz prośbę o utrzymanie dyscypliny czasowej w obrębie poszczególnych paneli. Pan profesor Przemysław Nehring zaproponował również, aby sprawozdanie Prezydium Zarządu Głównego zostało przedstawione w dniu następnym podczas uroczystego rozpoczęcia CVI Walnego Zgromadzenia PTF. Ustalono także, że delegaci zapoznają się z nim w formie pisemnej.

Prezes Zarządu Głównego przedstawił zebranym sytuację finansową Towarzystwa, która została oceniona pozytywnie. Złożone zostały trzy wnioski grantowe, w czerwcu 2015 roku uregulowana została kwestia strony internetowej – podjęto starania o przeniesienie domeny dla uproszczenia procedur. Prezes poinformował również, że w dniu 15 czerwca 2015 roku, zgodnie z ustaleniami podjętymi podczas ostatniego posiedzenia Zarządu Głównego PTF, wysłany został list do Centralnej Komisji Egzaminacyjnej, na który do dnia obrad (24 września) nie otrzymano odpowiedzi. Przedstawiciele Oddziału Wrocławskiego podnieśli kwestię finansowania przez PTF kosztów utrzymania grobów samotnych

członków PTF na podstawie wniosków składanych przez poszczególne oddziały. Poddano pod głosowanie wnioski w sprawie pokrycia kosztów utrzymania grobu profesora Jerzego Kowalskiego we Wrocławiu – wniosek został przyjęty jednogłośnie. Prezes zaproponował przygotowanie mapy, na której zaznaczone byłyby cmentarze, gdzie znajdują się groby członków PTF w różnych miastach.

Kolejną poruszoną kwestią był wpis do KRS. Pan profesor Przemysław Nehring zwrócił uwagę, że w chwili obecnej oczekiwana jest zmiana w ustawie o stowarzyszeniach, w związku z czym być może konieczne będzie dokonanie korekt w statucie PTF. Prezes zaproponował, aby termin wyborów w oddziałach terenowych został zsynchronizowany z terminem wyborów władz ogólnopolskich, co pozwoliłoby na uniknięcie dodatkowych kosztów związanych z wprowadzaniem nowych informacji do KRS.

Następnie podjęto temat sprawozdań Oddziałów Terenowych PTF: uściślono następujący termin i tryb składania sprawozdań: po okresie 2 lat – w formie informacji dla Zarządu, po okresie 4 lat – przedstawiane podczas Walnego Zgromadzenia PTF.

W kolejnym punkcie obrad pan doktor Rafał Toczek przedstawił sprawozdanie z działalności Fundacji „*Traditio Europae*”.

Redaktor naczelny „*Eos*”, pan profesor Jakub Pigoń omówił sytuację od czasu ostatniego posiedzenia ZG: ukazał się zeszyt drugi za rok 2014, zeszyt pierwszy za rok 2015 ukaże się na początku listopada, zeszyt drugi za rok 2015 ukaże się na przełomie roku 2015 i 2016. Profesor poinformował również o pozytywnym rozpatrzeniu wniosku o dofinansowanie „*Eos*” przez Ministerstwo. Odpowiadając na pytanie pana profesora Krzysztofa Nareckiego o możliwości awansu „*Eos*” na liście ERIH Plus, pan Redaktor poinformował, że podjęte zostały starania o podniesienie punktacji.

Przewodnicząca Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego, pani profesor Agnieszka Dziuba przedstawiła sprawozdanie z przebiegu Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego. W nawiązaniu do Olimpiady podjęta została dyskusja na temat problemu obecności języka łacińskiego w szkole. W konkluzji przyjęto, że należy podjąć działania mające na celu zmianę stanu prawnego poprzez korektę zapisu w rozporządzeniu Ministerstwa na temat nauczania języków obcych w szkołach gimnazjalnych, dzięki czemu możliwe byłoby nauczanie języka łacińskiego jako drugiego języka obcego w gimnazjum. Zarząd w jednomyślnym głosowaniu udzielił Prezydium pełnomocnictwa do sporządzenia odnośnego pisma i rozesłania go do akceptacji. Podjęto także zobowiązanie, że Oddziały Terenowe wypowiedzą się po konsultacji z nauczycielami – praktykami na temat propozycji całościowego modelu nauczania języka łacińskiego w Polsce. Pan doktor Rafał Toczek i Fundacja *Traditio Europae* zadeklarowali, że służą wszelką pomocą przy rozwijaniu programu finansowania lekcji języka łacińskiego ze źródeł prywatnych.

W części poświęconej wolnym wnioskom Prezes PTF poddał pod dyskusję kwestię pozyskiwania finansów na działalność Towarzystwa poprzez pozyskiwanie grantów na działalność dydaktyczną oraz poprzez podjęcie wspólnego projektu realizowanego przez całe środowisko skupione w PTF. Zaproponowano dwa zadania badawcze do realizacji w ramach wspomnianego projektu: uzupełnienie zbioru *Corpus Inscriptionum Poloniae* oraz sporządzenie inwentarza tekstów łacińskich (rękopisów) w wybranych regionach. Ustalono, że propozycja ta zostanie skierowana w najbliższym czasie do konsultacji w Oddziałach Terenowych.

Na zakończenie pan profesor Rafał Rosół przekazał informację, że Wydział Filologii Polskiej i Klasycznej Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu wystąpił z oficjalną propozycją, aby rok 2016 został uznany rokiem Klemensa Janickiego (w związku z przypadającą 16 listopada 2016 roku pięćsetną rocznicą urodzin poety). Poszczególne ośrodki mogłyby włączyć się w organizację związanych z tą rocznicą wydarzeń i uroczystości.

Wobec braku dalszych wolnych wniosków Prezes PTF podziękował zebranym i zamknął obrady.

*Prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF  
dr hab. prof. UW r Gościwit Malinowski*

*Protokołowała  
dr Małgorzata Cieśluk*

## PROTOKÓŁ Z WALNEGO ZGROMADZENIA DELEGATÓW POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO

Walne Zgromadzenie Delegatów Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego odbyło się 25 września 2015 o godz. 9:00 w Toruniu. Pan prezes Gościwit Malinowski na prośbę Oddziału Wrocławskiego zwrócił się do Walnego Zgromadzenia z wnioskiem o nadanie godności członka honorowego PTF panu profesorowi Stanisławowi Wilczyńskiemu. Walne Zgromadzenie przyjęło wniosek przez aklamację. Wobec braku wolnych wniosków pan prezes zamknął posiedzenie.

*Prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF  
dr hab. prof. UWrocław Gościwit Malinowski*

*Protokolowała  
dr Małgorzata Cieśluk*

SPRAWOZDANIE Z DZIAŁALNOŚCI ZARZĄDU GŁÓWNEGO  
POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO  
W OKRESIE 28 WRZEŚNIA 2013–23 WRZEŚNIA 2015

- I. W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Główny działał w następującym składzie: prezes Zarządu Głównego – dr hab. prof. UW r Gościwit Malinowski; wiceprezesi Zarządu Głównego – dr hab. prof. UŚ Tadeusz Aleksandrowicz, dr hab. prof. UMK Przemysław Nehring, dr hab. prof. UJ Hubert Wolanin; skarbnik Zarządu Głównego – dr Sławomir Torbus; sekretarz Zarządu Głównego – dr Katarzyna Ochman; członkowie Zarządu Głównego – prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Głombiowski, dr Idaliana Kaczor, prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Narecki, dr hab. Rafał Rosół, dr hab. Joanna Usakiewicz, dr Rafał Toczko, dr Małgorzata Wróbel; przewodniczący Komisji Nagród i Wyróżnień – prof. dr hab. Marian Szarmach; redaktor naczelny „Eos” – dr hab. prof. UW r Jakub Pigoń; przewodnicząca Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego – dr hab. prof. KUL Agnieszka Dziuba; przewodniczący Oddziałów Terenowych – dr Tomasz Mojsik (Białystok), dr Agnieszka Witczak (Gdańsk: do 3 września 2015), dr hab. Tatiana Krynicka (Gdańsk: od 3 września 2015), dr hab. Anna Kucz (Katowice), dr Aleksandra Klęczar (Kraków), dr Agata Łuka (Lublin), mgr Teresa Macjon (Łódź: do 26 czerwca 2014), dr Joanna Rybowska (Łódź: od 26 czerwca 2014), prof. dr hab. Joanna Rostropowicz (Opole), dr Magdalena Stuligrosz (Poznań), dr Małgorzata Cieśluk (Szczecin), dr hab. prof. UMK Przemysław Nehring (Toruń), prof. dr hab. Adam Łukaszewicz (Warszawa: do 10 kwietnia 2015), dr Jan Kwapisz (Warszawa: od 10 kwietnia 2015), dr Barbara Hartleb-Kropidło (Wrocław).
- II. W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyły się trzy posiedzenia Zarządu Głównego: 24 maja 2014 w Warszawie, 22 listopada 2014 w Warszawie i 23 maja 2015 w Warszawie.
- III. Zarząd podjął następujące uchwały:
  1. Uchwała nr 1/2015 Zarządu Głównego Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego z dnia 23 maja 2015 w sprawie zakresu i zasad przekazywania danych członków przez Oddziały Terenowe.

2. Uchwała nr 2/2015 Zarządu Głównego Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego z dnia 23 maja 2015 w sprawie możliwości zatrudniania przez PTF osób na umowę o pracę.
3. Uchwała nr 3/2015 Zarządu Głównego Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego z dnia 23 maja 2015 w sprawie możliwości podejmowania na drodze elektronicznej uchwał Zarządu Głównego i Prezydium Zarządu Głównego.

IV. Ukazały się cztery zeszyty „Eos”, w tym zeszyt 2/2013 ze specjalnym dodatkiem jubileuszowym, sfinansowanym w ramach osobnego projektu NPRH.

V. Przeprowadzono dwie edycje Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego. W roku szkolnym 2014/2015 w Olimpiadzie wzięło udział 400 uczniów z 86 szkół w Polsce, tzn. o 26 osób i o 4 szkoły więcej niż rok wcześniej. Dużym sukcesem Olimpiady jest zajęcie przez uczennicę z Polski, Adrianę Tymińską, XII miejsca w *Certamen Ciceronianum* w Arpino w 2014 roku.

VI. Pozostała działalność Zarządu Głównego w okresie sprawozdawczym przedstawiała się następująco<sup>1</sup>:

- Utworzenie profilu Towarzystwa w serwisie „Facebook” i rozpoczęcie promocji działań Towarzystwa przy użyciu tego narzędzia;
- Nawiązanie kontaktów z sekretarzem *Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Études Classiques (FIEC)* i z biuletynem *Euroclassica*; uregulowanie bieżących składek członkowskich;
- Podjęcie działań mających na celu zwolnienie studentów filologii klasycznej z opłat za drugi kierunek studiów;
- Opracowanie procedury rozliczeniowej umożliwiającej Oddziałom Terenowym PTF korzystanie z osobowości prawnej Towarzystwa;
- Opracowanie i analiza danych na temat historii płatności składek oraz liczby i danych osobowych członków poszczególnych Oddziałów Terenowych;
- Opracowanie oferty prenumeraty „Eos” w promocyjnej cenie dla członków PTF;
- Podpisanie porozumienia z Kuratorium Oświaty w Warszawie w sprawie organizacji w roku szkolnym 2014/2015 X Konkursu Kultury Klasycznej;
- Przeprowadzenie we współpracy z fundacją *Traditio Europae* konkursu na najlepszego nauczyciela łaciny, którego zwyciężczynią została pani magister Katarzyna Borowska z Lublina;
- Podjęcie dyskusji na temat poziomu trudności tegorocznego arkusza maturalnego z języka łacińskiego; zwrócenie się z prośbą o opinię w tej sprawie do ekspertów polskich i zagranicznych; opracowanie i przedłożenie Centralnej

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<sup>1</sup> Punkt VI *Sprawozdania* publikujemy tu w wersji znacznie skróconej (przypr. red.).

- Komisji Egzaminacyjnej oficjalnego stanowiska PTF w sprawie niskiej jakości merytorycznej egzaminu dojrzałości z języka łacińskiego<sup>2</sup>;
- Zainicjowanie debaty na temat możliwości podjęcia ogólnopolskich, zakrojonych na szeroką skalę projektów badawczych: *Musaios Polonus* (baza polskich tekstów nowołacińskich) i skoordynowane opracowanie inskrypcji łacińskich z terenów polskich;
  - Podjęcie działań w celu renowacji i uregulowania sytuacji administracyjnej grobu profesora Jerzego Kowalskiego na cmentarzu św. Wawrzyńca we Wrocławiu; podjęcie inicjatywy akcji inwentaryzacyjnej grobów profesorów filologii klasycznej w całej Polsce;
  - Uzyskanie finansowania projektu badawczego w konkursie NCN *Preludium 9*: dr Joanna Porucznik, „Procesy kreowania tożsamości kulturowej w antycznym północnym Czarnomorzu – polis grecka a tereny wiejskie”, kwota grantu: 99 000 zł.

*Prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF  
prof. dr hab. Gościwit Malinowski*

*Sekretarz Zarządu Głównego PTF  
dr Katarzyna Ochman*

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<sup>2</sup> Centralna Komisja Egzaminacyjna nie udzieliła Polskiemu Towarzystwu Filologicznemu żadnej odpowiedzi na wysłane pismo (przyp. red.).

SPRAWOZDANIA Z DZIAŁALNOŚCI ODDZIAŁÓW  
TERENOWYCH POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO  
W OKRESIE 28 WRZEŚNIA 2013–23 WRZEŚNIA 2015

1. SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU GDAŃSKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Oddziału Gdańskiego PTF działał w składzie: przewodnicząca – dr Agnieszka Witczak; wiceprzewodnicząca – mgr Elżbieta Starek; skarbniczka – dr Maria Otto, sekretarz – dr Jacek Pokrzywnicki; oraz członkowie Zarządu – dr Ewelina Marciniak, mgr Klaudia Palmąka. Do Komisji Rewizyjnej weszli: dr Zbigniew Brzostowski (jako przewodniczący), mgr Hanna Bendarczyk-Szulc i dr Grzegorz Kotłowski.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się siedem spotkań. Ich częstotliwość była nieco mniejsza od tej z lat poprzednich ze względu na to, że Zarząd Oddziału (przewodnicząca, wiceprzewodnicząca, od czerwca także sekretarz) uczestniczył w przygotowaniu nowej dokumentacji kierunku w ramach Katedralnej Komisji KRK. Tematyka spotkań była następująca:

1. Dr Małgorzata Chudzikowska-Wołoszyn (UWM), *Bestiae Rabana Maura (ok. 780–856). Uwagi o uczoności komentatorów epoki karolińskiej* (24 IV 2014).
2. Dr Agnieszka Witczak, *Sprawozdanie z posiedzenia Zarządu Głównego PTF w Warszawie* (29 V 2014).
3. Dr Agnieszka Witczak, Spotkanie informacyjne; dr Jacek Pokrzywnicki (UG), *Projekt: Gdański Ogród Muz* (29 I 2015).
4. Prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Głombiowski, *Ksenofont – z warsztatu tłumacza i wydawcy* (23 II 2015).
5. Dr Grzegorz Kotłowski, mgr Elżbieta Starek (UG), *Nauczyciele Gimnazjum Gdańskiego w inskrypcjach gdańskich* (26 III 2015).
6. Prof. dr hab. Ireneusz Mikołajczyk (UMK), *Geoponika. Bizantyńska encyklopedia rolnicza* (13 IV 2015).
7. Dr Małgorzata Chudzikowska-Wołoszyn (UWM), *Erazmiańska definicja „civilitas”. Refleksje na kanwie „De civilitate morum puerilium”* (14 V 2015).

Ponadto Oddział Gdański kontynuował tradycje współpracy z trójmiejskimi szkołami:



1. Samorządowa Szkoła Podstawowa nr 17 im. Wiceadm. Józefa Unruga w Gdyni: cykl wykładów dla grupy zróżnicowanej wiekowo (dorośli wraz z dziećmi):
  - Mgr Aleksandra Hołomej, *Ceramika starożytna* (8 XI 2013).
  - Dr Zbigniew Brzostowski, *Śladami Antyku wokół Adriatyku, cz. II: Italia* (18 III 2014).
  - Dr Agnieszka Witczak, *Antyk w Gdańsku* (27 V 2014).
2. XIX Liceum Ogólnokształcące im. M. Mokwy w Gdańsku Wrzeszczu: wykłady dla jednorodnej wiekowo grupy (młodzież lub dorośli):
  - Dr Grzegorz Kotłowski, mgr Elżbieta Starek, *Urzednicy miasta Gdańska w łacińskich inskrypcjach Bazyliki Mariackiej* (w ramach Bałtyckiego Festiwalu Nauki, 26 V 2014).

Ze środków finansowych Oddziału ufundowano nagrody dla uczniów osiagających największe sukcesy podczas zajęć autorskich „Schola Latina” z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej, prowadzonych przez mgr Klaudię Palmąkę w Szkole Podstawowej nr 17, a mgr Palmąka wzięła udział w CV Zjeździe Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego, gdzie podczas panelu dydaktycznego wygłosiła prelekcję pt. *Sapere aude! – język łaciński i kultura antyczna w szkole podstawowej* (28 IX 2013).

Od 2013 roku Oddział Gdański liczy 39 członków.

*Przewodnicząca Oddziału Gdańskiego PTF  
dr Agnieszka Witczak*

## 2. SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU KATOWICKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym 2013–2015 Oddział Katowicki działał pod kierunkiem Zarządu w składzie<sup>3</sup>: przewodniczący – dr hab. Anna Kucz; zastępca przewodniczącego – dr Jan Kucharski; skarbnik – dr Katarzyna Lesiak; sekretarz – mgr Andrzej Wilanowski; członkowie Zarządu – mgr Katarzyna Warcaba, mgr Katarzyna Wójcik-Owczarek; Komisja Rewizyjna – dr hab. Tomasz Sapota, dr Anna Szczepaniak, dr Patrycja Matusiak. 16 czerwca 2015 na Walnym Zebraniu Wyborczym został wybrany nowy Zarząd: przewodniczący – dr hab. Anna Kucz; zastępca przewodniczącego – dr Jan Kucharski; skarbnik – mgr Edyta Gryksa; sekretarz – mgr Katarzyna Frąckiewicz; członkowie Zarządu – dr Anna Szczepaniak, dr Przemysław Piwowarczyk; Komisja Rewizyjna – dr hab. Tomasz Sapota, dr Patrycja Matusiak, mgr Damian Pierzak.

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<sup>3</sup> Wszystkie stopnie naukowe członków PTF odzwierciedlają stan dzisiejszy.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się osiem zebrań Oddziału Katowickiego, na których wygłoszonych zostało osiem referatów, w tym siedem przez pracowników, studentów i doktorantów Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, a jeden przez gościa ze Stanford University. Tematyka odczytów przedstawiała się następująco:

1. Dr Andrew Walker White (Stanford University VA), *A Tale of Two Actresses: Theodora, Sarah Bernhardt, and the Ever-Popular Byzantine Mystique* (29 X 2013, spotkanie współorganizowane z dr. hab. prof. UŚ Przemysławem Marciniakiem).
2. Dr hab. prof. UŚ Tadeusz Aleksandrowicz, *Gramatyka łacińska według Mikołaja Rodocia* (13 XII 2013, Spotkanie organizowane wspólnie z Kołem Młodych Klasyków UŚ oraz Katedrą Filologii Klasycznej UŚ).
3. Mgr Edyta Gryksa, *Obraz wojen w „Epitome de Tito Livio” Lucjusza Anneusza Florusa* (22 I 2015).
4. Dr Patrycja Matusiak, *Kilka uwag o strategiach językowych Florusa* (22 I 2015).
5. Kacper Kardas, *Słownik łaciński i jego budowa* (6 III 2014).
6. Dr Anna Szczepaniak, *Celną wypuścić strzałę wśród śpiewów powodzi – uwagi o metaforach Pindara* (26 III 2015).
7. Dr Iwona Słomak, *Łacińskie onomatopeje ptasich śpiewów jako przedmiot refleksji stylistyczno-filologicznej między XVI i XVIII stuleciem* (15 V 2014).
8. Dr hab. prof. UŚ Tadeusz Aleksandrowicz, *Rzym widziany z trasy maratonu olimpijskiego* (16 IV 2015).

Katowicki Oddział PTF współorganizował w dniach 23–24 IV 2014 oraz 24 XI 2014 dwie konferencje. W trakcie pierwszej z nich zatytułowanej „Śmierć w antycznej kulturze śródziemnomorskiej” przedstawionych zostało 35 referatów. Wśród prelegentów szerokie grono stanowili badacze z ośrodków naukowych spoza Śląska:

23 IV 2014

1. Dr hab. Anna Kucz (KFK UŚ), *Dzika czy oswojona?*
2. Dr hab. Tomasz Sapota (KFK UŚ), *Antyczna teoria dobrej i złej śmierci.*
3. Paweł Skowroński (Instytut Filozofii UŚ), *Samobójstwo jako problem etyczny w filozofii starożytnej.*
4. Dr Jan Kucharski (KFK UŚ), *Kara śmierci w starożytnych Atenach.*
5. Mgr Paulina Nicko (UWr), *Nekromancja na starożytnym Bliskim Wschodzie na przykładzie 1 Sm 28-4-19.*
6. Dr Stanisław Ciupka (ATH Bielsko-Biała), *Losy ludzi sprawiedliwych Starego Testamentu według myślicieli chrześcijańskich I/II wieku.*
7. Dr Marcin Majewski (Instytut Teologii Biblijnej UJPII), *Nieczystość śmierci w Torze. Śmierć jako arcytabu.*
8. Mgr Kinga Kopańska (Instytut Archeologii UW), *Przedstawienia sfinksa na wybranych zabytkach sepulkralnych starożytnego Cypru.*

9. Lic. Barbara Zajac (Instytut Archeologii UJ), *Memento... Attyckie stele nagrobne okresu klasycznego wyraz pamięci, tęsknoty i tragedii ludzkiej.*
10. Mgr Justyna Dworniak (UŁ), *Śmierć z rąk matki. Przedstawienie Medei Eurypidesa w ikonografii starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu.*
11. Mgr Ada Lewkowicz (UJ), *Rytuał Otwarcia Ust – narodziny po śmierci w starożytnym Egipcie.*
12. Mgr Katarzyna Kurek (Zakład Historii Starożytnej UŚ), *Sędziowie zmarłych w mitologii greckiej.*
13. Mgr Maciej Paprocki (UWr), *Ephemeroi karpoi – owoce śmiertelności.*
14. Lic. Magdalena Jagielska (Wydział Teologiczny UŚ), *Od położnicy do gladiatora – śmierć pierwszych męczenników chrześcijańskich na przykładzie „Męczeństwa św. Perpetuy i Felicyty”.*
15. Mgr Łukasz Krzyszczuk (UWr), *Litera zabija. Rzecz o antiocheńskiej interpretacji ksiąg prorockich w pismach egzegetycznych Hieronima ze Strydonu.*
16. Mgr Piotr Makowski, (Instytut Archeologii, Instytut Historii Sztuki UW), *Pomiędzy życiem a śmiercią. Kult relikwii męczenników i świętych w późnoantycznej Transjordanii.*

24 IV 2014

1. Dr Dorota Gorzelany (Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie), *Theos egenou ex anthropou – dionizyjski i afrodyzyjski aspekt greckich zaświatów.*
2. Mgr Tomasz Smalcerz (Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie), *Bios – thanatos – bios. Orficka wizja życia i śmierci.*
3. Dr Joanna Aleksandrowicz (Instytut Nauk o Kulturze i Studiów Interdyscyplinarnych UŚ), *Filmowe powroty Orfeusza i Eurydyki.*
4. Lic. Łukasz Tomanek (UŚ), *Śmierć i sofista. O związku platońskiej eschatologii ze sztuką polityki.*
5. Dr hab. Bogdan Burliga (UG), *Co z tą duszą? Cyceeron wobec wyzwania Lukrecjusza.*
6. Mgr Damian Pierzak (KFK UŚ), *Czy publiczność Cyceerona знаła podanie o śmierci Orfeusza? (Arch. 19).*
7. Mgr Marek Job (KFK UŚ), *Sic moriaris ut moritur. Agonia bóstwa w kulturach misteryjnych na podstawie „De errore profanarum religionum” Firmicusa Maternusa.*
8. Dr Joanna Rybowska (Katedra Filologii Klasycznej UŁ), *Agrapha thanonton. Niepisane prawa zmarłych.*
9. Dr Idaliana Kaczor (Zakład Językoznawstwa i Indoeuropeistyki UŁ), *Sunt aliquid Manes: letum non omnia finit – rzymska obrzędowość śmierci.*
10. Mgr Edyta Gryksa (KFK UŚ), *Fatifer, mortifer i letalis w kulturze rzymskiej.*
11. Dr Julia Krauze (UKSW), *Zanurzyć się w rzece zapomnienia. Metaforyczne postrzeganie śmierci w antyku grecko-rzymskim.*

12. Mgr Joanna Kłos (Wydział „Artes Liberales” UW), „*Cassandra: Mihi mori est securitas*”. *Zgoda na śmierć jako transgresywne wyzwolenie w dramacie Seneki „Agamemnon”*.
13. Dr Barbara Bibik (Katedra Filologii Klasycznej UMK), *Śmierć w poezji elegijnej Propercjusza oraz Corpus Tibullianum*.
14. Maciej Wienczek (UŚ), *Przepowiadanie śmierci pod koniec IV wieku w Cesarstwie Rzymskim*.
15. Dr Aleksandra Golik-Prus (SPNJO UŚ), *Doskonałość ekspresji wizualno-dźwiękowej epickiego przedstawienia motywu śmierci Laokoona w „Eneidzie” i jego rzeźbiarskie odniesienia w watykańskiej Grupie Laokoona*.
16. Dr Patrycja Matusiak (KFK UŚ), *Recykling trupów: konieczność czy okrucieństwo? Autorzy antyczni między Hannibalem a Cezarem*.
17. Dr Tomasz Ładoń (Akademia im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie), *Śmierć w Villa Publica. Masakra jeńców samnickich po bitwie koło Bramy Kollinńskiej (3 listopada 82 roku przed Chr.)*.
18. Lic. Joanna Majdanik: *Trucizny w świecie starożytnych Rzymian – czy zawsze były przyczyną śmierci?*
19. Dr Julia Doroszewska (KFK UŚ), „*Nie wierzył, że ze zmarłą obcował*”. *Motyw powracającej zmarłej w „Mirabiliach” Flegona z Tralleis*.

Na konferencji zatytułowanej „Hermeneutyka wina” z referatami wystąpiło 10 prelegentów. Odbyła się również dodatkowa prezentacja dotycząca win produkowanych z zastosowaniem rekonstruowanych metod:

1. Dr Dorota Gorzelany (MNK), *Między naturą a kulturą: dionizyjski aspekt cywilizacji greckiej*.
2. Dr hab. prof. UŚ Artur Malina, *Przez to misterium wody i wina... Biblijna symbolika wina w religii Izraela i chrześcijaństwie*.
3. Dr Anna Szczepaniak (UŚ), *Wino w poezji starożytnej Grecji*.
4. Dr hab. Marek Węcowski (UW), *Kiedy umarł sympozjon? Okoliczności i przyczyny upadku greckiej biesiady arystokratycznej*.
5. Dr hab. Tomasz Sapota (UŚ), *Wino jako symbol republikańskiego status quo*.
6. Dr hab. Maciej Kokoszko (UŁ), *Wino w źródłach medycznych antyku i Bizancjum*.
7. Dr Przemysław Piwowarczyk (UŚ), *Stosunek mnichów koptyjskich do wina*.
8. Dr Julia Krauze (UKSW), „*Vinum*” – *słowo wędrujące? Relacje językowe i podobieństwa niedoskonałe*.
9. Kamil Krakowiecki (UŚ), *Nie tylko antyk: składnia rzeczownika „vinum” w łacinie średniowiecznej i nowożytnej*.
10. Dr Agata Zofia Ogorka-Tabis (Collegium Medicum UJ), *Wina świata antycznego. Dziedzictwo kulturowe dzisiaj*.
11. Dr Agata Zofia Ogorka-Tabis (Collegium Medicum UJ), „*Aquam foras, vinum intro*”, *Petron. Sat. LII*.

Oddział w Katowicach liczy obecnie 33 członków z terenu województwa śląskiego. Wśród członków są nie tylko filologowie klasyczni, nie brakuje również reprezentantów innych dziedzin jak kulturoznawstwo, historia, filozofia czy teologia. Do Oddziału Katowickiego należą między innymi nauczyciele akademicy pracujący w Uniwersytecie Śląskim, nauczyciele licealni, studenci i doktoranci Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

W ramach szerzenia zainteresowania łaciną i kulturą starożytną członkowie Oddziału brali udział w organizacji dni otwartych Katedry Filologii Klasycznej UŚ, występowali z referatami w regionalnych ośrodkach kultury, a zastępca przewodniczącego Oddziału dr Jan Kucharski był członkiem Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego. Na jednym z zebrań studenci Filologii Klasycznej UŚ zaprezentowali przedstawienie zatytułowane *ΤΙΟΤΙΟΤΟΤΙΟΤΙΕ*, czyli *rzecz o poezji greckiej*, przygotowane pod opieką dr Anny Szczepaniak. Gośćmi zebrania byli między innymi uczniowie liceum z Zespołu Szkół Ogólnokształcących im. Marii Konopnickiej w Milówce. Oddział Katowicki zgłosił również kandydatkę w konkursie na najlepszego nauczyciela języka łacińskiego w Polsce.

*Przewodnicząca Katowickiego Oddziału PTF  
dr hab. Anna Kucz*

### 3. SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU KRAKOWSKIEGO

Do 8 kwietnia 2015 roku Zarząd Oddziału Krakowskiego działał w składzie: przewodniczący – dr hab. Antoni Bobrowski, wiceprzewodniczący – dr hab. Joanna Komorowska, sekretarz – dr Michał Bzinkowski, skarbnik – dr Janusz Ryba, członkowie – dr Krystyna Woś, dr Anna Wasyl, dr hab. Maria Maślanka-Soro, dr Krzysztof Pawłowski. W skład Komisji Rewizyjnej weszli: dr Aleksandra Klęczar, dr hab. Joanna Janik, mgr Wiesława Hajda, dr hab. Marek Hermann, dr Aneta Kliszcz. 8 kwietnia 2014 roku ukonstytuował się nowy Zarząd Oddziału w składzie: przewodniczący – dr Aleksandra Klęczar, sekretarz – dr Jacek Hajduk, skarbnik – dr Janusz Ryba, członkowie – prof. dr hab. Stanisław Śnieżewski, dr hab. Joanna Janik, dr hab. Maria Maślanka-Soro, dr hab. Marek Hermann. W skład Komisji Rewizyjnej weszli: dr hab. Joanna Komorowska, dr hab. Tomasz Polański, dr Agnieszka Heszen, dr Michał Bzinkowski, mgr Wiesław Hajda.

Członkowie Oddziału spotykali się na posiedzeniach, podczas których wygłoszono i przedyskutowano następujące referaty:

1. Posiedzenie poświęcone sprawom organizacyjnym, m.in. wyborowi nowych władz (8 IV 2014).

2. Dr Agnieszka Heszen (UJ): *Metafizyka i metaforyka poezji Kasji (IX w.)* (13 V 2014).
3. Dr Agnieszka Fulińska (UJ): *Antyczne tematy na medalach napoleońskich – zbiór przypadkowych motywów czy program artystyczno-polityczny?* (10 VI 2014).
4. Dr Aleksandra Klęczar (UJ): *Princeps superbohater? Recepcja postaci Oktawiana Augusta w komiksie i telewizji* (2 XI 2014).

*Sekretarz Krakowskiego Oddziału PTF  
dr Jacek Hajduk*

#### 4. SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU LUBELSKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym (tzn. od 29 V 2013 do 24 VI 2015) Oddział liczył 52 członków. Po przeprowadzeniu wyborów podczas sprawozdawczo-wyborczego Walnego Zebrania Oddziału 28 maja 2013, w skład Zarządu Oddziału wchodziły następujące osoby: przewodniczący – dr Agata Łuka, zastępca przewodniczącego – mgr Alicja Narecka, sekretarz – mgr Dorota Marciniuk, skarbnik – dr Małgorzata Siwicka, członek Zarządu ds. kontaktu z nauczycielami – mgr Helena Błazińska, członek Zarządu – dr Henryk Kowalski. W skład Komisji Rewizyjnej wchodziło: przewodniczący – dr hab. prof. KUL Jolanta Malinowska, członkowie – dr hab. prof. KUL Krzysztof Narecki i dr Marian Babiński. 24 czerwca 2015 podczas posiedzenia sprawozdawczo-wyborczego odbyły się wybory uzupełniające, w wyniku których sekretarzem Oddziału została mgr Natalia Turkiewicz.

W okresie sprawozdawczym Oddział pożegnał zmarłych p. Marię Kosiarską oraz ks. prof. Remigiusza Popowskiego, wieloletniego przewodniczącego Koła Lubelskiego, członka honorowego PTF.

Oddział prowadził działalność statutową w następujących formach:

- I. Spotkania z odczytami naukowymi:
  1. Ks. prof. dr hab. Augustyn Eckmann (KUL), *Nawrócenie św. Augustyna* (29 X 2013).
  2. Prof. dr hab. Henryk Podbielski (KUL), *„Progymnasmata” Libaniosa – modelowe ćwiczenia retoryczne* (10 XII 2013).
  3. Dr Iwona Wieżel (KUL), *„Historiē” Herodota z Halikarnasu* (25 II 2014).
  4. Mgr Wojciech Kopek (KUL), *Metapoetycki wymiar ironii w odzie „Donec gratus” (III 9) Horacego* (1 IV 2014).
  5. Prof. dr hab. Jadwiga Czerwińska (KUL, UŁ), *Mit w dramaturgii Eurypidesa* (13 V 2014).
  6. Prof. dr hab. Adam Łukaszewicz (UW), *Z Aleksandrii do grobowca Memnona* (9 VI 2014).

7. Prof. dr hab. Robert Chodkowski (KUL), *Deskrypcja supletywna w tragedii greckiej* (29 X 2014).
8. Dr Marian Babiński (KUL), *Non verbum pro verbo, czyli na marginesie tłumaczeń tekstów nowoczesnych* (10 XII 2014).
9. Mgr Krzysztof Mogielnicki (KUL), *Mechanizm rekonstrukcji dziejów w historiografii rzymskiej okresu republiki. Przeszłość jako środek rywalizacji politycznej* (26 III 2015).
10. Prof. dr hab. Aleksander Wojciech Mikołajczak (UAM), *Łaciński klucz do kultury Chin* (29 V 2015).

II. Współpraca z nauczycielami języka łacińskiego, z wykładowcami innych uniwersytetów i szkół wyższych oraz działalność popularyzatorska:

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.
2. Przewodnicząca Oddziału, dr Agata Łuka, wygłosiła wykłady połączone z prezentacją multimedialną pt. *Napisy łacińskie na sakralnych i świeckich budowlach Lublina* dla klas drugich III LO im. Unii Lubelskiej w Lublinie (4, 6 i 7 II 2014).
3. Rokrocznie, we współpracy z Instytutem Filologii Klasycznej KUL oraz Studium Praktycznej Nauki Języków Obcych, członkowie Oddziału uczestniczyli w przygotowaniu i przeprowadzeniu programów o kulturze antycznej w ramach Lubelskiego Festiwalu Nauki. Lektorzy języka łacińskiego pracujący w Studium Praktycznej Nauki Języków Obcych co roku organizowali Wielki Konkurs z języka łacińskiego dla studentów KUL.
4. W roku akademickim 2013/2014 oraz 2014/2015 przewodnicząca Oddziału, dr Agata Łuka, prowadziła autorskie otwarte poetyckie warsztaty interpretacyjno-translatorskie. V edycja warsztatów pt. „Pisane na serwetkach” odbyła się podczas wieczoru autorskiego połączonego z promocją książki dr Łuki pt. *Wykładnia, czyli jak wykladać metrykę*, w Kawiarni&Księgarni „Między Słowami” (Lublin, 14 V 2014). Gościem specjalnym VI edycji warsztatów pt. „*Carpe diem, czyli nie trać czasu na głupoty*” była dr Joanna Pędzisz (germanista, lingwista, dydaktyk tłumaczenia symultanicznego, adiunkt w Zakładzie Lingwistyki Stosowanej UMCS) z warsztatami pt. „*Carpe diem. Was meint damit Horaz?*” (KUL 20 V 2015). Dr Łuka prowadziła również warsztaty interpretacyjno-translatorskie na innych uczelniach: dla studentów Wydziału Filologii Polskiej i Klasycznej Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu warsztaty pt. „*Carpe diem, czyli każda chwila jest ważna*” (17 XI 2014) oraz dla Studenckiego Koła Naukowego Epigrafików UMCS Exploratio warsztaty translatorsko-metryczne pt. „Epigrafika i metryka

– dystych elegijny” (16 XII 2013) oraz „*Daj mi, Basiu ma miła, dziesięć centów. Jedenastozgłoskowiec falecejski*” (28 V 2015).

### III. Patronat nad Olimpiadą Języka Łacińskiego

Oddział zorganizował i czuwał nad przebiegiem I i II etapu Olimpiady w województwie lubelskim. Głównym organizatorem była mgr Helena Błazińska. Dzięki staraniom prof. Agnieszki Dziuby udało się przenieść III etap Olimpiady z Warszawy do Lublina oraz obniżyć koszty organizacji i pobytu uczestników i ich opiekunów.

### IV. Inne

Oddział Lubelski zgłosił kandydaturę mgr Katarzyny Borowskiej, nauczycielki III LO im. Unii Lubelskiej w Lublinie, do konkursu na najlepszego nauczyciela łaciny Polsce pt. *Optima Magistra* organizowanego przez fundację *Traditio Europae* i Zarząd Główny PTF. Mgr Borowska została zwyciężczynią tego konkursu.

*Przewodnicząca Oddziału Lubelskiego PTF  
dr Agata Łuka*

## 5. SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU ŁÓDZKIEGO

Oddział Łódzki PTF liczy 38 członków. Honorowym Prezesem Oddziału jest dr Józef Macjon. Zarząd Oddziału Łódzkiego PTF do 26 czerwca 2014 pracował w składzie: przewodnicząca – mgr Teresa Macjon; wiceprzewodnicząca – prof. UŁ dr hab. Hanna Zalewska-Jura; sekretarz – dr Anna Maciejewska; skarbnicy – mgr Yvonne Borowski, mgr Helena Sygnet; członkowie Zarządu – dr hab. prof. UŁ Zbigniew Danek, dr Idaliana Kaczor (przewodnicząca Sekcji Indoeuropejskiej), mgr Dorota Żuchowska (przewodnicząca Sekcji Dydaktycznej); Komisja Rewizyjna – dr Wanda Amarantidou, mgr Anna Borowska-Lorenc, mgr Katarzyna Głogowska. Od 26 czerwca 2014 skład Zarządu przedstawiał się następująco: przewodnicząca – dr Joanna Rybowska; wiceprzewodnicząca – dr Magdalena Koźluk; sekretarze – dr Anna Maciejewska (przewodnicząca Sekcji Dydaktycznej), mgr Marcin Cyrulski; skarbnik – mgr Yvonne Borowski; członek Zarządu – dr hab. prof. UŁ Hanna Zalewska-Jura; komisja rewizyjna – dr hab. prof. UŁ Zbigniew Danek (przewodniczący), dr hab. Idaliana Kaczor, dr Adriana Grzelak-Krzymianowska.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 16 zebrań Oddziału Łódzkiego PTF, których tematyka przedstawiała się następująco:

1. Mgr Marcin Cyrulski, *Bessarion z Trapezuntu. Kardynał i jego rodzinne miasto* (24 X 2013).



2. Sesja naukowa pt. „Repozytorium pamięci” (21 XI 2013):
  - Dr Joanna Rybowska, *Kolekcja papirusów w portyku Muz.*
  - Dr Idaliana Kaczor, „*Fasti*” Owidiusza – *pamięć datami znaczone.*
  - Mgr Marcin Cyrulski, *Pamięć o antyku* w „*Pochwale Trapezuntu*” Bessariona.
  - Dr Marta Czapińska, *Francesco Guicciardini. Krótka historia wspomnień.*
  - Dr Magdalena Koźluk, *Kolekcja imagines agentes w szesnasto- i siedemnastowiecznej emblematyce.*
  - Prof. dr hab. Witold Konstanty Pietrzak, *Nauka i obscenum w pamięci siedemnastowiecznego humanisty.*
3. Prof. dr hab. Mariusz Mielczarek (UMK), *Pieniądz starożytnych Greków* (19 XII 2013).
4. Uroczystość jubileuszowa na cześć Honorowego Prezesa Oddziału Łódzkiego PTF dra Józefa Macjona (14 III 2014):  
Prezentacja książki pamiątkowej.  
Dr Józef Macjon, *Siedemnastowieczne łacińskie traktaty o niewiastach.*
5. Dr Magdalena Koźluk, *Wybrane zagadnienia z recepcji dawnej medycyny w XVI wieku we Francji* (24 IV 2014).
6. Dr Dorota Gorzelany (Muzeum Czartoryskich w Krakowie), *Tematy mitologiczne w greckim malarstwie wazowym* (5 VI 2014).
7. Zebranie sprawozdawczo-wyborcze (26 VI 2014).
8. Mgr Aleksandra Polewska, *Rogi Mojżesza. Kto mu je przyprawił?* (6 XI 2014).
9. Mgr Roksana Kielian, *W kurzu i pyłe zbiorów The Archeological Archive at the Museum of London* (21 XI 2014).
10. Prof. dr hab. Maria Wichowa, „*Było Ilijum, było*”. *Staropolski dialog z tradycją antyczną* (11 XII 2014).
11. Michał Stahl, *Inspiracje obrazami mistrzów renesansu* (8 I 2015).
12. Mgr Wojciech Jakubczyk, *Ulotne znaczenia. Nazwy motyli a pamięć kulturowa* (5 II 2015).
13. Dr Joanna Rybowska, *Persefona i Demeter*; dr hab. Idaliana Kaczor, *Ceres i Libera*, dr Magdalena Koźluk, *Cerera i Prozerpina u progu epoki nowożytnej* (5 III 2015).
14. Dr hab. prof. UŁ Hanna Zalewska-Jura, *O aktualności dowcipów starożytnych Greków* (16 IV 2015).
15. Dr hab. prof. UŁ Joanna Sowa, *Czy żona powinna być lustrem? Metafora lustra w literaturze starożytnej* (14 V 2015).
16. Zebranie organizacyjne (11 VI 2015).

W okresie sprawozdawczym zorganizowaliśmy konkursy dla uczniów szkół średnich z Łodzi i regionu: w roku szkolnym 2013/2014 konkurs łaciny żywej, w roku 2014/2015 konkurs łaciny żywej, IV Międzyszkolny Konkurs Języka Łacińskiego (obejmujący województwa łódzkie i świętokrzyskie), konkurs

wiedzy „Sapere aude” dla młodzieży uczęszczającej na zebrania Oddziału Łódzkiego PTF.

Członkowie Oddziału 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 (m.in. *Concilium Latinum Lodziense*), koncertów, Festiwalu Nauki, Techniki i Sztuki w Łodzi, odczytów dla młodzieży szkolnej. Członkowie Oddziału pracują również co roku przy organizacji i przeprowadzaniu Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego.

*Sekretarz Oddziału Łódzkiego PTF*  
*dr Anna Maciejewska*

## 6. SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU POZNAŃSKIEGO

I. W okresie sprawozdawczym Oddział działał pod egidą Zarządu w następującym składzie: przewodnicząca – dr hab. Magdalena Stuligrosz; wiceprzewodnicząca – dr Teodozja Wikarjak; sekretarz – dr Aleksandra Arndt; skarbnik – mgr Ewa Nowak; członek Zarządu – dr Sławomira Brud; Komisja Rewizyjna – prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartol, prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska, dr Radosław Piętka.

II. Działalność naukowa i statutowa:

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 17 zebrań naukowych, na których wygłoszono tyleż referatów, w tym: 4 z literatury greckiej, 1 z literatury rzymskiej, 2 z filozofii starożytnej, 4 z literatury nowołacińskiej; 6 z recepcji antyku. Autorami wygłaszanych referatów byli członkowie naszego koła (5), uczeni reprezentujący inne jednostki UAM (3), goście z innych ośrodków w Polsce (7) oraz z ośrodków zagranicznych (2), z tytułami (lub stopniami) profesora (7), dra hab. (1), dra (8) oraz mgra (1). Szczegółowa tematyka referatów przedstawiała się następująco:

1. Ks. dr Jarosław Nowaszczuk (Szczecin), „*Pszczoly Loyoli*”. *Wokół koincydencji jezuickiej poetyki i światopoglądu* (15 X 2013).
2. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska, *Łuk antyczny. Przypadek Odysa. Przypadek Parysa* (19 XI 2013).
3. Mgr Krzysztof Nowak (Kraków), *Z prac nad elektronicznym słownikiem i korpusem łaciny średniowiecznej* (17 XII 2013).
4. Dr Aleksandra Arndt, *Horacy w nurcie Skamandra. O Tuwimowych przekładach pieśni twórcy z Wenuzji* (21 I 2014).
5. Dr Rafał Wójcik, *Akrostychy i abecedariusze w Polsce w późnym średniowieczu* (18 II 2014).

6. Prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Kozłowski, *Alegoria artysty. O „Lohengrinie” Richarda Wagnera* (18 III 2014).
7. Dr hab. Jakub Urbanik (Warszawa), *Pomiędzy cesarskim sądem a wioskowym arbitrażem. Wymiar sprawiedliwości w późnej starożytności: studium przypadków z archiwów Dioskorosa* (8 IV 2014).
8. Dr Renata Majewska (Warszawa), *Arkadia Północy Juliusza Słowackiego. Mity eddaiczne w Lilli Wenedzie i Królu-Duchu* (20 V 2014).
9. Prof. dr hab. Gerson Schade (Berlin, Poznań), *Homer’s grand narrative and the heroic society’s social memory* (17 VI 2014).
10. Dr Maria Marcinkowska-Rosół, *ARCH MEGISTON PANTOS. Z badań nad metodologią Arystotelesa* (21 X 2014).
11. Dr Mateusz Stróżyński, *Sokrates, Herkules, Chrystus: antyczna terapia duszy w „Czterech kwartetach” T.S. Eliota* (18 XI 2014).
12. Dr hab. prof. UAM Grzegorz Raubo, *Arystotelizm w kulturze umysłowej baroku* (20 I 2015).
13. Dr Artur Pacewicz (Wrocław), *Spoleczna i polityczna rola przyjemności w filozofii Platona* (17 II 2015).
14. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska, *Kassandra i inne zwierzęta* (17 III 2015).
15. Dr hab. prof. UMK Przemysław Nehring (Toruń), *Występki duchownych w świetle korespondencji Augustyna* (21 IV 2015).
16. Dr Petra Šoštarić (Zagrzeb), *Introduction to Croatian Neo-Latin tradition. Presentation of the Croatian Neo-Latin Epic project* (19 V 2015).
17. Prof. dr hab. Małgorzata Borowska (Warszawa), *Z dziejów teatru renesansowej Krety. Komedia* (16 VI 2015).

Odbyły się też dwa spotkania świąteczno-noworoczne, w tym jedno połączone z zebraniem naukowym (w grudniu 2013) i jedno połączone z wieczorem translatorskim (w grudniu 2014).

### III. Działalność popularyzacyjna:

- Członkowie Oddziału powołani do Okręgowej Komisji Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego: dr Teodozja Wikarjak (przewodnicząca), dr Elżbieta Zakrzewska-Gębka (sekretarz), oraz członkowie Okręgowej Komisji Egzaminacyjnej: dr Aleksandra Arndt, dr Sławomira Brud, dr Anna Lasek, dr Monika Miazek-Męczyńska, dr Marlena Puk, dr Justyna Zaborowska-Musiał przeprowadzili eliminacje I i II stopnia XXXII i XXXIII Olimpiady.
- Członkowie Oddziału: dr Justyna Zaborowska-Musiał i dr Marlena Puk pod egidą IFK UAM zorganizowały w latach 2013/2014 oraz 2014/2015 VIII i IX edycję Konkursu Wiedzy o Antyku dla uczniów gimnazjów i liceów województwa wielkopolskiego. Członkowie Komisji Egzaminacyjnej: prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartoł, dr hab. prof. UAM Piotr Bering, dr hab. prof. UAM Piotr Urbański, dr hab. Magdalena Stuligrosz, dr Sławomira Brud, dr Monika

Miazek-Męczyńska, dr Radosław Piętka opracowali pytania i przeprowadzili eliminacje ustne dla uczniów liceów.

- Członkowie Oddziału: dr hab. Magdalena Stuligrosz i dr hab. Mateusz Stróżyński koordynowali współpracę IFK ze szkołami (III i VI LO w Poznaniu, Gimnazjum i Liceum Ogólnokształcącym im. Matki Jadwigi Borzęckiej Zgromadzenia Sióstr Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego w Poznaniu, XVI LO w Krzesinach), w ramach której pracownicy naukowcy IFK wygłosili wykłady z literatury i kultury antycznej dla uczniów.

#### IV. Działalność organizacyjna:

- W dniach 14–16 IX 2013 r. dr Aleksandra Arndt, dr Teodozja Wikarjak, mgr Łukasz Berger, mgr Aleksandra Sheasby reprezentowali Oddział na Walnym Zgromadzeniu PTF w Gdańsku.

- V. Obecnie Oddział liczy 60 członków; w okresie sprawozdawczym 6 osób zapisało się do oddziału, 1 osoba zmarła, 1 osoba zrezygnowała z członkostwa.

*Przewodnicząca Oddziału Poznańskiego PTF  
dr hab. Magdalena Stuligrosz*

*Sekretarz Oddziału Poznańskiego PTF  
dr Aleksandra Arndt*

### 7. SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU TORUŃSKIEGO

Oddział Toruński PTF obecnie liczy 18 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się osiem spotkań naukowych Oddziału, podczas których zaproszeni goście wygłosili następujące referaty:

1. Mgr Maria Kozłowska (UJ), *Popularyzacja i cechy oralne w „Księgach, które zowią Język” (1542) – tłumaczeniu Erazmowego traktatu „Lingua” (1525)* (19 XI 2013).
2. Dr Rafał Rosół (UAM), *Memnon z Rodos i taktyka spalonej ziemi. Nowe spojrzenie na źródła (Diod. Bibl. 17.18.2–4; Arr., Anab. 1.12.8–10)* (21 III 2014).
3. Mgr Łukasz Berger (UAM), *Interpersonalny poziom języka w analizie komedii Plauta* (16 IV 2014).
4. Dr Aleksandra Arndt (UAM), *Horacy w nurcie Skamandra. O Tuwimowych przekładach pieśni twórcy z Wenuzji* (14 V 2014).
5. Dr hab. Elia Marinowa (Uniwersytet św. Klimenta Ochrydzkiego w Sofii), *The Language of Duties in Latin Epistolography. Semantic Transformations of „officium” from Cicero to Sidonius Apollinaris* (3 VI 2014).

6. Dr Michał Mizera (Wydział „Artes Liberales” UW), *Tadeusz Zieliński (1859–1944). Perspektywy badań nad spuścizną w świetle nowych archiwaliów* (21 XI 2014).
7. Dr hab. Bogdan Burliga (UG), *Cyceron o Lukrecjuszu: epizod z dziejów literackiej „damnatio memoriae”* (11 XII 2014).
8. Mgr Przemysław Chudzik (UMK), „*Miraculum dubium non est*”. *Nowa funkcja anegdoty w biografii późnoantycznej na przykładzie żywotów Pitagorasa* (27 V 2015).

Wykłady te tradycyjnie cieszyły się dużym zainteresowaniem, a oprócz członków Oddziału Toruńskiego PTF uczestniczyła w nich grupa studentów filologii klasycznej.

Od roku 2008 Oddział Toruński PTF wraz z katedrą Filologii Klasycznej UMK oraz Fundacją *Traditio Europae* jest współorganizatorem Ligi Starożytnej, czyli comiesięcznych spotkań młodzieży szkolnej, podczas których uczniowie słuchają wykładów popularyzujących antyk i jego dziedzictwo przygotowanych przez członków Oddziału Toruńskiego PTF lub gości zaproszonych z innych ośrodków naukowych. Po każdym wykładzie jego słuchacze wypełniają krótki test zawierający pytania związane z wykładem. Organizatorzy sumują wyniki testów i na zakończenie każdej edycji zwycięzcy otrzymują nagrody książkowe. Od roku 2009 rokrocznie Liga Starożytna jest dotowana przez Urząd Marszałkowski Województwa Kujawsko-Pomorskiego, a od roku szkolnego 2009/2010 – obejmowana honorowym patronatem przez Kujawsko-Pomorskiego Kuratora Oświaty. Patronat nad Ligą objął również Dziekan Wydziału Filologicznego UMK.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyły się dwie edycje Ligi. Wzięło w nich udział około 350 uczniów, którzy wysłuchali następujących wykładów:

Rok szkolny 2013/2014

1. Prof. dr hab. Maria Kalinowska (UMK), *Juliusz Słowacki wśród XIX-wiecznych podróży po Grecji* (26 X 2013).
2. Dr hab. Bartosz Awianowicz (UMK), *Balkany na przełomie II i III w. po Chr. w świetle monet i inskrypcji* (23 XI 2013).
3. Dr Barbara Bibik (UMK), *Przeze mnie droga do grodu boleści./ Przeze mnie droga w wieczny ból, aż do dna/ W kraj, co zgubionych tylko ludzi mieści* (18 I 2014).
4. Dr hab. Marcin Pawlak (UMK), *Greccy dobroczyńcy (euergeci) w czasach hellenistycznych i rzymskich* (22 II 2014).
5. Dr Rafał Rosół (UMK), *Pismo linearne B* (22 III 2014).
6. Dr Aleksandra Klęczar (UJ), *Harry Potter i cudowny świat antyku* (12 IV 2014).

7. Dr hab. Zbigniew Nerczuk (UMK), *Sokrates z Aten – człowiek i legenda* (10 V 2014).
8. Dr hab. Maciej Wróblewski, Uroczyste zakończenie VII edycji Ligi Starożytnej (31 V 2014).

Rok szkolny 2014/2015

1. Dr hab. prof. UMK Przemysław Nehring, *Życie codzienne w Rzymie złotym wieku cesarstwa* (25 X 2014).
2. Dr Michał Mizera (WAL), *Zapomniana mitologia. „Klechy attyckie” Tadeusza Zielińskiego* (22 XI 2014).
3. Prof. dr hab. Maria Kalinowska (UW), *Greckie podróże romantyków, czyli Grecja ponownie odkrywana* (10 I 2015).
4. Dr Joanna Bielska-Krawczyk (UMK), *Venus z Milo kontra Beyonce* (7 II 2015).
5. Dr Katarzyna Ochman (UWr), *Lekcja łaciny po łacinie* (21 III 2015).
6. Dr hab. Łukasz Niesiołowski-Spanò (UW), *Dlaczego Biblia zakazuje wróżbiarstwa?* (18 IV 2015).
7. Dr Krzysztof Rzepkowski (UW), *Pop-kultura w starożytnym Rzymie* (9 V 2015).
8. Prof. dr hab. Marian Szarmach, Uroczyste zakończenie VIII edycji Ligi Starożytnej (30 V 2015).

W dniach 24–26 września 2015 roku Oddział Toruński PTF był gospodarzem CVI Walnego Zgromadzenia PTF oraz konferencji naukowej pt. „List grecki i łaciński poprzez wieki”. W Zgromadzeniu uczestniczyło 86 członków terenowych oddziałów PTF, w programie konferencji znalazło się 50 referatów.

*Sekretarz Oddziału Toruńskiego PTF  
dr Magdalena Nowak*

## 8. SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU WARSZAWSKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Oddziału Warszawskiego PTF działał w następującym składzie do 10 kwietnia 2015: przewodniczący – prof. dr hab. Adam Łukaszewicz; wiceprzewodniczący – prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański; sekretarz – dr Magdalena Zawadzka; skarbnik – dr Magdalena Popiołek; przewodnicząca Sekcji Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku – mgr Maria Poszepczyńska; pozostali członkowie Zarządu – mgr Lech Bobiatyński, dr Jan Kozłowski, dr Jan Kwapisz, dr Krzysztof Rzepkowski; Komisja Rewizyjna – mgr Ludmiła Bohdanowicz (przewodnicząca), mgr Mikołaj Antczak, mgr Krystyna Turska. Od 10 kwietnia 2015 skład Zarządu przedstawiał się następująco: przewodniczący – dr Jan Kwapisz; wiceprzewodniczący – prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański;

sekretarz – dr Magdalena Zawadzka; skarbnik – dr Magdalena Popiołek; przewodnicząca Sekcji Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku – mgr Maria Poszepczyńska; pozostali członkowie Zarządu – prof. dr hab. Adam Łukaszewicz, dr Katarzyna Jażdżewska, dr Jan Kozłowski; Komisja Rewizyjna – mgr Ludmiła Bohdanowicz (przewodnicząca), mgr Agnieszka Stachowicz-Garstka.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się siedem zebrań Oddziału Warszawskiego PTF. W części naukowej spotkań uczestnicy wysłuchali następujących referatów:

1. Prof. Adam Łukaszewicz, *Uwagi o wiosennym sezonie archeologicznym 2013 w Egipcie* (18 X 2013).
2. Dr Anna Maciejewska (UŁ), *Harmonika Arystoksenosa z Tarentu* (13 XI 2013).
3. Dr hab. Anna Tarwacka (UKSW), *Co prawnika może śmieszyć w Philogelosie?* (17 I 2014)
4. Prof. Mikołaj Szymański: *Droga do dosłowności. O przekładach „Antologii palatyńskiej” Kubiaka* (11 IV 2014).
5. Prof. Juliusz Domański: *Garść wspomnień o Zygmuncie Kubiaku w dziesiątą rocznicę śmierci* (11 IV 2014).
6. Dr Beata Spieralska-Kasprzyk (UKSW), *Romanistów z latynistami spór o łacinę vulgaris* (19 XII 2014).
7. Dr Agata Łuka (KUL), *Carpe diem, carpe rosas, occasione carpe. Kilka uwag z warsztatu tłumacza* (24 IV 2015).
8. Prof. Juliusz Domański: *Dlaczego warto starać się o trwanie łaciny? Kilka uwag z sześćdziesięcioletniej perspektywy* (22 V 2015).

Podobnie jak w latach ubiegłych, w bieżącym okresie sprawozdawczym Sekcja Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku kierowana przez mgr Marię Poszepczyńską organizowała Konkurs Kultury Klasycznej cieszący się niesłabnącą popularnością wśród młodzieży gimnazjalnej. W roku szkolnym 2014/2015 odbyła się już dziesiąta edycja tego konkursu. Tradycją koła są też corocznie organizowane otwarte kursy łaciny i greki prowadzone przez studentów i absolwentów studiów magisterskich i doktoranckich IFK UW. W okresie sprawozdawczym funkcjonowały trzy grupy łacińskie i trzy greckie. Członkowie Oddziału Warszawskiego biorą ponadto aktywny udział w pracach Komitetu Okręgowego OJŁ.

Sekretarz Oddziału Warszawskiego PTF  
dr Magdalena Zawadzka

## 9. SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU WROCŁAWSKIEGO

Oddział liczy 61 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Oddziału pracował w następującym składzie: przewodnicząca – dr Barbara Hartleb-Kropidło; wiceprzewodnicząca – dr Małgorzata Wróbel; skarbnik – dr Hanna Urbańska, sekretarz – mgr Anna Jaworska; członkowie Zarządu – dr hab. prof. UW r Jakub Pigoń, dr Krzysztof Morta; członkowie Komisji Rewizyjnej – mgr Duklana Piskorska (przewodnicząca), dr Barbara Szubert, dr Agnieszka Wojciechowska. Działającą w ramach Oddziału Komisją Dydaktyki Języka Łacińskiego kierowała mgr Anna Jaworska.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 15 posiedzeń ogólnych Wrocławskiego Oddziału PTF, w których uczestniczyło przeciętnie 12 osób. Wygłoszono na nich następujące odczyty:

1. Dr Małgorzata Wróbel, *„Prawie” w geografii matematycznej* (23 X 2013).
2. Mgr Kamil Pawlak, *Poetycki obraz Aresa w epinikiach Pindara* (18 XI 2013).
3. Prof. dr hab. Adam Łukaszewicz (UW), *Od grobowca Ramzesa VI do Aleksandrii* (15 I 2014).
4. Dr Artur Pacewicz, *W obronie przyjemności. Nieascetyczne odczytanie Platńskiego „Fedona”* (19 III 2014).
5. Dr Michał Czerenkiewicz (UJ), *Recepcja dzieł i myśli Justusa Lipsjusza w łacińskiej twórczości Szymona Staropolskiego* (16 IV 2014).
6. Dr Katarzyna Ochman, *„Obliti sunt Romae loquier lingua Latina”?* *Konwersacyjna metoda nauczania łaciny w ofensywie* (21 V 2014).
7. Dr Maciej Eder, *Stylometria i filologia klasyczna: nowe perspektywy badawcze* (18 VI 2014).
8. Dr Mariusz Plago, *Zaraza w VI księdze „Wojny domowej” (Luc. VI 80–105), czyli jak Lukan interpretuje Tukidydesa, Lukrecjusza i Wergiliusza* (19 XI 2014).
9. Dr Hanna Urbańska, *Maya (śakti) w dziełach Narajany Guru* (17 XII 2014).
10. Dr Tomasz Mazur (UW), *Praktyka stoicka a wyzwania współczesności* (21 I 2015).
11. Mgr Ilona Chruściak, *Gesty w strukturze Ringkomposition „Iliady”* (18 III 2015).
12. Dr Małgorzata Wróbel, *Posejdonios i geografia* (29 IV 2015).
13. Dr Anna Szczepaniak (UŚ), *Sigla, notae et marginalia – uwagi o rzymskiej praktyce wydawniczej* (20 V 2015).
14. Dr Artur Pacewicz, *Spoleczne i polityczne znaczenie przyjemności w filozofii Platona* (24 VI 2015).

Ponadto 20 XI 2013 odbyło się zebranie poświęcone pamięci Pani Profesor Janiny Ławińskiej-Tyszkowskiej zatytułowane: *Pani Profesor Janina*



*Ławińska-Tyszkowska (1934–2013) – Uczona i Tłumaczka we wspomnieniach bliskich, przyjaciół, uczniów i współpracowników.*

17 kwietnia 2015 Oddział Wrocławski PTF współorganizował jubileusz 80. urodzin Pani Profesor Alicji Szastyńskiej-Siemion. Uroczystości połączone były z ogólnopolską konferencją naukową pt. „Λαμπρόν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μελίχχος αἰῶν”, podczas której wygłoszono następujące referaty:

1. Prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartol (UAM), *Pindar ischnophonos (Schol. in Pind. 0. 6,88).*
2. Dr Tomasz Mojsik (UB), *Pindar i archeologia metapoetyki.*
3. Mgr Kamil Pawlak (UWr), *Poeta modelowy w pieśniach triumfalnych: Pindar i Bakchylides.*
4. Prof. dr hab. Jerzy Danielewicz (UAM), *Fr. 127 S.-M. Pindara – problemy interpretacyjne.*
5. Dr Anna Szczepaniak (UŚ), *Fragmenty papirusowe Pindara – marginalia.*
6. Prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Nawotka (UWr), *Dom Pindara w Tebach.*
7. Dr hab. Magdalena Stuligrosz (UAM), *Aoidimoi Athenai. Pochwała Aten w poezji Pindara.*
8. Dr Aleksandra Kłęczar (UJ), *Mit Atrydów w ujęciu Pindara.*
9. Prof. dr hab. Zofia Głombiowska (UG), *Pośrednia recepcja Pindara, czyli Jakuba Vitelliusa epinikion dla króla Władysława IV.*
10. Dr Ewa Szymielewicz (UWr), *Ad perpetuam..., czyli Pindar i Horacy po latach (Oda Pytyjska VI i Exegi monumentum).*
11. Dr hab. Ilias Wrazas (UWr), *Andreas Kalvos – Pindar Grecji nowożytniej.*

Członkowie Wrocławskiego Oddziału brali aktywny udział w pracach Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego zarówno na szczeblu okręgowym, jak i ogólnopolskim. W skład Komitetu Okręgowego Olimpiady wchodził: przewodniczący – dr Krzysztof Morta, sekretarz – dr Barbara Hartleb-Kropidło, członkowie – dr Karol Zieliński, mgr Aleksandra Krajczyk, mgr Maria Kulewska oraz mgr Maria Oboron (po raz ostatni w roku szkolnym 2013/2014). W pracach Komitetu Głównego Ogólnopolskiej Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego brał udział dr Krzysztof Morta.

W ramach działalności Komisji Dydaktyki Oddziału Wrocławskiego PTF zorganizowano pięć konferencji dydaktycznych dla nauczycieli i lektorów języka łacińskiego. Uczestników konferencji gościł Instytut Studiów Klasycznych, Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego. Na konferencjach wygłoszono następujące referaty:

1. Dr Katarzyna Ochman, *De scholis linguae Graecae, quae a professore Christophoro Rico in Universitate Romana Sanctae Crucis proxima aestate Graecae habitae sunt (19 X 2013).*

2. Mgr Aleksandra Łambucka, *Antyk we współczesnej kulturze popularnej* (19 X 2013).
3. Dr Małgorzata Wróbel, *Iberia w przekładzie Strabona* (19 X 2013).
4. Mgr Marcin Loch (UAM), *Żywa łacina jako metoda dydaktyczna* (15 II 2013).
5. Mgr Kamil Pawlak, *Jak z delfina konia zrobiono* (15 II 2013).
6. Dr Ała Brzozowska, *Biskup płocki Erazm Ciołek (1474–1522). Życie i spuścizna literacka* (15 II 2013).
7. Dr hab. prof. UW r Jakub Pigoń, *Regina elegiarum. Elegia Propercjusza o Kornelii (IV II)* (17 V 2014).
8. Mgr Beata Machalska, „Pamiętnik” *Jakuba Pszonki (XVI/XVII wiek) – problemy pojawiające się przy tłumaczeniu tekstów łaciny późnej* (17 V 2014).
9. Mgr Marzena Gasztych, *Linguam Latinam a pueritia discamus – o internetowym programie edukacyjnym dla dzieci* (17 V 2014).
10. Mgr Aleksandra Łambucka, *Valerius Maximus jako obiekt pracy tłumacza (na przykładzie dwóch rozdziałów z „Facta et dicta memorabilia”)* (17 V 2014).
11. Dr Mariusz Plago, *Kondukt żałobny z ciałem Turnusa. Kilka uwag o XIII księdze „Eneidy” Candida Decembria i Maffea Vegia* (15 XI 2014).
12. Dr Katarzyna Ochman, *De conventu c.t. „Studia Latinitatis provehenda. Vitalità del Latino ed esperienze didattiche” 7–9 Novembris Romae in Universitate Pontificia Salesiana habito* (15 XI 2014).
13. Mgr Maciej H. Dąbrowski, *Etymologia greckich i łacińskich nazw produktów nabiałowych* (15 XI 2014).
14. Dr Ała Brzozowska, *Schola Latinitatis Vivae Wratislaviensis, czyli dwa lata doświadczenia w organizowaniu warsztatów łaciny żywej* (9 V 2015).
15. Dr Katarzyna Ochman, *Jak omawiać tekst łaciński po łacinie? Zastosowanie metody „kolometrycznej” na przykładzie rozdziału „Nocy attyckich” Gelliusza* (9 V 2015).
16. Mgr Aleksandra Łambucka, *Vetula w „Pieśniach” Horacego* (9 V 2015).
17. Mgr Olga Węglarz, *Wykopaliska archeologiczne nad jeziorem Küçükçekmece w Turcji* (9 V 2015).

Podczas konferencji metodycznych prezentowano także nowości bibliograficzne (mgr Kamil Pawlak, mgr Aleksandra Łambucka).

Dr Ała Brzozowska współorganizowała Wrocławskie Zimowe Warsztaty Języka Łacińskiego (Schola Brumalis Latinitatis Vivae Wratislaviensis MMXIV), które odbyły się w dniach 10–15 marca 2014 w Instytucie Studiów Klasycznych, Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego. Skierowane były do wszystkich osób zainteresowanych nauką języka łacińskiego: studentów, pracowników naukowych i dydaktycznych, nauczycieli szkół średnich oraz ich uczniów – zarówno z Polski, jak i z zagranicy. Celem warsztatów była

intensywna i – co najważniejsze – bardziej efektywna nauka języka łacińskiego, w tym nabywanie umiejętności wysławiania się w tym języku, oraz prezentacja nowatorskich metod jego nauczania, które uczestnicy będą mogli wykorzystywać w codziennej pracy dydaktycznej. Zajęcia w dwóch grupach zaawansowania – średniozaawansowanej i zaawansowanej – poprowadzili: Paolo Pezzuolo ze Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa oraz Cecilie Koch, wiceprezes Latinitati Vivae Provehendae Associatio (L.V.P.A.). W warsztatach udział wzięło ponad 80 osób.

Członkowie Oddziału prowadzili również szeroką działalność popularyzatorską (w porządku alfabetycznym):

Dr Ała Brzozowska na Concilium Latinum Lodziense X pt. „Hominum societates, conventus, foedera” (Katedra Filologii Klasycznej UŁ, 31 V–1 VI 2014) wystąpiła z odczytem zatytułowanym *Foedus cum inimico. Secreta pontificatus Alexandri VI*. W dniach 22–26 września 2014 na Uniwersytecie Wileńskim w ramach LLP-Erasmus Programme. Individual Teaching Programme for Teaching Staff Mobility wygłosiła następujące wykłady:

1. *Erasmus Vitellius – vir dicendi peritus. An analysis on the base of his first oration to pope Alexander the VI.*
2. *Carmen de statura, feritate ac venatione bisontis by Nicolaus Hussovianus as last oration of Erasmus Vitellius.*
3. *The history and present state of classics in Wrocław.*

W siedzibie Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, w Pałacu Erazma Ciołka, wygłosiła odczyt pt. *Właściwości stylistyczno-językowe mów bp. Erazma Ciołka* (10 IV 2015). Wydarzenie to zorganizowano przy współpracy Muzeum Narodowego i Pracowni Literatury Renesansu przy Wydziale Polonistyki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Dr Maria Chantry wzięła udział w projekcie KiRKE (Korzenie i Rozwój Kultury Europejskiej), występując w LO nr IV we Wrocławiu z odczytem pt. *Piękna i waleczna. Postać Amazonki w literaturze antycznej i renesansowej (od Pentesilei do Wandy)* (3 II 2014). Na Papieskim Wydziale Teologicznym we Wrocławiu wygłosiła wykład dla studentów filozofii zatytułowany *Motywy biblijne w twórczości Sarbiewskiego* (kwiecień 2014).

Dr Krzysztof Morta w ramach festiwalu *Mazel Tov 2014 – Historia, Kultura, Tradycja i Dziedzictwo Narodu Żydowskiego* przeprowadził warsztaty z języka hebrajskiego biblijnego, które odbyły się w siedzibie Ośrodka Badań nad Historią i Kulturą Żydów z Południowej Wielkopolski UW r w Ostrowie Wielkopolskim (21 XI 2014). Zorganizował zajęcia z języka greckiego dla uczniów I Liceum Ogólnokształcącego im. Jana Kompały i Wojciecha Lipskiego w Ostrowie Wielkopolskim, które odbyły się w Instytucie Studiów Klasycznych,

Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych UW r (25 XI 2014, 16 XII 2014 oraz 8 IV 2015). Wygłosił wykład na temat łacińskiego przekładu Biblii dokonanego przez św. Hieronima dla uczniów I Liceum Ogólnokształcącego im. Jana Kompały i Wojciecha Lipskiego w Ostrowie Wielkopolskim (25 XI 2014). Wykład odbył się w Instytucie Studiów Klasycznych, Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych UW r. Przeprowadził warsztaty z języka hebrajskiego biblijnego zorganizowane przez Ośrodek Badań nad Historią i Kulturą Żydów z Południowej Wielkopolski w ramach Drzwi Otwartych w II Liceum Ogólnokształcącym im. Władysława Reymonta w Ostrowie Wielkopolskim (25 IV 2015). W Muzeum Regionalnym w Pleszewie w ramach projektu Muzeum Historii Żydów Polskich „Muzeum na kółkach” wygłosił wykład pt. *Napisy i epitafia na macewach z pleszewskiego kirkutu* (6 V 2015).

Dr Katarzyna Ochman zainicjowała udział Instytutu Studiów Klasycznych w Dolnośląskim Festiwalu Nauki. W tegorocznej [2015] edycji Festiwalu po raz trzeci odbędzie się warsztat pt. *Lekcja łaciny po łacinie*. W roku 2014 w warsztacie uczestniczyło ponad 80 osób, w tym uczniowie szkół podstawowych. Pomagała też przy organizacji Wrocławskich Zimowych Warsztatów Łaciny Żywej, a także przeprowadziła lekcje pokazowe języka łacińskiego w ramach dni otwartych drzwi w Liceum Sióstr Urszulanek we Wrocławiu (22 III 2014 i 12 IV 2014). Nagranie ostatniej z tych lekcji zostało umieszczone w serwisie youtube, gdzie uzyskało dotychczas ponad 8 000 wyświetleń. Przeprowadziła lekcję języka łacińskiego dla uczestniczek obozu dla gimnazjalistek organizowanego w Karpaczu przez Stowarzyszenie Krzewienia Edukacji i Kultury „Dziesiątka” (23 VIII 2014). Wzięła udział w spotkaniu z kadrą Galicyjskiego Liceum Klasycznego w Chmielniku pod Rzeszowem w związku z planowanym wdrożeniem w tej placówce aktywnych metod nauczania języka łacińskiego wzorowanych na technikach stosowanych w ISKŚiO UW r (19 III 2015). Na zaproszenie organizatorów Ligi Starożytniczej w Instytucie Filologii Klasycznej UMK wygłosiła wykład dla uczniów toruńskich liceów zatytułowany *Lekcja łaciny po łacinie* (21 III 2015).

Dr hab. prof. UW r Jakub Pigoń wygłosił następujące odczyty:

1. *Piramida, Kapitol, laur Melpomeny: lektura jednego wiersza Horacego* (odczyt dla uczniów LO nr IV we Wrocławiu w ramach Projektu KiRKE, 28 III 2014).
2. *Bruegel, El Greco i inni. Motywy antyczne w dawnym malarstwie europejskim* (odczyt dla uczniów LO nr IV we Wrocławiu w ramach Projektu KiRKE, 11 IV 2014).
3. *Swetoniusz jako biograf Cezarów* (odczyt w ramach cyklu „Łacina żywa, łacina wokół nas”, Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie, 16 I 2015).

Dr Małgorzata Wróbel w Instytucie Studiów Klasycznych, Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych UW r przeprowadziła zajęcia z języka greckiego dla

grupy uczniów I Liceum Ogólnokształcącego im. Jana Kompały i Wojciecha Lipskiego w Ostrowie Wielkopolskim (25 XI 2014, 16 XII 2014 oraz 8 IV 2015).

Dr Małgorzata Zadka kierowała programem KiRKE (Korzenie i Rozwój Kultury Europejskiej), w ramach którego w roku akademickim 2013/2014 odbyły się następujące prezentacje:

Gimnazjum nr 37 w Zespole Szkół nr 18 we Wrocławiu:

1. Mgr Ilona Chruściak, mgr Kamil Pawlak, *Nawet nie wiesz, że znasz już grekę* (16 XII 2013).
2. Dr Barbara Szubert, *Jak zgłębić tajemnice, które kryją w sobie greckie rękopisy?* (17 XII 2013).
3. Mgr Marcin Kotyl, *Starożytne tablety* (10 XII 2013).

Liceum Ogólnokształcące nr 4 im. Stefana Żeromskiego we Wrocławiu:

1. Dr Maria Chantry, *Piękna i waleczna. Postać Amazonki w literaturze antycznej i renesansowej (od Pentesilei do Wandy)* (3 II 2014).
2. Mgr Kamil Pawlak, *Jak starożytna kobieta radzi sobie ze strachem?* (9 II 2014).
3. Mgr Kamil Pawlak, „*Obrazy*” *Filostratos* Starszego. *Gdy słowo i obraz tworzą Jedno* (9 II 2014).
4. Mgr Ilona Chruściak, *Nawet nie wiesz, że znasz już grekę* (13 II 2014).
5. Dr hab. prof. UWr Jakub Pigoń, *Piramida, Kapitol, laur Melpomeny: lektura jednego wiersza Horacego* (28 III 2014).
6. Dr hab. prof. UWr Jakub Pigoń, *Bruegel, El Greco i inni. Motywy antyczne w dawnym malarstwie europejskim* (11 IV 2014).

W okresie sprawozdawczym z grona członków naszego Oddziału odeszli: Krystyna Mielczarek (23 VII 1931–24 X 2013), Juliusz Ziomecki (26 III 1928–18 VIII 2014) i Klementyna Magnowska (zm. 4 IV 2015).

Sekretarz Oddziału Wrocławskiego PTF  
mgr Anna Jaworska

THE *TRADITIO EUROPAE* FOUNDATION

The *Traditio Europae* Foundation was established in 2007 by Professor Marian Szarmach as a non-profit organisation registered in Poland. The Foundation's aim is to study, popularise and preserve the tradition of European culture, especially Greek and Roman heritage, through academic, educational, cultural and publishing activities.

From the beginning we have co-operated with established and well-known Polish organisations such as the Polish Classical Association (*Societas Philologa Polonorum*, PTF) and the Scientific Committee on Ancient Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences (KNoKA PAN), as well as other minor non-profit organisations in Poland like *Statek Feaków* or *Imperium Romanum* (the internet portal). We also co-operate with local authorities and local institutions and organisations.

One of our leading projects, running from the very beginning of the Foundation's activity, is "*Liga starożytnicza*" – a competition for lower school ("gymnasium") and senior school ("lyceum") students. The aim of this competition is to popularise the heritage of ancient Greek and Roman cultures and their influence on modern European culture among the students and thus to make them more aware of the European tradition and its importance. At the moment [February 2016] the 9<sup>th</sup> edition is being held. Every year more than one hundred (and sometimes even up to or over two hundred) students from the Kuyavian-Pomeranian district take part in our competition, which consists of seven lectures each year led by recognised Polish scholars. The competition is held under the auspices of the Kuyavian-Pomeranian General School Inspector and the Dean of the Faculty of Languages of the Nicolaus Copernicus University.

From 2008 until 2014 we ran several projects dealing with Greek and Roman antiquity and its reception in modern culture such as: "*Antiquity in my city*" (artistic and photographic competition held in 2008–2010); "*Aphrodite, Apollo, Ares and the others*" (mythological competition held in 2009); "*The Old Toruń through the eyes of the young people*" (competition held in 2011–2014 and aimed at senior school students from Toruń; its aim was to make students more conscious of the history of the town and its cultural achievements). Since 2013 we have also run a mythological workshop ("*Zeus +*") in various nursery and primary schools in Toruń.

Since 2010 we have also organised ancient numismatics workshops which are held twice a year (in Toruń, Cracow or Brodnica). This project is organised

together with the Institute of Archeology of the Nicolaus Copernicus University, the Polish Numismatic Society, the National Museum in Cracow and the Museum in Brodnica. The project is held under the auspices of the Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte of the University of Vienna. The workshops are aimed at all people fond of ancient numismatics and on each occasion many interested individuals take part in them.

Since the establishment of the Foundation, many conferences in Poland have been organised under its auspices; in 2011 the archaeological excavations in Negotino (Macedonia) were also led by archaeologists from the University of Gdansk.

Since 2007 we have published three books: K. Jarzęcki, J. Rakoczy, *Wartość źródłowa znalezisk monet antycznych z okolic Inowrocławia*, Bydgoszcz–Toruń 2010; *Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium Graecae et Latinae*, vol. XXIII, fasc. 2, Posnaniae 2013; and *Armées grecques et romaines dans le nord des Balkans*, édité par A. Rufin-Solas, en collaboration avec M.-G. Parissaki et E. Kosmidou (ouvrage publié avec le concours du Centre “Méditerranée Antique: Civilisation et Christianisme Ancien”, de l’École doctorale “Mondes Anciens et Médiévaux” et du Conseil Scientifique de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), Gdańsk–Toruń: Fondation Traditio Europae, 2013). We have also published two catalogues: *Monety Republiki Rzymskiej (ok. 300–31 p.n.e.). Wystawa w Muzeum w Brodnicy 12.09–31.10.2013* (Brodnica–Toruń: Toruńskie Warsztaty Numizmatyki Antycznej, Fundacja Traditio Europae, Muzeum w Brodnicy, 2013), and *Monety Cesarstwa Rzymskiego. Część I – okres pryncypatu 30 p.n.e.–235 n.e. Wystawa w Muzeum w Brodnicy 24.04–31.05.2015* (Brodnica–Toruń: Toruńskie Warsztaty Numizmatyki Antycznej, Fundacja Traditio Europae, Muzeum w Brodnicy, 2015).

In 2011 we also founded an award for the best Latin teacher in Poland which is granted every two years during the general meeting of the Polish Classical Association.

And since 2011 our activity in great part concentrates on the status of Latin in Polish schools. In that year we opposed the removal of Latin from the subjects on offer to by students for their final senior school examinations. We wrote a petition to the then Minister of Education which was signed by over three thousand people. Among them there were many well-known and recognised scholars of different academic fields such as law, medicine, classics, mathematics, physics, history, philosophy, literature, cultural studies and philology. We succeeded then but unfortunately, mainly because of bureaucratic obstacles, the teaching of Latin in Polish schools is constantly lapsing and every year reaches new lows. That is why last year we gathered the financial means to fund the whole course of Latin in one lyceum and one gymnasium in Toruń. We announced the competition and finally we chose two schools. On 1<sup>st</sup> February 2016 seventy-five students from those schools (Lyceum no. 4 and Gymnasium no. 10 in Toruń)

started their Latin course. The realisation of this project was possible only thanks to donations of private individuals who, approving of our activity, decided to support us financially.

You may follow our activities on the Foundation website: [www.traditio-europae.org](http://www.traditio-europae.org) or by joining one of our facebook profiles: <https://www.facebook.com/traditioeuropae/>; <https://www.facebook.com/lacinawszkole/>.

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