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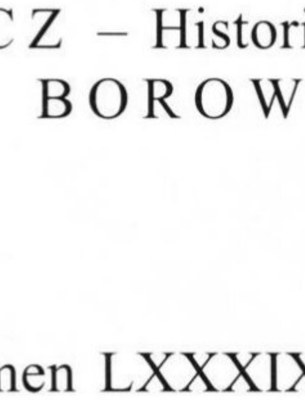
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C O M M E N T A T I O N E S

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THE MEANING OF JUSTICE IN THE POETRY OF HESIOD AND ITS CONTINUATION IN THE LYRIC OF SOLON

By

JOANNA JANIK

The second of the Greek early epic poets, whose name together with the name of Homer marks the beginning of Greek literature, lived in the end of the 8th century and the first decades of the 7th. It is impossible to indicate the exact period of his life. The similarity of language connecting his poetry with the works of Homer makes it clear that Hesiod worked not too long after the generation of the *Odyssey*. There is even a hypothesis according to which the author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* was younger,[1] but most authors accept the version given above.[2]

Hesiod of Ascra in Beocia is believed to have come to the Greek main land from Cyme in Asia Minor. The poet himself says that his father had to emigrate to seek a better life and run from the poverty and hunger.[3] Perhaps, the pessimistic picture of human life and his attitude towards the world were partly caused by the fact that he had not accepted his new home and did not feel good in this land.[4] He could have a little different background and, perhaps, slightly better

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[1] This hypothesis was discussed in the excellent commentary written by M.L. W e s t, see: Hesiod *Theogony*, ed. by M.L. West, London 1965.

[2] For example: M.L. W e s t, *o.c.*, J. Ł a n o w s k i (introduction to his translation of the Hesiod poetry, *Narodziny bogów (Theogonia), Prace i dni, Tarcza,* Warszawa 1999), A. K r o k i e w i c z (*Moralność Homera i etyka Hezjoda,* Warszawa1959), H. L o y d -J o n e s (*The Justice of Zeus,* Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1971), L. P e a r s o n (*Popular Ethics in Ancient Greece,* Stanford 1960), W. N e s t l e (Griechiesche *Geistesgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1944), E.A. H a v e l o c k (*The Greek Concept of Justice,* Cambridge Mass. – London 1978), H. F r a e n k e l (*Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy,* Oxford 1975). R.M. R o s e n, *Homer and Hesiod,* [in:] A New Companion to Homer, ed. by I. Morris and B. Powell, Leiden – New York – Köln 1997, p. 463 – 487. The arguments supporting the generally accepted view according to which Homeric epics are prior to the Hesiod's poetry will be demonstrated later during discussing the particular passages of the text.

[3] Hesiod *Works and Days,* 635 ff.

[4] W. J a e g e r, *Paideia,* Warszawa 1964, I, p. 99 – 100; Jaeger suggests that, since Hesiod had travelled through the sea only once and gave us the information about this journey (destination was Eubea), he must have been born in Beotia.

education than his fellow country men and it could have been the reason why he felt a little alienated. The poetic craft, the gift of the Muses, made him the poet with the mission to fulfil and this destiny did not make his life easier, although it became the reason for immense pride.

Even if the poetry of Hesiod in the sphere of language and artistic expression is dependable on Homeric epics, and the composition of his works does not have the precision and inner coherence of a masterpiece,[5] it is hard to overestimate the significance of Hesiod for the development of literature and ethics. The importance of this poetry consists not in its pure artistic value, but rather in the attitude and views of its author. The very first thought that comes to one's mind is that Hesiod is the first Greek author whose identity is unquestionable. Moreover, he is the first who gives up the anonymity of epic rhapsodos.[6] He steps out as a poet and an author and speaks about his work. Hesiod is not only the first tangible personality in Greek literature, but the first man who follows some definite aims with full conscience.[7] Homer became a teacher, although he did not express his will to be one, whereas, from the beginning, Hesiod appears a mentor, i.e., as one who speaks as an authority. This comes as no surprise when we consider the attitude of both poets towards the Muses: Homer addresses the goddess (he uses the singular) in a conventional invocation, and asks for help. The request is repeated a few times, but shows nothing more than a belief that this is the deity who offers the gift of singing to a poet and helps him to perform. On the other hand, Hesiod describes the whole meeting with the Muses who give him the talent and instruct him that they can tell lies as well as the truth.[8] The last sentence can be understood as a discussion with Homer: Hesiod, in contrast to the author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, is going to tell the truth. He is given "the better part" of Muses' gift.

There is no doubt that Hesiod treats his poetry very seriously. He is fully aware of the fact that his work can have a strong influence on the listeners'

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[5] Most authors mentioned above try to find some coherence in the Hesiodic poetry and usually claim that it cannot be compared with Homer directly just because it is different in kind and character, it was composed for different purposes and recited in different circles.

[6] He was probably one of them himself, see: J a e g e r, *o.c.*, p. 91. At least, it is believed that the beginning of his career was connected with reciting the traditional epic poetry, although it was not his only occupation: he was a farmer.

[7] N e s t l e, *o.c.*, p. 33: "ein Mann, der in hellstem Bewusstsein mit seiner Dichtung ganz bestimmte Zwecke verfolgt. Er will nicht, wie Homer, unterhalten, sondern belehren".

[8] *Theog.* 22 – 35. The similarity of this scene to the scenes of theophanies in other religions was discussed by W e s t (*o.c.*, p. 159 – 160), but we can mention the most important elements resembling the scenes from the Old Testament are: the time: night, the position of a chosen man: a shepherd, a place: a mountain Helicon, a wilderness, where a man is alone, the action of the deity: they *breathed into me a divine voice to celebrate things that shall be and things that were aforetime* (transl. H.G. Evelyn-White): ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι ἀυδὴν θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα. The image reminds us of the scenes described in the lives of Old Testament prophets, although Hesiod was not able to find it out. This is the task of the anthropology to explain why people living in different times and cultures tend to imagine some exceptional events in the same manner.

lives.[9] It is still open to discussion whether he mainly gathered and systematized the ideas already present in the mentality, or whether he invented most of them?

The answer for such formulated question is not an easy one. Perhaps, the problem should be put in a different way: to what extent Hesiodic poetry is genuine in the dealing with ideas and problems already present in popular mentality. The poet need not to invent everything in order to be creative. The role of a teacher sometimes consists in awakening human ideas and making people understand what these ideas mean.

There are scholars who claim that it was Hesiod who introduced the idea of justice[10] and became the first moralist.[11] On the other hand, there are interpretations according to which the ideas presented by Hesiod can be already traced in the works of Homer.[12] We believe the second sentence is more correct, but one should remember that we owe the poet of Ascra the development of the idea of justice and its change into an abstract concept.

The world in which Hesiod lived must have been a little similar to the world of the *Odyssey*. The picture offered by Homer in his later epic is not entirely realistic, nevertheless, the basic features of the 8th century B.C. were probably preserved in the poetic vision. This is the world where *polis* had not become the central element of society life. In the world of Homer, there are *poleis*, but the city life, so characteristic for the Greek history, is not the dominating way of life. As a matter of fact, a Homeric city resembles a village in many respects. There is a place of meetings and temples, but, for instance, the house of Odysseus, situated in the city, looks more like a manor in the country. The city, *polis,* is the only place to inhabit, since a village is not mentioned at all. The specific character of Homeric poetry suggests that he had no particular interest in describing country life. The epic poetry of Homer belonged to the sphere of aristocratic culture. It developed as the entertainment for the knights who used to have poets, rhapsodos, i.e. professional performers, in their courts. The archaic culture was still bound to a world of a village and to the life of a peasant family. A village was not opposed to a city, and a farmer was not a symbol of an uneducated man. The court of an aristocrat remained a source of culture, but even in the *Odyssey* we could see that the customs and ideas of aristocracy penetrated the lives of their subjects.[13]

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[9] Fraenkel, *o.c.*, p. 96.

[10] For instance: Jaeger, Wilamowitz.

[11] In the opinion of some scholars, the poetry of Hesiod constitutes the real beginning of Greek philosophy; O. Gigon stresses the fact of the novelty of Hesiods invention; the work of the poet belongs to the tradition of Homer due to its epic form, at the same time the aim of the *Theogony* and *Works and Days* sets them apart from the Homeric style and contents; see: O. Gigon, *Der Ursprung der griechischen Philosophie,* Basel 1968, p. 13 – 17.

[12] Pearson, *o.c.,* p. 66 ff., Havelock, *o.c.*, p. 193 – 217.

[13] Jaeger, *o.c.*, p. 89 ff. Jaeger emphasises the fact that the lower classes did not just take the ready patterns from the mightier ones; every social stratum participated in the process of creating ideas and models of life.

The world of Hesiod is much more realistic. In his works, there is a strange contradiction of the subject and the language. It can be seen especially in the *Works and Days*, because the Homeric expressions describe the life and work of a farmer. This bare fact proves that the epic poetry was popular not only among the higher class, but was generally well known. We could say that it modelled the views of all the members of the society. The level of such education must have been relatively high, if a poor farmer like Hesiod was able to compose such a good poetry and take part in poetic contests. Even the fact that he chose poetry as the means of persuading his fellows to live in accord with justice proves that he could count on listeners among his own class. There is no doubt that he addresses the farmers and the so called "ordinary people" in the first place. His attitude towards aristocrats demonstrates that the members of lower classes felt relatively free and were allowed to criticize the rulers. The words of admonition that can be found in both poems, prove not only Hesiod's personal moral standard and courage, but also show that in the society where he lived the freedom of speech must have been recognised at least in some situations.

The next basic statement that should be made about Hesiod's poetry is that these works, though they are written[14] with Homeric words, do not propagate the ideas of their predecessors. Hesiod transforms the ideas known already from Homer, develops them and presents his own model: the ideal of the rural life full of hard work and decent efforts. The ἀρετή, the virtue, of a farmer is far away from the competitive excellence estimated by the heroes of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[15] The virtue glorified by Hesiod belongs to the different world; the poet builds his moral theory in opposition to the aristocratic code.[16] The image of the world and the ideology presented by Hesiod introduced into the Greek culture new values and new mentality: the views of a farmer. Even in the *Theogony* the way of thinking and the choice of the myths points at the character of the author: the world of the immortal gods does not resemble the aristocratic court. The divine world is subjected to the hierarchy and ruled by the will of one strong king, Zeus. Although Hesiod demonstrates his deep respect for the human work, i.e. the work of a farmer, the existence of work in human life is explained in the terms of punishment due to the impudent acts of Prometheus. The gods of Hesiod do not have any special favourites, they do not take care of the people dear to their hearts, they rule and their might is usually associated with the hard

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[14] The verb is used figuratively; the poetry of Hesiod belongs to the oral culture, and it is not certain whether he actually wrote it. See: H a v e l o c k, *o.c.*, p. 193 – 194.

[15] The competitive and cooperative virtues were expressions created by A.W.H. A d k i n s in his famous book: *From the Many to the One,* London 1960 and *Merit and Responsibility,* Oxford 1960. He proves that in the world of Homeric *Iliad* a man does not need to have any peaceful virtues that can be profitable to the community (so called co-operative excellences) in order to be called ἀγαθός, *good*, the translation does not indicate that, in the language of Homer, it is the adjective expressing the highest approval. See: *Merit and Responsibility,* p. 37 ff. For the analysis of ἀγαθός see also: R. T u r a s i e w i c z, *Studia nad pojęciem "kalos kagathos",* Warszawa – Kraków 1980.

[16] J a e g e r, *o.c.*, p. 90 ff.

became the general indication that something should or should not be done. The justice of the *polis* heading towards democracy should be expressed by δίκη rather than θέμις, although both terms remained in the vocabulary. However, δίκη united religious, ethical and political aspects of Greek thought in much greater degree than θέμις.[20] But this was going to happen in the future.

The composition of the *Theogony* has often been criticized. F.M. Cornford quotes the sentence of prof. Mazon who described the earlier Hesiodic poem as "genealogy interrupted by episodes".[21] F.M. Cornford in his essay proves that the narrative parts of the *Theogony* "fit into the pattern of a very old myth of Creation, known to us from eastern sources and ultimately based on ritual".[22] The poem is planned according to the following pattern: 1) theogony proper, 2) cosmogony, formation of the physical world, 3) the story of the youngest generation of the immortals, led by Zeus, and their struggle to possess Olympus and the supreme power.[23]

In the *Theogony*, the name of the goddess Themis (Θέμις) appears for the first time in the line 16 together with the names of the other deities about whom the Muses sing their songs. They praise Zeus, Hera, Athene, Apollo, Artemis, Poseidon and "reverend Themis",[24] Θέμιν αἰδοίην, and Aphrodite. The two last names are mentioned together. It is worth remembering that the name of Themis is placed among the most important deities. That proves the significance of the goddess, though there is no explanation referring to her authority; there is no place for that in these lines. The only thing that points at the prerogatives of this goddess is the epithet αἰδοίη, i.e. full of shame. This adjective comes from the noun αἰδώς (aidos), one of the most important Greek terms expressing morals.[25] Αἰδώς, shame, denotes the feeling which prevents a man from committing wrong deeds.[26] The adjective can be understood as "one who deserves respect" and "one who follows αἰδώς". In our opinion, both these senses could be traced

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[20] Jones, *o.c.*, p. 31 ff.

[21] F.M. Cornford, *A Ritual Basis for Hesiod's* Theogony, [in:] The Unwritten Philosophy and Other Essays, Cambridge 1967, p. 95 – 116.

[22] Ibidem, p. 95 ff.

[23] Ibidem: the cosmology presented by Hesiod follows the pattern known also from the Orphic cosmogonies and Ionian philosophy (from Anaximander). The myth of creation has its counterparts in the Hebrew religion while the rational reflection of the mythical hymn to Zeus comprised in the cosmogony resembles the Genesis and the myth of Marduk. The motif of the king-god slaying the dragon which was the initial act of creation is supposed to belong to the dramatic ritual of the New Year festival. The purpose of this rite was to renovate and recreate the life of a social group and the life of nature. The king became the embodiment of divine power that maintains the living world and the personification of his people. His task was to maintain order and the prosperity of the people depended on the king's righteousness, the Hebrew *Sedek,* Greek δίκη.

[24] Transl. Evelyn-White, *o.c.*, p. 79.

[25] There are at least two recent surveys analysing the subject: the thorough and brilliant work of D.L. Cairnes, *Aidos. The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature,* Oxford 1993, and the very interesting book by B. Wiliams, *Shame and necessity,* Berkeley – Los Angeles – Oxford 1993.

[26] The notion of αἰδώς itself is of minor importance in the Hesiodic poetry, nevertheless, its connection with δίκη that becomes ibvious in the *Works and Days* cannot be overlooked; see: Cairnes, *o.c.*, p. 149 ff.

lot of the mortals. The next element different from the epic tradition is the realistic and sour picture of women, far from the Homeric courtesy.[17] In the Hesiodic poetry, a woman was sent to men as a disaster. Her presence causes nothing but trouble and is responsible for most miseries in the life of a poor peasant. It is quite clear that these words were written by someone for whom the value of a human, as well as that of an animal or an object, was equal to his or her usefulness in work. Any other qualities could not gain the poet's esteem. This is a way of thinking typical for the farmers whose lives are strictly subjected to hard work and who do not have too much time to enjoy the pleasures of the world (provided that any pleasures can be found in this corrupted world).

The pessimistic image of the world acquired its strongest expression in the myth of five generations.[18] The main rule of human history is deterioration. The overwhelming pessimism of this image is lessened by the belief in almighty Zeus who is the guardian of justice and who will eventually award the honest men and punish those who are unjust. Thus, the terms of justice become crucial for proper understanding of Hesiod's poetry, and, *vice versa*, it is impossible to understand what justice meant for Hesiod without considering the image of the world presented in his poems.

Theogony

In the poetry of Hesiod, the two well-known terms, δίκη and θέμις, acquire a more uniform meaning. The variety of senses presents by Homeric epics is replaced by the condensed meaning comprising the most important aspects of the term that would be crucial in the future. The significant fact is that the first of the two notions becomes much more popular, the second is rare. It is the symptom of a new period in the development the vocabulary connected with the social norms and law. The semantic range of θέμις is gradually included into the sphere of δίκη.[19] Furthermore, δίκη from the direct expression of divine, then royal will,

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[17] Ibidem.

[18] *The Works and Days*, 109 – 201. On the other hand, it is worth emphasising that Hesiod shows a great respect for the generations of the heroes which is supposed to be precedent to his own period. This can also explain the change of ideas and general view of the world: Homeric ideals were appropriate for the super-humans who were already dead and left no traces except for the memory of their magnificent deeds. The present generation need another guidance and other ideals. Its destiny is hard life and struggle for everyday bread. The fairy tale is over, the reality has its own necessities. The pessimism of Hesiodic poetry id stressed also by M. Eliade who seas it as the element of the whole Greek religion which as compared to the judeo-christian tradition seems to be very pessimistic. See: M. E l i a d e, *Historia wierzeń i idei religijnych,* Warszawa 1988, I, p. 183 – 185.

[19] Later on, it will be partly replaced by the notion of πρέπον meaning "what is fitting, right". This new term will denote the norm, not necessarily codified, but very important and obeyed by people who called themselves educated and cultural. In the sphere of unwritten rules governing human behaviour πρέπον will take place of θέμις. The latter will remain the old-fashioned and solemn word for "a law". J.W. J o n e s, *The Law and Legal Thery of the Greeks,* Aalen 1977, p. 31 ff.; V. E h r e n b e r g, *Die Rechtsidee in frühen Griechentum,* Leipzig 1921; R. H i r z e l, *Themis, Dike, und Vervandtes,* Hildesheim 1966.

in the expression: Θέμις αἰδοίη: the goddess who is connected with αἰδώς deserves the respect. The relation binding Themis and αἰδώς becmes more distinct in the next passages of the poem. Now, there is one more aspect that should be stressed: Themis is mentioned among the Olympians, not among the elder generation of deities, Tytans, who are spoken of in the subsequent lines and to whom Themis belongs by birth. It may be not intention of the poet, but the position of Themis is really exceptional. In the line 135 we find out that she is a daughter of Uranos (Heaven) and Gaia (Earth).[27] We could infer from the text that she is one of the deities who personify the forces governing the world like her brother Oceanus, or her sister Mnemosyne (Memory). In the next and last passage where the name of Themis is mentioned, it turns out that is became the second, after Metis, wife of Zeus and bore several children; *Theog*. 901 – 907.

It seems important to notice that the marriages of Zeus who becomes the king and the ruler of gods and mortal men deserve a particular attention: his first wife, Metis, who was the wisest among gods and mortal men, was swallowed by him.[28] The picture is symbolic: Zeus swallows Metis, Μῆτις, the personification of wisdom.[29] His next move is to marry Themis and to have children whose task is to rule and bring order into the life of the world: time order and justice together with fate and death are to govern human life in the first place. The next marriages of Zeus are the beginning of the three Graces (with Eurynome as a mother), Persephone (mother: Demeter) and the Muses (born by Mnemosyne). The roles played by these deities could be explained as referring to the following spheres of human existence: beauty, natural vegetation and cultivation of land, and creation (the creative activity of human mind, like poetry).[30] Such an understanding could be treated as too far fetched, but it is tempting to look at the problem from that point of view.[31] The peculiar thing is that Themis in the *Theogony* is still a little mysterious character: V. Ehenberg

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[27] *Theog*. 132 – 136:

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Οὐρανῷ εὐνηθεῖσα τέκ' Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην
Κοῖόν τε Κρεῖόν θ' Ὑπερίονά τ' Ἰαπετόν τε
Θείαν τε Ῥείαν τε Θέμιν τε Μνημοσύνην τε
Φοίβην τε χρυσοστέφανον Τηθύν τ' ἐρατεινήν.

[28] Hesiod explains that Zeus did it because he was advised so by Earth and Heaven who had warned him that the children of wise Metis could be mightier than their father. The result of this marriage was Athene. *Theog*. 886 – 901.

[29] A. Krokiewicz suggests that two female deities, Metis and Themis, could develop from the traces of the very old tradition of the sovereign female goddess worshipped in Peloponnesos and Crete. See: K r o k i e w i c z , *o.c.*, p. 225.

[30] V. Ehrenberg claims that there is no proof that the idea of order is comprised in the notion of Themis and her relationship with Zeus. Such an interpretation is due to the knowledge about Themis and other nemes mentioned in this passage coming from the later sources. In the opinion of this eminent scholar, Themis in the *Theogonia* has nothing to do with the order of nature. See: E h r e n b e r g , *o.c.*, p. 23 ff.

[31] Jaeger claims that Dike, Eunomia ans Eirene are placed together with Moiras and Charities because of the personal attitude of Hesiod who brought the idea of Dike from his home land in Asia Minor. For him, the three goddesses take care of human work. See: J a e g e r, *o.c*, p. 99 – 100.

emphasises the fact that in the beginning she is mentioned apart from the Tytans, then she is enumerated as one of this generation, and, finally, described as Zeus' spouse.[32]

The comparison with Homeric poetry reveals no direct connection: Themis, mentioned only three times in the epic (*Il.* XV 87, XX 4; *Od.* II 68), is the deity present in the Olympus (in the *Iliad*) and serving Zeus, then, in the *Odyssey*, he is called as a goddess of public gatherings. There is no hint referring to her origin and, as it has already been pointed out, there is no reference to the cult of Themis as a chtonic goddess. In the *Theogony*, Themis gains new features, her origin is known, but her authority and prerogatives remain obscure. The most distinct element linking the Hesiodic Themis with Homer is the adjective λιπαρός used in the *Theogony* to describe the goddess. In the *Iliad* this epithet appears together with θέμιστες in the book 9 (*Il.* 9. 154, 298)[33] and regards the "decisions that bring profit". The exact meaning of λιπαρός is "oily, shining", and refers to the positive results of ordinances of a king. In this passage, this is Achilles who would be the good ruler bringing profitable ordinances to his people. The fact that Hesiod used this adjective cannot be a coincidence; Themis, as goddess, also brings profit to the world, as it will be shown in the next poem, where Hesiod persuades that living in accord with justice and law make human existence really successful.

The noun θέμις and its plural form θέμιστες, in the *Theogony*, appear three times: *Theog.* 85, 235, 396. The first passage, *Theog.* 80 – 86, refers to the Muses: the most important of them is Calliope:

> ἡ γὰρ καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.
> ὅντινα τιμήσουσι Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο
> γεινόμενόν τε ἴδωσι διοτρεφέων βασιλήων,
> τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ γλυκερὴν χείουσιν ἐέρσην,
> τοῦ δ' ἔπε' ἐκ στόματος ῥεῖ μείλιχα; οἱ δέ νυ λαοὶ
> πάντες ἐς αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι διακρίνοντα θέμιστας
> ἰθείῃσι δίκῃσιν ὁ δ' ἀσφαλέως ἀγορεύων
> αἶψά τι καὶ μέγα νεῖκος ἐπισταμένως κατέπαυσε

The protection of the Muses make kings wise and able to guide their folk in a good way. The passage is worth remembering for the fact that Hesiod ascribes to the Muses the authority going far beyond the task traditionally attributed to them. The Muses of Hesiod give not only the poetic craft and beautiful words, they send wisdom and knowledge how to judge in a right way and how to settle

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[32] Ibidem.

[33] We find this expression in the words of Agamemnon's promise. A king is trying to apologise Achilleua and offers him his daughter and seven cities over which Achilleus could rule with "profit-bringing ordinances". For the more detailed analysis, see: the chapter "Θέμις in the *Iliad"*. The similarity was also noticed by West, *Commentary to Hesiod's* Theogony, Oxford 1971, p. 406.

the arguments. This is why the kings are respected by the people and this is the great and holy gift of the deities to men.[34]

For the purpose of this survey, the most important words in the passage are: διακρίνειν θέμιστας ἰθείῃσι δίκησιν. The meaning of θέμιστας is not entirely clear, although the essence of the whole phrase is rather distinct: to judge with right judgements. The θέμιστες could denote cases, but this term was associated not with the case, but the decision solving the problem. There is no other possibility but to assume that we should translate the two words together: διακρίνειν θέμιστας as "to judge, to decide in the case", and ἰθείῃσι δίκησι as "(rendering) right judgements" The collocation: ἰθεῖαι δίκαι is known from Homer and means "straight (literal translation of the adjective) judgement". The new translation by M.L. West seems to broaden the sense of the phrase, although this interpretation does not necessarily contradicts the version presumed above. Both the terms, θέμιστες and δίκαι, belong to the sphere of royal authority, like it was in Homer. On the other hand, the context suggests that the power of a king should be treated as a sort of a duty performed in the interest of the people. Furthermore, the gift of the Muses that makes this activity profitable is not offered exclusively to the kings, but "to men". It may be even inferred from that text, that kings, βασιλεῖς, mentioned in these lines and described with the traditional Homeric epithet as διοτρεφοί, nourished by Zeus, could be the special officers, not necessarily the kings. The Greek tradition preserved the title βασιλεύς, though the monarchy in the strict sense was bygone. Certainly, the time of Hesiod was still closer to the world depicted in the *Odyssey* than to the Athenian democratic state. Nevertheless, the kings of the *Odyssey* are not absolute monarchs. The title is used by all the aristocrats and refers just to the social position, and power connected to it, but should not be understood as the name denoting someone similar to a European king in the Middle Ages. The adjective seems to be quite formal and, in our opinion, does not have the same significance as it used to have in the *Iliad*, where Zeus' connection with mortal kings had all the features of real and important relationship.[35]

The second passage, *Theog.* 233 – 236, refers to Nereus, the eldest son of Pontos, Sea.The image of mild and gentle Nereus differs from the other pictures of the Immortals presented in the poem; there is no other so peaceful and kind a deity in the whole story where the gods fight for power and do it without the shade of mercy. The English translation is very distinct: θέμιστες, in plural, as usually denote concrete, not abstract meaning; this term describes the laws not in the strict sense, as a codified rule, but rather the customary law, a rule of conduct, the notion describing what is right in particular circumstances. This meaning of θέμιστες could already be found in the *Odyssey*. Although in this passage, in the background we might feel the abstract principle which will be demon-

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[34] *Theog.* 93: τοίη Μουσάων ἱερὴ δόσις ἀνθρώποισιν.

[35] In the *Odyssey*, the meaning of this epithet becomes more formal and traditional, it loses a part of its strength and resembles the expression in Hesiod.

strated in the *Works and Days*. Also, the expression δίκαια δήνεα εἰδέναι, to know just thoughts, points at the abstraction: the adjective δίκαιος for the first time regards the activity of a mind. In Homeric epic, it was a man or his deed that could deserve this epithet that described someone knowing what is the due of a stranger, as well as how to follow someone's δίκη, i.e. his, or her right. There is one more aspect that can be easily felt in the meaning of δίκαιος and θέμιστες in this passage, although there is no connection between these two terms, that is: absence of violence. This element of the meaning of δίκαιος was already present in the *Iliad*,[36] here, it hard not to associate it with Nereus whose kindness and mild heart make him special among other deities. In the line 396 we come across the well-known expression: ἢ θέμις ἐστίν, as it is right, as it is fitting. This time it refers to the action of Zeus himself; he declares that the deities who had no office under the rule of Cronos, now, after the victory of Zeus, should be raised to "office and rights", τιμῆς καὶ γεράων.[37] The only new element is that the expression is used to evaluate the divine action, whereas in Homer, it was usually referred to the human behaviour.

In the next passage, among the deities who preserved their position and even gained new authority, Hesiod dedicates a long section to Hecate. He attributes to the daughter of Asteria the particular powers given by Zeus who praised Hecate above the others.[38] Mortal people worship Hecate in a special way, and she helps them in many different sphere of their lives. Among others, *in the time of judgement she sits beside august kings; in the public gathering the man of her choice shines out among the crowd.*[39] (*Theog.* 434, 430):

ἔν τε δίκῃ βασιλεῦσι παρ᾽ αἰδοίοισι καθίζει,
ἔν τ᾽ ἀγορῇ λαοῖσι μεταπρέπει, ὅν κ᾽ ἐθέλῃσιν·

Δίκη denotes not the judgement, i.e. decision, but the process of giving judgement, i.e. the settlement of the dispute, we are tempted to say: a court.

In the next poem, *Works and Days*, there is much more information about the way Hesiod understood this term since the word δίκη appears very often in the first part of the text.

Works and Days

The first thing that strikes us in the Hesiod's second poem is the concentration of δίκη and θέμις in the first 300 lines and an almost absolute absence of these

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[36] *Il.* XI 832; XIII 6: the epithet describe Cheiron and Abioi.

[37] *Theog.* 395 – 396.

[38] *Theog.* 418 – 452: Hecate was always a particularly respected goddess. Zeus did not take anything from her, on the contrary, he honoured her with his special favours. A part of Heaven and Sea belongs to her and she sends prosperity to human.

[39] Transl. W e s t, *o.c.*, p. 15 – 16.

terms in the next 500 verses.[40] As a matter of fact, δίκη and its derivatives are found in the line 9, 36, 39, 124, 158, 190, 192, and then the whole passage 213 – 285 is devoted to the idea of justice and full of the terms connected with this sphere (the words derived from the root δικ-appear 25 times). Further, δίκη appears only twice: in the lines 334 and 712. Θέμις is almost completely absent; it occurs three times: in the line 9, 137, and 221. The fact of such a sudden disappearance of the term so popular in the *Iliad* and, especially, in the *Odyssey*, can be explained in many different ways. It seems to us that one of the possible reasons is that the behaviour of an individual, in the family life as well as in the society, is defined by the legal or proto-legal (not written yet) rules to a greater degree than it used to be in the times of Homer. In the previous period social life was ruled by an unwritten, customary norm, rather intuitively felt than strictly described by the members of the same cultural community. This was generally the norm, or norms, belonging to the aristocratic code, and denoted by the word θέμις.[41]

The first passage, where we find both terms, is the invocation. In the line 9, the apostrophe to the Muses does not resemble the traditional beginning of an epic poem; from the second line we know that the real hero of the *Work and Days* is Zeus. The Muses are called to sing about their father whose name appears instead of the name of Odysseus or Achilles (*Op.* 1 – 2). The vocabulary looks familiar:

The next lines describe the highest god and explain why, in the eyes of the poet, he deserves so much attention: it is Zeus who sends fame to people, he gives a man strength and takes it back, he also "*easily he makes the crooked straight and withers the proud*",[42] ῥεία δέ τ᾽ ἰθύνει σκολιὸν καὶ γηήνορα κάρφει (*Op.* 6). Zeus sends good and evil to men, their lot depends on his will, but it becomes obvious that his decisions are connected with human behaviour and could be understood almost as an award or a punishment. The image of Zeus is radically changed as compared to the *Iliad* and, even, although less so, in comparison to the *Odyssey*. The invocation ends with a request (to Zeus) and a call to Perses to whom the whole poem is dedicated (*Op.* 9 – 10):

> κλῦθι ἰδὼν ἀίων τε, δίκῃ δ᾽ ἴθυνε θέμιστας
> τύνη; ἐγὼ δέ κε, Πέρση, ἐτήτυμα μυθησαίμην.[43]

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[40] E.A. Havelock emphasised this feature of Hesiodic poetry and noticed that nothing like this could be found in Homer, yet, as he observed, knowledge of Homeric epic is necessary to understand Hesiod. See: H a v e l o c k, *o.c.*, p. 194 ff.

[41] E. Benveniste claims that θέμις refers to the family law (le droit familial), whereas δίκη denotes the law between families in the tribe. See: E. B e n v e n i s t e, *Le Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, Paris 1969, II, p. 102 – 103.

[42] Ibidem.

[43] The text version in this line is based on the LOEB edition, not on the TLG, as in other passages. The differences are rare, so we can use the LOEB translation (H.G. Evelyn-White), but in this particular line there is a difference: LOEB has Πέρση in the Vocative case, while TLG suggests the Dative: Πέρσῃ. The second version was followed also by J. Ł a n o w s k i in his translation of Hesiod's *Works and Days*; see: Hezjod *Narodziny Bogów (Theogonia), Prace i dni, Tarcza,* Warszawa 1999, p. 61.

The didactic character of the *Works and Days* is visible in the admonishing tendency of this poem. The process regarding the heritage, which ended in favour of Perses and made Hesiod feel unjustly injured was only an excuse to introduce the moral theory whose central part is constituted by Zeus and his authority.[44] The process with Perses was the reason why Hesiod was interested in the ethics. However, in the course of the poem, there is less and less information about this case; we do not even know what was the result of Hesiod's efforts to regain his part of the property. This fact was the reason why some scholars suspected that Hesiod was writing the poem during the process, so he did not know the end of it himself.[45]

The meaning of δίκῃ in this passage is already associated with an abstract, and the English translation quoted above renders this sense perfectly: with righteousness. Θέμιστες denote the decisions taken in the dispute by someone who is supposed to settle it.

The next passage of a particular interest for this study is *Op.* 35 – 39:

> ἀλλ᾽ αὖθι διακρινώμεθα νεῖκος
> ἰθείῃσι δίκῃς, αἵ τ᾽ ἐκ Διός εἰσιν ἄρισται.
> ἤδη μὲν γὰρ κλῆρον ἐδασσάμεθ᾽, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ
> ἁρπάζων ἐφόρεις μέγα κυδαίνων βασιλῆας
> δωροφάγους, οἳ τήνδε δίκην ἐθέλουσι δικάσσαι.

In his appeal to Perses, Hesiod does not explain the exact cause of the quarrel. It could be one more proof that the process is not the most important subject of the poem. The terms: δίκη and δικάζειν have quite a technical meaning. The first one denotes judgement, a resolution (in the line 36, with a characteristic epithet ἰθύς), the second signifies the process of deciding, arriving at a verdict. Δίκη bares the same meaning in the line 124 where is mentioned as a subject of care for the spirits of men of golden generation, who now *keep watch on judgements and cruel deeds,*[46] οἵ ῥα φυλάσσουσίν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα. In both passages, Hesiod has no doubt that wrong doings and injustice would be punished. In the line 40, talking about the bribe taking judges,[47] he calls them νήπιοι using the famous Homerc adjective that always described fools unaware of the approaching doom. In the line 137, we come across the expression that

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[44] D. Dembińska-Siury, *Człowiek odkrywa człowieka, O początkach greckiej refleksji moralnej,* Warszawa 1991, p. 54 ff.; Zeus is supposed to be the highest moral authority and δίκη becomes justice, the basic and universal rule in the world.

[45] Jaeger, *o.c.*, p. 93 mentioned such a hypothesis.

[46] Transl. Evelyn-White, *o.c.*, p. 12.

[47] Almost everybody studying Hesiod notices Hesiod's courage in criticizing the judges. It could be a sign of the new social situation: Hesiod, a person to whom the decisions of the rulers and judges, θέμιστες,are addressed, is able to criticise them. It is the best proof that the society has gone a long way since the time and situation described in the *Iliad*. Furthermore, the judges are called βασιλείς, "kings", but the context suggests that this name could already denote people performing the function of a judge.

used to be popular in Homeric epics, but seldom appears in the works of Hesiod. People of the second generation did not want to serve the gods, or offer sacrifice on the altars *as ii right for men to do wherever they dwell*,[48] ἦ θέμις ἀνθρώποις κατὰ ἤθεα. The expression κατὰ ἤθεα can be understood in two ways: the version of H.G. Evelyn-White renders ἦθος as a place of dwelling, but the second possibility is to translate this word as "custom". The latter fits better into the context, because it can be inferred from the preceding expression: θέμις (ἐστι) ἀνθρώποις.[49]

The adjective δίκαιος in the comparative occurs in the line 158; it describes the next generation, the heroes, ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, who were δικαιότερον καὶ ἄρειον, more righteous and braver. Unfortunately, Hesiod does not provide us with any features that would explain what exactly he meant by the noun δίκαιος.

The lines 189 – 194 are a part of the description of the present generation, precisely, they are a prophecy: Hesiod expects every possible disaster, since the foolishness and impudence of men tend to grow. He even invents a new noun to describe aggressive deeds of people who do not respect their parents; he calls them χειροδίκαι, men who assert their right by hand, i.e., men who use the right of might[50] (*Op.* 189).

The moralistic sense of the pessimistic passage (*Op.* 190 – 194) can be treated as a prelude to the most important fragment of the poem, i.e. the lines 213 – 285, where Hesiodic ethic is expressed in one, coherent lecture. We may infer from the context and from the vicinity of the adjective εὐορκος that δίκαιος and ἀγαθός refer to a man and not to the abstraction. Thus, they mean: just and good. In this passage, we find the opposition δίκαιος (δίκη) — ὕβρις, a just (man) — impudence, violence, for the first time. It is going to be crucial in the next lines. The greed, corruption and violence of the men in power become the worst evil of the time.[51] This sad truth is illustrated by the fable about a hawk and a nightingale which plays the role of a prelude to the next passage (*Op.* 202 – 212).

The ideas presented by Hesiod sometimes seem to be entirely new; some differences between Hesiod and Homer have already been indicated. Nevertheless, the claim that Hesiod introduced the ideal of justice is rejected by some authorities on the subject,[52] who argue that the ideas of Hesiod were taken from "the doctrine of Zeus, justice and the responsibilities of the *basileis,* which can be seen most clearly in the *Odyssey*, but which is already present in the *Iliad"*.[53] The analysis of E.A. Havelock also proves that Hesiod based the image of his

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[48] Transl. Evelyn-White, *o.c.*, p. 13.

[49] The phrase was translated in this way by Łanowski, *o.c.*, p. 64.

[50] See: *The Greek-English Lexicon*, Liddel-Scott, 1958, p. 1985.

[51] Pearson, *o.c.*, p. 72; this remark refers not only to Hesiod, but also to Solon and Theognis.

[52] For instance: Lloyd-Jones, *o.c.*, p. 35 ff.; Havelock, *o.c.*, p. 193 ff.

[53] Lloyd-Jones, ibidem.

moral theory on the concepts created by Homer. Generally, these statements are true, but, in our opinion, there is one correction that should be done: Hesiod used the concepts of Homer in order to construct and present his idea of justice, but it was a creative process. He knew Homeric epics, and took from them what was most precious to him and what was not necessarily the most important to Homer. Justice is present in Homeric epic, and it is hard to deny that the concept has just been born and its abstract sense can be felt in the background, but the terms used to describe it have mostly a concrete meaning. This is Hesiod who made the next move and developed the abstract notion of justice. Maybe, he just collected Homer's thoughts concerning the subject and presented them in the form of a lecture. Nevertheless, it was a very important, and maybe, decisive step towards development of the moral theory that was going to be created by the next generations of Greek thinkers. Having in mind these few remarks, we may proceed to the most important passage, *Op*. 213 – 284.

The whole passage can be divided into eight parts:[54]

213 – 219 — ὕβρις *versus* law,
220 – 224 — the personification of Justice as an abused woman,
225 – 237 — the life of just men,
238 – 247 — the life of evil-doers,
248 – 255 — appeal to the rulers; guardians of law,
256 – 262 — Justice, the daughter of Zeus,
263 – 273 — second appeal; good advice,
274 – 285 — the last admonition to Perses; the gift of Zeus and his requirements.

Op. 213 – 219:

> Ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δ' ἄκουε δίκης μηδ' ὕβριν ὄφελλε
> ὕβρις γάρ τε κακὴ δειλῷ βροτῷ, οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλὸς
> ῥηιδίως φερέμεν δύναται, βαρύθει δέ θ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς
> ἐγκύρσας ἄτῃσιν; ὁδὸς δ' ἑτέρηφι παρελθεῖν
> κρείσσων ἐς τὰ δίκαια; δίκη δ' ὑπὲρ ὕβριος ἴσχει
> ἐς τέλος ἐξελθοῦσα; παθὼν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω.
> αὐτίκα γὰρ τρέχει Ὅρκος ἅμα σκολιῇσι δίκῃσιν·

At the very beginning of the passage, we come across the term δίκη. M.L. West remarks that it is always problematic whether it should be written with a small letter or a capital one. This depends on the degree of personification of the notion, but in the poetry of Hesiod the two tendencies (to personify and to not to do so) are freely combined.[55] It is sometimes really impossible to tell which one is correct. Moreover, one is tempted to say that in the same place both the senses could be seen. This is particularly true in the passage mentioned above. On the other hand, whether there is a capital letter in the word δίκη, or not, seems to be

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[54] This division almost corresponds to that made by Havelock, *o.c.*, p. 195 – 212.

[55] West, *o c.*, p. 210; he assumes Δίκης in the line 213.

of secondary importance, since in both versions the term denotes an abstract idea of righteousness. This term is opposed to hybris (ὕβρις), i.e. violence, outrage, and impudence combined together. We are going to leave this term in the Greek version, since every translation renders only a part of its meaning.[56]

For E.M. Havelock, justice, δίκη, in these lines is equated with non-aggression.[57] That would be the natural development of Homeric concept, but it seems to be something more than non-using violence, though the absence of violence is certainly the most important part of it. The antithesis: justice — hybris is repeated in the following lines. The bad man will fall, even if he is prosperous. West points out that every moral theory has to overcome the problem of evil men doing well. The solution is simple: the punishment comes in the end.[58] The path leading to right things resembles the popular tale of Heracles and the choice between the good and evil way of life, described by Xenophon. Perhaps, this is the source of the concept. Τὰ δίκαια meaning "good, right things", appears quite often in the poetry of Theognis and in a few places in the works of Xenophon.[59] E.A. Havelock notices that in the line 217, the justice from being the destination becomes a competitor in the race. In the line 219, justice and hybris are replaced by an Oath and crooked judgements[60]. The oath here is personified.[61] The image presented by Hesiod can be associated with the race from the 23rd book of the *Iliad* and the controversy between Menelaus and Antilochos. At least this is the interpretation of E.A. Havelock[62] who emphasizes the similar elements: the narrow street, the bypassing, the foolishness of a young man, and the victory of justice. In Hesiod, the person of Menelaus is replaced by Justice who eventually wins, as the king won in the end.

The composition of the whole fragment shows a sudden change of subject. There is no transition to the next passage, which brings even closer resemblance to Homer:

Op. 220 – 224:

> τῆς δὲ Δίκης ῥόθος ἑλκομένης ᾗ κ᾽ ἄνδρες ἄγωσι
> δωροφάγοι, σκολιῇς δὲ δίκῃς κρίνωσι θέμιστας·
> ἣ δ᾽ ἕπεται κλαίουσα πόλιν καὶ ἤθεα λαῶν,
> ἠέρα ἑσσαμένη, κακὸν ἀνθρώποισι φέρουσα,
> οἵ τέ μιν ἐξελάσωσι καὶ οὐκ ἰθεῖαν ἔνειμαν.

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[56] For the same solution, see: M.L. West. E.A. Havelock translates it as "outrage" and emphasizes that hybris would become a commonplace notion in the Greek literature after Hesiod; see: Havelock, *o.c.*, p. 195.

[57] Havelock, ibidem.

[58] West, *o.c.*, p. 211.

[59] Ibidem, p. 210.

[60] Havelock, *o.c.*, p. 196.

[61] West, *o.c.*, p. 211: divine sanctions for the litigants committing perjury are mentioned several times in the literature, for instance: Th. 231, Aesch. *Ctes.* 233.

[62] Havelock, ibidem.

There is no doubt that in this passage Δίκη is a personification. It is presented as a maiden dragged from her path[63]. Justice becomes a woman who does not appear again in these particular circumstances[64]. According to Havelock, the image of an abused woman is not an incidental idea that came to Hesiod's mind. It is based on the well-known pattern. The picture of Justice in the line 220 repeats the story known from the 1st book of the *Iliad* (*Il.* I 29 – 31). The woman taken somewhere against her will is Chryseis, another example is Breseis. A very similar fate is predicted to Andromache (*Il.* VI 454 ff.). In the story of a war, the image of abused women fits into the general outline, nevertheless, at least first two examples are exceptionally important. They tell not only the dramatic story of women's fate, but also show that in these cases, the misfortunes of women bring disasters to the evil-doers. *Both women symbolise in one person justice violated and justice restored.*[65]

There is one more feature that makes us believe that Homer was always the source of inspiration for Hesiod: the girl coming into the town wrapped in mist. The reference can be easily found in the 6th book of the *Odyssey*: the hero goes into the city of Phaecians covered with mist. The change of the gender is not so important if we remember that Odysseus is accompanied by two women: Athene and Nausicaa.[66]

Furthermore, when Odysseus secretly comes to another city (in his own land), he is an avenger. Hesiodic expression: κακὸν ἀνθρώποισι φέρουσα, bringing evil to mankind, is the equivalent of the words used in the *Odyssey (Od.* XIV 110; XVII 27; 82, 159; XVI 103; XX 367 – 368).[67]

The lines 225 – 237 present the image of Utopia: the picture of a perfect world inhabited by just and honest people reminds us of the first generation of men.[68] The citizens of this perfect state make straight judgements (δίκας ἰθείας διδοῦσιν) to strangers as well as to fellow countrymen and never violate the righteousness (μή τι παρεκβαίνουσι δικαίου). The adjective δίκαιον may be understood both in strictly abstract or more concrete sense, though the first meaning seems to be better option. These two decisive qualities should be regarded as the most important for the morality of the people or society. In the Hesiod's picture thanks to them Zeus makes the city blossom, sends it peace and rich crops, it does not know hunger nor disaster — ἄτη — the well known term refers to the madness sent by Zeus to blind the mind of evil men and make them destroy themselves. Such misery never comes to honest and righteous men (ἰθύδικεις ἄνδρες). There are, certainly, differences between Hesiod's dream and the description of the happiest human generation, but we may infer that the

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[63] West, *o.c.*, p. 211, see also: Ehrenberg, *o.c.*, p. 67 – 69.
[64] Havelock, *o.c.*, p. 198 – 201.
[65] Ibidem, p. 198.
[66] Ibidem, p. 200.
[67] Ibidem, p. 201.
[68] Noticed also by West, *o.c.*, p. 213.

image presented in this passage refers to the best possible reality. E.A. Havelock points at all the details of this description which are similar to the characteristics of Scheria provided by Homer in the 6th book of the *Odyssey*.[69] The magic land of Phaecians was also a peaceful, rich and a little alienated place. Also in Scheria there are handsome κοῦροι, who in Hesiod are nourished by peace.[70] The life in the Hesiodic paradise, like in Scheria. is devoted to pleasure. The agriculture brings fantastic crops in both lands and famine is unknown to the inhabitants of both worlds. The only detail that is different in the two poems refers to the sea and ships; Hesiod was not a sailor and did not regard the sea as the natural environment for a human.

The term δίκη in the line 226 is a little misleading. There is an impression that what Hesiod refers to is the norm of social conduct. Δίκη of a stranger could be an equivalent for δίκη of Achilles (*Iliad*, book 9) and of Antilochos (*Iliad*, book 23), but the context makes it clear that the correct translation is "judgement". The epithet ἰθεία δίκη used by Hesiod belongs to Homeric language. On the other hand, the meaning of δίκαιος comprises broader sphere than it used to in the poems of Homer.

The description of an Utopia contrasts with the picture of another state, which is supposed to be a negative example. In the lines 238 – 247 we are given the mirror reflection of the city of Justice. This second state is the victim of hybris. Zeus punishes the whole city even for the wrong deeds (ἀτάσθαλα ἔργα) of one man.[71]

M.L. West claims that the whole passage comparing the two cities, just and unjust, resembles the Semitic images in its conception and content (to compare with *Levit.* 26, *deut.* 28). The idea of the fertility of the earth and livestock can be found in the *Odyssey*, *Od.* IX 109 ff.[72]

Δίκη acquires a new sense: a punishment sent by Zeus to those who have hybris in their hearts;

> οἷς δ' ὕβρις τε μέμηλε κακὴ καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,
> τοῖς δὲ δίκην Κρονίδης τεκμαίρεται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς.

Further lines, 248 – 255, contain some mysterious ideas, namely the mention about the Guardians of Justice. The appeal to the kings is a warning at the same time.

Δίκη in the line 248 means "a punishment" and serves as the transition from the previous passage. In the line 250, there are again σκόλιαι δίκαι, crooked judgements.

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[69] H a v e l o c k, *o.c.*, p. 201 ff.

[70] W e s t: the expression: Ε˝ρήνη κουρότρεφος is found also [in:] E. *Ba.* 420, *Sup.* 490; Pind. fr. 109.3 f.

[71] The image of a man bringing a disaster to the whole city can be associated with the concept of pollution, μίασμα, the term which becomes very important in the later literature. See: A d k i n s, *Merit and Responsibility. A Study in Grek Values,* Oxford 1960, p. 86 – 115.

[72] W e s t, *o.c.*, p. 213.

The warning continues; Hesiod speaks about the guardians of mortal men, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, whose task is to protect judgements and wrong deeds, δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα (*Op.* 253).

There is no explanation who these watchers are, but the most significant fact is that apart from Zeus, there is another source of divine sanction, probably subjected to the highest god, still acting independently.

The next passage is probably the most significant for Hesiod's moral concepts; *Op.* 256 – 262:

> ἡ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα,
> κυδρή τ᾽ αἰδοίη τε θεοῖς οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν,
> καί ῥ᾽ ὁπότ᾽ ἄν τίς μιν βλάπτῃ σκολιῶς ὀνοτάζων,
> αὐτίκα πὰρ Διὶ πατρὶ καθεζομένη Κρονίωνι
> γηρύετ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκων νόον, ὄφρ᾽ ἀποτείσῃ
> δῆμος ἀτασθαλίας βασιλέων οἳ λυγρὰ νοεῦντες
> ἄλλῃ παρκλίνωσι δίκας σκολιῶς ἐνέποντες.

The female goddess with unique a authority, Justice, seems to be Hesiod's genuine invention. However, E.A. Havelock compares her features with the characteristics of Athene from the *Odyssey*. The result of his analysis is that both deities have much in common.[73] On the other hand, the dependence on Homer is not of primary importance. The most significant is the distinct and clear concept of a deity who is a personification of δίκη. From the term denoting a concrete, and then a less concrete notion of righteousness, δίκη developed into the word the abstract meaning of which should not be questioned.[74]

The next fragment, 263 – 285, contains the second appeal to the rulers, good advice for all the men, and a direct appeal to Perses. Then, we come across particularly interesting passage:

Op. 276 – 281:

> τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων,
> ἰχθύσι μὲν καὶ θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πετεηνοῖς
> ἔσθειν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοῖς·
> ἀνθρώποισι δ᾽ ἔδωκε δίκην, ἣ πολλὸν ἀρίστη
> γίνεται· εἰ γάρ τίς κ᾽ ἐθέλῃ τὰ δίκαι᾽ ἀγορεῦσαι
> γινώσκων, τῷ μέν τ᾽ ὄλβον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεύς·

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[73] H a v e l o c k, *o.c.*, p. 206 ff.

[74] This claim was criticised by M. Gagarin who tries to demonstrate that in the *Works and Days* this term denotes "a law", a peaceful settlement of the dispute. Apart from the legal meaning, it has no general sense. See: M. G a g a r i n, *Dike in the Works and Days*, Classical Philology LXVIII 1973, p. 81 – 94. His controversial statement was discussed by M.W. D i c k i e, *Dike as a Moral Term in Homer and Hesiod,* Classical Philology LXXIII 1978, p. 91 – 101.

Already in Homer δίκη was asociated with non-aggresion and regarded as the criterion of civilization. However, it was supposed to be an element of Greek culture, and there were human, or semi-human, creatures who did not recognise its authority. Hesiod for the first time demonstrates this term as the criterion of being a human, the most crucial element that constitutes the difference between a man and an animal. Δίκη denotes here the right, the rule of which makes human life possible.[75]

The comparison with Homer is reasonable, but one fact should be emphasised: Hesiod systematised the notions used by Homer and created the moral theory out of single elements. Hesiod's poetry became not only a moral guidebook for the audience. His ideas regarding the world of nature and people and his conception of Justice as a principle of the world made an impact on the philosophers and contributed to the presocratic theory of cosmos.[76]

The idea of δίκη, justice, understood as the most important factor in human life was partly based on the concepts already present in Homer. Nevertheless, Hesiod changed it into an abstract principle. The meaning of the word δίκη comprises both abstract and concrete senses. It is sometimes used to denote an idea, but there are many passages where its meaning is concrete and technical: a judgement, a process. The flexibility of the exact sense of this term seems to be a characteristic feature of Hesiodic language. The situation when the abstract and concrete senses are visible in the same word occurs quite often.

The next step in Greek ethical thinking leads to the individualized meaning of the basic moral terms: they begin to denote not only the ethical rules of the society but the principles of a man, who is a part of it. The 6th and 7th centuries are often called "the age of lyric".[77] There is a change in the spiritual climate and attitude towards human life that can be observed between the epic age and that of lyric.[78] The character of the poerty altered radically and this fact could be explained by the general change in the mentality. It does not mean that the poets ceased to read Homer and use his works as the source of inspiration. They continued to refer to the great epic masters, Homer and Hesiod, they did it, however, in a different way, i.e., they sometimes used Homeric language and, more often, referred their concepts to the ideas presented by Homer or Hesiod, but they did not imitate these conceptions as ready-to-use patterns. Much more often, they set their own ideas in opposition to the epic model, or they were re-reading the epic poetry to present the old thought in a new version.

The lyric poetry reflects the changes in the attitude towards the reality as well

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[75] See: Havelock, *o.c.*, p. 213, Dembinska-Siury, *o.c.*, p. 61, Pearson, *o.c.*, p. 72 ff.

[76] For the analysis of this issue see: M. Detienne, *Homere, Hésiode et Pythagore. Poesie et philosophie dans le pythagorisme ancien,* Bruxelles – Berchem 1962; H. Diller, *Hesiod und die Anfänge der griechischen Philosophie,* Antike und Abendland II 1946, p. 140 – 151.

[77] J. Danielewicz, *Liryka starożytnej Grecji,* BN II/ 92, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk – Łódź 1987, p. XIII.

[78] Ibidem, p. 36.

as the spiritual, social and political changes of the time.[79] Its significance for the development of ethics is great. Before the philosophy in the strict sense appeared, it was poetry that expressed ideas, moral concepts and views.[80]

For some scholars, the most striking feature of the new attitude was the feeling of helplessness of mortal men in the face of the difficulties of life.[81] This thought was not entirely new: Homeric opinion about human condition was, in fact, very pessimistic; it is enough to recall the simile about Zeus and the two barrels from which the god takes good and evil things for mortal men; the latter are taken more often.[82] Another view, far from optimism, was expressed by the highest god in his speech to the immortal horses of Achilleus: people were compared here to the leaves of a tree.[83] The feeling of insecurity seem to deepen in the lyric poetry. It has also been associated with the awareness of divine hostility.[84] The poetry noted human feelings and expressed them in the popular and everyday language. There is no doubt that for the purpose of this study the poetry of Solon is the most interesting part of the Greek lyrics. The most adequate poems expressing Solon's moral concepts are fr. 13 (1) and fr. 4 (3).[85] The first elegy regards the life of an individual, the latter refers to the conduct of the individuals who are a community and whose morals have decisive impact on the life of the city. The long elegy, fr. 13, was preserved in its full length. Its language is flowing and lucid, but there are some obscure lines and, as H. Fraenkel observed,[86] the connection between the parts seems to be ambiguous. The composition and the artistic quality of this long poem has long been discussed and the opinions concerning the subject are strongly divided.[87] As K. Bartol claims,[88] there are two main opposite views: according to the first one, this elegy of Solon is repetition of Hesiodic concept, and not a very original one, expressed with the language imitating Homeric epic style; the second opinion is much more positive. Scholars who are in favour of this view[89] argue that the poem is genuine and reflects perfectly the change of Greek mentality in the time of Solon. The composition of the poem which, at the first sight, lacks any principle, could be based on the association of thoughts.[90]

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[79] D a n i e l e w i c z, *o.c.*, p. XIII.

[80] Ibidem.

[81] See: L l o y d-J o n e s, *o.c.*, p. 36 ff.; S n e l l, *Poetry and Society,* Bloomington 1961, p. 28 – 48.

[82] *Il.* XXIV 527 – 533.

[83] *Il.* XVII 445 – 447.

[84] This remark was made by G.I. D o d d s, *The Greeks and the Irrational,* Boston 1957, and repeated by L l o y d - J o n e s, *o.c.*, p. 38.

[85] This is a generally accepted opinion that the value of Solonian poetry consists mainly in its political and moral contents, not in its artistic perfection. These poems are an excellent reflection of their time and this fact makes them really significant. See: D a n i e l e w i c z, *o.c.*, p. CXXI.

[86] F r a e n k e l, *o.c.*, p. 234 – 235.

[87] For the bibliography see: B a r t o l, *Liryka Grecka*, I, *Jamb i elegia,* Warszawa – Poznań 1999, p. 280 ff.

[88] Ibidem.

[89] For example: J a e g e r, *Paideia,* Warszawa 1964, I.

[90] B a r t o l, *o.c.*, p. 281.

The poem begins with an appeal to the Muses.[91] Solon asks them to send him prosperity and the fame, that accompany a good man.[92] Then Solon defines his ideal of decent conduct, which reflects the most popular Greek opinion: to be as kind to one's friends, as bitter to the enemies. The subsequent lines refer to the wealth, which is a good thing to have, but only if it is possible to acquire it in a just way. The reason for this caution is very straight-forward: the wickedly, ἀδίκως, possessed wealth is not safe, a man has to pay for it sooner or later, when Δίκη comes. Further lines bring subsequent admonitions referring to the dangers connected with wealth and greed, the source of which is human ὕβρις, hybris. Zeus, who puts an end to the immoral profits, is compared to the spring wind. The simile resembles the language of Homer. The divine punishment is inevitable, though this does not mean that it always comes immediately. Men must remember that their unpunished crimes would make their children suffer, since the responsibility is inherited by further generations. People tend to cherish various false expectations; they always hope that everything would alter for the better, and put all their efforts to make their dreams come true. They are prone to trust their skills and talents and the divine protection, whereas the grace of the gods and the destiny, Moira, bring them good and evil. A mortal man is not able to avoid any of these gifts. There is no certainty nor safety in the world, and people cannot foresee the results of any action, even the one undertaken with the best intentions. Everything depends upon the divine will. The end of the poem repeats the thought that seems to be most important in this text: people are allowed to acquire wealth and gain profits; unfortunately, the desire to have more and more causes madness that is supposed to be the divine punishment for the human greed. The idea of δίκη in this poem refers not necessarily to the use of violence; unjust deeds or an unjust way of becoming rich could be understood as an abuse of the authority or rule of might. However, they could denote every kind of human evil plans worked up in order to satisfy someone's greed. It seems that the adjective ἄδικος could describe a generally unjust and unlawful behaviour of an individual. The abstract sense of δίκη is associated with the personification of the goddess, Justice herself. Like in the case of Hesiod's poems, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether we deal with the name of the deity, or with an abstract noun. One idea permeates another.[93]

Like in the poems of Hesiod, the opposition of δίκη is ὕβρις. This time, however, hybris is connected with wealth and an untamed desire to possess more and more. This sort of hybris is a real danger to the men. This desire is some-

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[91] B a r t o l, *o.c.*, p. 285: the apostrophe is traditional, although Solon puts in an appeal and a prayer without mentioning the sanction. The genealogical epithet corresponds to the genre of prayer and hymns; compare: J. D a n i e l e w i c z, *Morfologia hymnu antycznego,* Poznań 1976, p. 11 ff.

[92] F r a e n k e l, *o.c.*, p. 234 – 235: the idea of reputation is connected with the notion of effectiveness among contemporaries.

[93] The difficulty becomes obvious when we look at the different editions of the Greek text; for instance: in the line 8, in the TLG there is a noun, in the LOEB Classical Library edition we find the name of the goddess.

thing usual and almost natural for a man, but it is also very easy to trespass the line dividing the natural instinct and hybris. It may be inferred from the poem that many people have already fallen into this trap. The opinion that greed is the source of human miseries binds Solon with Hesiod.[94] However, the author of the *Works and Days* pointed mainly at the greed and corruption of the men in power, whereas Solon thinks about a general tendency. Another thing similar in the works of Hesiod and Solon is the fact that Solon addressed his prayer for prosperity and good life to the Muses. Like Hesiod, Solon regards the Muses as the deities whose authority cannot be restricted to the poetic invention.

There is another Solon's elegy, fr. 4, the significance of which for the purpose of this study is considerable. This poem belongs to the poetry most characteristic for Solon, the politician, and it has been treated as an evidence of the Athenian early political theory. There are some doubts as to the authorship of the poem and as to the details of the ethical principles present in it, nevertheless, tradition attributed these lines to Solon.[95]

At the beginning of the poem, Solon expresses his belief in the destiny of his native city which would never perish. It seems clear what Solon had in mind while writing this poem: the main subject is the behaviour of the citizens and its influence on the life of the city. This concept could have been provoked by the reality of Athens, its crisis and difficult social situation. Solon, the man who was supposed to heal the country by writing new laws and bringing order into the chaos of Athenian policy, was deeply concerned about his mission.[96] It is reasonable to assume that the poem was not only to express Solon's ideal of justice, but also to influence the morals of his fellow citizens.[97] This would mean that Solon consciously used his poetry as the means of persuasion. The series of remarks that follows the first few lines of the elegy has the character of poetic admonition addressed to all Athenians whose evil deeds can jeopardize the city.

Since the will of Zeus protects the city, the wrong doing of the people is the only possible danger. The people tend to acquire wealth following the unrighteous deeds, ἀδίκοις ἐργμασι πειθόμενοι. They do not respect sacred possessions nor *have they heed of the awful foundations of Justice, who is so well aware in her silence of what is and what hath been, and soon or late cometh alway to avenge.*[98] The avenge of Justice will affect all the city and bring misery to all its inhabitants. K. Bartol emphasises the fact that Solon, unlike Hesiod, makes people entirely autonomous and responsible for their decisions.[99] Human actions are judged by the goddess Δίκη, the personification of divine justice. The

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[94] Pearson, *o.c.*, p. 78 ff.

[95] Adkins, *Poetic Craft in the Early Greek Elegy,* Chicago and London 1985, p. 110 – 113.

[96] Bartol, *o.c.*, p. 263 ff.

[97] *Ibidem.*

[98] Transl. J.M. Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus with the Anacreontea,* LOEB Classical Library, Harvard 1954, I, p. 119.

[99] Bartol, *o.c.*, p. 264.

originality of this concept cannot be discussed, but the opinion according to which Solonian δίκη constitutes the personal, internalized sense of morals, seems to be too radical.[100]

Solon's concept is very straight-forward; the poet contrasts the prosperity of the city with its ruin and devastation. Both conditions are possible and both are the result of human deeds. The happiness of *polis* depends on the righteousness of its citizens and that is also human attitude that is responsible for its ruin. The divine factor remains crucial, nevertheless, there is a change in the understanding of its role: the will of Zeus is no longer the only authority governing the world. His might is associated with the principle of justice and his decisions are motivated by human attitude towards its rule. One might say that practicing justice because of fear (of the divine punishment) does not deserve the name of truly moral behaviour. The fear of gods, however, used to be and still is the crucial element of most religious systems. The basic motivation might be simple: the fear, but we should remember that Solon does not only scare his audience explaining to them the consequences of their wrong doings. On the contrary, this is only one part of his theory. The second, equally important one, presents the beneficial effects of a just life. The same can be referred to the life of the city, and to the lives of its citizens. The happy and prosperous city is the city of happy and prosperous men. In the end of his poem, Solon expresses this belief by introducing another term, already existent in the literature,[101] namely: εὐνομία.

The significance of this term is obvious too and it is not the aim of this survey to trace the history of νόμος and its derivatives.[102] In Solon's poem, εὐνομία is opposed to δυσνομία, ill-government, lawlessness. Whereas the former brings happiness and straightens even crooked judgements (here we have Homeric δίκας σκολιάς), the latter gives the city much trouble. What is really excellent in the poetry of Solon is the fact that he did not restrict himself to the theory, but gave us a concrete example of practicing justice as well. The fragment 36 may be treated as the personal commentary of a reformer concerning his political activity.[103]

The concepts presented by Solon express his belief in justice and law as the conditions of human happiness. His ideas may sometimes look as if they did not belong to a coherent and logically constructed theory,[104] nevertheless Greek ethics owes him a lot. In the poetry of Solon, Δίκη denotes not only the deity, the personification of an idea of justice; it becomes also a more active and more

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[100] Ibidem.

[101] See: Hesiod *Theogonia,* 902 – 903; Also some sources inform that Tyrataios was an author of the elegy "*Eunomia*"; for further information see: B a r t o l, *o.c.*, p. 264.

[102] It has already been done, see the thorough works written by: R. T u r a s i e w i c z, *W kręgu znaczeniowym pojęcia nomos,* Meander XXIX 1974; A. D i e h l e, *Der Begriff des Nomos in der griechischen Philosophie*; H.J. G e h r k e, *Der Nomosbegriff der Polis,* two last works [in:] Nomos und Gesetz, ed. O. B e h r e n d s and W. S e l l e r t, Göttingen 1995, F. Q u a s s, *Nomos und Psephisma,* München 1971.

[103] This poem was quoted by Aristotle in his *Athenaion politeia.*

[104] F r a e n k e l, *o.c.*, p. 236 – 237.

decisive factor in human life. The attitude towards this principle is also changed since the time of Hesiod; people are free to decide whether they would follow justice, or not. Furthermore, the behaviour of an individual has an effect on the situation of the entire city. The prosperity of the society as a whole depends upon the ethical conduct of its members.[105] The main subject of the poem is σεισάχθεια, the abolition of debts which deprived a great many poor Athenian citizens of their personal freedom and turned them into slaves. Solon tried to rescue the poor and, at the same time, reach a compromise in the relationship with the rich ones. The results of his efforts disappointed both sides as we find out from Plutarch.[106] His reforms did not satisfy the poor classes, but still turned out to be too bold for the well-to-do citizens who felt deeply any assault on their privileges. The fragment 36 is supposed to be Solon's defence.[107] The great politician recalls the positive aspects of his fundamental reform and tries to persuade his fellow countrymen that everything he did was undertaken in the name of justice. Here we might have an impression that justice is associated with the idea of social right, it becomes close to social justice, although we must take into consideration that social justice in Solon's interpretation was very far from the socialistic concepts introduced in the philosophy of the XIX century. Social justice according ancient standards meant "to give everybody his due" .

In the beginning of the poem we find fierce words (the whole poem is written in a very direct and impulsive style). In line 3 δίκη means "the court", so we have the proof that this term was used at the same time in the concrete and abstract sense. Maybe, Solon hopes that Time would be the best judge of his deeds and by this arbiter the work of his life would be finally appreciated. In the subsequent verses we find the mention about people sold into slavery justly, i.e., according to the law, δικαίως (line 10), and these miserable, who were sold unjustly, ἐκδίκως (line 9). Both groups were rescued and brought back to Athens by Solon (lines 8 – 15). Solon accomplished it *by fitting close together right and might;*[108]

ταῦτα μὲν κρατέειν
ὁμοῦ βίαν τε καὶ δίκην συναρμόσας
ἔρεξα

K. Bartol emphasises the significance of the connection of might and justice; this was the condition that turned out to be decisive in the political reforms. The might and the authority without justice are not profitable to the rulers.[109] In our

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[105] Perhaps this concept was the beginning of the idea which was fully expressed by Plato in *Politeia*, i. e., the idea of a state as the organism whose all elements are equally important. The condition of the state is directly connected with the way in which the citizens are performing their functions.

[106] Bartol, *o.c.*, p. 317 ff.

[107] Danielewicz, *o.c.*, p. 313.

[108] Ibidem, fr. 36, p. 15 – 17.

[109] Bartol, *o.c.*, p. 319 – 320.

opinion, the bare fact of associating the force, might, βία, with justice, δίκη, is striking. Till this moment justice was usually associatesd with avoidance of violence.[110] The difference between the previous concepts and fragment 36, however, is caused by the personality of the author: Solon is a professional politician and even being moral authority does not make him an idealistic dreamer. He is aware of the political reality. The truth is that a ruler needs might and force to be able to induce his decisions and to put his concepts into practice. Justice should play the part of a controller. Thanks to it, a ruler avoids violence and hybris.

In Solonian poetry, the term δίκη and its derivatives acquire a new character. Their meaning is close to the ethical concepts of Hesiod. Nevertheless, the gap between the social position and the role performed by the author of the *Work and Days* and the Athenian lawgiver is so deep that some differences must be found. They can be associated with the special role played by Solon in the political history of his state. Solon, unlike Hesiod, is not only the subject of law, but, at the first place, he is the one who writes the laws and who does it being fully aware of the significance of this task. He performs his function of a lawgiver consciously following the ethical principles he expresses in his poetry.

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[110] The violence, i.e. excessive force, was the part of the sense of hybris. There is also a significant passage in the *Iliad* where δίκαιος is associated with the negation of βία; δικαιότατοι Ἄβιοι are presented as the favourites of Zeus, *Il.* XIII 6.

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EPISCHE MERKMALE IM HERODOTEISCHEN KONSONANTENSYSTEM*

Von

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Die für herodoteische Sprache[1] bezeichnende Konsonantenerscheinung ist der Wechsel der stimmlosen Laute π : κ, der Liquida mit den Nasalen, der stimmhaften mit den stimmlosen Lauten (γ : κ) und der Wechsel der Finalkonsonanten -ς : -ρ. Überdies finden wir in den *Historien* die Lautfolge ρσ statt der Geminate ρρ, und dort, wo σμ zu erwarten ist, treffen wir die Konsonantengruppe δμ oder θμ. Bemerkenswert ist auch das Vorkommen mancher Doppelkonsonanten oder ihrer Vereinfachungen im Herodottext. Diese phonetischen Erscheinungen treffen zum überwiegenden Teil für den ionischen Dialekt zu. Die Absonderung epischer Elemente ist also hier eine sehr schwierige Aufgabe und oft geradezu unmöglich. Denn die genannten Konsonanten und Konsonantengruppen haben sehr oft in der altionischen Sprache Homers wie in der neuionischen Sprache Herodots denselben Klang.

Als das entschiedene neuionische Merkmal soll die Ersetzung von π durch κ anerkannt werden, z.B. ὅπως : ὅκως, ὁπότε : ὁκότε, ὁπόσος : ὁκόσος, ὅπῃ : ὅκῃ, πή : κή, ποῖος : κοῖος[2]. Homer schreibt diese Wörter stets mit π. Ähnlich findet sich in den homerischen Gedichten nicht der Wechsel des anlautenden λ-

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[1] Als Grundlage dieser Betrachtungen diente mir der von Haiim B. R o s é n herausgegebene Herodottext (Herodoti *Historiae*, I libros I – IV continens, Leipzig 1987; II libros V – IX continens. Indicibis criticis adiectis, Stutgardiae et Lipsiae 1997) und die folgenden Homers-Ausgaben: Homeri *Ilias*, rec. H. van T h i e l, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1996; Homeri *Odyssea*, rec. H. van Thiel, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1991; Homeri *Odyssea*, rec. P. von der M u e h l l, Stutgardiae 1984.

[2] Die Laute π, τ und κ stammen im Griechischen unter anderem aus idg. k^w ab. Natürlich war der unterschiedliche Gebrauch dieser Konsonanten von der griechischen Mundart abhängig. Siehe dazu C.D. B u c k, *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects. Grammar Selected Inscriptions Glossary*, Boston – New York 1928, 58; E. S c h w y z e r, *Griechische Grammatik*, 1, München 1939, S. 239 ff.; A.L. S i h l e r, *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*, New York – Oxford 1995, S. 160 f., 164.

mit ν-. Herodot dagegen sollte diese Veränderung im Wort λίτρον[3] berücksichtigen, jedenfalls waren dieser Ansicht diejenigen Kopisten, die im Herodottext anstelle des anfänglichen λ den Nasal ν schrieben: II 86, 5 νίτρῳ MD^{c}TRSV; II 87, 3 νίτρον ABMTRSVD^{1}.

Im Einklang mit der Sprache unseres Dichters steht bei Herodot der Wechsel des stimmhaften γ mit dem stimmlosen κ. Diese Erscheinung beobachten wir in solchen Wörter wie κναφεύς (IV 14, 1), κναφήϊον (I 92, 4; IV 14, 1; 14, 2) oder κάμπτω (IV 42, 4; 43, 4; VII 58, 3; 122; 193, 1). Homer bediente sich von diesen angeführten Beispielen nur des Verbums κάμπτω („biegen"). In derselben Bedeutung verwandte der Dichter auch das Wort γνάμπτω (Ψ731), wobei wir in der Textausgabe der *Ilias* von H. van Thiel im kritischen Apparat die Form κάμψεν finden. Obwohl dieses analoge Auftreten des Verbums κάμπτω bei Homer wie bei Herodot vom Einfluß der epischen Poesie auf die Sprache der *Historien* zu zeugen scheint, erlaubt die allgemeine Verwendung dieses Wortes im Griechischen keinen eindeutigen Schluß.

Eine homerische Abstammung können wir der bei Herodot anzutreffenden Veränderung des auslautenden -ρ in das ursprüngliche -ϛ[4] im Wort ἀκοντιστής zuschreiben.

Der ionische Dialekt, wie die Sprache Herodots, zeichnet sich durch das Vorkommen des π dort, wo es allgemein mit dem Hauch gelesen wird, sowie dort, wo θ und χ zu erwarten sind, durch die unaspirierte Aussprache des τ und κ aus. Die Wörter also, die Herodot mit π statt φ schrieb, sind z.B. ἀπάπτω, ἀπείλοντο, ἄποδος, ἀπαιρέω, ἀπικνέομαι, ὑπαιρέω, ὑπάπτω, ὑπίημι. Die Konsonanten τ und κ finden sich unter anderem in den Verben: ἀντυπουργέω, ἀντικάτημαι, ἐπικάτημαι, κατήκω, ὑποδέκομαι, δέκομαι. Aber diese Frage scheint für unsere Betrachtungen unwichtig zu sein, denn Homer läßt im Gegensatz zu Herodot die genannten Konsonanten mit dem Hauch. Eine Ausnahme ist das von den beiden Autoren verwandte Adverb αὖτις.

Dagegen können wir annehmen, daß der Historiker sich auf die homerischen Epen berief, wenn er in seinem Werk das Verbum ἔρδω mit dem spiritus lenis begann. Der Verfasser der *Ilias* und der *Odyssee* versah dieses Wort sowohl mit dem spiritus asper wie auch mit dem spiritus lenis.

Im Griechischen pflegen die Liquida ρ und λ, die Nasale μ und ν, Spirans σ und der stimmlose Laut τ der Verdopplung zu unterliegen, wobei bei den Ioniern die Geminata ττ zu σσ überging. Im ionischen Dialekt finden wir auch an der Stelle des einfachen τ die Spirans σ — das betrifft besonders die Endung der

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[3] Das Wort νίτρον (Ion. Att. λίτρον, durch Dissimilation ν-τ > λ-τ) können wir mit dem hebräischen „neter" oder mit dem lateinischen „nitrum" vergleichen. Siehe dazu E. B o i s a c q, *Dictionnairè etymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris – Heidelberg 1923^{2}, S. 671; H. F r i s k, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 2, Heidelberg 1970, S. 321; G. M e y e r, *Griechische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1886, S. 177 f.; R. K ü h n e r, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, Hannover 1869, S. 123.

[4] Vgl. K ü h n e r, *l.c.* Über Rhotazismus des σ im Lakonischen sowie im Dialekt von Elis und Eretria siehe B u c k, *o.c.*, S. 52 f.

Wörter auf -σίη : Att. -τία. Für Kopisten und Textkritiker ist das Vorhandensein gewisser Geminaten in der Sprache Herodots nicht eindeutig. Also soll nach den Handschriften pTRbSV der Doppelkonsonant σσ im Substantiv Ἁλικαρνησσέος auf das einfache σ reduziert werden, dank dieser Behandlung sollte die Form Ἁλικαρνασῆος entstehen.[5] Überdies wurde in der Ausgabe von H. Rosén auch das Wort Παρνησσός mit der Geminata σσ gedruckt, dessen vereinfachte Lesart, das heißt mit σ simplex, die Hss. ABCT (VIII 27, 3; 32,1 bis; 35, 1; 36, 2; 37, 3; 39, 2) übereinstimmend vorschlagen.[6] Wahrscheinlich nahmen die Kopisten im Text des Vaters der Geschichte nach homerischem Vorbild die Lesart Παρνησός an. Denn der Dichter verwandte den Namen des Bergs nur mit einfachem σ (τ 411, 432, 466, φ 220, ω 332). Wir wissen natürlich, daß das Vorkommen der Geminaten in den Epen oft durch die rhythmischen Notwendigkeiten des daktylischen Hexameters bedingt ist. Jedoch wäre in dem erörterten Wort die Verdopplung des σ überflüssig gewesen, weil es vor dieser Spirans einen von Natur langen Vokal besitzt.

Die Verdopplung des σ, welches zum das Futur und den Aorist bildenden Suffix gehört, ist das epische Merkmal solcher Wörter wie ἔσσεται, κτίσσας, πελάσσαι, πρόσσω, τελέσσα, φράσσοντας.[7] Diese Erscheinung ist unserem Historiker eigentlich fremd, und die Versuche, die angeführten Geminaten in den Herodottext einzuführen, können wir nur fleißigen Kopisten zuschreiben, die den Verfasser entgegen der Sprache der *Historien* „poetisieren" wollten. Daher überliefern die Handschriften B und C an einer Stelle des herodoteischen Werkes (V 33, 4) das Wort φράσσοντας statt des allgemein, auch von H. Rosén, aufgenommenen φράσοντας.

Die anderen Wörter, welche wir entweder mit der Geminata oder mit deren Vereinfachung schreiben dürfen, sind κρόμ(μ)υον und πλημ(μ)υρίς. Das erste erscheint bei Homer nur mit einfachem μ (Λ 630, τ 233), während es in den Herodottext (II 125, 6; IV 17, 1) mit doppeltem Nasal μ gelangt ist. Über das Fehlen des Doppelkonsonanten μμ in den homerischen Gedichten entschied, wie gewöhnlich, das Metrum. Das mit μ simplex geschriebene Substantiv κρόμυον erscheint im Text des Historikers, der durch die Handschrift D (IV 17, 1) überliefert wird. Auch das Substantiv πλημ(μ)υρίς ist im Werk Herodots nur mit der Geminata μμ überliefert (VIII 129, 2; 129, 3). Im Kodex C erscheint die zweifelhafte Schreibung dieses Wortes mit einfachem μ (VIII 129, 2 πλημυρὶς). Ebenfalls bediente sich Homer in der *Odyssee* (ι 486) dieses Wortes in vollem Wortlaut. Wenigstens H. van Thiel nahm in seiner Ausgabe das Substantiv in dieser Form an. Ein anderer Herausgeber, P. von der Muehll, dagegen akzeptierte die Lesart πλημυρὶς.

Homer und Herodot verwendeten anstelle der Geminata ρρ, die für die dorische sowie für die mittel- und neuattische Sprache richtig war, die Lautfolge

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[5] Siehe F.I.C. Bredovius, *Quaestionum criticarum de dialecto Herodotea*, Lipsiae 1846, S. 96.

[6] Vgl. ibidem.

[7] Vgl. P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique*, I, Paris 1948, S. 209 f., 409.

ρσ.[8] Zu den mit ρσ geschriebenen Wörtern, welche wir bei diesen beiden Verfasser finden, zählen vor allem θάρσος, θαρσέω, θαρσύνω, ταρσός. Jedoch kommt es vor, daß manche Herodot-Handschriften an einigen Stellen statt der Gruppe ρσ die jüngere ρρ bieten. In einem Fall (IX 25, 1) bieten die Hss. CDJMpPRSV ἐθάρρησαν, in einem anderen ABCTMP (III 76, 3) τεθαρρηκότες.

Die andere Konsonantenerscheinung, die ebenso die ionische wie die homerische Sprache kennzeichnet, ist der Wechsel der Gruppe σμ mit δμ und θμ[9]. Davon zeugen solche Wörter wie ὀδμή (z. B. Ξ 415, ι 210; I 202, 2; VI 119, 3), ἴδμεν (z.B. B 486, K 100, γ 184) oder ἀναβαθμός (II 125, 1; 125, 2; 125, 4). Aber auch in diesem Fall neigten gewisse Kopisten zu der attischen Form, z.B. I 80, 4 ὀσμὴν DTRMQSV.

Wollen wir phonetische Homerismen prüfen, die Herodot wissentlich in sein Werk einführte, müssen wir besonders an die korrumpierende Tätigkeit von Kopisten und Wissenschaftlern denken, die in festem Glauben an die eigene, unanfechtbare Vorstellung von der richtigen Form der Urfassung den Herodottext „verbesserten". Will man also über die Sprache unseres Historikers urteilen, sollte man die ganze handschriftliche Überlieferung berücksichtigen — diese Aufgabe bewältigte, wie bekannt, H. Rosén. Daher habe ich in meinen Betrachtungen die von Kopisten nach epischem Vorbild durchgeführten Verbesserungen mancher phonetischen Elemente berücksichtigt.

Ich bin im Bereich des Konsonantismus überzeugt, daß mit dem Namen „homerisch" die Ersetzung des auslautenden ρ durch ς in ἀκοντιστής und die Entfernung des spiritus asper zugunsten des spiritus lenis in ἔρδω — obgleich dieses Wort in den homerischen Epen auch mit dem spiritus asper vorkommt — zu bezeichnen ist. Unserem Dichter folgen die Handschriften ABCT, die im Text der *Historien* das mit ν simplex geschriebene Wort Παρνησός aufnahmen — H. Rosén lehnte diese Lesart ab. Ebenso machten die librarii einen Versuch der Homerisierung der Sprache Herodots, indem sie φράσσοντας statt φράσοντας (V 33, 4 BC) und κρόμυα anstelle von κρόμμυα (IV 17, 1 D) schrieben.

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[8] Vgl. Kühner, *o.c.*, S. 124; Chantraine, *o.c.*, S. 172 f. Indem Rosén die dialektgeographische Stellung der überlieferten Sprachform Herodots festgestellt, beweist er, daß wie Herodot so auch Inschriften von Megara, Knidos, Halikarnaß, Kos, Milet, Paros, Delos die Lautfolge ρσ besitzen, und daß Thera zwischen ρσ und ρ(ρ) schwankt. H.B. Rosén, *Eine Laut- und Formenlehre der herodotischen Sprachform*, Heidelberg 1962, S. 249. Siehe dazu F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte*, III, Berlin 1924, S. 30, 82 f.; Buck, *o.c.*, S. 64; A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, Heidelberg 1909, S. 352.

[9] Siehe Bredovius, *o.c.*, S. 100.

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PINDAR THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS: TOWARDS AN INTERPRETATION OF THE SEVENTH NEMEAN

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Wilamowitz described the Seventh Nemean as not only one of the most difficult of Pindar's epinicians, but (disappointingly) also one of the least enjoyable.[1] What has survived is a text, although Plato hints (*Rep.* X 601b 2 – 4) at the unfairness of assessing songs merely as texts. In the effort towards an interpretation, an appropriate methodology might be to comment first on some of its unexpected or underestimated features: its attack on Homer's credibility; its description by the poet as a "mirror"; its vocabulary; its sympotic and political context. What role does Pindar play here as literary critic?

Some more general problems, such as the date of composition and the connection of the ode with the Sixth Paean; Ephyra / Corinth as a link between the myth and the end of the ode; fate and chance; the view the ode offers of the poet's task; verbal repetition and ring-composition as structural devices are raised in later sections of the discussion, which is concluded by some remarks on the ode's overall line of thought (its message).[2]

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[1] *Pindaros*, Berlin 1922, p. 160. He is echoing C. G a s p a r, *Essai de Chronologie Pindarique*, Brussels 1900, p. 42: "une des plus difficiles, et certainement la plus obscure, de toutes les épinicies de Pindare".

[2] The discussion by Wilamowitz is basic: "Pindars siebentes Nemeisches Gedicht", *SB der Königlich-preussischen Akademie*, Berlin 1908, p. 328 – 352 (repr. W.M. Calder and J. Stern, *Pindaros und Bakchylides*, Wege der Forschung CXXXIV, Darmstadt 1970, p. 127 – 158). See also W. S c h a d e w a l d t, *Der Aufbau des Pindarischen Epinikion*, Halle 1928, repr. Tübingen 1966, p. 34 – 67, though he ends with the admission that the ode is "keine vollkommene gedankliche Einheit" (p. 64). B.L. Gildersleeve's lively reaction to Wilamowitz' article (*The Seventh Nemean Revisited*, AJP XXXI 1910, p. 125 – 153) contains a number of acute insights. The later scholarly literature is of course vast, and this brief essay is not the place for controversy. The most detailed recent modern study appears to be that of G.W. M o s t, *The Measures of Praise: Structures and Function in Pindar's Second Pythian and Seventh Nemean Odes*, Hypomnemata LXXXIII, Göttingen 1985 (bibliography p. 219 – 222, though he overlooks S. F o g e l m a r k, *Studies in Pindar, with particular reference to Paean* VI *and Nemean* VII, Lund 1972). W. H. R a c e's annotated translation of the ode [in:] *Pindar II*, Loeb 1997, may act as

1. The Attack on Homer

There is some parallel for disagreement with Homer in the Seventh Paean (Turyn, p. 265, vv. 18 – 19 = vv. 10 – 11, Sn.–M., p. 36). That may have concerned matters of technique. Scholars have speculated whether Pindar's disparagement of Homer in this ode had precedent in earlier Greek authors. Is not the more important point the impact which his criticism is likely to have had on the audience who first heard it?

Here, archaeology helps. The sculptures from the west and east pediments of the Aeginetan temple of Aphaia, mostly now in Munich, were completed in the decades that turned the sixth century into the fifth, and depicted the heroes of Aegina in Trojan battle scenes. Their evident archaism offers both some glimpse into the aesthetic of their patrons and testimony to the respect in which on Aegina those achievements — supremely catalogued in literature by Homeric and quasi-Homeric epic — were stubbornly held.[3]

Aeginetan sculptors were active also in bronze, and the island supplied bronze to Athenian Myron (Pliny *Nat. Hist.* XXXIV §10). *Quasi Myronis opus delectat* says Cicero of Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* (*Brutus* §75). More old-fashioned taste then here. Yet, somewhere in this period, a boy victor from this sturdy, straight-laced community is plunged into the company of Homeric heroes by a lyric poet who accuses Homer of lying, while he himself lays claim to the truth. The contrast with another ode is stark. In the fourth *Isthmian* (475?), written for a Theban victor, we hear that Homer has done honour to Ajax throughout the world and has handed down that tradition to other poets (55 – 57, Turyn, p. 206). In this ode, however, we learn that, in order to defeat Ajax in the contest for the arms of Achilles, the illustrious Odysseus took unscrupulous advantage of a reputation inflated precisely by Homer.[4] Breathtakingly, the *Odyssey*'s πάθεν (α 4) is ironically echoed (πάθαν, 21) and dismissed as a matter more of words (πλέον' … λόγον) than substance. Whether this effrontery had precedent or not, it certainly had a successor. The sophistication of this initial debate about the value of poetry, with its talk of Homer's "lies" (22), immediately puts one into a Platonic context (see below).

But there is more. Neoptolemus, hitherto known as an impious and brutal

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a kind of summary of recent American thinking. — The text of the Seventh Nemean followed here, unless otherwise noted, is that of A. Turyn, Blackwell, Oxford 1948; repr. 1952. The scholia are cited from A.B. Drachmann's edition.

[3] Τὸ δ' ἐμὸν οὐκ ἄτερ Αἰακιδᾶν κέαρ ὕμνων γεύεται, *Isth.* 5. 21 – 22, Turyn (478?), another ode for an Aeginetan victor. Cf. τὸ δ' ἐμὸν … κέαρ κτλ, *Nem.* 7. 102. These are the only two instances of ἐμὸν κέαρ in the corpus.

[4] The antithesis is still inchoate in *Nemean* 8, written (in 459?) for another Aeginetan victor. There we hear merely that the Greeks "courted" (θεράπευσαν, 26) Odysseus by their secret votes. Odysseus himself takes no action. Homer is unmentioned. According to W.B. S t a n f o r d, *The Ulysses Theme*, 2nd ed. Ann Arbor 1968, p. 92, the Seventh Nemean begins the process which makes Odysseus / Ulysses into the trickster later known so well in European literature.

hothead,[5] turns out in the end to have been saved by his lineage (γένος, 39) and by a god. The victor is implicitly compared with him. How can Pindar hope to get away here with such *Umwertung*? Principally no doubt because this is a party piece, in which the poet will ultimately acknowledge that he may have gone too far (cf. 68 – 69, 75 – 76). We must avoid then any interpretation so smooth it leaves him excusing offences we cannot see that he committed. But also because it is the ode of the mirror (ἔσοπτρον, 14).[6] And mirrors reverse their images.

2. The Seventh Nemean as Mirror

Among the Greeks, in historical times, mirrors' chief place of manufacture was always Corinth.[7] The final word of this ode is Κόρινθος.

Only one Greek artist is recorded as signing a real mirror, and interestingly, though this is said to be an Etruscan piece, on it the legend ΑΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΕΠΟΙΕ is found in a local Aeginetan script datable to the period 500 – 475, the very time when according to some scholars the Seventh Nemean may have been composed. Was Pindar's eye caught by something of this type while he was on a visit to Aegina?[8]

Another mirror, in this case assigned to a relatively late date, has the name of a male donor, indicating that it was a gift from "Melanthius," not to a god, because the verb was ἔδωκεν rather than ἀνέθηκεν, though to whom else is now unknown. Pindar's ode is a mirror given to Sogenes.

In the ancient world mirrors were overwhelmingly, if not exclusively, made of polished metal. They were generally small, and either concave (enlarging) or convex (reducing). They were used, they were cleaned, they were flawed. What degree of precision could they normally have had? What a mirror gave for Pindar was not perhaps exactitude so much as illumination (cf. ὄμματι δέρκομαι λαμπρόν, 67). This seems to be the sense of a confused passage in the scholia (λαμπρότατα, Dr. III, p. 119. 17; λαμπρότητα, p. 120. 2).

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[5] There was, for example, a monumental representation of the slaying of Priam by Neoptolemus on the west pediment of the temple of Artemis on Corcyra / Corfu, the Corinthian colony, dated to early in the 6th century, now in the museum there. See also below, note 44.

[6] The noun occurs only here in the corpus, and not again in poetry until the Alexandrians: cf. P o w e l l, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 9, no. 2. 2; p. 199, no. 37. 26; W e s t, *Anacreontea* 7. 3; 22. 5. Κάτοπτρον is found in a puzzling passage (839) of the *Agamemnon*, produced in 458, in the same line as εἴδωλον σκιᾶς. Euripides takes κάτοπτρον up in ill-omened contexts in the *Medea* (1161 – 1162), produced in 431, and the *Hippolytus* (428 – 429), produced in 428. Ἔνοπτρον is found in the *Hecuba* (925: 420's or later) and *Orestes* (1112: 408).

[7] W. L a m b, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, London 1929, p. 115.

[8] For this and the Melanthius mirror, cf. P. O b e r l ä n d e r, *Griechische Handspiegel*, diss. Hamburg 1967, p. 250, 253. She refers to L.H. J e f f e r y, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, p. 113, no. 22. Jeffery is cautious but generally affirmative about the attribution.

The function of Pindar's poetic mirror may not have been then to reflect a precise image so much as to lend lasting brilliance to whatever image it caught.[9] Even so, that a poem could be a mirror at all must have astonished the Seventh Nemean's first audience. In Book X of the *Republic* Plato, who (unlike the audacious Pindar) feels the need to express his regret before he discusses Homer's failings (595b 9 – 10), uses the analogy with the mirror precisely to debunk both Homer's and any artist's claim on the truth (cf. πάνυ θαυμαστὸν ... λέγεις σοφιστήν, 596d 1).[10] We may have some clue to his annoyance when we read in Aristotle (*Rhet.* III 1406b 12 – 13) that Alcidamas, an Asiatic contemporary, had spoken of the *Odyssey* as a "fine mirror of human life." To modern ears this sounds innocuous enough, and Cicero himself picked it up in his often quoted definition of comedy as *speculum consuetudinis*.[11] Aristotle, here his master's dutiful student, regards the whole metaphor, in prose at least, as "unpersuasive." Yet Pindar introduces his mirror without apology, uniquely in this passage, and by way of emphasising the truthfulness and efficacy of his poem. Since he never makes any secret of the fact that he is writing both κῶμοι and ἀοιδαί (ᾠδαί),[12] in that sense therefore comedies, he may already be accepting (and modifying: see below) the definition we find reflected in Cicero.

Mirrors were especially women's tools, as Plato's epigram on Corinthian Lais suggests (Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Gr.* I, p. 91, no. 15. 3): τῇ Παφίῃ τὸ κάτοπτρον.[13] An example from an Aeginetan grave is preserved in Athens, for which a girl wearing only a loin-cloth and standing on a tortoise forms the handle — the tortoise being the device found on Aeginetan coins.[14] Yet men did use them. St. James, for instance, speaks of a man catching sight in a mirror of the face he was born with (ἀνδρὶ κατανοοῦντι τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ, Ep. 1:23). An example now in New York, from the fifth century, shows Atlas shouldering the weight of the heavens while Heracles stands by.[15] The engraved back of an Etruscan silver mirror of a later period, now in Oxford (Ashmolean: inv. 1971. 896: 3rd–2nd century B.C.), has a naked rider on horseback rounding a *meta*. Were these meant for the men of the house?

In the epigram adduced above, Plato's γελάσασα and προθύροις already point to an association of ideas linking mirrors with laughter, sometimes uneasy

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[9] Compare the extraordinary passage in c. 7 of the Septuagint Σοφία Σολομῶντος (ἔσοπτρον, 7:26).

[10] *Phaedrus* 255d 5 – 6 again emphasises the idea of self-deception in an erotic context (ἀπορεῖ, 255d 2).

[11] Apud Donatum, *De Comoedia* V. 1: „comoediam esse imitationem vitae, speculum consuetudinis, imaginem veritatis"; cf. E. F r a e n k e l, *Elementi plautini in Plauto*, Florence 1960, p. 368, n. 2. The *Odyssey* came to be regarded in antiquity as in some sense the ancestor of comedy (*De Sublim.* 9. 15).

[12] Ἀγλαόκωμον, ἀοιδαί in the poetic of *Ol.* 3 (6, 10, beginning and ending the first antistrophe); ἀοιδαῖς in *Nem.* 7, ending the first antistrophe (16).

[13] The imitation by Julianus (*Anth. Pal.* VI. 18), adduced by Oberländer, equally preserves κάτοπτρον (v. 3). Callimachus, who does not use ἔσοπτρον, has κάτοπτρον once, in a humorous passage at *Hy.* 5. 17.

[14] O b e r l ä n d e r, no. 304, p. 211 (Athens, National Museum, inv. 7703); L a m b, *o.c.*, p. 128. No exact date is given.

[15] G.M.A. R i c h t e r, *A Handbook of Greek Art*, London 1959, p. 209.

laughter, and the threshold. Traditionally, mirrors are uncanny, an often uncertain eye into another world, as Plato sneers (καὶ θεοὺς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἅιδου ὑπὸ γῆς ἅπαντα ἐργάζεται, *Rep.* X 596c 8 – 9), and St. Paul (who had had a good education in Greek) still knew (δι᾽ ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι, I Cor. 13:12). They may be both comic / sympotic[16] and sinister. Men have problems with them. In the example cited, St. James' argument is that the observer promptly forgets what he has seen. Cicero pokes fun at Clodius' use of a mirror,[17] and Juvenal laughs at foppish Otho for taking one on campaign (2. 103). Apuleius was in trouble still in second-century Africa for having a mirror in his possession (*Apol.* xiii ff.). Certainly the conventions of the symposium demanded that a youthful honorand should be handsome.[18] But what an unexpected (and for him unique) way Pindar has chosen to make his point. He converges with Melanthius and Apollas in using an instrument with an uncertain claim on the truth; and, exemplifying what Eisenstein centuries later would call the "leap into another dimension", for the film-maker a characteristic of the "pathetic" (emotional) style, he is proposing to construct a mirror out of sounds![19] His poem was original, meant as an experiment both in sound and movement (cf. φιλόμολπον, 9, and the poetic sketched at *Ol.* 3. 4 – 6), to which may be added light (see below).

3. Unexpected Vocabulary

We saw Plato speaking of the artist who uses a mirror as a πάνυ θαυμαστὸς σοφιστής. Pindar is often thought of as no intellectual, but he is in fact the first Greek to use σοφιστής, interestingly also in an ode for an Aeginetan victor already mentioned (*Isth.* 5. 31). In that context the noun seems to mean something like "skilled [lyric] poets." The present ode contains the first known use of the noun ἀπορία (105), again a term particularly made famous by Plato.[20] Like the Seventh Nemean, the *Euthydemus* has both ἀπορία and Διὸς Κόρινθος in the same passage (292e 2, 6).

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[16] Κάτοπτρον εἴδους χαλκός ἐστ᾽, οἶνος δὲ νοῦ (Aeschylus, fr. 393 N.), a version of οἶνος καὶ ἀλήθεια. Compare the evidently sympotic third line surviving from one of Alcaeus' eponymous stanzas: οἶνος γὰρ ἀνθρώπω δίοπτρον, fr. 333, p. 266 Lobel–Page. This is of course only true in an alternative world.

[17] *In Clodium et Curionem*, fr. 25: „sed, credo, postquam speculum tibi adlatum est, longe te a pulchris abesse sensisti". The pun on Clodius' cognomen is noteworthy.

[18] The openings of *Pythian* 6 and *Nemean* 8, odes in which a victor's father also plays some role, may be compared, though there no mirror is mentioned.

[19] Franz Dornseiff calls Pindar one of "die grossen Pathetiker," *Pindars Stil*, Berlin 1921, p. 23. On synaesthesia of this sort see also his p. 57, where he notes, *inter alia*, Eur. *Phoen.* 1377. The phenomenon is discussed further by D. S a n s o n e, *Aeschylean Metaphors for Intellectual Activity*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 14 ff.

[20] See the acute remarks of A. T o v a r [in:] *Serta Turyniana*, ed. J.L. Heller, Urbana 1974, p. 59. After Pindar he traces it first in Diogenes of Apollonia, then in Democritus, Aristophanes and Euripides. The *TLG* offers a wider selection of evidence (including Anaximander fr. 15. 14 D–K, from the *Testimonia* and Empedocles), withoug altering his point.

Σύνεσις (60), describing a quality shown by the victor's father, in combination with τόλμα, anticipates Thucydides.[21] Democritus has the term, and it is found in the Hippocratic corpus and Herodotus. Generally in Attic it was a word used by "intellectuals," much advertised by Euripides.[22] Plato, who handed it to Aristotle, devotes time to a discussion of its derivation (*Cratylus* 412a 5 – 8). But σύνεσις on Aegina! What a contrast with Homer (κ 515)!

Ἀγωνία (10) does not occur before Pindar. It is found elsewhere in him only in *Ol.* 2. 57 (476) and *Py.* 5. 113 (462 – 461). He shares it in the fifth century with Hippocrates, Herodotus and Euripides. Plato and Aristotle pick it up later.

Τυφλὸν … ἦτορ (23 – 24) completely contradicts the primitive notion of blindness as granting special insight (the "blind seer" of κ 493, μ 267). The adjective in this clearly modern sense of "dull," "stupid" (cf. Parmenides 6. 14 D–K and Herodotus IV. 144. 6) does not occur before Pindar. It may have a parallel in the already mentioned Seventh Paean (τυφλαὶ … ἀνδρῶν φρένες, VIIb 17, Turyn = 18 Sn.–M. II, p. 36), since that too is a context concerned with Homer. It is picked up by Sophocles in a mannered passage of the *Oedipus Rex* (371) illustrating the hero's arrogant rationalism. In Pindar, it hovers between the Alexandrian and the religious. It is not the φωτῶν ἀλαὸν … γένος of the *Prometheus Vinctus* (549 – 550). That declaration applies universally, while here its scope is limited to ὅμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλεῖστος (and so with the limiting ὅστις in Paean VIIb 18 Turyn = 19 Sn.–M.). Such contempt for the unthinking predilection of the crowd for Homer (or what passes as Homeric) is Callimachean: σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια (*Epigr.* 28. 4). Horace's *odi profanum vulgus* shifts the meaning of this towards the religious, though he does not use Pindar's language of "blindness". St. John (late 1st cent.?) uses both metaphorical τυφλός in a context singling out a particular group (*Evang.* 9: 39 – 41) and, like Pindar in this ode (see below), a recurrent imagery of light and darkness. Again, the poet seems ahead of his age.

The transmitted ἐχρῆν (44) is extraordinary.[23] It would occur uniquely here in Pindar (χρῆν is used in the Sixth Paean, 96, Sn.–M.). It will perhaps have glossed some equivalent. Those who accept it are again putting the poet into the company of intellectuals. But how early in his career can he have joined them?

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[21] For σύνεσις allied with τόλμα in Thucydides cf. II. 62. 5 (Pericles), a passage full of Sophistic jargon, with τὸ ἄπορον in the same sentence. Phrynichus, certainly a man of action, is οὐκ ἀξύνετος at Thuc. VIII. 27. 5. Cf. ξυνετοί of the oligarchs of 411, VIII. 68. 4. No doubt the contrast between the hot gallantry of youth and the wise counsel of maturity was as old as Achilles and Nestor, but Pindar habitually uses βουλαί to make this point (e.g. *Py.* 2. 66; *Nem.* 1. 27; 8. 8). Σύνεσις is quite abnormal.

[22] See Wilamowitz on *Herakles* 655. Aristophanes makes fun of Euripides' use of the noun in the *Frogs* (893). Pindar has one other example, also with τόλμα (fr. 276 Turyn = 231 Sn.–M.). It is missing from Aeschylus and Sophocles. Σύνεσις looks very much like one of Pindar's *aufklärerisch* words, picked up on his travels and taking decades to make an impact at Athens.

[23] The anomalous form is cited by the *TLG* next in four prose paraphrases of Empedocles (by Aristotle, Theophrastus [bis] and Plutarch) and then in Euripides. (I am grateful here to Professor W. Spencer and Dr. B. Swann for their help and advice.) For Empedocles himself this evidence is quite untrustworthy, but, if it is somehow to be believed, had Pindar heard Empedocles in Sicily? When? See further below, note 42.

4. Judicial Vocabulary

Games demand fair adjudication. Accordingly (as Most emphasises), there is a sustained use in the ode of judicial imagery. Κύριος (51) may have something of this,[24] but it is unmistakable in lines 48 and 49, with δίκαν and μάρτυς. Ἐπιστατεῖ (49) has political / judicial emphasis in other sources. Ἀπομνύω (70) strikes the same note. Πάρεδρος conveys something of this colour as early as line 1.[25] Αἰτία (11)[26] and καταθέμεν (76) are further words of this sort, and even perhaps ἑλκύσαι (103: see below). The victor himself has been "judged" (κριθείς, 7).

With κριθείς, αἰτία here merits particular attention in the bold poetic of this ode. In Pindar it does not yet have the neutral meaning "cause." The object of poetry takes moral responsibility for its praises. Sogenes, by the impartial standards of Nemea, has done that. Odysseus, who benefited from Homer's lies about him, and whose complicity in those lies earned a false verdict, did not. The witness of v. 49, whoever he may be (see below), unlike Homer, is no liar (ψεύδεσι / οὐ ψεῦδις).

Part of the ode's judicial language seems to be the just noted καταθέμεν (76). Scholars have argued that this means in its context here "retract." But "retract" is ἀναθεῖναι. Καταθεῖναι, as the scholia already know, is to "put down," a deposit, a surety of some sort, here that key noun in Pindar, χάρις. In νικῶντί γε χάριν ... οὐ τραχύς εἰμι καταθέμεν κτλ, Pindar is saying that he makes no difficulty about paying the thanks he owes, exaggerated though his words may seem to some, since the Muse finds it easy to weave (and wear) a garland of praise to honour the current victor.[27] Τραχύς ("awkward," "surly," "making difficulties") is offset by ἐλαφρόν ("light," "easy"). With this image he is signalling the start of what is called by Pindarists the "second praise" (the victor is named for the second time at 70, and for the third at 91) and therefore the last movement of his structured poem.

But fair judgment is also needed in the larger game of life, a metaphor im-

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[24] Ὁδὸν κυρίαν λόγων (51) ~ κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν ὅδιον κράτος κτλ (*Aga.* 104). In the latter passage Fraenkel notes a "legal ring." Pindar uses the adjective of Hiero (*Ol.* 1. 104, *Py.* 2. 58) — and of Zeus (*Isth.* 5. 53). Wilamowitz adduced *Ol.* 6. 32. Its use of a choric song however is unexpected.

[25] Cf. Rhadamanthys, *Ol.* 2. 76; Themis, *Ol.* 8. 22. The office of πάρεδρος ("assessor") was however important at Athens. The Hellenotamiae had them: LSJ[9] *s.v.* cite IG[1] 2. 302. 3. See also *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.,* ed. M.N. Tod, repr. Oxford 1946, index, *s.v.*

[26] Αἰτία occurs only here and at *Ol.* 1. 35 in the extant poems. Aeschylus uses it in a suggestive combination with φύει (Plato *Rep.* II 380a 3 – 4 = 116. 15, Mette, from the *Niobe*, quoted below, note 63). Its history in other authors would deserve attention: see Tovar, *l.c.*, p. 59, who argues for the meaning "motive." That too is legal.

[27] So R. Drew Griffith and G. D'Ambrosio Griffith note from archaeology (following a prophecy of Wilamowitz) [in:] *La couronne chryséléphantine de la Muse [Pindare, Ném.* 7. 77 – 79*]*, L' Antiquité Classique LVII 1988, p. 258 – 266: the garland belongs to the Muse, who is after all celebrating Sogenes.

mortalised, for example, by Exekias.[28] The defeat of Ajax by Odysseus in the contention over the arms of Achilles (20 – 30) may be thought of as a miscarriage of justice (cf. ψάφοις, *Nem*. 8. 26). But this poet is unlike Homer, and so may assert at the end (103) that his heart will never say that it "dragged" Neoptolemus with inflexible[29] words. Does ἑλκύσαι here means "hale into court"?[30] This would tally with δίκαν in 48. There is a more than Aeginetan, even perhaps Athenian, touch about all this. One thinks of the use of a court by Aeschylus to acquit Orestes. Homer's "winged device" (22) has indeed something stagy about it.[31]

5. The Sympotic Context

The reader will expect then an interesting, even challenging poem, though perhaps, in view of the inherent ambiguity of mirrors, nothing straightforward. It was composed in fact in a variety of lyric metres, which in the absence of the poet's music it is impossible to analyse with any finality. The contrasting schemata of Turyn and Snell show that well enough, while the choreography escapes us altogether.

Roman Horace speaks of Pindar's *numeri lege soluti* (*Odes* IV. 2. 11 – 12). He has had many to echo him. In the calm of the study this is no doubt found to be untrue, but it does represent the impression made on at least one intelligent later lyric poet (*lyricus*, *Odes* I. 1. 35), and in his poem here Pindar tries to fend off a similar charge.[32] Such apparently undisciplined elaboration in a sympotic context must have contributed an air of festive, irrational exuberance both to the presentation and reception of the poem by its first hearers. Pindar exploits that

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[28] As the painting on his amphora in the Vatican of "Ajax and Achilles Playing Draughts" (inv. 344, from Vulci; 640 – 630 B.C.), and its fellows in other collections, attest.

[29] In an ode which begins with a mention of the Μοῖραι and tells us in particular that Neoptolemus paid his debt to Fate (44), it seems inevitable here to associate ἄτροπος with the goddess of fate, Ἄτροπος (cf. M o s t, p. 205). She would provide yet another parallel with *Rep*. X (617c 2 – 3). Once Neoptolemus had paid in full, it was possible for him to play a better part, and thus in the end earn from the poet and from public opinion in general a kindlier verdict (48).

[30] Aristophanes *Clouds* 1004, 1218; cf. ἕλκουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς κριτήρια, NT Ep. James 2:6; Acts 16:19.

[31] Ὥσπερ οἱ τραγωδοποιοί, ἐπειδάν τι ἀπορῶσιν, ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς καταφεύγουσι, θεοὺς αἴροντες, Plato *Cratylus* 425d 5 – 6. Athenaeus (VIII. 347e) reports Aeschylus' remark that his plays were slices from Homer's banquets, and Aristotle, who appears to find a μηχανή in Homer (*Poetics* 1454b 1 – 2) perhaps coined δραματικός (ibid. 1448b 35) to describe Homer's art. But how did Pindar in his day extend to Homer a *terminus technicus* which belonged properly to the playwright?

[32] Μαθὼν δέ τις ἄν ἐρεῖ, / εἰ πὰρ μέλος ἔρχομαι ψάγιον ὄαρον ἐννέπων, 68 – 69: "reflection will tell whether the song I bring is out of tune and crooked." Turyn accepts Gildersleeve's ἀνερεῖ, but ἄν with the future indicative provides another link with Plato (*Rep*. X 615d 2; cf. *Apol*. 29c 4 – 5). It could be a colloquialism, or even a Homeric touch: see Pfeiffer ad Call., *Hy*. I. 93. "Song" admittedly is quite inadequate for ὄαρος, on which Slater's entry (*Lexicon to Pindar*, p. 372) may be consulted. The intimate noun (for which ἀνερεῖ, "proclaim", is too jarring) is a clue to the ode's level of intent.

exuberance here (ἀνέκραγον, 76).[33] But a "tribal," traditional occasion, with deep roots in inherited practice, may be expected even so to exhibit characteristic features. One of them is *dédoublement* ("twinning", "punning"), of the sort we see in the ambiguous Ephyra / Corinth (discussed below): another is open-endedness, the final οὔπω of the early (490) *Pythian* 12 (v. 32), the oddity of the end of the present poem, with its clownish μαψυλάκας, its hint of futile repetition (cf. *Ol.* 3. 45: 476). The metaphorical uncrowning of Odysseus and crowning of Neoptolemus are other tokens typical of this style. The Muse will make a crown for Sogenes (77 – 79). But the symposium is also a locus where the truth emerges from the shadows, as Alcaeus and Aeschylus (see n. 16) were aware. The poet may be the agent of this revelation. Hence τὰν ἀλάθειαν ἰδέμεν at v. 25 ~ ἔσοπτρον ἴσαμεν, v. 14, the new reality contrasted with the old impossibility.

The *Symposia* of both Plato and Xenophon show that part of the sympotic is sexual awareness. Pindar, an "occasional" poet, is aware from the outset of this occasion and its cause. The goddess of childbirth, with Hera, goddess of marriage, and Hebe, goddess of youth, are the natural patrons of a young man with his life before him, whose father (and mother?) still remember with pride the day of his birth. "The delightful blossoms of Aphrodite cloy", he is told later (52 – 53) in avuncular fashion. The prayer with which the ode ends asks a blessing on the continuance of the family (98 – 101). Ἔβαν (4) is repeated there by ἥβᾳ (99). "So-genes," the victor's name, may then already have started a train of thought.[34] The "speaking name" is a typical resource of popular wisdom, taken up into literature both comically and tragically. Here presumably the comic prevails.

6. The Threat from Athens

Astonishingly, especially if the poet was educated in Athens, only two brief odes among the extant epinicians celebrate Athenians (*Py.* 7 [486], composed for an Alcmaeonid in trouble; *Nem.* 2 [485?], for an Acharnian). Yet Aeginetan victors are honoured in a quarter of them, and the Seventh Nemean hints at the wealth and power (and piety) of Aegina's nobles (92). The fate in store for their island becomes by contrast all the more lurid. They were forced into the Athenian Empire in 458, with loss of their warships and city walls (Thuc. I. 108). At the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, the annexation of Aegina's territory and the expulsion of the entire population followed (ibid. II. 27). Aristophanes' own

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[33] Schadewaldt has an excellent analysis of this sympotic language, p. 62. For ἀνέκραγον he refers to ξ 467 and Aristophanes *Wasps* 1311 (supplemented by C. Carey in his *Commentary on Five Odes of Pindar*, New York 1981, p. 171). The verb persists into later and even Christian Greek: cf. NT Luke 23:18. Perhaps in the end "gedankliche Einheit" sets an inappropriate standard for this sort of poem.

[34] So Gildersleeve and P. Maas, reviving a suggestion disdained by the scholia.

family appears to have profited from the distribution of confiscated Aeginetan land. "It is not the island our enemies would like back," he asserts in the parabasis of the *Acharnians* (produced in 425), "but simply their desire to rob you Athenians of my honest voice" (*Ach.* 653 – 658).

In the opening of his Seventh Nemean (15), Pindar had alluded to Μναμοσύνα λιπαράμπυξ ("Memory of the shining headband"). In the parabasis of the *Acharnians*, as his rustics open their song, Aristophanes borrows λιπαράμπυξ (671) to describe the associations of the Muse his farmers want: "Come hither, hot and eager Acharnian Muse, fraught with the force of fire … smart as the spark … when they are shaking up the Thasian pickle with its oily top" (665 ff., tr. adapted from W.W. Merry). Both these are hymnic proems. The contexts are too similar, the adjective too exalted, for this to be an independent invention. Aristophanes remembers and parodies the Seventh Nemean as a pro-Aeginetan manifesto, as clearly as he remembered the pro-Athenian sentiments of the dithyramb (92 Turyn = 76 Sn.–M.) from which he cites ἰοστεφάνους in the same parabasis (*Ach.* 637; cf. *Knights* 1329). Where was Sogenes in 425? Or his children? Lost among the other refugees, clinging to memories of their vanished glory, if they had heard it would they have found Θασίαν λιπαράμπυκα here hard to forgive?

When Pindar wrote his ode, Sogenes was a boy, but what then of his father, Thearion? Of course we have no sure knowledge of him or the adults in general for whom it was performed, or of what their requests may have been. We may guess at political preoccupations. An ode by a Boeotian poet for an Aeginetan victor which ends with a prominent Διὸς Κόρινθος cannot be seen through contemptuous Attic eyes. Rather, the phrase must be related to the increasing encroachments of Athens on Aeginetan independence, against which Corinth (whatever its earlier quarrels with Aegina) was the natural ally of the oppressed (Thuc. I. 105). It was after the defeat of the Boeotians at Oenophyta that the Aeginetans finally gave in (Thuc. I. 108). Ἀμαχανιᾶν δυσβάτων (97) perhaps alludes to their homeland's increasing difficulties at the time of the ode's composition.

Do political concerns affect the assault here on Odysseus' morality? The antithesis between his lack of scruple and a Neoptolemus who turns out to have earned rehabilitation from a god anticipates the bad / good contrast of Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (409). Certainly Pindar would have wholeheartedly approved Sophocles' emphasis on the persistent power of φύσις (cf. φυά, *Nem.* 7. 54). Was there some earlier version of this debate known to both poets? A hypothesis recovered on papyrus[35] possibly shows that Neoptolemus appeared in Aeschylus' *Philoctetes* (of unknown date), but he may have played no part after the prologue. In any case, the suggestion that Pindar's Odysseus here sums up Aeginetan impressions of the Athenians merits mention.

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[35] Pap. Oxy. 20, no. 2256, fr. 5. S. Radt however, *TrGrF*, classifies this relic among the "dubia" (p. 497).

7. Pindar as Literary Critic

The ode contains the only passage in Pindar where σεμνός (23) is used of a literary effect, here on the ignorant mass. The degree of irony is astonishing. Plato also uses σεμνός ironically, but of *tragedy* and its similar appeal to the ignorant (*Gorgias* 502b–c), and the acquisition of that quality is regarded by Aristotle as a determinant in tragedy's evolution (ἀπεσεμνύνθη, *Poetics* 1449a 20; cf. more critically *Rhet.* III 1406b 8). Can this Pindaric argument have occurred early in that poet's evolution? Pindar's whole treatment of Homer, by which his ἔπεα πτεροέντα are analysed into ψεύδεσι … ποτανᾷ τε μαχανᾷ, may even show awareness of the tricks of a newly fledged (Sicilian?) rhetoric.[36]

The poet's disdain for the crowd and its liking for Homer (23 – 25) was already noted. One again thinks of passages in Callimachus, such as Κρεωφύλῳ, Ζεῦ φίλε, τοῦτο μέγα (*Epigr.* 6. 4). Are we already then in Alexandria? There is a sense in which Pindar, even in the first half of the fifth century, moves in critical terrain which might be called "Hellenistic," evidence perhaps that such terms must not be over-interpreted. Some evidence of this has been detailed elsewhere.[37] In particular, the assertion of the present poem that great deeds of prowess are lost in darkness if they lack songs of celebration (12 – 13) is bound to stir memories of Theocritus — and of Horace.[38]

For Callimachus, this line of argument too often excused pseudo-Homeric bombast. Pindar before him tempers his admiration for Homer with an awareness of the poet's "lies." This became Platonic, but the premise of Pindar's attack on Homer is different from that of Plato. Plato, the philosopher, rejects poetry's claim to truth *tout court*. Pindar, as a poet, is *ex professo* convinced that poetry — his poetry — may tell the truth. His objection is to the use of poetry for mere "public relations" purposes. Such an abuse was certainly familiar at Hellenistic courts, as when, for example, Simonides of Magnesia lauded (in elegiacs?) the elephants of Antiochus. But that was in the distant future. Is Odysseus treated here as some sort of would-be "Hellenistic" prince, able to command the services of a compliant epic poet? But where had Pindar in his day come across the notion that pseudo-Homeric pastiche could be propaganda for the deeds of the mighty, intended to secure for them unfair access to life's prizes?[39] And, in a fine example of vertical time, with what sovereign disdain he ignores horizontal chronology to make his point!

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[36] Cf. σοφιστῶν τε ἐπικαλουμένων μηχαναί, Plato *Laws* X 908d 7; λόγοι πρὸς τὸ φενακίζειν ὑμᾶς εὖ μεμηχανημένοι, Dem. 22. 35. Euripides speaks of πτηνοὶ μῦθοι (*Orestes* 1176: cf. ἔνοπτρα, 1112).

[37] See, for example, *Pindar and Callimachus*, ICS X 1985, p. 169 – 189. Thus the rejection of Homer's "worn cart-track" at *Paean* VIIb 11 (Sn.–M. II, p. 36) anticipates Callimachus' *Aetia*-preface (25, "carts"; 28, "unworn").

[38] *Idylls* 16. 42 ff. is a classic statement of this case. Cf. Propertius III. 1. 25 ff.; Horace, *Odes* IV. 9. 25 – 28; Corippus *Iohannis*, Praefatio 5 ff.

[39] Pericles shows the same awareness, when he democratically claims that Homeric propaganda is something of which Athenians have no need: Thuc. II. 41. 4. But that was in 431 and not on Aegina!

Augustan Horace argued (*Odes* IV. 9. 28) that great deeds need a *vates sacer*, and that concept certainly has its significance for Pindar and for this ode. But Horace's assertion, with its allusion to "night," also matches Pindar's own just cited allusion to darkness (σκότον, 13), with which σκοτεινὸν … ψόγον may be compared (61); and this helps us to understand that an analogy with photography must not be unwittingly imported into the ode.[40] What mirrors gave, it was suggested above, was not exactitude, but illumination, light in darkness. This recurrent Pindaric polarity will be discussed further under the rubric of "The Poet's Task."

8. Difficulties about Dating

Such a complex poem, raising issues that smack rather of fourth- and even third-century debates, cannot be dated with any certainty. The scholia offer two dates, both preceding the poet's birth. Gaspar tentatively suggests 493, which is almost as implausible.[41] It is very difficult to believe even that it was written as early as 485, as suggested by Wilamowitz and Schroeder. Hermann argues more acceptably for 467. To explain a bold allusion to Homer's "lies," or before that to poetry as a "mirror," a time is needed when the poet had been exposed to the heady intellectualism (σύνεσις!) intoxicating the Hellenic world in the maturing fifth century. His first visit to the Greek West was in 476. The first Olympian broaches the matter of deceptive poetic tales and this ode must surely come after that. The puzzle presented by ἐχρῆν (44) was already mentioned.[42]

9. The Sixth Paean

Interpretation is rendered even more difficult by the scholiast's remark[43] that the poem is an apology for the Sixth Paean, written (but when?) for the

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[40] Even if it is a kind of motion picture (dance, sound, images, light / dark). But films are not snapshots.

[41] For the scholia, cf. Drachmann, III, p. 116. See also Gaspar, p. 40.

[42] Ἐχρῆν looks in fact like an Attic colloquialism / solecism, first taken into high poetry by the ever-inventive Euripides: see Wilamowitz' note on *Herakles* 311 and Jebb's note on *Philoctetes* 1061 f. Wilamowitz cites H.L. Ahrens: cf. his *De Graecae Linguae Dialectis* II, *De Dialecto Dorica*, Göttingen 1843, p. 353; *Kleine Schriften* I, Hanover 1891, p. 461 – 162. Wilamowitz himself remarks brusquely that the Pindaric instance is "verdorben," cui linguam Graecam enucleanti quis contradicet? It is most unfortunate that LSJ[9] (in spite of the new Supplement) still cite non-existent examples of ἐχρῆν from Aeschylus (*Choeph.* 907; χρῆν Page: the alleged example at *Aga.* 1171 is a conjecture by Maas, qui melius ἔδει scriberet) and "Sophocles." But this so-called Sophoclean passage (fr. 107. 6, Jebb–Pearson) sounds like Euripides, which would prove Wilamowitz' point. Cf. Kannicht-Snell, *TrGrF*, II, p. 5, who assign it to their "adespota." It is not taken up by H. Lloyd-Jones in his edition of the *Fragments of Sophocles* (Loeb 1996).

[43] Dr. III, p. 129. For the relevant fragments of the Sixth Paean, Turyn, p. 259; Sn.–M. II, p. 29 – 30. See the exhaustive discussion by L.E. Woodbury, *Neoptolemus at Delphi: Pindar, Nem.* 7. 30 ff. [in:] Collected Writings, Atlanta 1991, p. 286 – 324. S. Fogelmark's study (above, n. 2) is helpful.

Delphians. In that ode the poet had allegedly offended the Aeginetans by showing Neoptolemus in a bad light. In the Seventh Nemean accordingly he made amends.

But all this must be treated with caution. The story of Neoptolemus as Priam's and even Astyanax's killer was fixed in tradition quite independently of Pindar.[44] The Sixth Paean may have been in fact an effort at literary rehabilitation. The Suda says that Pindar wrote τραγικὰ ᾄσματα. Suppose the Paean was one of them. With a god for his adversary, Neoptolemus appeared there perhaps as the kind of tragic figure Heracles presents in Bacchylides 5 (476 B.C.), with whom Meleager of the same poem makes a fine match. Writing for Delphians, the poet had to magnify the power of Apollo. In the Homeric and later traditions, angry Achilles himself had been Apollo's dupe (Ξ 15), as Ajax had been that of Athena (λ 547). No surprise that Achilles' angry son in some *par deo dignum* should encounter that same or worse hostility.

If the Aeginetans wanted a less tragic account of their Aeacid ancestor in a victory ode to be performed on their island, Pindar of course obliged. That was not an apology, since the Sixth Paean, in which Aegina was praised (123 ff., Sn.–M. p. 30), contained nothing to apologise for. But there was a problem. What Neoptolemus did was incontrovertible. To trivialise or in some way belittle the dimensions of his act was to run the risk of robbing the hero of his tragic stature. Pindar had also to avoid revising the story in any way that would diminish the power of Apollo. His ingenious solution involved, not so much "retracting," as editing and capping his original version. The sacrilegious murder of Priam is suppressed. Apollo's revenge is suppressed. Now, thanks rather to the god's generosity, the slain Neoptolemus was given a function as some sort of supervisor at the Pythian celebrations. All sides were thus satisfied.

Even so, this was a typically tragic *Ausgleich*, imposed, one might fancy, by a *deus ex machina*. One thinks, for example, of the end of the *Hippolytus* (428?). Another hint of the tragic is heard in ἄμαρτε (37), to be mentioned below. Yet the poet's alterations in the details of the death were in some ways, to the defender of Neoptolemus, for the worse. There was a tradition, for example, echoed in Virgil (*Aen.* III. 331 – 332), that Neoptolemus had been slain by Orestes. If Pindar had preferred that, even if it meant in some way substituting for the god a hero, it at least would have given Achilles' son at the end some sort of worthy adversary, Agamemnon's son. As it is, he gets an unnamed ἀνήρ (42). And whereas the Sixth Paean had spoken decorously of a fight with Apollo's atten-

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[44] The tradition reflected in the Sixth Paean was more or less universally accepted, and Pindar could hardly hope to counter it. See both the literary evidence (Arctinus, Lesches) and that of the vases, collected by R.G. Austin, *Commentary on Aeneid* II, p. 196 – 198. A bronze Etruscan mirror in Cleveland (Museum of Art inv. 20. 170: said to be late 4th c.) shows a warrior with drawn sword holding a naked boy upside down. Is this Neoptolemus with Astyanax? Female figures on either side may be Aphrodite (attempting to dissuade the hero) and Hecuba (the seated old woman on the right).

dants over τιμαί (118 Sn.–M.), the Nemean spoke bluntly of "meats." And it is only the Nemean version which has the ugly knife.[45]

The apology then, if it must be called an apology, is to be found, not in the story of the death, but in the posthumous fate of the hero, of which the Sixth Paean had said nothing. Unfortunately, the παράδοσις is unreliable at a key point. Its ἐχρῆν here perhaps was a prosaic gloss driving out some more recherché expression.[46] We may surmise that the poet presented the subsequent fate of the hero as a debt owed, and this allows him to deliver an honourable verdict (48). He returns to this motif (as was suggested above) at the very end of the ode. Neoptolemus was not "dragged into court" with unyielding words (ἔπεσι, 104 / ἔπεα, 48). Here, Pindar rivals Homer (cf. ἐπέων, 16, ἀδυεπῆ, 21), in spite of his un-Homeric commitment to the truth. The evidence in Neoptolemus' favour is supplied by the total record, the φαενναὶ ἀρεταί of the entire house (51 – 52). Κυρίαν may be the last word of this official ratification.

At all costs we must avoid the bookishness which would suggest something like an Augustinian *retractatio*. Καταθέμεν (76) does not imply this, and that is not the point of the poem. Qui s'excuse, s'accuse. How unfortunate it would be to revive painful memories of a supposed gaffe with the paean by now overtly presenting a Stesichorean palinode. How out of tune indeed with the festive celebration on Aegina. Myth is not an academic thesis, in which consistency is (sometimes!) at a premium, so much as an iridescent web, and different facets of its transrational gossamer may be freshly illumined at any moment in the shifting light of changing circumstances. A real apologia for Neoptolemus is provided by Sophocles' late (409) *Philoctetes*, already noted, which may be classed both with Sophistic arguments about φύσις and even efforts to whitewash Helen. How far Pindar's ode still is from any thoroughgoing revision of that sort!

10. Neoptolemus and Ephyra / Corinth

And yet Neoptolemus must be structurally important in the ode, since whatever myth it contains ultimately concerns his fate. The story appears to receive

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[45] Μαχαίρᾳ (42, "carving knife": cf. *Ol.* 1. 49) was said by Asclepiades (Dr. III, p. 125) to allude to the assassin's name Machaereus, the son of Daetes ("Diner"), but all that is evidently a post-factum fiction. Κρεῶν (42) is perhaps more insulting than it looks (cf. Plato *Rep.* X 600b 6 – 8; Callimachus *Epigr.* 6. 4, both on "Creophylus"). The "fleshpots of Egypt" were normally quite alien to Greek taste: see F r a e n k e l, *Elementi plautini*, p. 124 – 125, 409 – 413; ed. *Agamemnon*, ad v. 1592. But even Corbulo's tough legionaries found an unrelieved diet of meat a hardship: Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 24. On a hydria by the Kleophrades Painter now in Naples (inv. 2422, about 480) Neoptolemus is wielding what looks like a butcher's knife as he kills Priam. It was poetic justice then that he should die that way himself.

[46] Ἦν χρή would scan. If the poet wrote something with nominal χρή, he meant that, after Neoptolemus had paid his debt (ἀπέδωκεν), a counter-debt was owed to him (ἦν χρή = ἦν χρέος). This would chime with ἄποινα (16) and μισθός (63).

truncated treatment, completed before the ode is half over (34 – 50). Leaving after the sack of Troy, he failed to reach Scyrus, where his great father's destiny had been decided, and instead with his followers was carried off course to Ephyra, in the immediate context interpreted as a name for the capital of Thesprotia / Molossia (cf. 36 – 39). But "Ephyra" was principally to Greeks and even Romans an old name for Corinth, as the scholia acknowledge (πρώτην, Dr. III, p. 124. 1), quoting the *Iliad* (Z 152; cf. *Ephyreiaque aera*, Virgil, *Geo*. II. 464), and prepares therefore for Κόρινθος at the very end of the ode.[47] The geography may be Odyssean,[48] and the "truncated" myth not therefore quite so curtailed as appears, the finale of the poem not quite so isolated.

Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum (Hor., *Ep.* I. 17. 36). Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς. This wise (comic) saw, later perhaps cited by Aristophanes in some lost play (fr. 902a Koch), may have been in the poet's mind as he drew to his conclusion, though there he gives it a religious twist. Διὸς Κόρινθος: Corinth is in Zeus' gift, and only Zeus can guide aright the destinies of man.[49] Here is the link with the myth. Sogenes, the poet prays, will enjoy that guidance. Without it, Neoptolemus and his men, πλαγχθέντες (37)[50] — like, we may add, Odysseus (πλάγχθη, α 2) — had landed in the wrong place; and after a "short time" (38 – 39) of kingship in Molossia he had gone off to Delphi, to offer Apollo some of his spoils. But even there his quick temper betrayed him, and he died, as was remarked, not on the field of honour, but by the knife of an equally quick-tempered assassin who does not even deserve to be named (40 – 42).These words occur with such pointed emphasis at the end of the second triad that we can hardly see them there as an apology. What had Neoptolemus (in this ode) done? He had sacked Troy (πράθεν, 35), a deed almost accomplished in the Sixth Paean by Achilles (κε … ἔπραθεν, Sn.–M., 90 – 91 [Pars II, p. 28]). Here he was then his father's heir. But the second active verb of which he is the subject is ἅμαρτε (37), a word which in the fourth century Aristotle would immortalise in his treatment of tragic ἁμαρτία. Evidently he was a

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[47] Βακχιάδαι, γενεὴν Ἐφύρηθεν ἐόντες, Ap. Rhod. *Arg*. IV. 1212. Mooney *ad loc*., citing K. Lehrs, notes that "Homer speaking in his own person calls the city Κόρινθος, while the Homeric heroes call it Ἐφύρη." Similarly Pindar, thinking from Neoptolemus' point of view, uses Ἐφύρα, thinking from his own, Κόρινθος.

[48] Cf. scholia ad β 328 (Dindorf, I, p. 111): τὴν ἐν Θεσπρωτίᾳ, οὐχ, ὡς ἔνιοι, τὴν Κόρινθον. There was then ambiguity, enough perhaps for Pindar to play on. Cf. πολλαχοῦ δὲ τοιοῦτον δυαστικὸν ἐμφάντασμα ποιεῖ, ἔχων καὶ αὐτὸ ἴδιόν τι πρὸς χαρακτήρισμα, Eustathius *Prooemium*, Dr. III, p. 296, 7 – 8. In fact, the Pindaric scholia cite no authority for a Thesprotian Ephyra (though they support their other attributions). The town is unmentioned in the Sixth Paean, where we seem to hear rather of Mt. Tomaros (81). Gildersleeve (above, n. 2, p. 136) is in no doubt that Pindar's "Ephyra" here refers to Corinth and nowhere else.

[49] L. Radermacher, in his note on *Frogs* 439, insists that Κόρινθος in this saying alludes, not to the city, but to its eponymous heroic founder. Clearly however the distinction is not to be unduly forced. Already in Sanskrit the name of the ruler does duty for his community. Cf. "Israel" in the Hebrew Bible.

[50] This is the only time πλάζω is used in the extant odes literally, and precisely in an aorist passive form which recalls the opening of the *Odyssey*. The verb occurs metaphorically in fr. 203. 4 Turyn (ἐξ ἀδήλων εἰδῶν) = 166. 5 Sn.–M.

somewhat worse version of Pelops from the first Olympian (476). Pelops had lost out when his father Tantalus stole ambrosia from the gods in an effort to secure a false immortality. The father's punishment was appropriate and notorious. The son, making a prayer in the darkness to Poseidon, came off better. Now presiding at Olympia, he had the only immortality man may rightfully enjoy. Neoptolemus too was notorious, for his arrogant impiety at Troy. He had in the event fallen short of his father's legacy, as Virgil's Priam would point out to him (*Aen*. II. 540 – 43), "missed Scyros." He deserved to be punished as much as Tantalus. But to him the god was more merciful. Once his debt to fate was paid, he was given a role like that of Pelops, to preside in this case at Pythian festivals as θεμισκόπος, observer of due rites, in his way a sort of πάρεδρος. This thought is developed as the third triad begins, and must have been heard by Aeginetan listeners with appreciation, but also by Delphians, who in the end had extricated themselves with grace from the embarrassment caused by the behaviour of their guest and the reaction to it.

If this parallel with Pelops at Olympia is correct, the μάρτυς of v. 49 is evidently Neoptolemus. In the preceding line, the poet pronounces a "creditable verdict" — on whom? He dare not act as Apollo's judge. He is not yet setting out his own qualifications. Among the possibilities, Neoptolemus is left, precisely the one who needed an acquittal. To secure the connection of thought, a period should be placed after χρόνον (39), and lighter punctuation after γέρας (40). Γέρας is something shared with the victor's family (γέρας, 101, emphatically beginning the last epode); not a kingship in some remote corner but a visible status among the Hellenes. Γένος here is not the hero's posterity, but his ancestry, as the son of Achilles, son of Peleus; and φέρεν at 39 (Turyn, cod. B recte secutus) refers to the privilege always in store for him because of his noble birth, not after all (in spite of *Nem*. 4. 51: 473?) realised in some short-lived royalty, but permanently at Delphi.

Neoptolemus was not the only Greek hero to come to grief at Troy. Πόνησαν (36) counterpoises their suffering against that of the victor (πόνος, 74). Ajax committed suicide there in chagrin over his loss of Achilles' armour (a theme as we saw of another Aeginetan ode, Nemean 8, perhaps from 459). Πομπαί of the escorting breezes carrying his ships to Troy (29) balances his grim fate against that of Neoptolemus, who now oversees the processions (πομπαί, 46) of the heroes at Delphi. What we may say is that, after starting out as a wandering Odysseus, Neoptolemus becomes a brave Ajax (also rehabilitated after his death), and therefore a fit model for the victor Sogenes. Once again the roles of poetry, "lying" in Homer's case (22), "just" (48) and "truthful" (63) in Pindar's, whether towards Neoptolemus or Sogenes, are contrasted.

11. Fate and Chance

Different heroes evidently meet different fates: Ajax, Odysseus; Achilles, Neoptolemus. Μοιρᾶν emphasises this point at the very outset (1; cf. 5 – 6). Fate is a debt even a hero must pay (τὸ μόρσιμον ἀπέδωκεν, 44). Nature, birth, is a determinant (54 – 55). But Fate (Μοῖρα) is capricious, and good fortune fickle (56 – 58).

Pindar however does not oppose Fate and Chance, unlike some later Greeks. If he felt any problem, he solved it by making Τύχη one of the Μοῖραι (fr. 164 Turyn = 41 Sn.–M.), and the root of τύχη recurs in this ode in several forms: 11, τύχῃ; 42, ἀντιτυχόντ'; 55, τυχεῖν; 90, εὐτυχῶς. In this series, what pathos the culminating adverb acquires! But ἀντιτυχόντ' of Neoptolemus seems also to emphasise a serious point. He tried to go against the grain and made havoc of his life. His γένος (39 = φυά, 54), and divine favour, ultimately saved him in death.

12. The Poet's Task. Verbal Repetition as a Structural Device

Poetry rescues from the shadows. References in the poem to ideas of light and darkness begin as early as the proem (οὐ φάος, οὐ μέλαιναν … εὐφρόναν, 3). Men in general are blind, and cannot see the truth (23 – 25). Φαεννᾶις ἀρεταῖς ὁδὸν κυρίαν λόγων (51) was noted previously for its "legal ring." Now the first adjective comes into focus. If the poet's task (neglected by Homer) is to shed light in this way, we can see why Mnemosyne is precisely λιπαράμπυξ (15), a goddess "of the shining headband." The victor, whose prowess will not languish in darkness, had perhaps already plied his limbs in the blazing sun (73).[51] Hence the ode which mirrors his victory must itself be brilliant. It certainly lays on its colours, gold, ivory, coral (78 – 79).

Pindar is said to have been the first Greek to make Truth a goddess, and etymology made Ἀλήθεια the negative of Λήθη. As champion of Truth against oblivion, poetry, it is evident, has a vital role. This is why Pindar is so careful to state his credentials as he moves into the second half of his ode. In the bridging passage which fills most of the third antistrophe, the musical device of reprise comes into play. Μέλι (53) here refers us back to μελίφρον' (11), λαχόντες (54) to ἐλάχομεν (4), ἀποβλάπτει (60) to βλάβεν (18), σκοτεινόν (61) to σκότον (13), ῥοάς (62) to ῥοαῖσι (12). As before, the resumption of previous themes eases the shift to a fresh turn in the thought (signalled by ἀλλὰ γάρ, 52).

Poetry can pervert the truth with its spell, as in the case of Odysseus' undeserved victory over Ajax (20 – 30). It can also act as a mirror, shedding glory[52]

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[51] Literally, "before his limb fell upon the blazing sun". If we interpret πρίν closely here, it is possible that Sogenes was in the end spared the wrestling bout. In any case, the image is meant to picture the wrestler's grappling in the glare reflected from his opponent's oiled and glistening body.

[52] Σπεῖρέ νυν ἀγλαΐαν τινὰ νάσῳ, *Nem.* 1. 13 (475?).

on toils accomplished (14 – 16), reversing an image (Odysseus / Neoptolemus), piercing the darkness of death (13). The one who succeeds in his action has cast a honeyed justification into the streams (ῥοαῖσι) of song (11 – 12). Picking up this metaphor later, the poet asserts that he brings streams (ῥοάς) of water to the praises of the true glory of his friend, his patron (62 – 63). He has the confidence to declare an "authoritative path of words that starts from home for shining deeds of good" (51). First there is the shining deed, then the justified proclamation to the world. Later, the poet will rehearse his qualifications for this task. On Aegina he is πρόξενος, at Thebes a citizen in good repute, with a clear eye (65 – 66) — not therefore blind like the mob with its τυφλὸν ἦτορ at vv. 23 – 24. His word is worth hearing. This ploy is used by the Attic orators.[53]

We noted that with the judicial καταθέμεν (76) the poet seemed to be signalling the start of what is called by Pindarists the "second praise." As we draw to the end of the ode, there is noticeable ring composition. Using the technique of reprise just remarked, the lyrical poet resolves musically the themes with which he began. Αἰακόν (84) echoes Αἰακιδᾶν (10, 45). Ἀμαχανιᾶν (97), the intractable troubles of mortals, from which only a god such as Heracles provides rescue,[54] sets the winged μαχανά of mortal Homer's specious lies (22) in a truer perspective. A list will make this clearer:

v. 2, παῖ	v.100, παίδων παῖδες
v. 2, μεγαλοσθενέος	v. 98, ἐμπεδοσθενέα
v. 2, Ἥρας	v. 95, Ἥρας
v. 2, τέκνων	v. 105, τέκνοισιν
v. 4, Ἤβαν	v. 99, ἥβᾳ
v. 6. ζυγένθ'	v. 93, ζυγοῖς
v. 6, σὺν δὲ τίν	v. 90, ἐν τίν
v. 10, θυμόν	v. 92, θυμόν
v. 10, ἀμφέπειν	v. 91, ἀμφέπων
v. 12, ἀλκαί	v. 96, ἀλκάν
v. 15, Μναμοσύνας	v. 80 μεμναμένος
v. 15, λιπαράμπυκος	v. 99, λιπαρῷ

The connections of thought here are left for the listener to elaborate.

In this concluding prayer, the poet commends the victor Sogenes to Zeus, patron of the Nemean Games, but especially to the care of Heracles, model and protector of athletes. He it is who will grant long life, children and grandchildren and perhaps even a greater victory to come (since what else is the association of τετραόροισι, 93?). The final allusion to the ambivalent Neoptolemus, and to the ambivalent Corinth which was also Ephyra, is an assurance of truthfulness and

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[53] Isocrates (*Antid.* §§278 – 280) maintains that the most important argument in favour of a particular case is the hearers' prior knowledge of the pleader's character. Cf. Aristotle *Rhet.* II 1377b 26: τό τε ποιόν τινα φαίνεσθαι τὸν λέγοντα.

[54] The sacral δύνασαι (96) must not be overlooked: ἀλλά, φίλη, δύνασαι γάρ, Callimachus *Hy.* IV. 226; cf. *potes nam*, Horace *Epodes* 17. 45.

fair dealing on the part of the one who utters this entreaty. Only Zeus can bring us to safe haven. But truth for its proper appreciation needs a faithful poet.

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We may now be in a position to summarise the general movement of the ode's thought. The divisions thus introduced into the poet's *gleitende Übergänge* are not of course to be pressed.

Pindar usually begins by stating the themes on which his ode will play its variations. Here, they are those of birth and children (the victor is a παῖς), aided by Eileithuia, "assessor" of the Fates and daughter of Hera; of a life made up of light and darkness; of birth followed by Youth. Different fates are in store for men, controlling, restraining (εἴργει, 6) their possibilities (1 – 6).

The motif of light and darkness is repeated without delay. Sogenes, Thearion's son, blessed by good fortune, has done well, but his toilsome prowess needs song, which alone can hold up to it a mirror — and a bright mirror is needed because darkness always threatens. Through the looking glass of poetic sounds which this ode proffers the listener sees into such shadows (7 – 16).

The poet introduces another metaphor to stress the importance of poetry. Our life is a dangerous voyage,[55] an image particularly relevant to an island which is twice elsewhere in Pindar ναυσικλυτός; and the σοφοί ("wise") of v. 17, at the start of the first epode, are both honest poets and those who value such poetry and, in such a context, the expert seamen (ναυτιλίης σεσοφισμένοι, to adapt Hesiod's phrase [*Erga* 649]) who can tell when the third day will bring a gale. They are not tempted by the hope of profit to put out to sea and take a chance.[56] In any case, wealthy or poor are all alike on a voyage to the grave[57] (17 – 20a).

A rescuing song is needed, but there are unworthy poets, including the great Homer, who tell lies. His *Odyssey* led to its hero's unfair winning of the arms of Achilles, and the brave Ajax's suicide (20b–27a).

Again the thought begins to bend back upon itself. The "weather-wise"[58] of the first epode are in contrast with the fates of both Ajax and Neoptolemus, one

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[55] A concept probably invented by Pindar according to J. P é r o n, *Les images maritimes de Pindare*, Paris 1974, p. 19, 112. If so, it had a fruitful progeny.

[56] The habitual topos of the dangers of the merchant's life, endured for the sake of greed: K.F. Smith on Tibullus I. 3. 39 – 40; „Otium divos [*dives*, Jacobson] rogat" etc., Horace *Odes* II. 16. 1. But see also Theocritus 16, vv. 15 (νενίκηνται δ' ὑπὸ κερδέων), 63 (φιλοκερδείῃ βεβλαμμένον ἄνδρα). The wise spend their κέρδος on immortalising poems.

[57] The gnomic passage (cf. Horace *Odes* I. 4. 13 – 14) is elliptical because the poet is already thinking ahead to his myth and its own gnomic reflections at 30 – 31. There, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν γὰρ ἔρχεται κῦμ' Ἀΐδα resumes the earlier assertion that rich and poor come to the same goal of death (19 – 20). At the same time, it becomes clear that ἀδόκητον / δοκέοντα (31) are a chiastic resumption of ἀφνεὸς πενιχρός τε (19).

[58] „Venturam melius praesagit navita mortem", Propertius III. 11. 5. Propertius exhibits some of the tendency seen in Pindar to develop his images in vertical rather than horizontal time. Everything is here now, sometimes more implicit however than immediately stated.

of whom sailed towards his death at Troy (27b–30a), the second of whom was blown off course and landed, via Ephyra / Corinth, in Molossia (cf. Paean VI. 109 – 110, Sn.–M.), to end — discreditably at first — at Delphi. There, he was delivered by a god, and now a poet may pronounce his acquittal (30b–50a).

But the prudent voyager will also realise that the wave of death and oblivion may strike anyone. A merely human fame then is perishable and even corrupt. More is needed, which, we deduce, only a poet can deliver, since where are we hearing all this argument except in Pindar's poem? Yet, if Ajax lost because Homer lied about his opponent, Pindar will not and does not need to do that for Sogenes. But Sogenes does need a poet to preserve the record: not any mere mouthpiece, but a poet aware of his sacred obligation (αἰτία, 11) to commemorate the good deed done, since through him a god is at work (θεὸς ἁβρὸν αὔξει λόγον τεθνακότων βοαθόων, 32 – 33).[59] This explains the time spent by Pindar on his credentials, notably from ξεῖνός εἰμι (61) to ἐννέπων (69). Ὄμματι δέρκομαι λαμπρόν (66): "I have the bright gaze needed to see into the dark" (30b–69).

In 70, the final praises of the victor and his family begin, to conclude with a hymn addressed first to Zeus and then Heracles. With god's help, both Sogenes and his father Thearion will enjoy a fruitful life and happy age (70 – 101).

A coda, resuming the lesson of the myth (102 – 105), again serves to establish the poet's loyalty to the Aeacidae. With τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κέαρ in this position (102) the ἐμέ at the end of the First Olympian (115b) may be compared. In another context, a similar phrase was already noted at *Isth.* 5. 19 – 20.

These brief last lines even so are packed with meaning. The poet was evidently aware of the novelty of the poetic, anti-Hesiodic[60] as well as anti-Homeric, position he had developed. The uselessness of repetition, expressed so colourfully here, is a topos of the pleader's art,[61] another sign perhaps that rhetoric as it became traditional had crossed Pindar's horizon. But — again as so often with the *praeteritio* — the poet has after all in these last words repeated his message. Neoptolemus blundered off course to Ephyra and (for him) a short-

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[59] The traditional reading is copiously (and rightly) defended by Woodbury (above, n. 43), p. 297 – 298. Βοαθόων is necessary because no honour can be given to the unworthy. If the plural includes a reference to Heracles, how well the poet is preparing for the introduction of that hero in his hymnic prayer at the end. Βοαθόος was an important term at Delphi. It was the name of a month, but see also the Supplement to LSJ[9], *s.v.*, p. 69, for further inscriptional evidence. It is given an emphatic position in the ode. If it referred to the poet, a first-person pronoun of the type we find at vv. 20 and 50 would call our attention to the shift (see S c h a d e w a l d t, p. 45). Μόλον in the first person would suggest "come" (cf. the force of ἔμολον at *Ol.* 14. 18, *Isth.* 5. 21). But why would Pindar travel to Delphi to honour a Nemean victory won by an Aeginetan? G.W. M o s t, *Pindar, Nem.* 7, 31 – 36, Hermes CXIV 1986, p. 262 – 271, approves a text with βοαθοῶν as a participle, referring to Neoptolemus. The evidence for the verb βοαθοέω seems however quite unliterary: see LSJ[9], Supplement, p. 70, *s.v.* βοηθέω.

[60] Hesiod had already described some poetry as lies looking like the truth, and other poetry as truth (*Theog.* 27 – 28). Lies indeed might be more normal, since truth depended on an act of will. Pindar by contrast rejects lies altogether.

[61] Of the καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν sort, Dem. 9. 59. Cf. the οἶμος βραχύς of *Py.* 4. 248.

lived kingship. He had to be saved in the end by a god. Corinth (Ephyra), symbol of the only happiness man may really have, belongs to Zeus. Only those he favours (such as victors in the Nemean Games) may travel there.[62]

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"Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute" were old dilemmas debated by Milton's demons. The *Problematik* of the ode is similarly philosophical and (since this is Pindar) religious. Mortals have a fate to which they are yoked. In that case, since fate will have its way, how can poetry be of any importance? Because human freedom is part of fate. We contribute to our own sentence — and here αἰτίαν (11), "responsibility," "accountability," comes into its full significance. By flashing back a memory of the good, looking through for us into eternity as we stand on the threshold of momentous decisions, the poetic mirror can keep our eyes fixed on — can give us foreknowledge of — what we ought to do, on the whereabouts of the sacred realm of the gods. But for the *Odyssey*'s lies (they reflected nothing), Ajax might not have lost the public relations battle with Odysseus. Neoptolemus, we may surmise, if he had listened with more attention to the tale of his father's courtesy towards Priam told by the *Iliad*, might not have missed Scyros, arrived in Ephyra, have left Molossia precipitately and ended in a heated quarrel at the hand of a casual assassin. That was all fated (44), but who can doubt that mistaken judgment (ἁμαρτία) also played a role when the hero so diverged from his φυά?[63]

Sogenes, thanks to Pindar, makes none of these mistakes. He has travelled confidently to, and returned victoriously from, a destination marked out for him by Zeus, father of his ancestral Aeacus, god of the Nemean Games, held so close to Corinth, and the god in whose precincts on Aegina the ode is presented as being performed (83). He is no longer a child to need the lesson of morality thrice repeated. Ἀπορία τελέθει (105): "a sense of helplessness develops" when that happens, perhaps on both sides — but, just as in Plato, ἀπορία here is wrongly viewed as a merely intellectual bafflement. Rather, it is the sudden realisation of the emptiness of previous frames of thought, and of the creative need for alternative, more commodious dimensions of discourse. That is what the poet is telling Sogenes and us here. And that perhaps was the focus of his unsettling, estranging, sympotic looking glass.

Urbana, Illinois

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[62] For the political reasons already noted, no interpretation of this passage is acceptable which would in any way disparage Corinth or its admirers. Corinthian support was needed against Athens. An ode which is a mirror accordingly ends with a graceful tribute to the chief place of mirrors' manufacture.

[63] Θεὸς μὲν αἰτίαν φύει βροτοῖς / ὅταν κακῶσαι δῶμα παμπήδην θέλῃ, Aeschylus (above, n. 26). With god's aid (89), Sogenes reverses both the αἰτία (11) and the φυά (54; cf. 70). The general thought reminds one of the *Oresteia*: ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκας ἔδυ λέπαδνον, *Aga*. 218.

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IL *FEDRO* DI PLATONE: EROS, RETORICA E LA CRITICA ALLA SCRITTURA

Di

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Il *Fedro* è il secondo dialogo platonico ad affrontare la tematica amorosa e quindi possiamo sospettare che sia la continuazione e lo sviluppo del discorso contenuto nel *Simposio*. Infatti il *logos* di Diotima-Socrate (come quello che illustra l'immagine corretta dell'Eros) tocca solo in modo tangenziale il tema dell'-anima, senza far ricorso affatto alla teoria sulla reminescenza. Il *Fedro*, invece, sottolinea e traduce tutti quegli aspetti di cui l'Eros è privo nel *Simposio* e quindi per una ricostruzione completa della concezione platonica dell'Amore abbiamo bisogno di prendere in considerazione proprio questo testo.[1] D'altronde il significato della differenza delle rappresentazioni „…può essere capito in base al criterio generale, […] secondo il quale Platone non scrive mai per esporre in astratto una dottrina vera, ma piuttosto per sottolineare i motivi che di volta in volta più gli stavano a cuore."[2]

Come abbiamo detto, il *Fedro*, al contrario del *Simposio*, espone le curiosità relative alla realtà ultraterrena (246e-249d) e questo determina l'inclusione dell'Eros nella categoria fenomenologica attraverso la quale il sentimento amoroso possiede la sua spiegazione attraverso quei significati che scaturiscono dalla metafora dell'anima [il paragone della *psyche* alla biga alata (246a-b)]. Entrambi i discorsi platonici, come quelli in cui si accenna l'apparato verticale dell'Amore (*scala amoris*), si differenziano per la loro impostazione sia fenomenologica che metodologica. Se la *scala amoris* del *Simposio* inizia col bello fisico e termina

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[1] Lo sviluppo interessante della problematica della concezione platonica dell`Amore è stato presentato nei lavori succesivi: G. C a s e r t a n o, *Il(In) nome di Eros. Una lettura del discorso di Diotima nel Simposio platonico,* Elenchos II 1997, p. 277 – 310; G. C a s e r t a n o, *L`eterna malattia del discorso. Quattro studi su Platone,* Napoli 1991; G.R.F. F e r r a r i, *Platonic love,* [in:] The Cambridge Companion to Plato, (a cura di) R. Kraut, Cambridge University Press 1992; A.M. I o p p o l a, *Socrate e la conoscenza delle cose d`amore,* Elenchos XX 1999, p. 53 – 74; G. R e a l e, *Saggezza antica*, Milano 1995; C. R e i n s b e r g, *Obyczaje seksualne starożytnych Greków*, trad. di B. Wierzbicka, Gdynia 1998; L. R o b i n, *La concezione platonica dell`amore,* trad. di D. Gavazzi Porta, Milano 1973; W. S t r ó ż e w s k i, *Arcydialog Platona,* Znak CVI 1963, p. 371 – 400.

[2] F. T r a b a t t o n i, *Platone*, Roma 1998, p. 167.

col bello ideale, nel *Fedro* invece la strada amorosa si intreccia con i desideri carnali e intellettuali dell'anima e quindi questi finiscono con l'identificarsi a livello di descrizione. Tale somiglianza si manifesta soprattutto attraverso la funzione pedagogica dell'Eros e il conseguimento della conoscenza vera. E non c'è differenza tra il *Simposio* e il *Fedro* per quanto riguarda la stessa concezione platonica della filosofia, il filosofo è la conoscenza. Il *Simposio* fa coincidere il vero significato dell'Eros con una sola dimensione, cioè con quella dotata della sua intelligibilità; nel *Fedro*, invece, il carattere intellettuale dell'Amore non costituisce il suo unico aspetto, perché Platone allarga lo spazio possibile in cui esso si può realizzare e in questo modo raggiunge la sua compiutezza semantica. La struttura della descrizione dell'Eros non è caratterizzata dall'uso delle contrapposizioni pure (per esempio quella tra sensualità e intelligibilità) che invece sono alla base dell'enunciato sull'Amore nel primo dialogo. Socrate (del *Fedro*) nel suo secondo discorso colloca l'Eros sul livello „non-razionale", ossia nello spazio della pazzia, ed è importante notare che questa non è in contrapposizione con l'Eros, ma costituisce una delle caratteristiche dello stesso Amore (249d). La conferma di questa opinione consiste nella considerazione della pazzia come categoria positiva, negando quell'aspetto che di solito la vede semplicemente contrapposta alla razionalità (244a). Infatti Socrate distingue quattro tipi diversi di pazzia (apollinea, dionisiaca, delle Muse e dell'Eros) che possiedono sempre una sfumatura positiva (244b-245a, 249d).

Da qui deriva la differenza tra le varie esposizioni sull'Eros presenti in questi dialoghi perché „nel *Fedro* pur ribadendo l'universalità del sentimento amoroso già stabilita nel *Simposio*, Platone ha interesse a mostrare che la strada che conduce alla filosofia richiede comunque un salto, un difficile e delicato passaggio a una dimensione diversa, che non si può compiere se non infiammati da un desiderio violento, come è appunto quello che anima la follia d'amore"[3].

Questa considerazione complica, approfondisce e, allo stesso tempo, rivela le difficoltà della concezione platonica della filosofia. L'educazione filosofica, metodologicamente parlando, non può rappresentare solo il viaggio pedagogico di un carattere lineare, ma, come quello che dipende dal contenuto scaturito dalla realtà divina e invisibile, deve essere un „procedere a sbalzi". In altre parole la strada verso la filosofia (che possiede „il suo paradigma" nella dimensione della *sophrosyne* non-mondana) non si può percorrere nel senso della linearità, ma si compie attraverso la considerazione degli elementi non ostentati in modo inequivocabile. Dunque la dipendenza „tridimensionale" della saggezza umana da quella divina determina anche che „il filosofo [...], non ha a sua disposizione gli strumenti necessari per dimostrare razionalmente ogni sua scelta, ma sempre rimane in lui qualcosa che agli occhi del mondo non può non sembrare pazzia"[4].

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[3] Ivi, p. 169.

[4] Ivi, p. 170.

Usando le parole di Franco Trabattoni a questo punto possiamo dire che la differenza tra le rappresentazioni della filosofia (evidenziate dalle due concezioni platoniche dell'Eros nel *Simposio* e nel *Fedro)* scaturisce dall'impostazione „apollinea" e da quella „dionisiaca", perchè la prima possiede il carattere metodico marcato dalla sapienza, mentre la seconda corrisponde a quella strada a sussulti di cui abbiamo parlato.

Il *Fedro* è costruito in modo simile a quello del *Simposio* e strutturalmente è caratterizzato dai tre discorsi sull'Eros; ma alla fine solo uno di essi finirà col presentarne l'immagine giusta. Infatti sia il *logos* di Fedro, che espone la concezione dell'Amore di Lisia, che il primo discorso di Socrate trattano dell'Eros in modo sbagliato e la loro descrizione non può essere considerata vera e importante (242e-243b). La parte importante del *Fedro* è quella in cui troviamo il secondo *logos* di Socrate, perchè assistiamo ad uno scambio di opinioni sull'Amore riguardo ai concetti esposti precedentemente.

Ovviamente lo scopo di Socrate è quello di conferire una sfumatura positiva al significato del sentimento amoroso: „Noi dobbiamo invece dimostrare il contrario, cioè che tale mania è concessa dagli dei per la nostra più grande felicità; e la dimostrazione non sarà persuasiva per i valent'uomini, ma lo sarà per i sapienti. Prima di tutto dunque bisogna intendere la verità riguardo alla natura dell'anima divina e umana, considerando le sue condizioni e le sue opere" (245b-c)[5]. La rivelazione dell'aspetto positivo dell'Amore non è l'unica intenzione del discorso di Socrate, perché implicitamente ne contiene anche un'altra il cui scopo è quello di mostrare la sua connessione con l'anima. Ecco perchè l'esame del tema della *psyche* è necessario ai fini della nostra indagine sull'Eros.

L'anima viene presentata da Socrate come un essere alato e immortale che costituisce insieme al corpo la condizione dei mortali, cioè degli uomini (246c). Nel suo racconto mitico egli sottolinea anche la differenza tra le anime divine e quelle umane, per cui, quando paragona la *psyche* umana a un'auriga e a un carro alato trainato da due cavalli, gli attribuisce gli attributi opposti del buono e cattivo, al contrario di quella divina che possiede la perfezione in sé (246b). Le anime divine, essendo accompagnate dalla saggezza totale nella realtà ultraterrena, hanno la possibilità di essere sempre „... l'essere che realmente è, senza colore, senza forma e invisibile, che può essere contemplato solo dall'intelletto timoniere dell'anima e intorno al quale verte il genere della conoscenza, occupa questo luogo. Poiché dunque la mente di un dio è nutrita da un intelletto e da una scienza pura, anche quella di ogni anima cui preme di ricevere ciò che conviene si appaga di vedere dopo un certo tempo l'essere, e contemplando il vero se ne nutre e ne gode, finché la rotazione ciclica del cielo non l'abbia riportata allo stesso punto" (147c-d). Naturalmente la schiettezza dello sguardo della conoscenza reale è riservata solo agli esseri divini, quindi il percorso dell'anima umana non può essere paragonato a quello divino. Tutte le anime umane aspirano a vedere il

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[5] Platone *Fedro*, trad. di Giovanni Caccia, Roma 1997.

vero, ma di solito lo vedono solo superficialmente oppure non lo vedono affatto (248a-b) e questa è una difficoltà implicita presente nel loro percorso. Alla fine del loro viaggio iperuranio „… data la grande fatica, se ne partono senza aver raggiunto la contemplazione dell'essere e una volta tornate indietro si nutrono del cibo dell'opinione" (248b). Socrate, descrivendo la *psyche* dell'uomo nella sua condizione naturale e primordiale, accenna anche alla differenza tra le anime umane attraverso la quale sono visibili in modo più nitido i segni dell'Iperuranio che apre le sue ali al nuovo prima degli altri (248c-249a). Quindi il senso della vita umana è condizionato dal ricordo di tutto ciò che l'anima ha visto una volta arrivata nella realtà della scienza vera.

Come abbiamo detto, Socrate paragona l'anima umana a una biga alata trainata da due cavalli e guidata da un'auriga. I cavalli, di due razze diverse, personificano desideri contrari: il bianco si rivolge sempre alle bontà spirituali e intelligibili, il nero invece a quelle materiali e carnali (253c-254e). Nel caso in cui il cavallo nero sia la parte dominante dell'anima, essa perde le sue ali perché si allontana dall'intelligibilità e si avvicina alla materialità. Questo percorso delle ali descritto da Platone è naturale ed ha un significato metaforico importante perché „La potenza dell'ala tende per sua natura a portare in alto ciò che è pesante, sollevandolo dove abita la stirpe degli dei, e in certo modo partecipa del divino più di tutte le cose inerenti il corpo. Il divino è bello, sapiente, buono, e tutto ciò che è tale; da queste qualità l'ala dell'anima è nutrita e accresciuta in sommo grado, viene consunta e rovinata da ciò che è brutto, cattivo e contrario ad esse" (246d-e). L'ala, come segno del carattere divino e allo stesso tempo indice specifico dell'anima dell'uomo, implica i valori determinati della sua vita. Possiamo dire che il percorso dell'essere umano si riduce al processo del „rinnovamento" sotto forma di aspirazione continua ad ottenere ciò che è divino, cioè ciò che è ragionevole e perfetto in sé. Esiste una difficoltà alla quale si va incontro, perchè non tutte le anime ricordano la realtà ultraterrena, anzi sono più numerose quelle che dimenticano il loro periodo iperuranio nell'esistenza mondana (250a). Per questo motivo il mondo umano non costituisce lo spazio della giustizia e dei valori intellettuali (250b) ed ovvio che"[…] soltanto pochi, accostandosi delle immagini, contemplano a fatica, attraverso i loro organi ottusi, la matrice del modello riprodotto" (250b).

Nella concezione platonica dell'anima e della sua reminescenza si accenna alla dimensione razionale ed è questo aspetto a determinare la posizione specifica del filosofo. Il filosofo è colui che aspira ad avere la conoscenza vera e colloca la sua attività soprattutto nella dimensione divina per cui possiede la grande capacità di risolvere in se stesso le radici del suo carattere. La sua anima esamina ininterrottamente il contenuto dei sensi propri della sua memoria che è l'unica ad avere le ali (249c-d). La superiorità del filosofo si delinea sullo sfondo della sua educazione, cioè della scelta giusta durante il suo cammino intellettuale che si allontana sempre più dagli attributi della realtà terrena. Questo significa che egli solo partecipando al bello mondano può individuare all'interno di se stesso l'in-

dizio dell'aspetto più profondo dell'anima (249c), e quindi il suo percorso educativo coincide col processo necessario per la ricrescita delle ali della sua *psyche*.

La dottrina platonica della reminescenza contiene un altro problema dal significato filosofico molto importante. Il conferimento dell'attributo del vero alla realtà iperurania determina la considerazione della realtà opposta (terrena) nella categoria del falso o della verosimiglianza. Da questo scaturisce la disintegrazione del senso della vita degli uomini perché „il loro vero bene si trova ai margini della dimensione mondana"[6] che sembra rappresentare lo spazio corretto dell'esistenza umana. La delimitazione delle due realtà determina la necessità dell'essere, il legame grazie al quale si può stabilire la comunicazione reciproca.

Nel suo secondo discorso Socrate attribuisce all'idea della bellezza il suo significato specifico in base al quale essa (al contrario della ragione) si mostra all'uomo in maniera esteriore (250d-e), in una forma e un'immagine più vicina alla bellezza in sé. Essa trasporta l'uomo in una dimensione diversa e apre i suoi occhi al mondo divino e ideale, cioè „l'esperienza della bellezza offre perciò un punto di mediazione tra ideale e reale, perché rappresenta la manifestazione di qualcosa di umano, che si mostra nel mondo, che è fatto di materia, e che pure è divino, spirituale e superiore in sé all'uomo"[7].

La partecipazione alla bellezza necessita del soccorso della forza che deriva dal sentimento amoroso, ossia dell'Eros, quindi l'esperienza della bellezza non è possibile senza l'attività dell'Amore che è alla base dell'avviamento dell'anima e del processo pedagogico umano. Da un lato l'anima arricchisce l'Eros nel suo aspetto psicologico, dall'altro egli è anche il suo timone e quindi il rapporto tra l'Eros e la *psyche* è basato sulla loro dipendenza reciproca. Mentre l'anima possiede l'elemento della conoscenza vera, l'Eros la sostiene nell'utilizzo di quella che potremmo definire radice divina. Se, invece, l'anima non ricorda la realtà ideale, l'Eros la porta a rivolgersi verso i beni materiali (256b-c). Questo significa che egli „può sia derivare verso il basso, cioè verso i piaceri carnalie volgari, sia condurre verso l'alto, cioè alla filosofia e verso quella dimensione ideale che l'anima ha abbandonato nell'atto della nascita"[8]. Ora è ovvio che in un certo senso la funzione dell'Eros nella vita umana è la stessa di quella dell'anima. Egli è sia il mediatore tra la realtà ultraterrena e quella terrena che l'anima tra la scienza divina e quella umana. L'Amore, come il timone della *psyche* dell'uomo, fa sì che il suo percorso educativo acquisti la vera importanza anche nella dimensione mondana, ecco perché „I seguaci di Zeus cercano il loro amato in chi ha l'anima conforme al loro dio: pertanto guardano se per natura sia filosofo e atto al comando, e quando l'hanno trovato e ne se sono innamorati, fanno di tutto affinché sia effettivamente tale" (252e).

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[6] Trabattoni, *Platone*, p. 163.

[7] Ivi, p. 164.

[8] Trabattoni, *Oralità e scrittura in Platone*, Milano 1998/99, p. 62.

L'accomunamento dell'Eros con l'anima situa la sua funzione sia su un livello psicologico-mitico che filosofico, e l'espressione della sua attività si esplica nella categoria della veridicità. Il percorso dell'Eros nell'anima umana è proprio la tensione continua verso il vero che non è afferabile nello spazio della realtà fenomenologica in cui si trova l'uomo. L'Eros, come sentimento umano tipico, e l'anima, come parte che segna la condizione dell'uomo, hanno un ruolo importante nella sua educazione. La conclusione che ne deriva è che l'uomo, privo dell'Eros e dell'anima, non può compiere il suo cammino attraverso il mondo ideale, cioè non può realizzare il suo percorso intellettuale nel senso filosofico, che può aprirgli la porta alla pura intelligibilità.

Questo spiega la posizione del filosofo nella realtà mondana: è colui che torna sempre con la memoria all'ideale divino, considerato da altri come „strano" e „non-mondano".

La prima parte del *Fedro* si occupa del problema dell'Eros, ma questo non è l'unico argomento trattato, perché quello successivo riguarda una tematica diversa, cioè la retorica. L'aspetto importante è che il problema della retorica non è separato da quello dell'Amore, anzi costituisce un altro aspetto di carattere filosofico.

Come abbiamo visto, tra „le varie parti del *Fedro* è la <psicagogia>, cioè la conduzione dell'anima. La conduzione dell'anima non ha però in Platone un carattere generico, ma indica il cammino che l'anima deve percorrere per conseguire nei limiti in cui è possibile a un uomo la conoscenza; è il percorso mediante il quale ci si rende filosofi"[9]. Il carattere „psicagogico", come indice dell'anima e della sua strada verso la verità, si congiunge anche con la dimensione della retorica, ed è proprio la psicagogia a determinare anche la sua funzione.

Nel *Fedro* il tema della retorica si collega al problema della composizione dei *logoi* ben strutturati, soprattutto a livello etico, e ciò si dimostra attraverso i loro scopi: „Allora è chiaro a tutti che non è cosa turpe in sé lo scrivere discorsi […]. Ora però io ritengo turpe questo, il pronunciarli e scriverli in modo non bello, ma riprovevole e disonesto"(258d). È evidente che per Platone l'importanza del discorso è determinata dal suo contenuto, infatti troviamo i *logoi* „positivi" e quelli „negativi" e ciò dipende dai valori che essi divulgano e dagli effetti intenzionali determinati dalla „proiezione" dei suoi autori. Sorge ora la necessità di distinguere quei discorsi di valore (in senso platonico), da quelli che ne sono privi.

La soluzione di questo problema costituisce l'oggetto del discorso tra Socrate e Fedro in cui si considerano le condizioni generali del *logos* corretto, riferito attraverso quello dell'Eros di Lisia-retore. Secondo Socrate, la prima condizione di un buon discorso è stabilita dalle conoscenze vere dell'autore (259e); ciò significa che ogni autore deve conoscere veramente l'argomento di cui parla e che descrive, perché solo la sua sapienza gli dà la possibilità di trattarlo nel modo

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[9] T r a b a t t o n i, *Platone*, p. 175.

che gli è proprio, cioè dà la capacità di discernere gli elementi costituenti la verità e la verosimiglianza (273d-274a). L'ipotesi proposta da Socrate è contraria alla figura di Fedro come colui che è affascinato dalla pratica caratteristica dei retori: „A tal proposito, caro Socrate, ho sentito dire questo: per chi vuole essere un retore non c'è la necessità di apprendere ciò che è realmente giusto, ma ciò sembra giusto alla moltitudine che giudicherà, non ciò che è veramente buono e bello, ma ciò che sembra tale, poiché il convincere il prossimo viene da questo, non dalla verità" (259e-260a). Socrate, analizzando il senso delle parole del suo interlocutore, dimostra però che la retorica, privata della conoscenza della verità, non può essere *techne* reale e così può essere considerata solo nella categoria di *atechnia* (260e). Tale riflessione determina la convinzione di Socrate in base alla quale chi non è filosofo non possiede la capacità di poter parlare di tutte le cose e in modo giusto (261a).

Nel suo *logos* Socrate sottolinea un aspetto importante dell'arte retorica che si cela nella forza della persuasione, cioè nella sua funzione „psicagogica". In tal modo la funzione del persuadere indica allo stesso tempo che la retorica coinvolge non solo la dimensione pubblica, ma anche quella più personale riguardante i discorsi privati (261a-b). Da qui deriva la successiva definizione dei *logoi* corretti, ovvero quei discorsi giusti, caratterizzati sia dalla rappresentazione della saggezza vera che dalla capacità di influire sull'anima umana.

La definizione dei *logoi* corretti fa scaturire una considerazione sul discorso di Lisia (262c). Possiamo dire che Socrate critica il suo intervento giudicandolo al di fuori della comprensione logica (non rispetta le leggi dell'implicazione scientifica) perchè si presenta caotico, incoerente e senza valore filosofico (264a-b). Dall'altro lato il *logos* di Lisia non argomenta il suo tema in modo preciso, cioè non definisce in modo chiaro il suo oggetto, l'Eros (263d-e). E' importante che „Per realizzare questo obbiettivo, osserva Socrate, è necessario l'uso della dialettica, intesa come duplice procedimento di riunire insieme i diversi elementi e di dividere le specie in sottospecie di estensione sempre più limitata (265d-266c)"[10]. La dialettica, dunque, costituisce il criterio indispensabile per la tecnica dei discorsi ben fatti e può essere assimilata alla retorica stessa: questo dovrebbe significare che la vera retorica ha una parte comune con la filosofia. Il vero senso della retorica non è quello di essere l'arte efficace dello „sfruttamento" libero delle parole, ma la personificazione di un'arte in cui trova realizzazione sia l'aspetto semantico delle parole usate che l'oggetto al quale esse sono indirizzate. Più in generale, questo significa che la retorica funziona come l'arte medica, perché il medico reale non è colui che conosce la medicina solo in modo teorico (cioè astrattamente), ma, al contrario, è colui che collega il suo sapere scientifico alla pratica che gli conviene (268a-269d).

Come la medicina è la scienza il cui scopo è quello di curare i corpi umani, così la retorica è la scienza il cui scopo è quello di curare le anime, e quindi esse

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[10] T r a b a t t o n i, *Oralità e scrittura in Platone*, p. 72.

svolgono una funzione analoga nella vita dell'uomo. L'unica differenza tra le due è che la dimensione della prima abilità è carnale, mentre la seconda è di carattere intellettuale (270b).

A questo punto possiamo confermare che i discorsi hanno carattere psicagogico nel caso in cui legano la forza della persuasione a quella della dialettica (271d). Da un lato nel *Fedro* „La scienza, se vuole essere davvero una scienza, non può badare solo alla correttezza formale delle sue procedure, ma deve anche conoscere l'oggetto a cui queste procedure sono applicate, in tutte le sue molteplici diversità: altrimenti non sarebbe affatto una scienza (271b)"[11]. E' ovvio, dunque, che dal collegamento tra la persuasione e la dialettica emerge la definizione dell'arte come espressione uguale alla stessa scienza (273e-274d). Questo significa che la filosofia (come *episteme* varia), relazionata alla retorica vera sul piano della forza persuasiva della parola, possiede le radici dello stesso carattere. Dall'altro lato, Platone in questo dialogo sottolinea la differenza tra retorica „sofistica" (usando il termine di Franco Trabattoni) il cui rappresentante è Lisia, e filosofia nel senso della comprensione della verità. Il *logos* di Lisia è lontano dalla verità, cioè dall'argomentazione scientifica, ragion per cui il suo scopo è la conquista di seguaci alla sua idea. Il discorso del filosofo, invece, ha come fine la ricostruzione continua della verità appresa dall'anima nella realtà ultraterrena e quindi aspira sempre all'essere generato dal processo di educazione etica, cioè politica.

Socrate, in una parte del suo intervento, accenna anche all'esistenza dell'arte in cui si include tutto ciò di cui si parla (261e) e di conseguenza, „uno sarà capace di rendere ogni cosa simile a ogni altra in tutti i casi possibili e per quanto è possibile, e di mettere in luce quando un altro fa la stessa cosa e lo nasconde" (261e). Ovviamente la *techne* di cui parla Socrate costituisce una parte della scienza filosofica, ma è importante notare che essa non è un modo per persuadere, perché la persuasione è riservata solo alla *episteme.* „Ma la scienza, a sua volta, non è intesa come insegnamento infallibile, persuasivo in modo meccanico e accidentale: infatti non è sicuro che tale arte esiste davvero («se pure esiste»), perché la capacità di insegnare giunge solo fino ad un certo punto («per quanto è possibile»), e non è automaticamente efficace su tutti allo stesso modo («in rapporto a coloro per cui è possibile»)[12]". Allora possiamo dire che dalla relazione tra retorica e filosofia si può arrivare alla comprensione di una conseguenza importante del significato filosofico in base alla quale la filosofia, come scienza in cui trovano posto gli elementi persuasivi, non può essere considerata sul piano dell'impersonalità e della esclusività scientifica. Alla base di tutto ciò che abbiamo detto ora nasce la necessità di analizzare il problema dell'analogia dell'-aspetto semantico tra la retorica e l'Eros. La retorica, generalmente parlando (in quanto ne esistono due tipi: la retorica „sofistica", dei retori come Lisia, e quella

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[11] Ivi, p. 73.

[12] T r a b a t t o n i, *Oralità e scrittura in Platone*, p. 71.

più scientifico-filosofica che si collega alla dialettica), appartiene alla dimensione dell'irrazionalità. Questa sfumatura della sua natura è visibile in uno dei suoi attributi che la definisce come forza persuasiva. La retorica, o l'arte del discorso, si articola attraverso le parole che divengono il suo strumento d'espressione grazie al quale essa può formulare un ragionamento capace di trasmettere emozioni ai suoi ascoltatori. Il comportamento di Fedro -interlocutore di Socrate- dà il buon esempio dell'effetto persuasivo della retorica. Fedro è colui che all'inizio è stregato dal *logos* di Lisia (228a), ma poi finisce con l'essere persuaso dal discorso di Socrate e cambia opinione, diventando egli stesso propagatore della teoria di Socrate (274a-b).

La funzione irrazionale-persuasiva non è l'attributo fondamentale che Platone dà alla retorica. Come abbiamo già detto, nel *Fedro* platonico la descrizione del carattere e del *telos* dell'Eros è collegata ad una forma positiva di mania (249d). Questo significa che l'Eros, come sintomo della pazzia del genere divino e come elemento che „rianima i sentimenti" dell'anima umana, può essere considerato nella categoria dell'irrazionalità e della persuasione. La dimensione dell'-irrazionalità e della persuasione non costituisce l'unico spazio comune tra retorica e Amore, anche il loro funzionamento si manifesta attraverso un processo comune, che è quello di forgiare la *psyche*. In altre parole, entrambi sono caratterizzati dalla possibilità di gestire l'uomo attraverso la direzione intenzionale che riescono a stabilire. In tal modo, il *telos* dell'Eros è la circolazione a doppio senso tra la carnalità e la materialità, o tra la verità e l'intelligibilità sotto forma di pratica filosofica (256b-c). Se consideriamo la divisione della retorica in due parti giungiamo alla stessa comprensione per analogia; infatti, la retorica „sofistica", separata dalla verità e privata del suo scopo importante, non può rappresentare il cammino educativo dal punto di vista filosofico e quindi allontana l'uomo dalla cognizione vera situandolo nello spazio della realtà verosimile. Invece la retorica in cui la forza persuasiva si lega alla dialettica, cioè quella filosofica, è l'arte il cui percorso è quello segnato dal processo di dimostrazione della verità stessa.

„Così come l'eros, impulso verso la bellezza mediato dal desiderio, è uno strumento per mezzo del quale l'anima può essere educata e condotta verso la verità filosofica, allo stesso modo la persuasione, se intesa non come tecnica spicciola e volgare per suscitare un assenso superficiale, educa l'anima e conduce alle soglie del sapere"[13]. Dunque, l'Eros e la retorica hanno una funzione simile, ma l'analogia esistente tra loro è basata dalla teoria della psicagogia la cui realizzazione può attuarsi nella vera conoscenza. È, però, l'identità del sapere reale con quello filosofico a determinare il carattere proprio della filosofia. Alla luce della reminescenza la fonte della verità esiste nella realtà iperurania e l'uomo cerca di ricostruirla grazie al ricordo dell'anima. Questo significa che la conoscenza a cui egli aspira rimane nella dimensione della filosofia, può essere fi-

[13] Ivi, p. 63.

losofo, ma non diventerà mai *sophos* (la *sophia* è un attributo riservato solo agli dei).

Dall'altro la filosofia stessa, come personificazione „del mondo della vera conoscenza umana", è sostenuta sia dall'Eros che dalla persuasione, motivo per cui la comprensione della filosofia nella categoria scientifico-irrazionale, si serve dello strumento della retorica (la forza persuasiva), non avrà mai la scientificità totale. In altre parole „la filosofia è come l'eros, che non diventa mai *sophia* e non può mai tradursi in una scienza compiuta e definitiva."[14]. Anzi, il senso della filosofia come scienza della verità che si realizza nella dimensione della realtà umana è visibile attraverso il suo legame essenziale con l'Eros e con la persuasione. Quindi l'Eros e la retorica fanno parte della pratica filosofica, perché rendono possibile all'uomo il suo avanzamento progressivo verso l'ideale (*sophos*), entro i limiti della sua presenza mondana. Pensando al *Fedro* nella sua complessità troviamo anche la conclusione in base alla quale lo scopo di Platone non è la critica della retorica, ma solo la separazione di quella parte che non tocca in alcun modo il nocciolo della verità.

Il problema della scrittura e dell'oralità viene trattato da Platone nelle pagine finali del *Fedro*[15]. Il discorso su questo tema è basato su quello che abbiamo già definito come la problematica del comporre *logoi* in modo corretto. In altre parole, possiamo dire che il discorso sulla scrittura potrebbe essere la continuazione e nello stesso tempo lo sviluppo del problema già esposto: „Quanto si è detto a proposito dell'arte e della mancanza di arte nel fare discorsi sia dunque sufficiente […]. Rimane la questione della convenienza e della non convenienza della scrittura, quando essa vada bene e quando invece sia sconveniente" (274b).

Al fine di introdurre Fedro alla questione della scrittura Socrate gli propone un racconto mitico del dio egiziano, cioè Theuth (Thoth). Theuth è dio di tante e varie invenzioni, tra cui (oltre alla geometria, all'astronomia, etc.) anche la scrittura che egli considera come un grande miracolo creato per l'utile degli uomini (274e). Secondo lui, essa può essere il rimedio della memoria e della conoscenza umana e come tale la mostra al re d'Egitto, Thamus. Thamus, invece, critica la sua invenzione e attribuisce alla scrittura un significato dalla sfumatura peggiorativa. Il re egiziano non la identifica con il rimedio della memoria, ma, al contrario, con uno strumento di richiamo grazie al quale gli uomini possono avere solo la possibilità di riconoscere le cose che la scrittura stessa denota, e non come strumento della loro anima e quindi fonte della memoria (275a). Di conseguenza Thoth dice a dio: „Della sapienza tu procuri ai tuoi discepoli l'apparenza, non la

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[14] Ivi, p. 59.

[15] Molti autori interpretano la problematica della scrittura e dell`oralità in modo diverso a quello proposto da Franco Trabattoni quindi per comprendere le varie versioni si veda: C. A l b e r t, *Sul concetto di filosofia in Platone*, trad. di P. Traverso, Milano 1991; A. K i j e w s k a, E.I. Z i e l i ń s k i (a cura di), *Platon. Nowa interpretacja,* Lublin 1993; G. R e a l e, *In che cosa consiste il nuovo paradigma storico-ermeneutico nella interpretazione di Platone,* Methexis VI, 1993, p. 135 – 154; G. R e a l e, *Storia della filosofie antica*, II, Milano 1987; T.A. S z l e z á k, *Come leggere Platone,* Milano 1991.

verità: ascoltando per tuo tramite molte cose senza insegnamento, crederanno di conoscere molte cose, mentre per lo più le ignorano, e la loro compagnia sarà molesta, poiché sono divenuti portatori di opinione anziché sapienti" (275a-b). La conclusione cui giunge questo mito, cioè la comprensione della scrittura in modo adeguato, si trova nell'opinione di Socrate, quando viene definita la funzione delle parole scritte che è quella di rieducare al ricordo delle cose già conosciute dall'uomo (275c-d). Secondo Thamus lo spazio della scrittura può rivelarsi pericoloso per chi la usa perché potrebbe personificare il sapere non-vero, nel senso che lo spazio della conoscenza reale è riservato individualmente solo all'-anima. Infatti la scrittura potrebbe sempre presentare all'uomo la possibilità di cancellare tutto ciò che ha raggiunto grazie anche alla superficialità.

Al contrario, il sapere che ha il suo fondamento nell'anima costituisce quel sapere più profondo e quindi quello che l'uomo non dimentica facilmente, nè velocemente (275a). Ripensando al cammino verso la conoscenza, possiamo dire che questo sottolinea anche la superiorità del sapere intero dell'uomo. Come abbiamo accennato, il contenuto semantico della scrittura è sempre disponibile, ma quello della *psyche* umana (condizionato dalla forza persuasiva, cioè dall'Eros) lo è solo nel caso in cui l'uomo è realmente guidato da essa verso la direzione corretta, cioè la dimensione intelligibile. Dunque il significato della comprensione della scrittura di Thamus e quello di Socrate sono inequivocabili, perché alla base c'è la convinzione che chi non usa il sapere intero non riceve l'appoggio che può dare la scrittura.

Socrate struttura la sua critica della *anagrafe* paragonandola all'arte pittorica (275d-e), che ha come scopo la creazione di immagini quasi autentiche, cioè rappresentazioni simili alla realtà, ma che sono solo morte imitazioni. In altre parole, l'arte pittorica, privata del movimento della vita, possiede in sé la capacità negativa di proporre nei quadri elementi della realtà in modo sempre identico, cioè definitivo (senza avere la possibilità di ricostruire il contenuto delle espressioni che caratterizzano la stessa vita). Il paragone della scrittura con la pittura porta a considerare in modo analogo anche la funzionalità delle parole scritte. Ecco perché „La medesima cosa vale anche per i discorsi: tu potresti anche credere che parlino come se avessero qualche pensiero loro proprio, ma se domandi loro qualcosa di ciò che dicono coll'intenzione di apprenderla, questo qualcosa suona sempre e solo identico" (275d).

L'attributo „dell'intorpidimento" col quale si definisce sia l'arte pittorica che il discorso scritto si spiega attraverso l'impossibilità di rispondere alle domande -nel caso della scrittura — e di fare una scelta da parte dell'osservante — nel caso della pittura- (276e). Questo indica che la comunicazione orale possiede un valore maggiore rispetto a quella scritta. La superiorità dell'oralità si basa sulla sua importanza nel processo educativo perchè rende possibile non solo uno scambio di opinioni (la possibilità di formulare delle domande e ricevere risposte), ma anche la scelta dell'interlocutore cui il *logos* è indirizzato (276a). La conclusione che ne deriva è che la dimensione dell'oralità personifica il modo

corretto di comunicare perché si lega al funzionamento della forza persuasiva, una delle condizioni dei *logoi* che aspirano all'essere filosofico. Di conseguenza si può notare che „Una comunicazione orale è più vera, in generale, di una scritta, non perché possa dire cose più vere, ma perché può mostrare, promuovere e riprodurre la verità nelle anime (cioè nell'unico luogo dove la verità si trova) molto meglio di quanto non possa fare lo scritto"[16].

La considerazione dell'anima nella categoria della fonte unica del sapere umano rivela un altro aspetto importante del percorso educativo nel senso filosofico. Secondo Socrate chi è saggio non lascia la sua conoscenza „nei giardini di Adone"[17] che è uguale allo scrivere sull'acqua, ma cerca un allievo dalla *psyche* buona, „vi pianta e vi semina discorsi accompagnati da conoscenza, che siano in grado di venire in aiuto in se stessi e a chi li ha piantati e non siano infruttiferi, ma abbiano una semenza dalla quale nascono nell'indole di altri uomini altri discorsi capaci di rendere questa semenza immortale, facendo si che chi la possiede sia felice quanto più è possibile per un uomo" (276e-277a). È da notare che per realizzare il suo scopo da un lato il saggio deve conoscere tutto ciò che scrive e di cui parla, dall'altro deve avere la dialettica come metodo per comporre *logoi* corretti, per scoprire i diversi tipi di anime umane e per mostrare a ognuna il discorso adeguato alla sua natura (277c). La costruzione diversa dei *logoi* ben fatti (destinata ai vari tipi di anime) causa che il sapiente non considera le scritture nella categoria dei discorsi dal valore importante (al contrario di quelli che lo fanno allo scopo di persuadere) perché gli attribuisce il ruolo di stimolo del ricordo in chi già conosce il senso del contenuto che si cela dentro la sua anima (278a-b). Dunque il nome conveniente per chi possiede la sapienza della verità reale e per chi tramanda agli altri la sua verità è quello di *philosophos* (278d) la cui attività è la pratica della *philosophia*.

Il *logos* (come „espressione" della conoscenza umana), condizionato dal contenuto semantico della dimensione iperurania, cioè dal sapere reale i cui sintomi non sono visibili nella realtà mondana (la *psyche* dopo la sua incarnazione lo ha perso), possiede sempre un carattere secondario in confronto a quello ontico. Tale valutazione del discorso, come abbiamo notato, è evidente anche nella gerarchia dei *logoi* umani, ragion per cui quelli filosofici e orali sono sempre migliori di quelli retorico-tradizionali e scritti. In altre parole, la superiorità epistemologica dei discorsi filosofici e orali è determinata dalla posizione attribuita loro nel processo educativo, nel senso che essi costituiscono la base e la fonte del trasferimento della conoscenza nella comunicazione terrena (278a-b). Alla luce della teoria della reminiscenza nasce la comprensione del discorso sia orale che scritto sotto forma di strumento intermedio grazie al quale è possibile la scoperta della verità. Infatti, la sua capacità persuasiva può causare nell'uomo il desiderio

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[16] T r a b a t t o n i, *Oralità e scrittura in Platone*, p. 83.

[17] I giardini di Adone è il nome dato ai recipienti in cui durante l'estate gli antichi piantavano semi che nascevano molto velocemente, in otto giorni, e subito morivano.

del sapere reale che è uguale all'indirizzo della sua anima attraverso il ricordo della realtà divina.

In questo modo la funzione del *logos* si collega a quella dell'Eros. L'analogia del loro funzionamento è visibile attraverso la natura intermedia e lo scopo comune. Sia il sentimento amoroso che il discorso condizionano (grazie alla forza persuasiva) il bisogno necessario dell'uomo che rende possibile il ritorno nella sua memoria alla conoscenza vera, quindi entrambi personificano gli strumenti intermedi che formulano il senso proprio dell'educazione umana. L'Eros e il *logos* sono simili al legame tra realtà mondana e ultraterrena e per questo si può parlare di comunicazione bilaterale attraverso la quale si giunge alla trasformazione del sapere ideale nello spazio umano (il significato della trasformazione è sempre lo scopo del desiderio continuo dell'uomo di ottenere la *sophia* e di essere *sophos*, desiderio che nel mondo non è realizzabile).

Dall'altro lato sia l'Eros che il discorso (come quelli il cui carattere è segnato dall'opposizione di valori contrari) possono determinare che l'uomo si arrenda al falso (cioè alla dimensione della materialità e della molteplicità) e rimanga al livello della sua realtà mondana. Possiamo ora dire che „Il vantaggio del testo orale sul testo scritto è dunque relativo, e consiste solo nel fatto che più un testo è rigido, più è fragile. La vera differenza è fra le parole (*logoi*) e l'anima. Ma non per questo i *logoi* sono inutili. Al contrario: se ai *logoi* non si può attribuire il compito imitativo di rispecchiare la verità, bisogna però attribuire loro quello „erotico" e psicagogico di suscitare nell'anima persuasione, mediante l'esercizio della dialettica"[18].

Riassumendo, dobbiamo mettere in evidenza che Eros costituisce una parte importante nella concezione platonica della filosofia. La conoscenza del contenuto semantico del dialogo dedicato a questo problema può essere il punto di partenza per arrivare alla definizione dell'Amore tipica del pensiero di Platone.

Possiamo affermare che l'analisi esposta sull'Eros mostra la sua trasformazione rispetto ai contenuti che gli erano stati attribuiti nella cultura antica comune, ragion per cui la sua figura per Platone non si riferisce mai alla funzione religiosa espressa nei racconti mitici; di conseguenza l'Amore non implica la verità esplicitamente inclusa nella religione stessa, ma, al contrario, è lo specchio della verità soggettiva che è fuori del sistema della comunicazione oggettiva. Questo significa che Platone conferisce all'Eros la funzione di trasmettere gli argomenti sostanziali che sono semanticamente efficaci solo nell'ordine „inter-dialogico", intraducibili nel linguaggio esterno. Per questo abbiamo la necessità di spiegare l'immagine „intera" e il significato dell'Amore derivanti direttamente da quella che si delinea come una *silhouette* pura attraverso questa opera platonica.

L'oggettività dell'Amore costituisce la base della sua considerazione soggettiva in cui si costituisce il senso proprio della concezione platonica della scienza filosofica. La comprensione dell'Eros attraverso la sua soggettività è la spiega-

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[18] Trabattoni, *Platone*, p. 177.

zione dell'aspetto metodologico della filosofia stessa, ragion per cui egli condiziona lo strumento della conoscenza dell'uomo. Per questo il suo collegamento con la retorica e contemporaneamente con la scrittura e l'oralità determina prima di tutto la sua collocazione nella dimensione riservata alla persuasione, che di conseguenza trasforma l'impostazione totalmente scientifica della filosofia nell'impostazione scientifico-irrazionale, ossia scientifico-erotica. Questo fatto rivela logicamente la necessità dell'uso sia del metodo dialettico che di quello persuasivo-erotico per la sua realizzazione. Dall'altro lato la struttura della scienza filosofica in cui è necessaria la presenza della funzione persuasiva dell'-Amore condiziona la comprensione del sapere umano come secondario rispetto a quello ontico, ossia vero-divino. Da qui nasce la conclusione in base alla quale anche la saggezza della filosofia non diventa mai saggezza della *sophia* completa e che la verità dell'uomo non ha lo stesso valore di quella ideale. Dunque l'Eros platonico nella realtà mondana è sia la metafora del viaggio dell'uomo verso uno scopo non raggiungibile nella dimensione in cui si trova, che la scoperta della cortina che oscura la terra lontana e piena di valori reali. Tutto questo rappresenta un rischio, ma chi non lo corre rischia di rimanere sempre all'ombra della verità; l'Eros, invece, corre questo rischio, e per questo riflette in sé la natura stessa del filosofo e della filosofia.

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URANOPOLIS DES ALEXARCHOS. FORSCHUNGSGESCHICHTE (1835 – 2002) UND INTERPRETATIONSVERSUCH*

Von

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Alexarchos, der Stiefbruder von Kassandros, hatte gegen Ende des 4. Jhs v. Chr. auf der Athoshalbinsel die Stadt Uranopolis gegründet. Zahlreiche Forscher vertraten später die Ansicht, dass damit ein utopisches Projekt verwirklicht worden sei. Die von ihnen zur Untermauerung dieser Behauptung angeführten Argumente erschienen mir aber kaum stichhaltig, so dass ich mich entschlossen habe, verschiedene Aspekte dieser kontroversen Frage einer gründlichen Analyse zu unterziehen. Die im Appendix untergebrachten Texte und die Abbildungen der in Uranopolis geprägten Münzen sollen meine Ausführungen illustrieren und sie dadurch nachvollziehbar mitgestalten.

1. Das Leben des Alexarchos

Zunächst sei zugegeben, dass uns die Lebensdaten des Alexarchos unbekannt sind[1]. Da er der jüngere Bruder des Kassandros war, kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass er nach 350 v. Chr. zur Welt gekommen war[2]. Als gar nicht so sicher gilt hingegen, dass er nach 300 v. Chr. gestorben sein muss[3].

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[1] O. Weinreich, *Menekrates Zeus und Salmoneus. Religionsgeschichtliche Studien zur Psychopathologie des Gottmenschentums in Antike und Neuzeit,* Stuttgart 1933 (Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft XVIII), S. 12 Anm. 50, ND [in:] idem, Religionsgeschichtliche Studien, Darmstadt 1968, S. 316 Anm. 50 „Lebenszeit nicht genau festzulegen".

[2] So H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosographischer Grundlage*, II, München 1926 (ND Hildesheim 1999), S. 21 (Nr. 41). Es sei hinzugefügt, dass das Geburtsjahr des Kassandros ebenfalls unbekannt bleibt. Im Allgemeinen werden hier die 50er Jahre des 4. Jhs v. Chr. in Betracht gezogen. Berve, *a.O.*, 201 – 202 (Nr. 414) „geboren kurz vor 355"; H. Volkmann, *Kassandros*, KP III 1969, Sp. 145 um 355; K. Brodersen, *Kassandros*, Kleines Lexikon des Hellenismus, hrsg. von H.H. Schmitt und E. Vogt, Wiesbaden[2] 1993, S. 340 ca. 355; E. Badian, *Kassandros*, DNP VI 1999, Sp. 318 vor 353. Anders F. Stähelin, *Kassandros*, RE X 1919, Sp. 2293 „kaum vor 350".

[3] So Weinreich, *a.O.*, S. 1 = S. 305.

Aristos aus Salamis auf Zypern (siehe Appendix I), der um die Mitte des 3. Jhs v. Chr. lebte[4], nannte Alexarchos γραμματικός, was bedeutet, dass er für einen Gelehrten gehalten wurde. Wir wissen auch, dass er eine eigene Sprache geschaffen (s. App. I 3 und Anm. 60) und vermutlich über die ägyptische Religion geschrieben hatte (s. App. I 5)[5]. Außerdem gibt Aristos in seinem Verzeichnis der Herrschervergöttlichungen drei Beispiele für ἰδιῶται, also Privatleute, die sich für Götter hielten[6]. Einer von ihnen heißt auch Alexarchos[7], der αὑτὸν κατεσχημάτιζεν εἰς Ἥλιον. Er kommt zwischen Menekrates von Syrakus[8] und Nikagoras von Zelea[9] vor. Daher stellte O. Weinreich die Hypothese auf, Alexarchos habe zu dem θεῖος χορός von Menekrates gehört, der schwere Epilepsie-Fälle (ἱερὰ νόσος) erfolgreich kurierte. Für die Heilung verlangte er zwar kein Honorar, aber die Geheilten wurden zu seinen δοῦλοι, d.h. sie mussten ihn als einen der olympischen Götter verkleidet begleiten (Athen. 7, 33 p. 289 AB). Es hat den Anschein, als würde das oben angeführte Zitat aus dem Werk von Clemens die Behauptung bestätigen, Alexarchos habe das Helios-Kostüm getragen. Menekrates selbst hielt sich für Zeus, da er den Menschen ihr Leben wiedergab. Sie konnten durch (διά) ihn weiterleben. Eine solche Etymologie des Wortes Ζεύς (ζῆν-διά) wurde im Altertum im Allgemeinen akzeptiert[10]. Es verdient noch hinzugefügt zu werden, dass Menekrates als εὐεργέτης das Recht darauf hatte, sich für den θεός zu halten, denn es entsprach einer alten griechischen Tradition, nach der man einen Menschen vergöttlichen konnte, der einem Anderen, einer Menschengruppe oder einer Gemeinschaft Gutes erwiesen hatte[11]. Wenn Weinreichs Hypothese stimmt, müsste Alexarchos ein von Menekra-

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[4] So F. Jacoby, *F Gr Hist* II A, Berlin 1926, S. 5 ca. 250; idem, *F Gr Hist* II D, Berlin 1930, S. 531: „Die gleichsetzung mit dem allmächtigen günstling des Antiochos II liegt nahe". Anders E. Schwartz, *Aristos*, RE II 1895, Sp. 1010 ca. 200 oder 150.

[5] So Weinreich, *a.O.*, S. 12 mit Anm. 52 = S. 316 mit Anm. 52; W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind*, London 1933 (= Proceedings of the British Academy XIX), S. 39 Anm. 109; idem, *Alexander the Great*, II: *Sources and Studies*, Cambridge 1948, S. 429 Anm. 2; E. Wüst, *Uranopolis* 1, RE IX A 1, 1961, Sp. 965; J. Ferguson, *Utopias of the Classical World*, Ithaca, New York 1975, S. 108; H. Gärtner, *Uranopolis*, KP V 1975, Sp. 1060. Man muss jedoch zugeben, dass eine Identifikation mit unserem Alexarchos auch Bedenken aufkommen lässt. Vgl. D. Hennig, *Die Flucht nach Utopia*, [in:] K. Dietz et al. (Hrsg.), Klassisches Altertum, Spätantike und frühes Christentum. A. Lippold zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet, Würzburg 1993, S. 49 Anm. 50 „ist völlig offen".

[6] Zu Recht behauptet aber Weinreich, *a.O.*, S. 100 = S. 404: „Die ganze Liste des Clem(ens) über Selbstvergöttlichungen soll ihm (scil. Aristos) damit keineswegs zugeschrieben werden".

[7] Bereits im 18. Jh. haben die Herausgeber des Προτρεπτικός des Clemens von Alexandrien diesen Alexarchos mit dem Gründer von Uranopolis identifiziert (J. Potter, Venetiis 1757, I, S. 48. Ähnlich W. Dindorf, Oxonii 1869, IV, S. 35.

[8] Zu Menekrates siehe vor allem Weinreich, *a.O.*, S. 3 – 27, 91 – 104 = S. 307 – 331, 395 – 408; F. Muccioli, *Un medico che si credeva Zeus: Menecrate di Siracusa. Osservazioni su un caso di Gottmenschentum nel IV secolo A.C.*, Rivista di Storia della Medicina XXXI (NS X) 2000, S. 403 – 413.

[9] Zwar war Nikagoras eine Zeit lang Tyrann von Zelea in Mysien, doch er wurde 334, nach dem Sieg von Alexander dem Großen am Granikos, entmachtet. Aus diesem Grund wird er den ἰδιῶται und nicht den Herrschern zugerechnet worden sein. Siehe Anm. 38.

[10] Weinreich, *a.O.*, S. 105 – 108 = S. 409 – 412.

[11] M. Winiarczyk, *Theologische Ansichten des Euhemeros von Messene und ihre „Quellen"*, Eos

tes geheilter Epileptiker gewesen sein, der daraufhin in seinem Gefolge die Rolle des Helios zugewiesen bekam[12]. Man muss allerdings zugeben, dass diese Ansicht von Athenaios (App. II 1) nicht bezeugt wird, der vier dem Gefolge von Menekrates Zeus angehörende Personen erwähnt, doch unter ihnen fehlt der Name Alexarchos. Freilich handelt es sich hierbei nicht um ein vollständiges Verzeichnis von Menschen, die den θεῖος χορός bildeten, sondern um ein kurzes Exzerpt, das etwa auch die das Asklepios-Kostüm tragende Person nicht aufführt. Daher widerlegt die Tatsache, dass Alexarchos im Text von Athenaios nicht vorkommt, Weinreichs Behauptung keineswegs. Genauso wenig widersprechen die chronologischen Gründe dem Faktum, dass Alexarchos dem Kreis um Menekrates angehört hatte[13]. Zwar ist die Lebenszeit des Arztes von Syrakus nicht bekannt[14], aber es ist nachgewiesen, dass er Briefe an die Spartanerkönige Agesilaos II. (399 – 360/359)[15] und Archidamos III (361/360 – 338)[16] sowie an Philipp II. (359 – 336) schickte, den er auch in Makedonien besuchte[17]. Es scheint mir daher glaubwürdig, dass der Briefwechsel etwa in die Zeitspanne von 365 – 350/340 gefallen sein muss. Nicht auszuschließen ist ebenfalls die Möglichkeit, dass Menekrates noch einmal in Makedonien während der Herrschaftszeit von Antipatros († 319) weilte und eben damals Alexarchos' Epilepsie auskurierte. Das Argument von Tarn (S. 434), Kassandros habe ja nicht zulassen können, dass sein Bruder Menekrates' Sklave werden sollte, überzeugt nicht, denn Menekrates' Gefolge gehörten etwa der hervorragende Feldherr Nikostratos (s. App. II 1) und Nikagoras, Tyrann von Zelea (s. oben Anm. 9) an.

Jeglicher Begründung entbehrt hingegen Weinreichs Vermutung, Alexarchos sei schizophren[18], denn antike Quellen liefern keine Beweise für diese Annahme. Darüber hinaus bin ich der Meinung, dass diejenigen Forscher, die in Alexarchos einen Wahnsinnigen, Narren oder Sonderling sehen, im Unrecht sind[19].

LXXXVII 2000, S. 75 – 80 („Euergetismus"); idem, *Euhemeros von Messene. Leben, Werk und Nachwirkung*, München-Leipzig 2002 (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde CLVII), S. 43 – 50.

[12] Ähnlich W ü s t, *a.O.,* Sp. 965; G ä r t n e r, *a.O.,* Sp. 1060; J. V o g t, *Sklaverei und Humanität. Studien zur antiken Sklaverei und ihrer Erforschung*, Wiesbaden [2]1972 (Historia Einzelschriften VIII), S. 44. Anders T a r n, *a.O.,* S. 433 – 434; M.P. N i l s s o n, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, II, München [4]1988, S. 138: „scheint nicht ausgemacht".

[13] Anders T a r n, *a.O.,* S. 433 – 434: „he must have been middle-aged at least by, and perhaps long before, 360", aber seine Argumentation wirkt matt. Er war sich aber selbst der Bedenklichkeit seiner These sehr wohl bewusst, denn er schreibt, *a.O.,* S. 433: „But even if it were not so". Neulich hat H e n n i g, *a.O.,* S. 50 Anm. 51 Tarns Argumentation anerkannt, doch zugleich keiner kritischen Überprüfung unterzogen.

[14] Laut V. N u t t o n, DNP VII 1999, Sp. 1229 lebte Menekrates um 350 v. Chr., und F. K u d l i e n, KP III 1969, Sp. 1207 hingegen verwies hierzu auf die zweite Hälfte des 4. Jhs. Vgl. M u c c i o l i, *a.O.* S. 404: „l'acme (...) può essere fissata tra gli anni '60 e gli anni '30 del IV secolo a.C.".

[15] Plut. *Ages*. 21; *Reg. et imp. apophth* 191 A; *Apophth. Lac*. 213 A.

[16] Athen. *Dipnosoph*. 7, 33 p. 289 E.

[17] Hegesandros (FHG IV 414) ap. Athen. 7, 33 – 34 p. 289 C-F; Ael. *VH* 12, 51.

[18] W e i n r e i c h, *a.O.,* S. 14 = S. 318: „eine schizophrene Psychose", S. 76 = S. 380.

[19] Siehe z.B. B. N i e s e, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeronea*, I, Gotha 1893, S. 257: „ein literarisch gebildeter Sonderling"; O. H o f f m a n n, *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum*, Göttingen 1906 (ND Hildesheim 1974), S. 266: „ein wunderlicher Heiliger";

2. Uranopolis in Makedonien

a) Gründungsumstände und -zeit

Im Winter 316/315 belagerte Kassandros Olympias in Pydna. Nach ihrer Kapitulation und Verurteilung zum Tode durch die Soldatenversammlung schwang er sich im Frühling 315 zum Alleinherrscher über ganz Makedonien auf[20]. Um seine Herrschaft zu legitimieren, heiratete er Thessalonike, die Tochter von Philipp II.[21], und internierte Roxane und ihren Sohn Alexander in Amphipolis (Diod. 19, 52, 4), während er offiziell im Namen des minderjährigen Alexander IV. regierte. Um 316 gründete er zwei Städte — Kassandreia an der Stelle des ehemaligen Potidaia (Strab. 7, fr. 25 p. 390; Diod. 19, 52, 2; Paus 5, 23, 3) und Thessalonike (Strab. 7, fr. 21 p. 330)[22]. Es liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass etwa zur gleichen Zeit Uranopolis (Οὐρανόπολις) auf der Athoshalbinsel entstanden sein[23] und eine wichtige Rolle in Kassandros' politischen Plänen gespielt haben muss. Die von Alexarchos gegründete Stadt war strategisch günstig gelegen, denn sie schützte die ostchalkidische Küste[24] und bildete das Pendant zur auf der Westküste der Halbinsel gelegenen Stadt Kassandreia. Kassandros war ein pragmatischer Herrscher und ließ sich als Gebieter über Makedonien

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W.W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, Oxford 1913, S. 90 – 91, 185: „Kassandros' half-mad brother" (später änderte er allerdings seinen Standpunkt in: *Alexander the Great*..., S. 429: „I propose to take him seriously"); U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos*, I, Berlin 1924, S. 10: „ein harmloser Narr"; Nilsson, *GGR* II, S. 509: „der tolle Bruder des Kassandros"; M.I. Finley, *Utopianism Ancient and Modern*, [in:] K.H. Wolff, B. Moore (Hrsg.), The Critical Spirit. Essays in Honor of H. Marcuse, Boston 1967, S. 16, ND [in:] idem, *The Use and Abuse of History*, London 1975, S. 188: „And Alexarchus carries us all the way back to lunacy and its personal fantasies"; F. Börner, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom*, III, Stuttgart [2]1990, S. 169 Anm. 4: „offenbar ein Phantast"; O. Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage from the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336 – 188 B.C.)*, edited by Ph. Gierson and U. Westermark, Cambridge 1991, S. 60: „a strange character"; Hennig, *a.O.*, S. 48: „eine exzentrische Persönlichkeit".

[20] Diod. 19, 49, 1 – 51, 5; Paus. 9, 7, 2; Iust. 14, 6. Siehe z.B. Stähelin, *a.O.*, Sp. 2298 (Frühling 316); R.A. Billows, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1990, S. 104 – 105; Ch. Habicht, *Athen. Die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit*, München 1995, S. 70. Vgl. R.M. Errington, *The Nature of the Macedonian State under the Monarchy*, Chiron VIII 1978, S. 118 – 119 (über die Verurteilung von Olympias zum Tode).

[21] Diod. 19, 52, 1. 61, 2; Strab. 7, fr. 21 p. 330. Laut Iust. 14, 6 war Thessalonike die Tochter des Königs Arrhidaios.

[22] Zur Gründung und Verfassung von Kassandreia und Thessalonike siehe F.W. Walbank, *Macedonia and Greece*, [in:] CAH VII 1, [2]1984, S. 227 – 228. Vgl. Ch. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*, München [2]1970 (Zetemata XIV), S. 37.

[23] Siehe z.B. Stähelin, *a.O.*, Sp. 2299; Weinreich, *a.O.*, S. 12 = S. 316 „wohl nach 316"; Tarn, *a.O.*, S. 430 „very soon after 316"; Gärtner, *a.O.*, Sp. 1060; M. Zahrnt, *Olynth und die Chalkidier. Untersuchungen zur Staatenbildung auf der Chalkidischen Halbinsel im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, München 1971 (Vestigia XIV), S. 210 um 315. Vgl. Berve, *a.O.*, S. 21 „nach Alexanders Zeit"; Ph. Lederer, *Symbole der Aphrodite Urania*, Zeitschrift für Numismatik XLI 1931, S. 48 „etwa um 300"; Mørkholm, *a.O.*, S. 60 „between 316 and 300".

[24] So Th. Desdevises-Du-Dezert, *Géographie ancienne de la Macédoine*, Paris 1863, S. 126. Auch R.M. Errington, *A History of Macedonia*, New York 1993, S. 133 neigt dazu, die Gründung von Uranopolis mit der Politik des Kassandros in Verbindung zu bringen.

von keinen Sentimentalitäten leiten. Daher gehe ich davon aus, dass die Gründung von Uranopolis nicht auf eine Laune des Alexarchos zurückzuführen, sondern als Ausdruck des realpolitischen Denkens seines älteren Bruders zu betrachten ist.

An dieser Stelle sei noch erwähnt, dass P. McKechnie einen anderen Grund für die Entstehung von Uranopolis postuliert[25]. Er vertritt die Ansicht, die Gründung der Stadt gehe auf die Athener zurück, die von Antipatros nach dem Lamischen Krieg entrechtet und 322 v. Chr. nach Thrakien zwangsumgesiedelt worden waren (Diod. 18, 18, 4 – 5; Plut. *Phocion* 28, 3). Zwar habe man ihnen gestattet, 319 Thrakien zu verlassen, doch ein Teil von ihnen dürfte zurückgeblieben sein und eben Uranopolis bewohnt haben. Für die Bestätigung dieser Hypothese lassen sich allerdings keine Beweise erbringen, wessen sich ihr Autor auch bewusst ist[26].

b) Lokalisation

Einige frühere Forscher stellten die Behauptung auf, Uranopolis habe sich auf dem Gipfel des Berges Athos befunden, weil sie den Text von Plinius dem Älteren (s. App. I 4) falsch interpretierten[27]. Die meisten Wissenschaftler mutmaßten, dass die Stadt auf dem Isthmos der Akte d.h. der Athoshalbinsel in der Nähe des auf Befehl des Perserkönigs Xerxes angelegten Kanals erbaut worden war (s. App. I 2)[28]. Einige von ihnen standen zudem auf dem Standpunkt, dass Uranopolis an der Stelle gegründet wurde, wo früher die Stadt Sane gelegen hatte, oder aber in der nächsten Umgebung[29], doch die antiken Quellen bestätigen eine solche Annahme nicht. Sehr verlockend klingt die Hypothese, dass die ausgedehnten Ruinen auf dem Isthmos südwestlich von Ierissos mit Uranopolis identisch seien[30]. Zwar entspricht ihre Größe der von Strabon überlieferten In-

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[25] P. McKechnie, *Outsiders in the Greek Cities in the Fourth Century BC*, London – New York 1989, S. 55.

[26] McKechnie, *l.c.* „The hypothesis cannot be proved, but it has a good deal in its favour".

[27] G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, II, Gotha ^{2}1878, S. 250 Anm. 2; B.V. Head, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Macedonia*, edited by R.S. Poole, London 1879 (ND Bologna 1963), S. XXXII-XXXIII; idem, *Historia numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics*, new and enlarged edition, Oxford 1911, S. 206; H.C. Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought*, Cambridge 1965, S. 124; Finley, *a.O.*, S. 16. Zu Recht wurde diese Behauptung bereits von K.J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, IV 1, Berlin – Leipzig ^{2}1925, S. 273 Anm. 3 abgelehnt.

[28] So z.B. V. Tscherikower, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit*, Leipzig 1927 (Philologus Suppl. XIX 1), S. 3; Lederer, *a.O.*, S. 48; Zahrnt, *a.O.*, S. 209; McKechnie, *a.O.*, S. 55; Hennig, *a.O.*, S. 47; F. Papazoglou, *Les villes de Macédoine à l'époque romaine*, Athènes – Paris 1988 (BCH suppl. XVI), S. 431; M. Zahrnt, *Uranopolis*, DNP XII 1, 2002, Sp. 1025.

[29] W.M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, III, London 1835 (ND Amsterdam 1967), S. 149; Desdevises-Du-Dezert, *a.O.*, S. 126 Anm. 3; A.-J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, II, Paris 1950 (ND Paris 1990), S. 191; Ferguson, *a.O.*, S. 109 „a refoundation of Sane"; Errington, *a.O.*, S. 133 „in the neighbourhood of Akanthos".

[30] Zahrnt, *a.O.*, S. 210. Ähnlich A. Struck, *Makedonische Fahrten*, I: *Chalkidike*, Wien-Leipzig 1907, S. 67; idem, *Der Xerxeskanal am Athos*, NJA XIX 1907, S. 130.

formation, dass die Umfassungsmauer der Stadt 30 Stadien lang gewesen sein soll (s. App. I 2), doch man muss zugleich einräumen, dass man bisher keine einzige Inschrift entdeckt hat, die einer solchen Identifikation Bahn brechen würde.

c) Stadtcharakter

Mehrere Forscher sind der Auffassung, dass es Alexarchos vorschwebte, eine ideale Polis zu schaffen, d.h. eine Utopie zu verwirklichen[31]. Zur Untermauerung dieser Meinung pflegte man sich folgender Argumente zu bedienen: 1) eigentümlicher Stadtname — Uranopolis (Himmelsstadt) und ungewöhnliche Bezeichnung für die Bewohner Οὐρανῖδαι (Kinder bzw. Nachkommen des Uranos), und nicht Οὐρανοπολῖται, 2) Alexarchos hielt sich für Helios und seine Untertanen hießen ἡλιοκρατεῖς, also die von Helios Regierten, 3) die Stadt prägte ihre eigenen Silber- und Kupfermünzen, auf denen Aphrodite Urania sowie die Sonne, der Mond und die Sterne abgebildet waren, 4) die Sonne spielte nicht nur in Uranopolis eine wichtige Rolle, sondern auch in den Utopien von Euhemeros und Jambulos wie auch im Staate des Aristonikos, also Eumenes III., der seine Anhänger als Ἡλιοπολῖται bezeichnete.

Es scheint mir, dass die oben angeführten Argumente die These, Alexarchos habe seine Utopie mit Unterstützung von Kassandros in die Tat umgesetzt, gar nicht belegen. Zunächst bin ich der Ansicht, dass zahlreiche Forscher sich keine Gedanken darüber machen, was der Begriff Utopie bedeutet, und daher kritiklos Meinungen reproduzieren, die schon früher von anderen Wissenschaftlern formuliert wurden. In der Utopie sehe ich ein ernsthaftes literarisches Projekt einer neuen, besseren Gesellschaft, in der die Menschen ein glückliches Leben führen würden. Es ist eigentlich nicht dafür bestimmt, unmittelbar Wirklichkeit zu werden, sondern es dient dazu, den Leser darüber aufzuklären, dass die bestehende Gesellschaftsordnung nicht vollkommen ist und verbessert oder gar von Grund auf verändert werden kann. Für die Utopie sensu stricto halte ich also die politische Utopie, wohingegen ich utopische Motive in die Kategorie Wunschdenken (wishful thinking) einordne, das im Mythos (Goldenes Zeitalter, die Inseln der Seligen), der Fantasie (Automaten, die die Menschen bei der Arbeit entlasten, Schlaraffenland), der Idealisierung der Urvölker und der literarischen Konvention *locus amoenus* zum Ausdruck kommt. Zwar sprechen einige Forscher gelegentlich auch noch vom utopischen Handeln, indem sie sich hier an die Konzeption des Soziologen Karl Mannheim (1893 – 1947) anlehnen, aber eine solche Annäherung an das Problem scheint mir unbegründet[32].

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[31] z.B. N i l s s o n, *GGR* II, S. 138; W ü s t, *a.O.,* Sp. 965 „die utopische Gründung"; F e r g u s o n, *a.O.,* S. 110; P. G r e e n, *Alexander to Actium. The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age,* Berkeley – Los Angeles 1990, S. 395; M ø r k h o l m, *a.O.,* S. 60 „utopian enterprise"; H e n n i g, *a.O.,* S. 50 „doch ist der utopische Gesamtcharakter dieses Unternehmens kaum zu bezweifeln"; idem, *Utopia politica*, [in:] S. Settis (Hrsg.), I Greci. Storia, cultura, arte, società, II 3, Torino 1998, S. 522.

[32] Zu verschiedenen Utopie-Definitionen siehe M. W i n i a r c z y k, *Zur Problematik der antiken Utopie*, Eos LXXXIX 2002, S. 94 – 102.

Es gibt keine Überlieferungen, denen man entnehmen könnte, dass es Alexarchos' Absicht war, eine bessere Gesellschaft ins Leben zu rufen. Zugegebenermaßen geben die antiken Quellen keine Auskunft über die politische Verfassung von Uranopolis oder seine Gesellschaftsstruktur. Daraus lässt sich aber der Schluss ziehen, dass es sich also von den anderen makedonischen Städten kaum unterschieden haben muss, denn die antiken Autoren nahmen nur Außergewöhnliches zur Kenntnis (vgl. Athenaios' Aufmerksamkeit lenkte Alexarchos' Brief auf sich, s. App. I 3) und ignorierten das ihnen Vertraute. Darüber hinaus stehen wir vor einem Rätsel, wenn wir die Position des Alexarchos in der Stadt bestimmen wollen, denn Clemens von Alexandrien hat ihn nicht den Herrschern, sondern den Privatleuten zugerechnet. Er wird also keinen offiziellen Posten innegehabt haben, weswegen die Vermutung W.W. Tarns, dass Alexarchos in Uranopolis eine ähnliche Rolle gespielt habe wie Demetrios von Phaleron, der als προστάτης bzw. ἐπιστάτης von Athen in den Jahren 317 – 307 in der Stadt als Kassandros' Vertrauter regierte, jeglicher Grundlage zu entbehren scheint.[33] Noch unglaubwürdiger mutet die Hypothese an, Alexarchos habe in Uranopolis als der Gott Helios geherrscht und dessen Bewohner als ἡλιοκρατεῖς bezeichnet[34]. Man darf nicht vergessen, dass dieses Wort eine von W. Schmid in den Brief des Alexarchos eingeführte Konjektur ist[35], der ohne weiteres davon ausging, dass Alexarchos in der Stadt als Helios geherrscht hatte. Wir haben hier mit einem typischen Beispiel für den circulus vitiosus in der Beweisführung zu tun.

Zwar trug Alexarchos ein Helios-Kostüm (s. App. I 1) und identifizierte sich mit diesem Gott, doch dies zeugt keineswegs von seiner Extravaganz oder gar einer Geisteskrankheit. Er hatte in dieser Hinsicht eine Reihe von Vorgängern und Nachfolgern. Klearchos, Tyrann in Herakleia am Pontos (364/363 – 353)[36], hielt sich für Zeus' Sohn und forderte göttliche Ehren von seinen Untertanen. In ein Purpurgewand gekleidet, trug er einen goldenen Kranz auf dem Kopf, in der Hand hielt er das Zepter und den Blitz, an den Füßen hatte er Kothurne. Vor sich

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[33] T a r n, *a.O.*, S. 430. Zur Regierung des Demetrios von Phaleron siehe z.B. H a b i c h t (Anm. 20), S. 62 – 73; B. D r e y e r, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des spätklassischen Athen (322- ca. 230 v. Chr.)*, Stuttgart 1999 (Hermes Einzelschriften CXXXVII), S. 180 – 184.

[34] W e i n r e i c h, *a.O.*, S. 13 = S. 317; O. K e r n, *Die Religion der Griechen*, III, Berlin 1938, S. 124; T a r n, *a.O.*, S. 431.

[35] W. S c h m i d ap. W e i n r e i c h, *a.O.*, S. 109 = S. 413, siehe auch S. 13 = S. 317. Athenaios überlieferte die Form ἡλιοκρεῖς . H o f f m a n n, *a.O.*, S. 267 schlug früher die Konjektur Ἡλίου ἱερεῖς vor, wohingegen W i l a m o w i t z - M o e l l e n d o r f f, *a.O.*, S. 10 Anm. 4 die handschriftliche Lesart beibehielt.

[36] Zu Klearchos: C. M o s s é, *Un aspect de la crise de la cité grecque au IV^e siècle. La recrudescence de la tyrannie*, Revue philosophique LXXXVII 1962, S. 6 – 9; H. B e r v e, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*, München 1967, S. 315 – 318, 680 – 681; S.M. B u r s t e i n, *Outpost of Hellenism. The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1976, S. 47 – 65, 125 – 134; L.J. S a n d e r s, *From Dionysius to Augustus: Some Thoughts on the Nachleben of Dionysius I of Syracus*, Kokalos XXXVI – – XXXVII 1990 – 1991 [1994], S. 117 – 124; K. T r a m p e d a c h, *Platon, die Akademie und die zeitgenössische Politik*, Stuttgart 1994 (Hermes Einzelschriften LXVI), S. 79 – 87; A. B i t t n e r, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft in Herakleia Pontike. Eine Polis zwischen Tyrannis und Selbstverwaltung*, Bonn 1998, S. 24 – 34.

ließ er einen goldenen Adler des Zeus tragen und seinen jüngeren Sohn nannte er Keraunos[37]. Nikagoras, Tyrann in Zelea in Mysien (bis 334), hingegen hielt sich für Hermes, trug deswegen die Chlamys dieses Gottes, Flügelschuhe, und in der Hand das Kerykeion. Außerdem gehörte er einem θεῖος χορός des Menekrates an[38]. Es sei hierzu noch erwähnt, dass sich sogar Alexander der Große fürs Symposion gern als einen der Götter (Ammon, Artemis, Hermes, Herakles) kostümierte[39]. Da diese Herrscher von niemand für verrückt gehalten wurden, sollte man dies auch nicht Alexarchos antun.

Der Stadtname ist zugegebenermaßen recht originell, doch damit fundiert man die Hypothese, dass „die Benennung der neuen Stadt als Uranopolis (...) eine ideologisch-programmatische Bedeutung gehabt haben"[40] müsse, bei weitem noch nicht. Auch den in Uranopolis geprägten Silber- (Drachmen und Didrachmen) und Kupfermünzen[41] kommt der Wert eines endgültigen Beweises keinesfalls zu. „Sie zeigen auf der Vorderseite eine gezackte Sonnenscheibe bzw. Sonne in Form eines achtstrahligen Sterns oder den achtstrahligen Sonnenstern mit Mondsichel, auf der Rückseite stets eine einhellig als Aphrodite Urania gedeutete weibliche Figur im langen Ärmelchiton auf der Himmelskugel sitzend mit einem konischen, von einem Stern bekrönten Kopfschmuck, ein Szepter mit Sonnenscheibe in der rechten Hand, das mit einer verschieden ausgestalteten Tänie verziert ist. Links im Feld findet sich ein acht- oder fünfstrahliger Stern bzw. ein konischer Stein mit einem Stern auf der Spitze"[42]. Die Legende lautet ΟΥΡΑΝΙΔΩΝ oder ΟΥΡΑΝΙΔΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ. Man sollte noch hinzufügen, dass die interessantesten Tetradrachmen (auf der Vorderseite Sonne, darüber Mondsichel, im Kreis um die Sonne fünf Sterne) von den meisten Forschern für eine moderne Fälschung befunden wurden[43]. Überdies sollte man

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[37] Iust. 16, 5, 8 – 11; Plut. *Alex. M. fort. aut virt.* 5 p. 338 B; Memnon (*F Gr Hist* 434 F 1) ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 224; Ael. fr. 86 Hercher = fr. 89 Domingo-Forasté ap. Sudam s.v. Κλέαρχος (III 126 – 127 Adler).

[38] Zu Nikagoras: Weinreich, *a.O.,* S. 11. 98 = S. 315. 402; F. Taeger, *Charisma. Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkultes*, I, Stuttgart 1957, S. 165; Berve, *a.O.,* S. 314; L.J. Sanders, *Dionysius I of Syracuse and the Origins of the Ruler Cult in the Greek World*, Historia XL 1991, S. 283. Siehe Baton (*F Gr Hist* 268 F 2) ap. Athen. 7, 33 p. 289 C; Cl. Al. *Protr.* 4, 54, 4.

[39] Ephippos (*F Gr Hist* 126 F 5) ap. Athen. 12, 53 p. 537 EF. Siehe F. Jacoby, *F Gr Hist* II D, Berlin 1930, S. 439 und E. Neuffer, *Das Kostüm Alexanders d. Gr.*, Diss. Gießen 1929, S. 11 – 17, 39 – 53.

[40] Hennig, *a.O.,* S. 48.

[41] Siehe Head, *A Catalogue* (Anm. 27), S. 133 – 134; P. Gardner, *Ares as a Sun God and Solar Symbols on the Coins of Macedon and Thrace*, Numismatic Chronicle XX 1880, S. 49 – 61, bes. 58 – 59 und die Tafel IV (Nr. 15 – 17); F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, Amsterdam 1883, S. 96 – 98. 517; Head, *Historia* (Anm. 27), S. 206; P. Gardner, *A History of Ancient Coinage 700 – 300 B.C.*, Oxford 1918, S. 430 – 431; E. Babelon, *Traité de monnaies grecques et romaines*, II 4, 3, Paris 1928, S. 653 – 658 und die Tafel CCCXVIII (Nr. 16 – 19); Lederer, *Symbole* (Anm. 23) , S. 47 – 54 und die Tafel V (Nr. 1 – 9); H. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen von Makedonien und Paionia*, Berlin 1935 (= Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands, III 2), S. 132 – 133 und die Tafel XXV (Nr. 1 – 5); N. Breitenstein, *Studies in the Coinage of the Macedonian Kings*, Acta Archaeologica XIII 1942, S. 248 – 250.

[42] Hennig, *a.O.,* S. 48.

[43] H. Gaebler, *Fälschungen makedonischer Münzen*, Sitzungsberichte d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1931, S. 195 – 215, bes. S. 209 mit Anm. 4; Lederer, *a.O.,* S. 48 – 51; Wüst, *a.O.,* Sp. 966;

nicht die Tatsache aus den Augen verlieren, dass diese Münzen in Uranopolis gleich nach der Stadtgründung in einer kleinen Zahl geprägt und schon bald durch die gewöhnlichen Münzen mit den Abbildungen von Philipp II. und Alexander dem Großen, die auch in anderen makedonischen Städten (z.B. Amphipolis) im Umlauf waren[44], ergänzt wurden. Das Prägen von Silbermünzen ermöglichten die in der Nähe von Uranopolis gelegenen Silberminen[45].

Die antiken Autoren glaubten, der Kult der Aphrodite Urania sei aus Phönikien (der berühmteste Tempel der Astarte befand sich in Askalon) über Zypern und/oder Kythera nach Griechenland übertragen worden[46]. Man muss freilich zugeben, dass es nach wie vor umstritten ist, ob die orientalische Herkunft der Aphrodite als ein historisches Faktum oder aber als ein pseudohistorisches Aition betrachtet werden sollte[47]. Jedenfalls war der Kult der Aphrodite Urania in Griechenland, und insbesondere auf den Inseln und in der Küstengegend sehr verbreitet[48]. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass er auch in Thrakien bekannt war. Meine Zweifel weckt jedoch die Behauptung „that the armed Sidonian deity Astarte (...) had long had a footing in Macedon as consort of the Thracian Ares"[49]. Manche Forscher äußerten die Vermutung, dass zu der Installierung und Verbreitung des Kultes der Aphrodite in Uranopolis die Tatsache beigetragen habe, dass die Paionen, ein Nachbarvolk der Makedonier, dessen Vertreter womöglich in der Stadt wohnten, dem Gott Helios Verehrung entgegenbrachten[50]. Man kann also klar sehen, dass der Kult der Aphrodite Urania keineswegs Verbindungen zur Utopie implizieren muss. Meines Erachtens weist alles darauf hin, dass O. Weinreich Recht hatte, als er behauptete, man könne nicht sagen, „ob etwa phi-

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Hennig, *a.O.,* S. 48 Anm. 46. Zwar verteidigte Breitenstein, *a.O.,* S. 248 – 249 die Authentizität der Tetradrachmen, doch er gab zu, die Münzen nicht gesehen zu haben.

[44] Breitenstein, *a.O.,* S. 248 – 250; Mørkholm (Anm. 19), S. 60.

[45] Mørkholm, *a.O.,* 60 mit Anm. 8.

[46] Hdt. 1, 105, 3; Paus. 1, 14, 7; 3, 23, 1.

[47] Siehe z.B. Wüst, *Urania*, RE IX A 1, 1961, Sp. 938 – 939; C. Bonnet, *Astarté. Dossier documentaire et perspectives historique*, Roma 1996 (Collezione di Studi Fenici XXXVII), S. 147 – 150 („Le rapprochement avec Aphrodite"); Y. Ustinova, *The Supreme Gods of the Bosphoran Kingdom. Celestial Aphrodite and the Most High God*, Leiden – Boston – Köln 1999 (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World CXXXV), S. 35 – 40 („Aphrodite Ourania in Greek Tradition"); C. Bonnet, V. Pirenne-Delforge, *Deux déesses en interaction: Astarté et Aphrodite dans le monde égéen*, [in:] C. Bonnet, A. Motte (Hrsg.), Les syncrétismes religieux dans le monde méditerranéen antique. Actes du Colloque International en l'honneur de F. Cumont à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa mort. Rome, Academia Belgica, 25 – 27 septembre 1997, Bruxelles – Rome 1999, S. 249 – 273.

[48] Siehe V. Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque. Contribution à l'étude de ses cultes et de sa personnalité dans le panthéon archaïque et classique*, Athènes – Liège 1994 (Kernos suppl. IV), S. 513 (index s.v. Aphrodite Ourania). Hdt. 4, 59 identifiziert die von den Skythen verehrte Göttin Argimpasa (bzw. Arimeasa) mit der Aphrodite Urania. Zur Gegenüberstellung Aphrodite Urania — Aphrodite Pandemos siehe Wüst, *Urania*, Sp. 939 – 941; V. Pirenne-Delforge, *Epithètes cultuelles et interprétation philosophique. À propos d'Aphrodite Ourania et Pandemos à Athènes*, AC LVII 1988, S. 142 – 157.

[49] Gardner, *Ares*, S. 59. Vgl. Babelon, *a.O.,* S. 657; Ferguson, *a.O.,* S. 109.

[50] Lederer, *a.O.,* S. 52 – 53. Siehe Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 2, 8 (p. 19 Trapp) Παίονες σέβουσιν μὲν Ἥλιον, ἄγαλμα δὲ Ἡλίου Παιονικὸν δίσκος βραχὺς ὑπὲρ μακροῦ ξύλου.

losophische Ideen hinter der Gründung von Uranopolis standen, ob die Verwirklichung (...) eines Idealstaates (...) angestrebt war"[51].

Ich bin davon überzeugt, dass sich die Ansicht, der Sonnenkult in Uranopolis stünde in irgendeinem Zusammenhang mit den Werken von Euhemeros und Jambulos, in denen vom Kult der Himmelskörper die Rede ist, nicht aufrechterhalten lässt[52]. Man darf nicht vergessen, dass ihnen schon Platon († 347) und Aristoteles († 322) im 4. Jh. v. Chr. Göttlichkeit zusprachen und der Kult der Himmelskörper in der hellenistischen Zeit recht verbreitet war[53]. Des Weiteren halte ich die Behauptung, Aristonikos, ein Prätendent auf den Thron der Attaliden in Pergamon, habe, als er 132 v. Chr. seine Anhänger Ἡλιοπολῖται nannte[54], damit auf das Werk von Jambulos und Alexarchos' Uranopolis angespielt, für unbegründet[55]. Diese oberflächlichen Analogien beweisen nichts, weswegen man sich in einem ernsthaften wissenschaftlichen Diskurs auf sie lieber nicht berufen sollte. An dieser Stelle sei an das neunte, von K. Lehrs in seinem Brief an Ch.A. Lobeck von 1873 formulierte philologische Gebot erinnert: „Du sollst nicht glauben, dass zehn schlechte Gründe gleich sind einem guten"[56]. Zwar vermögen die Ausführungen von W. Baege in Bezug auf die Existenz des Kultes nicht nur von Helios[57] und Aphrodite, sondern auch von Zeus und Ares in Uranopolis nicht zu überzeugen[58],

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[51] Weinreich, *a.O.*, S. 15 = S. 319.

[52] So Tarn (Anm. 5), S. 24 – 25; Weinreich, *a.O.*, S. 14 – 15 = S. 318 – 319; Tarn, *a.O.*, S. 432 – 433; F. Altheim, R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, I, Berlin 1964, S. 90; Hennig, *a.O.*, S. 48 – 49. Euhemeros: T 25 Winiarczyk ap. Diod. 6, 1 – 2 (= Eus. *PE* 2, 2, 52 – 53) τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀιδίους καὶ ἀφθάρτους (scil. θεούς) εἶναί φασιν, οἷον ἥλιον τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα τὰ κατ᾽ οὐρανόν; T 38 W. ap. Diod. 5, 44, 3 Ἡλίου ὕδωρ ; T 49 W. ap. Diod. 6, 1, 8 – 9 (= Eus. *PE* 2, 2, 58 – 59) Οὐρανὸν (...) τῆς τῶν ἄστρων κινήσεως ἐπιστήμονα, ὃν καὶ πρῶτον τιμῆσαι τοὺς οὐρανίους θεούς; T 50 W. ap. Diod. 5, 44, 5 – 6. Jambulos: Diod. 2, 57, 3; 2, 59, 2 σέβονται δὲ θεοὺς τὸ περιέχον πάντα καὶ καθόλου πάντα τὰ οὐράνια; 2, 59, 7 ᾄδεσθαι παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ὕμνους καὶ ἐγκώμια, μάλιστα δὲ εἰς τὸν ἥλιον, οὗ τάς τε νήσους καὶ ἑαυτοὺς προσαγορεύουσι. Es ist hinzuzufügen, dass die Werke von Euhemeros und Jambulos keine Utopien sensu stricto, sondern Romane mit utopischen Motiven sind. Siehe M. Winiarczyk, ΙΕΡΑ᾽ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΗ *des Euhemeros von Messene — Forschungsgeschichte* (1876 – 1998) *und Interpretationsversuch*, Eos LXXXVII 2000, S. 227 – 239, bes. S. 234 f.; idem, *Das Werk des Jambulos. Forschungsgeschichte (1550 – 1988) und Interpretationsversuch*, RhM CXL 1997, S. 141 – 146.

[53] M.P. Nilsson, *The Origin of Belief among the Greeks in the Divinity of the Heavenly Bodies*, HThR XXXIII 1940, S. 1 – 8, ND [in:] idem, *Opuscula selecta*, III, Lund 1960, S. 31 – 39. Siehe Arist. *De caelo* 1, 9 p. 279a ff.; 2, 3 p. 286a 9. Vgl. *Epinomis* 981 E, 983 E, 984 D.

[54] Strab. 14, 1, 38 p. 646 ἡττηθεὶς ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ τὴν Κυμαίαν ὑπὸ Ἐφεσίων, εἰς δὲ τὴν μεσογαίαν ἀνιὼν ἤθροισε διὰ ταχέων πλῆθος ἀπόρων τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ δούλων ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθερίᾳ κατακεκλημένων, οὓς Ἡλιοπολίτας ἐκάλεσε.

[55] So Weinreich, *a.O.*, S. 15 = S. 319; Vogt (Anm. 12), S. 44; Bömer (Anm. 19), S. 169. Siehe kritische Bemerkungen bei Winiarczyk, *Das Werk des Jambulos*, S. 148 – 152.

[56] K. Lehrs, *Kleine Schriften*, Königsberg 1902, S. 476.

[57] Siehe E.B. Tsigarida, Στοιχεια για τη λατρεία του Ηλίου στην Οὐρανιδών πόλιν, Ancient Macedonia VI, 2, 1999, S. 1235 – 1246. Die Zusammenfassung des Artikels bei K. Chatzinikolaou, E. Voutiras, *Chronique archéologique de la religion grecque*, Kernos XIV 2001, S. 264.

[58] W. Baege, *De Macedonum sacris*, Diss. Halle 1913 (Diss. Phil. Hal. XXII 1), S. 17 (Zeus), 68 (Ares). Zwar nahm Weinreich, *a.O.*, S. 13 = S. 317 seine Schlussfolgerungen an, doch Wüst, *Uranopolis*, Sp. 965 brachte begründete Vorbehalte gegen sie vor.

aber es darf nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass man in der Stadt auch andere griechische Götter verehrte.

Ich stehe auf dem Standpunkt, dass die Meinung von Tarn, Alexarchos habe „a little World-State in miniature"[59] geschaffen, jeder Grundlage entbehrt. Die Bewohner sollen nach ihm als Uranos' Söhne Brüder gewesen sein, die zudem durch den gemeinsamen Kult der Aphrodite Urania und die von Alexarchos erfundene Sprache[60] zusammengehalten würden. Tarns Behauptung fußte auf der Annahme, dass schon Alexander der Große die Idee der Gleichheit und Brüderlichkeit aller Menschen propagiert habe, die dann nicht nur von Alexarchos, sondern auch von dem die Oikeiosis-Lehre verkündenden Peripatetiker Theophrastos und von Euhemeros von Messene in seinem Werk Ἱερὰ Ἀναγραφή wieder aufgegriffen würde. Diese kühne Hypothese wurde aber von den meisten Forschern verworfen[61], so dass ich gegen sie nicht mehr detailliert zu polemisieren brauche.

Einige Forscher sind der Überzeugung, Uranopolis habe nicht lange bestanden, denn spätere Quellen würden darauf nicht mehr eingehen. Im Gegensatz dazu sei die Geschichte der nahe von Uranopolis, südwestlich von Ierissos gelegenen Stadt Akanthos quellenmäßig gut dokumentiert[62]. Aber auch Tarn verschloss sich nicht der Möglichkeit, dass der Synoikismos nach Kassandros' Tod im Jahre 298/297 v. Chr. oder nach dem Erlöschen der Dynastie im Jahre 294 zusammengebrochen sei[63]. Allem Anschein nach sind wir nicht im Stande, den Zeitpunkt zu bestimmen, in dem die Stadt aufhörte zu existieren. Auf jeden Fall muss die merkwürdige Formulierung im Text des Plinius des Älteren — "nunc sunt Uranopolis (...)" (s. App. I 4) — bei weitem nicht bedeuten, dass Uranopolis noch im 1. Jh. n. Chr. bestand[64].

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[59] T a r n, *a.O.,* S. 430.

[60] Athenaios (s. App. I 3) führte den Anfang des Briefes von Alexarchos an die Stadtverwaltung von Kassandreia an. Bereits im Altertum wurde der Text nicht mehr verstanden, so dass alle Anstrengungen der neuzeitlichen Forscher, ihn zu entziffern, von vornherein zum Scheitern verurteilt sind. Zur neuen Sprache von Alexarchos siehe H o f f m a n n (Anm. 19), S. 266 – 268; T a r n, *a.O.,* S. 431; W e i n r e i c h, *a.O.,* S. 76 – 77 = S. 380 – 381, 108 – 110 = 412 – 414; F e r g u s o n (Anm. 5), S. 108 „the language is garbled Greek, not a blending of international languages".

[61] Siehe z.B. E. B a d i a n, *Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind*, Historia VII 1958, S. 425 – 444; B a l d r y (Anm. 27), S. 113 – 127; S. S t e r n, *Aristotle on the World-State*, Oxford 1968, S. 41; F. S c h a c h e r m e y r, *Alexander der Große. Das Problem seiner Persönlichkeit und seines Wirkens*, Wien 1973, S. 621 – 623, 634 – 635; H. B e n g t s o n, *Griechische Geschichte von den Anfängen bis in die römische Kaiserzeit*, München [5]1977, S. 361; A.B. B o s w o r t h, *Alexander and the East. The Tragedy of Triumph*, Oxford 1996, S. 4 mit Anm. 9; W i n i a r c z y k, ΊΕΡΑ ᾽ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΗ, S. 237.

[62] Z a h r n t (Anm. 23), S. 210. Vgl. W ü s t, *Uranopolis*, Sp. 965; G ä r t n e r (Anm. 5), Sp. 1060.

[63] T a r n, *a.O.,* S. 430. Ähnlich M ø r k h o l m (Anm. 19), S. 60.

[64] So T a r n, *a.O.,* S. 430 Anm. 5; P a p a z o g l o u (Anm. 28), S. 431 Anm. 101; H e n n i g (Anm. 5), S. 47 Anm. 42.

3. Uranopolis in Kabalien

Ptolemaios (2. Jh. n. Chr.) erwähnt in seinem Werk Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις (5, 5, 6) ein Uranopolis, das in Kabalien, in einer Landschaft im südwestlichen Kleinasien zwischen Lykien, Karien, Phrygien und Pisidien, gelegen haben soll[65]. Zwar hielt W.M. Ramsay den überlieferten Text für entstellt und schlug die Konjektur „Ouerbianopolis"[66] vor, aber er selbst räumte ein, dass „the change is violent". Dies dürfte der Grund dafür gewesen sein, warum nur so wenige Forscher diese kühne Konjektur zu akzeptieren bereit waren[67]. Ich bin der Auffassung, dass es sinnvoll ist, die überlieferte Lesart beizubehalten.

W.W. Tarn trat mit der Hypothese an die Öffentlichkeit, Uranopolis sei eine von Alexarchos gegründete Kolonie gewesen, „for two people could never hit upon that extraordinary name independently"[68]. J. Ferguson hielt dies für möglich, doch er schloss auch die andere Möglichkeit nicht aus, dass es sich hierbei um „another of Cassander's foundations, perhaps for his other brother Pleistarchus"[69] gehandelt haben konnte.

Pleistarchos[70], der jüngere Bruder von Kassandros, geboren nach 350 v. Chr., befehligte das makedonische Herr in der Schlacht bei Ipsos im Jahre 301[71]. Bei der Aufteilung des Antigonidenreiches war ihm Kilikien zugefallen, das er schon 299 v. Chr. an Demetrios Poliorketes verlor (Plut. *Dem*. 31, 6)[72]. Es ist jedoch überliefert, dass sich Pleistarchos' Herrschaft auch über Karien erstreckte, wo er an der Stelle von Herakleia am Latmos die Stadt Pleistarcheia gründete[73].

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[65] Viele Forscher geben falsch an, dass Uranopolis in Pamphylien gelegen habe.

[66] W.M. Ramsay, *Notes and Inscriptions from Asia Minor*, MDAI(A) X 1885, S. 342 „It is certainly tempting to substitute for the improbable Ouranopolis the form Ouerbianopolis (...)".

[67] K. Lanckoroński, *Die Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, II: Pisidien, Wien 1892, S. 191 Nr. 27 mit Anm. 3; E. Olshausen, *Uranopolis* 2, KP V 1975, Sp. 1060; vgl. idem, *Uranopolis* 2, DNP XII 1, 2002, Sp. 1025 „falls bei Ptol. 5, 5, 6 keine Verschreibung vorliegt".

[68] W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Chicago ^{3}1985, S. 12.

[69] Ferguson, *a.O.*, S. 109.

[70] Siehe z.B. H. Schaefer, *Pleistarchos*, RE XXI 1951, Sp. 197 – 199; A.P. Gregory, *A Macedonian* ΔΥΝΑΣΤΗΣ*: Evidence for the Life and Career of Pleistarchos Antipatrou,* Historia XLIV 1995, S. 11 – 28; O. Hülden, *Pleistarchos und die Befestigungsanlagen von Herakleia am Latmos*, Klio LXXXII 2000, S. 382 – 408; idem, *Pleistarchos,* DNP IX 2000, Sp. 1129 – 1130.

[71] Zur Schlacht Plut. *Dem*. 28, 2 – 29, 8; Diod. 21, 1 – 4b. Siehe B. Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army*, Cambridge 1976, S. 105 – 110; Billows (Anm. 20), S. 182 – 185.

[72] Aus dem Text von Plutarchos erhellt gar nicht, dass Pleistarchos keine anderen Territorien zuerkannt bekommen haben soll. So richtig A. Mastrocinque, *La Caria e la Ionia meridionale in epoca ellenistica (323 – 188 a.C.)*, Roma 1979 (Problemi e ricerche di storia antica VI), S. 39; K. Buraselis, *Das hellenistische Makedonien und die Ägäis. Forschungen zur Politik Kassandros' und der drei ersten Antigoniden (...) im Ägäischen Meer und in Westkleinasien*, München 1982 (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte LXXIII), S. 30 Anm. 108a; R.A. Billows, *Anatolian Dynasts: The Case of the Macedonian Eupolemos in Karia*, ClAnt VIII 1989, S. 190.

[73] Steph. Byz. s.v. Πλειστάρχεια· πόλις Καρίας ἥτις καὶ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον Ἡράκλεια ὠνομάσθη. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Πλειστ̣αρχείτης. Lediglich Hülden, *a.O.*, Sp. 1129 zog die These, Pleistarchos sei der Neugründer der Pleistarcheia, in Zweifel.

Seine Herrschaft in Karien wird durch einschlägige Inschriften in Sinuri[74], Hyllarima[75], Euromos[76] und Tralleis[77] bestätigt. Daher wurde auch die These vorgebracht, dass Pleistarchos bereits 301 v. Chr. ein großes Territorium (Karien, Lykien, Pamphylien, Kilikien und vielleicht noch Kataonien) zuerkannt bekommen habe[78]. Dieser künstlich geschaffene Staat habe die Herrschaftsgebiete von Lysimachos und Seleukos I. voneinander zu trennen gehabt. L. Robert verwarf diese Ansicht entschieden, indem er feststellte, dass Pleistarchos erst nach dem Verlust von Kilikien von Lysimachos, dem Verbündeten des Kassandros, Karien erhalten habe[79]. Doch K. Buraselis behauptet zu Recht, dass es recht unwahrscheinlich ist, dass Lysimachos „aus lauter Barmherzigkeit und Sorge um seine guten Beziehungen zu Kassandros dessen Bruder ein beachtliches Herrschaftsgebiet geschenkt hätte, welches ursprünglich ihm selbst zugefallen war"[80]. Buraselis machte zudem darauf aufmerksam, dass Lysimachos seiner dritten Frau, Arsinoe II., drei Städte — Herakleia am Pontos, Tios und Amastris — nur ungern geschenkt hatte. Da würde „ein solches Verhalten (...) übrigens wohl kaum in die allgemeine Mentalität der Diadochenzeit passen: In dieser Entstehungszeit der hellenistischen Monarchien legte man bekanntlich besonderen Wert auf die persönliche Gewinnung einer Herrschaft im Krieg"[81]. Daher scheint mir die Ansicht Billows', Pleistarchos habe zunächst in Kilikien residiert und Eupolemos sei sein Statthalter in Karien gewesen, nachvollziehbarer[82]. Erst nach dem Verlust von Kilikien zog er nach Karien um, doch wir wissen nicht, wann und warum er dann darüber nicht mehr herrschte[83]. Jedenfalls gehörte ganz Karien Lysi-

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[74] Siehe L. Robert, *Le sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa*, I: *Les inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1945 (Mémoires de l'Institut Française d'archéologie de Stamboul VII), S. 55 – 56 Ἑβδόμου ἔτους, ἐπὶ Πλειστάρχου. Man sollte nicht vergessen, dass das siebte Herrschaftsjahr des Pleistarchos nicht unbedingt auch das letzte Jahr seiner Herrschaft in Karien gewesen sein muss.

[75] Siehe P. Roos, [in:] MDAI(I) XXV 1975, S. 338 – 339 (non vidi).

[76] R. Merkelbach, *Ein Zeugnis aus Tralles über Pleistarchos*, ZPE XVI 1975, S. 163.

[77] A.E. Kontoleon, [in:] BCH X 1886, S. 455 – 456.

[78] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Antigonos von Karystos*, Berlin 1881 (PhU IV), S. 198; K.J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, IV 2, Berlin – Leipzig [2]1927, S. 317 – 319; E. Meyer, *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien*, Zürich – Leipzig 1925, S. 28 – 29; M. Cary, *A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B.C.*, London 1932, S. 42; Mastrocinque (Anm. 72), S. 38; Buraselis (Anm. 72), S. 30 – 31; Billows, *Anatolian* (Anm. 72), S. 202.

[79] Robert, *a.O.*, S. 57 – 61. Ähnlich É. Will, *The Succession to Alexander*, CAH VII 1, [2]1984, S. 60; Errington (Anm. 60), S. 284 Anm. 1; vgl. C. Klotzsch, *Epirotische Geschichte bis zum Jahre 280 v. Chr.*, Berlin 1911, S. 138 – 139 Anm. 1; Schaefer (Anm. 70), Sp. 198; H.H. Schmitt, *Karien*, [in:] Kleines Lexikon des Hellenismus, Wiesbaden [2]1993, S. 334; Gregory (Anm. 70), S. 23. 28 Anm. 79; Hülden (Anm. 70), S. 386; idem (Anm. 70), Sp. 1129.

[80] Buraselis, *a.O.*, S. 28. Ähnlich Mastrocinque, *a.O.*, S. 39 – 40. Hülden, *a.O.*, S. 390 lehnt die Hypothese über die Schenkung von Karien durch Lysimachos ab, vertritt jedoch die Auffassung, dass Pleistarchos 301 v. Chr. nur Kilikien zugeteilt bekommen habe.

[81] Buraselis, *a.O.*, S. 29. Vgl. A. Mehl, *Doriktetos Chora. Kritische Bemerkungen zum „Speererwerb" in Politik und Völkerrecht der hellenistischen Epoche*, AncSoc XI – XII 1980 – 1981, S. 173 – 212.

[82] Billows, *Anatolian*, S. 191.

[83] Billows, *a.O.*, S. 193. 202 vermutet, dass Pleistarchos' Nachfolger Eupolemos war, der in den Jahren

machos im Jahre 287, als Demetrios Poliorketes, der Makedonien verloren hatte, sich anschickte, dem Diadochen Karien und Lydien abzunehmen (Plut. *Dem.* 46, 4)[84].

Den Historikern, die die Geschichte des ephemeren Staates des Pleistarchos untersuchten, war das oben zitierte Testimonium von der Existenz der Stadt Uranopolis in Kabalien entgangen. Wenn die Vermutung, dass es sich dabei um eine makedonische Kolonie handelte, stimmte, dann würde uns ein zusätzliches Argument für die Richtigkeit der Hypothese von Wilamowitz-Beloch an die Hand gegeben (s. Anm. 78).

4. Zusammenfassung

Uranopolis wurde von Alexarchos um 316/315 v. Chr. auf dem Isthmos der Akte, d.h. der Athoshalbinsel gegründet. Die Stadt dürfte auf Anregung des Kassandros, der gerade den Grundstein für zwei andere Poleis — Kassandreia und Thessalonike — gelegt hatte, entstanden sein. Uranopolis besaß eine wichtige strategische Funktion, indem es die Ostküste von Chalkidike kontrollierte und das Pendant zu Kassandreia auf der Westküste der Halbinsel darstellte. Uranopolis war also eine gewöhnliche Stadt, die infolge des Synoikismos die Welt erblickt hatte, wovon eine lange Umfassungsmauer (30 Stadien) zeugte. Auf keinen Fall handelte es sich dabei um die Verwirklichung einer politischen Utopie. Uns liegen keine Überlieferungen zur Verfassung und der Gesellschaftsstruktur der Stadt vor. Außerdem stellt uns Alexarchos' Rolle in ihr vor ein Rätsel, denn Clemens von Alexandrien hat ihn nicht den Herrschern, sondern den Privatleuten zugerechnet.

Die Bewohner bedienten sich höchstwahrscheinlich des Makedonischen und Griechischen und beherrschten mit Sicherheit nicht die von Alexarchos erfundene Sprache, denn bereits im Altertum wurde der von ihm in dieser künstlichen Sprache abgefasste und an die Vorsteher von Kassandreia abgeschickte Brief als absolut unverständlich abgetan. In der Stadt waren ganz gewöhnliche Münzen mit den Abbildungen von Philipp II. und Alexander dem Großen im Umlauf. Nur anfangs hatte man eine kurze Serie von originellen Silber- und Kupfermünzen angefertigt, auf die Himmelskörper und Aphrodite Urania geprägt wurden. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass man dieser Göttin schon früher in Thrakien Verehrung entgegengebracht hatte. Darüber hinaus verehrten die Paionen, ein Nachbarvolk der Makedonier, den Gott Helios, was auch dem Kult der Aphrodi-

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um 294- um 286 v. Chr. oder sogar bis 280 v. Chr. in einem Teil von Karien herrschte. Früher ging man davon aus, dass Eupolemos in Karien zwischen 313 und mindestens 304 v. Chr. regiert hatte (so B u r a s e l i s, *a.O.*, S. 29 – 30).

[84] Umstritten ist die Ansicht von B i l l o w s, *a.O.*, S. 193, dass Plutarchos sich dessen nicht bewusst gewesen sein soll, dass Lysimachos' Macht sich nicht über ganz Karien erstreckte. Vgl. B u r a s e l i s, *a.O.*, S. 32 – 33.

te Urania Vorschub geleistet haben kann. Ich vertrete zudem die Auffassung, dass sich keine Verbindungen zwischen dem Sonnenkult in Uranopolis und den Werken von Euhemeros und Jambulos, in denen vom Himmelskörperkult die Rede ist, einerseits und Aristonikos, der seine Anhänger 132 v. Chr. Heliopolitai nannte, andererseits nachweisen lassen.

Alexarchos hielt sich für Helios und trug ein Helios-Kostüm, weil er dem θεῖος χορός des Arztes Menekrates von Syrakus angehörte, der seine Epilepsie auskuriert hatte. Man darf ihn aber deswegen weder für einen Schizophrenen noch einen Wahnsinnigen noch einen Narren halten.

Wrocław

APPENDIX

I.
ALEXARCHUS

1. **Aristus Salaminius** (*F Gr Hist* 143 F 4) ap. Cl. Al. *Protr*. 4, 54, 3 (p. 42 Stählin, p. 84 Marcovich)

καὶ οὔτι γε βασιλεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδιῶται θείαις προσηγορίαις σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐσέμνυνον, ὡς Μενεκράτης ὁ ἰατρός (Ζεὺς οὗτος ἐπικεκλημένος). τί με δεῖ καταλέγειν Ἀλέξαρχον (γραμματικὸς οὗτος τὴν ἐπιστήμην γεγονώς, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἄριστος ὁ Σαλαμίνιος, αὐτὸν κατεσχημάτιζεν εἰς Ἥλιον); τί δεῖ καὶ Νικαγόρου μεμνῆσθαι (Ζελείτης τὸ γένος ἦν, κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγονὼς χρόνους· Ἑρμῆς προσηγορεύετο ὁ Νικαγόρας καὶ τῇ στολῇ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἐκέχρητο, ὡς Βάτων μαρτυρεῖ)...

2. **Demetrius Scepsius** (fr. 46 Gaede) ap. Strab. 7, fr. 35 p. 331 (II 464 sq. Meineke)

ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ διῶρυξ δείκνυται ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἄκανθον, καθ' ἣν Ξέρξης τὸν Ἄθω διορύξαι λέγεται καὶ διαγαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ Στρυμονικοῦ κόλπου διὰ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ, δεξάμενος τὴν θάλασσαν εἰς τὴν διώρυγα. Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Σκήψιος οὐκ οἴεται πλευσθῆναι τὴν διώρυγα ταύτην· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ δέκα σταδίων εὔγεων καὶ ὀρυκτὴν εἶναι, διορωρύχθαι δ' ἐπὶ πλάτος πλεθριαῖον, εἰθ' ὑψηλὸν εἶναι πλαταμῶνα σταδιαῖον σχεδόν τι τὸ μῆκος, ὅσον οὐκ ἐνὸν ἐκλατομηθῆναι δι' ὅλου μέχρι θαλάσσης· εἰ δὲ καὶ μέχρι δεῦρο, οὔ γε καὶ κατὰ βυθοῦ ὥστε πόρον γενέσθαι πλωτόν· ὅπου Ἀλέξαρχον τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου πόλιν ὑποδείμασθαι τὴν Οὐρανόπολιν τριάκοντα σταδίων τὸν κύκλον ἔχουσαν.

3. **Heraclides Lembus** (FHG III 169, fr. 5) ap. Athen. *Dipnosoph*. 3, 54 p. 98 D-F (I 226 sq. Kaibel)

τοιοῦτος ἦν καὶ Ἀλέξαρχος ὁ Κασσάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδονίας βασιλεύσαντος ἀδελφός, ὁ τὴν Οὐρανόπολιν καλουμένην κτίσας. ἱστορεῖ δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Λέμβος ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ ἑβδόμῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν λέγων οὕτως· Ἀλέξαρχος ὁ τὴν Οὐρανόπολιν κτίσας διαλέκτους ἰδίας εἰσήνεγκεν, ὀρθοβόαν μὲν τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα καλέων καὶ βροτοκέρτην τὸν κουρέα καὶ τὴν δραχμὴν ἀργυρίδα, τὴν δὲ χοίνικα ἡμεροτροφίδα καὶ τὴν κήρυκα ἀπύτην. καὶ τοῖς Κασσανδρέων δὲ ἄρχουσι τοιαῦτά ποτ' ἐπέστειλε· Ἀλέξαρχος Ὁμαιμέων πρόμοις γαθεῖν. τοὺς ἡλιοκρεῖς οἰῶν οἶδα λιπουσαθεωτων ἔργων κρατιτορας μορσίμῳ τύχᾳ κεκυρωμένας θεουπογαις χυτλώσαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ φύλακας ὀριγενεῖς. τί δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ αὕτη δηλοῖ νομίζω ᾽γω μηδὲ τὸν Πύθιον διαγνῶναι.

4. **Plinius Maior,** *Nat. Hist.* 4, 10, 37 (I 313 Jan-Mayhoff)

(...) fretum, quo montem Atho Xerxes Persarum rex continenti abscidit in longitudinem passuum MD. mons ipse a planitie excurrit in maria LXXV passuum, ambitus radicis CL colligit. oppidum in cacumine fuit Acrothoon; nunc sunt Uranopolis, Palaehorium, Thyssus, Cleonae, Apollonia, cuius incolae Macrobii cognominantur.

5. **Ariston** (*F Gr Hist* 337 F 1) ap. Plut. *De Iside et Osiride* 37 p. 365 E (ed. J.G. Griffiths)

Ἀρίστων τοίνυν ὁ γεγραφὼς Ἀθηναίων ἀποικίας ἐπιστολῇ τινι Ἀλεξάρχου περιέπεσεν, ἐν ᾗ Διὸς ἱστορεῖται [δὲ] καὶ Ἴσιδος υἱὸς ὢν ὁ Διόνυσος ὑπ᾽ Αἰγυπτίων οὐκ Ὄσιρις ἀλλ᾽ Ἀρσαφὴς [ἐν τῷ ἄλφα γράμματι] λέγεσθαι δηλοῦντος τὸ ἀνδρεῖον τοῦ ὀνόματος.

II.
MENECRATES

1. **Athenaeus**, *Dipnosoph.* 7, 33 p. 289 A-C (II 138 sq. Kaibel)

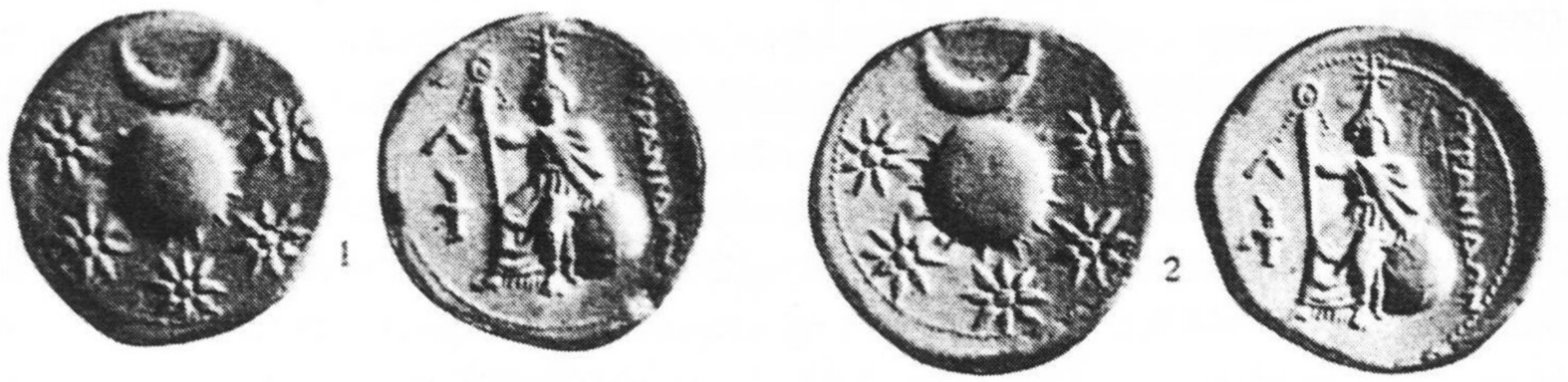
ταῦτα, νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, οὐδ᾽ ἂν Μενεκράτης ἂν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐξωγκώσατο ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπικαλούμενος, ὃς ἐφρόνει μέγα ὡς μόνος αἴτιος τοῦ ζῆν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γινόμενος διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἰατρικῆς. τοὺς γοῦν θεραπευομένους ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἱερὰς καλουμένας νόσους συγγράφεσθαι ἠνάγκαζεν ὅτι ὑπακούσονται αὐτῷ δοῦλοι περισωθέντες. καὶ ἠκολούθουν ὃ μέν τις Ἡρακλέους σκευὴν ἔχων καὶ καλούμενος Ἡρακλῆς (Νικόστρατος δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος ὁ Ἀργεῖος, ἱερὰν νόσον θεραπευθείς)· μνημονεύει δ᾽ αὐτῶν Ἔφιππος ἐν Πελταστῇ λέγων ὧδε (II 260 Kock = PCG V 146)·

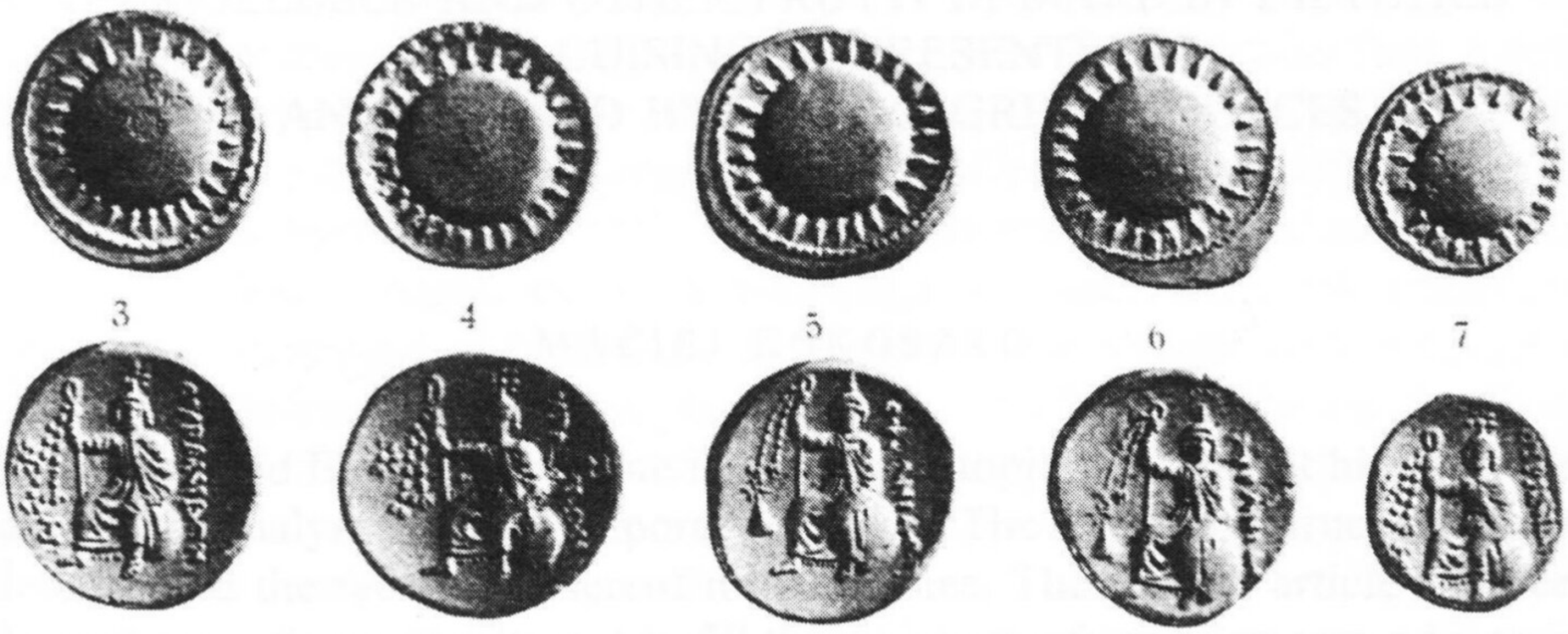
οὐ Μενεκράτης μὲν ἔφασκεν εἶναι Ζεὺς θεός,
Νικόστρατος δ᾽ Ἀργεῖος ἕτερος Ἡρακλῆς.

ἄλλος δέ τις ὡς Ἑρμῆς χλαμύδα ἔχων καὶ κηρύκειον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι πτερά, ὡς ὁ Ζελείτης Νικαγόρας ὁ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος τυραννήσας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Βάτων ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τυράννων (*F Gr Hist* 268 F 2). Ἡγήσανδρος δέ φησιν (FHG IV 414) ὅτι καὶ Ἀστυκρέοντα θεραπευθέντα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ Ἀπόλλωνα ἐκάλεσε. καὶ ἄλλος δ᾽ αὐτῷ τῶν περισωθέντων Ἀσκληπιοῦ στολὴν ἀναλαβὼν συμπεριεφθείρετο. αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὁ Ζεὺς πορφύραν ἠμφιεσμένος καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχων καὶ σκῆπτρον κρατῶν κρηπῖδάς τε ὑποδεδεμένος περιῄει μετὰ τοῦ θείου χοροῦ.

2. **Suda** s.v. Μενεκράτης (III 362 Adler)

Μενεκράτης, Συρακούσιος, ἰατρός. οὗτος δὲ μισθὸν μὲν οὐδένα ἐκομίζετο τῆς θεραπείας· ἐθεράπευε γὰρ τὴν ἱερὰν νόσον, δούλους δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁμολογεῖν τοὺς θεραπευομένους ἀπῄτει, καὶ Δία ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλει, θεοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἰαθέντας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, τιθεὶς ἑκάστῳ προσηγορίαν, τῷ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ, τῷ μὲν Ἀπόλλωνος.







Nr. 1 – 2 — Tetradrachmen. Wahrscheinlich eine moderne Fälschung
Nr. 3 – 6 — Didrachmen
Nr. 7 — Drachme
Nr. 8 – 9 — Kupferstücken
Nach Ph. Lederer, Symbole der Aphrodite Urania, Zeitschrift für Numismatik XLI 1931, Tafel V.

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BOUNTIES OF EGYPTIAN WATERS. A FEW COMMENTS ON MOLLUSCS AND OTHER FRUTTI DI MARE IN DIETETICS AND CUISINE AS PRESENTED IN ANCIENT AND BYZANTINE GREEK SOURCES

By

MACIEJ KOKOSZKO

Ancient and Byzantine cuisine is a research topic that has not hitherto been sufficiently analysed by contemporary scholars. The same holds true for ancient dietetics and the reception thereof in later times. The present article has been planned as a sui generis attempt to fill this gap in the form of an appendix to information contained in an article by M.S.A. Mikhail entitled „Some observations concerning edibles in late antique and early Islamic Egypt".[1] This work, although generally instructive, takes account primarily of modern studies in the field of economic history and archaeological data at the detriment of source information, and in particular that provided by ancient and Byzantine Greek authors.

The present article (in the same way as Mikhail's study) is limited territorially to Egypt, while its research topic centres on only one of the many different foodstuffs available therein — namely, on molluscs and other invertebrates provided by the waters of the Nile, lakes and Egyptian coastal seas. The material base of the article comprises ancient and Byzantine sources of various types. In terms of both information on species of "frutti di mare" and descriptions of their dietetic value, the most exhaustive source is a fragment of the *Collectiones medicae* by Oribasius.[2] Oribasius' catalogue is supplemented by data contained in the *Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus of Naucratis.[3] Finally, the picture developed on the basis of references to the two abovementioned authors has been complemented by all sorts of authors both from antiquity as well as the Byzantine era.

According to Oribasius, Egypt abounded in a variety of mussels, snails and

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[1] Byzantion LXX 2000, p. 105 – 122.

[2] Oribasius, a renowned physician born in Pergamum circa 325, died after the year 395/6. His works exerted a major influence on Byzantine medicine.

[3] The author lived at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.

other aquatic animals, which were present in the waters of the Nile, in lakes, and in the country's salt coastal waters. They were highly valued by gourmets, and also recommended by doctors. The coastal waters off Alexandria, where the salt sea water mixed with the fresh waters of the Nile, were inhabited by at least a few edible species of molluscs. Oribasius writes that the waters surrounding Dioclus, Pharus and the dyke connecting the island with the mainland were the habitat of molluscs known as cheme (χήμη). These chemai, which were caught at the abovementioned locations, had elongated and rough shells. Their meat — as Oribasius maintains — was white and tough, with a spicy taste. Information provided by this author indicates that the same molluscs also lived in the fresh waters of the Mareotic Lake, situated slightly to the south of Alexandria and connected by canals with the Canopic arm of the Nile. However, their appearance differed somewhat from that of their saltwater relatives. The cheme found in the Lake were rounded and speckled; incidentally, they were also caught in Italy, in the Lake Lucrinus.[4] Oribasius indicates that the Greeks living in Egypt were aware of a number of chemai varieties. In general, two basic groups were distinguished — one had rough, and the other smooth shells. The former were known as glykymaris (γλυκυμαρίς) or konche[5] (κόγχη). Oribasius maintains that the glykymarides — as all the cheme — were salty. Their meat (presumably once boiled) could be served even to people who were weak (due to a long-lasting disease?). Stock made from the glykymarides was good for the stomach, had a purgative effect[6] and contributed to the production of urine. The preserved (presumably salted) glykymaris molluscs could lead to an inflammation of the mouth, particularly if served with white mustard, wine vinegar and rue. According to Oribasius, these molluscs were better than their smooth-shelled relatives, but inferior to the peloris (πελωρίς) molluscs. The finest glykymarides were found in Egypt, with those inhabiting the waters of the Alexandrian bay being the most highly valued of all, due to their excellent taste and juiciness. Elsewhere in the *Collectiones medicae*, the same molluscs are described as an edible stimulating the secretion of juices to the digestive tract, with tough and relatively nourishing meat. They contributed to the pas-

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[4] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* II 58, 54, 1 – 55, 3, p. 50 – 51 (I use the edition: *Oribasii collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, Volumen I, Libri I – VIII, edidit I. Raeder, Lipsiae et Berolini 1928).

[5] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* II 58, 122, 1 – 132, 2, p. 55.

[6] The medical school of Alexandria adhered to Oribasius' doctrines. It is visible that Aetius of Amida as well as Paul of Aegina consulted the *Collectiones medicae*. They knew about laxative properties of the stock prepared from the molluscs. It is also interesting that the tradition had not changed since Hippocrates (who will be discussed later). Cf. Aetius Amidenus, *Iatricorum libri* II, 144, 1 – 16, p. 206 (I use the edition: *Aetii Amideni libri medicinales* I – IV, edidit A. Olivieri, Lipsiae et Berolini 1935); Paulus Aegineta *Epitome* VII 3, 6, 15 – 21, p. 213 (I use the edition: *Paulus Aegineta*, edidit I.L. Heiberg. Pars altera. Libri V – VII, Berolini 1924). Aetius of Amida, a famous physician of the 6th AD. Cf. A. S i d e r a s, *Aetius and Oribasius*, Byzantinische Zeitschrift LXV 1974, p. 110 – 130. Paul of Aegina, a famous physician educated and working in Alexandria in the 7th c. A.D. He witnessed the invasion of the Arabs in the year 642 A.D. His work was Επιτομὴ ἰατρική.

sage of urine, and ought to have been served boiled.[7] According to Oribasius, they were tasty when properly seasoned.[8]

The smooth-shelled cheme molluscs were flatter, and had transparent shells. As regards dietetics, they were light, nourishing, aromatic (containing proper juices) and tasty, but could cause certain stomach problems[9]. They were also served in the form of preserves (with the addition of silphion and white mustard) or roasted. The stock (ζωμός) from the boiled cheme molluscs with a flat shell had also a purgative effect.[10]

Sometimes, Oribasius refers to this same group of molluscs using the deminutivum chemion (χημίον). It does not, however, appear to be his intention to distinguish this group from amongst the other chemai. As regards their dietetic value, he maintains that they were difficult to digest (but this is a typical assessment for mussels). Therefore, they were best when boiled (twice or more) in very good (potable) water, until the complete removal of all traces of salt juices. Thus prepared, chemai could be served to persons suffering from indigestion caused by an imbalance of humours.[11] The repeated boiling of foods, intended to improve their dietetic properties, was also used for a number of foodstuffs including certain vegetables, for example cabbage,[12] wild garlic[13] and edible tubers.[14]

The consumption of the cheme molluscs was undoubtedly widespread, for numerous ancient sources contain more of less lengthy references thereto. Athenaeus was well acquainted with the topic, stating that they inhabited the sandy sea bed [15] and were slightly smaller than the peloris molluscs.[16] Elsewhere, Athenaeus quotes Hicesius,[17] who divided the chemai (in the same way as Oribasius) into those that are rough-shelled and those that have smooth shells, terming the latter "royal".[18] The same division of cheme can be found in the work of Aelian.[19] The *De natura animalium* also contains information about

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[7] Paul of Aegina suggested adding some rue and pepper. The meat was served while the stock drunk. Paulus Aegineta *Epitome* III 61, 1, 1 – 4, p. 275 – 276 (I use the edition: *Paulus Aegineta*, edidit I.L. Heiberg. Pars prior, Libri I – IV, Berolini 1921).

[8] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* II 58, 52, 1 – 54, 1, p. 50.

[9] Though we lack particular information, we can assume that the raw meat of those cheme was hard to digest.

[10] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* II 58, 126, 1 – 128, 1, p. 55.

[11] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* II 53, 2, 3 – 3, 2, p. 45.

[12] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* III 30, 6, 2, p. 89.

[13] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* III 16, 16, 1, p. 79.

[14] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* III 13, 10, 3, p. 75; III 17, 8, 1, p. 80.

[15] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 89c (37, 19 – 21, Kaibel), p. 206 (I use the edition: Athenaei Naucratitae *Dipnosophistarum libri XV*, recensuit G. Kaibel, I, Libri I – V, Lipsiae et Berolini 1923).

[16] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 92f (44, 32 – 33, Kaibel), p. 214.

[17] Hicesius, a physician of the school of Erasistratus. He lived in the 1st c. B.C. An eminent dietician. He wrote the treatise entitled "Περὶ ὕλης".

[18] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 87b (33, 14 – 19, Kaibel), p. 201 – 202.

[19] Claudius Aelianus of Praeneste, a well-known Sophist. Born after the year 170, died after the year 222. An author of encyclopaedic works.

places where the chemai could be caught (the abovementioned works contain analogous information).[20]

If we look through the data provided by authors quoted in *Deipnosophists*, it becomes obvious that the chemai were recommended by dieticians. Particularly sought after were their so-called necks.[21] Athenaeus quotes a fragment from Diocles of Carystus,[22] who wrote about the purgative and diuretic properties of molluscs, mentioning four varieties — mys (μῦς), ostreon (ὄστρεον), kteis (κτείς) and cheme.[23] Hicesius stated that the rough-shelled chemai are on the whole tasteless and lacking in nutritious properties, but also easily excreted from the body.[24] Additionally, Athenaeus' testimony indicates that chemai were considered as beneficial to the digestive tract.[25] Athenaeus, quoting the work of Heracleides of Tarentum,[26] wrote that chemai mussels may be served during exquisite feasts, particularly if the guests intend to treat themselves to considerable quantities of alcoholic beverages. Heracleides recommended that they be served at the beginning of a feast, accompanied by green vegetable or beet salads[27] and together with hypotrimma (ὑπότριμμα), a wine-vinegar based sauce. It should be also added that the chemai were discussed by Aetius of Amida, and his conclusions are analogous to the aforementioned material.[28]

As regards the identification of the abovementioned mollusc species, Thompson's analysis points to a certain species that is present in modern-day Mediterranean cuisine. The English scholar states that "cheme" is a general term and covers numerous species from the Veneridae family. The Latin equivalent of the Greek term is "chama".[29]

The peloris molluscs — another group mentioned by Oribasius — inhabited the same locations as the chemai. According to Oribasius, they were also known under the name melainis (μελαινίς). The best specimens could be found at points were salt and fresh water mixed, and deposits carried in by rivers created muddy shoals. Although the peloris molluscs could also be found

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[20] Aelian *De natura animalium* XV 12, 1 – 12, p. 257 – 258 (I use the edition: Aeliani *de natura animalium, varia historia, epistolae et fragmenta*). Porphyrii philosophi *de abstinentia et de antro nympharum.* Philonis Byzantini *de septem orbis speculatis*, recognovit, adnotatione critica et indicibus instruxit R. Hercher, Parisiis 1858.

[21] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 87d (34, 13 – 14, Kaibel), p. 202.

[22] Diocles of Carystus, a renowned physician living in the 4th c. B.C. He adhered to Hippocrates' doctrines and had a considerable impact upon Greek and Byzantine medicine. Athenaeus quoted his work on diet entitled Ὑγιεινά.

[23] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 86b (32, 1 – 3, Kaibel), p. 199 – 200.

[24] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 87b (33, 14 – 19, Kaibel), p. 201 – 202.

[25] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 90c (40, 2 – 4, Kaibel), p. 208.

[26] Heracleides of Tarentum, a famous physician working in the Island of Cous in the 1st c. B.C. His work entitled Συμποσίον was one of Athenaeus' sources.

[27] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 120b – d (91, 3 – 25, Kaibel), p. 274 – 275.

[28] Aetius Amidenus *Iatricorum libri* II 144, 1 – 16, p. 206.

[29] T h o m p s on, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*, London 1947, p. 288 – 289; cf. W o o d, *Greek Fish-names*, American Journal of Philology XLIX 1928, p. 46.

in deep waters, Oribasius did not recommend them due to their inferior taste. The most highly prized specimens were those that resembled oysters. The *Collectiones medicae* clearly indicate that the pelorides were considered as having a high nutritive value. They were easily digested, although Oribasius also noted that they caused laxation.[30] We should thus understand that in his medical practice these mussels were used primarily to move the bowels, in order to cause purgation. Undoubtedly, it was of importance that their action was not sudden.[31]

The pelorides described by Oribasius were also known to other ancient and Byzantine authors. Athenaeus mentioned that they could be found in the vicinity of the Cape of Peloros (Pelorias).[32] Their name was derived either from the name of this Cape, or from the word pelorion (πελώριον), meaning monster. The pelorides were larger than the chemai and inhabited the sandy floor.[33] They were highly valued as a dish, and even considered — as we should presume — as a luxury product. Clement of Alexandria[34] rated them amongst sophisticated dishes, capable of bringing more harm to the soul than good to the body.[35]

As regards a possible connection between the pelorides and the contemporary classification of molluscs, Thompson has identified them as mussels from the Veneridae and Mytilidae orders. He is of the opinion that the term "pelorides" referred to a species known as Venus verrucosa (order Veneridae).[36] The Greek name has survived in the French "palourde" and Italian "palurde".[37] What is more, Thompson supports the view that the terms pelorides and "glykymarides" (order Glycimeridae)[38] as used in ancient sources referred to the same — abovementioned — mussel.[39] This is plausible, although today the Veneridae and Glycimeridae constitute two different groups. Since according to Oribasius' data "pelorides" and "melainides" are two terms used to describe one and the

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[30] It is typical of all ὀστρακοδέρμα, which will be discussed in the present work later on.

[31] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* II 58, 97, 1 – 98, 1, p. 53.

[32] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* I 4c (6, 26 – 32, Kaibel), p. 10 – it should be understood that the name comes from the place the pelorides com from.

[33] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 92f – 93a (44, 30 – 33, Kaibel), p. 214.

[34] Titus Flavius Clemens, known as Clement of Alexandria. A Christian author ✞ before the year 215.

[35] Clemens Alexandrinus *Paedagogus* II 1, col. 380 – 381 (I use the edition: Clementis Alexandrini *Paedagogus* [in:] Patrologiae cursus completus... accurante J.P. Migne, Series Graeca VIII).

[36] A. Piechocki, A. Dyduch-Falniowska, *Mięczaki (Mollusca). Małże (Bivalvia)*, Warszawa 1993, p. 16 – 18, 23. It is a genus that grows up to a diameter of three centimetres. It is well-known in the entire Mediterranean region. Cf. A. Samek, *Świat muszli*, Gdańsk 1976, p. 81; cf. also K. Wiktor, *Małże (Bivalvia) Atlantyku północnego i mórz przyległych. Charakterystyka wybranych gatunków, ich rozmieszczenie, ekologia*, Gdańsk 1974, p. 24.

[37] Thompson, *o.c.*, p. 194 – 195; Wood, *Greek Fish-names*, American Journal of Philology XLVIII 1927, p. 322.

[38] Piechocki, Dyduch-Falniowska, *o.c.*, p. 62. Glycimeridae have shells which are characterised by thick walls and they are spherical in shape. The most popular species is Glycimeris glycimeris – Samek, *o.c.*, p. 72; cf. also Wiktor, *o.c.*, p. 13.

[39] Thompson, *o.c.*, p. 49.

same concept, and (in Thompson's opinion) melainis most frequently refers to the Mytilus edulis, L. mollusc (order Mytilidae),[40] we should presume that also the latter mussel species was a subject of Oribasius' analyses. Thompson states that up to this day the melainides are highly popular in Mediterranean countries, being known in France under the name "moule", in Italy as "mussolo" or "mytilo", and in England as "mussel".[41]

The sea also provided Alexandrians with the kteis (κτείς) mussels. When writing about their dietetic properties, Oribasius most highly valued those specimens that were caught when fully grown. The most sought after ones were rounded and had dark shells, while the best dietetic and gustatory properties were attributed to kteis mussels, which were caught in the spring and summer seasons (particularly during moonlit nights), when they grew the fastest. Although the Alexandrian kteis mussels were neither as large nor as exquisite as those found in Mitylene, Oribasius did not advise against their consumption. To the contrary, he dwells on their dietetic and gustatory properties, considering them as tasty and lighter than oysters. They were best eaten seasoned with wine vinegar and silphion, for thus served they maintained their natural sweetness, which was invariably lost when the mussels were roasted. The smooth-shelled ktenes, both young and old, had a purgative effect. It is also worth mentioning that they were diuretic, although not excessively. If their pigmentation was slightly yellowish, one should expect that their assimilation by the body would not be straightforward. In general, the kteis mussels should be consumed boiled and not roasted, particularly if one wanted the product to stimulate the movement of the bowels. The roasted kteis mussels, although tastier, were difficult to excrete from the body. If, however, one wanted to roast them, they should be subjected to this process in their shells and thereafter sprinkled sparingly with wine. As a result of this method of preparation they were better, lighter, more nourishing and (on the whole) less harmful. Further, the *Collectiones medicae* inform us that kteis mussels were kept for extended periods of time (in all probability) in a salt marinate. Oribasius maintains that preserved ktenes did not interfere with the movement of the bowels, and as far as their taste is concerned, they even retained their natural sweetness. Once salted, they had strong diuretic properties, although these did not appear uniformly, depending primarily on the appearance of individual specimens. Those that were flat and had a white pigmentation were characterised by hardness and their diuretic action was only slight. The meat of specimens with a reddish pigmentation did not have a pleasant smell, but contributed greatly to the increased generation of urine. The diuretic properties of speckled mussels were intermediate. Oribasius states that ktenes' eggs were also eaten. They were difficult to digest and — just as the ktenes

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[40] Thompson, *o.c.*, p. 159; cf. Wood, *o.c.*, (1927), p. 321; Piechocki, Dyduch-Falniowska, *o.c.*, p. 18, 52. The mytilus has a shell characterised by thin walls. Popular throughout Europe. It was eaten by men since prehistoric times – Semka, *o.c.*, p. 72; cf. also. Wiktor, *o.c.*, p. 15.

[41] Thompson, *o.c.*, p. 166.

themselves — contributed to the production of urine. It is interesting to note that the ktenes molluscs were in fact a medicine — their consumption purportedly facilitated the healing of dirtied and festering wounds.[42] Other fragments of his work inform that kteis mussels caused the concentration of juices in the body.[43]

The ktenes referred to by Oribasius were well known to Athenaeus. When describing this species of molluscs, the author of the *Deipnosophists* — as always — quoted the opinions of a number of authorities. According to Aristotle,[44] the ktenes were a species of oyster characterised by the uneven surface of their shells.[45] Basing himself on this author, Athenaeus further informs that the ktenes inhabited sandy locations.[46] Androsthenes[47] recounts that the body of the ktenes had two outgrowths known as ears.[48]

As regards dietetics, the ktenes were highly recommended. In general, they were considered as nutritious, but inferior to the lepas (λεπάς) molluscs in terms of taste and ease of excretion. Nevertheless, the ktenes molluscs were ranked amongst the best tasting, although the abovementioned lepades and the myes from Ephesus were deemed superior.[49] Hippocrates' general comments on molluscs also hold true for the ktenes.[50] He stated that the meat of molluscs dried up juices in the body, while stock made therefrom was an excellent purgative.[51] Ktenes are a typical example of foods having both properties.[52] Galen[53] (following — as he himself has indicated — Aristotle's approach, but at the same time remaining in agreement with the conclusions of Hipokrates) characterised kteis mussels as a food with thick juices (which condense the juices of the body and lead to a lowering of its temperature).[54] Their meat was difficult to digest, while their juice had purgative properties.[55] Boiled kteis mussels were recom-

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[42] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* II 58, 56, 1 – 72, 1, p. 51.

[43] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* III 3, 4, 1 – 6, 1, p. 71; Paul of Aegina maintained that the ktenes warm up the body and stimulate the production of bile — Paulus Aegineta *Epitome* III 78, 10, 5 – 7, p. 302.

[44] Aristotle, a renowned philosopher of the 4th c. B.C.

[45] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 88a – b (35, 11 – 15, Kaibel), p. 203.

[46] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III, 89c (37, 20 – 21, Kaibel), p. 206.

[47] Androsthenes of Thasus (4th c. B.C.), a trierarch and collaborator of Nearchus. He wrote the Τῆς Ἰνδικῆς Παράπλους.

[48] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 93b – c (45, 17 – 20, Kaibel), p. 215 – 216.

[49] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 87c (34, 5 – 7, Kaibel), p. 202.

[50] Hippocrates an eminent physician born in Cous. He lived between circa. 460 – 377 B.C.

[51] Cf. also Aetius Amidenus *Iatricorum libri* II, 144, 1 – 16, p. 206.

[52] Hippocrates *De victus ratione* II 28, p. 681 (I use the edition: Hippocratis *de victus ratione* [in:] Magni Hippocratis opera omnia, editionem curavit D.C.G. Kühn. I, Lipsiae 1825).

[53] Galen of Pergamum, an eminent physician living between 129 – 199. The author of numerous treatises. He exerted major influence on ancient and Byzantine medicine.

[54] This tradition is present in the *Epitome* by Paul of Aegina – Paulus Aegineta *Epitome* I 73, 1, 13 – 16, p. 52.

[55] Galen *De probis pravisque alimentorum succis liber* IV, p. 769 – 770 (I use the edition: Galen *De probis pravisque alimentorum succis liber*, [in:] Claudii Galeni opera omnia, editionem curavit D.C.G. Kühn [hereafter – Kühn], VI, Lipsiae 1826).

mended as a dish for persons with gastric problems.[56] Paul of Aegina recommended them to elephantiasis sufferers.[57] If we are to trust the testimony of Hipolochos,[58] they were served in the course of the most exquisite feasts.[59] We know that roasted ktenes were served on platters during sumptuous banquets, while Anaxandrides[60] included them in the menu for a wedding reception organised on the occasion of the marriage of Iphicrates and the daughter of Cotys, king of the Thracians.[61]

In Latin, the kteis mollusc was called "pecten".[62] Thompson indicates that ancient and Byzantine authors were concerned primarily with a relatively large species known as Pecten Jacobaeus,[63] but also made references to smaller species, such as the Pecten varius and Pecten glaber,[64] which were highly valued in gastronomy. In all, the Mediterranean Basin is home to eight species of this mollusc, of which all continue to play a significant role in contemporary gastronomy.

Oribasius wrote that Egyptian waters were also inhabited by the telline (τελλίνη) mussels, also known as xiphydrion[65] (ξιφύδριον). They dwelled in the sandy bed and in the shallow inshore waters, which were usually agitated by waves. The tellinai could also be found in rivers. The latter specimens were larger and juicier than their saltwater relatives. They were very tasty boiled, while the stock made therefrom acted as a purgative.[66] In order to open the shell of a telline mollusc, it was necessary to sprinkle it with salt (for the shells admitted liquids). Once the shell opened, the tellinai was washed in cold water and — following boiling or roasting — served with oxelaion[67] (ὀξελαῖον), mint or rue. Alternately, they could be prepared without seasoning and served with vegetables; in this form, they were a strong purgative. The best (in terms of taste?) mussels from this group were caught in spring.

The tellinai were known to Greek authors, too. Epicharmus[68] called them

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[56] Galen *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos libri decem* VIII 4, p. 173 (I use the edition: Galeni *de compositione medicamentorum secundum locos libri decem*, [in:] Kühn, XIII, Lipsiae 1827).

[57] Paulus Aegineta *Epitome* IV 1, 4, 12 – 19, p. 319 – 320.

[58] Hippolochos of Macedonia was the addressed of Lynceus of Samus' letters and in return he would send similar ones to Lynceus. The contents of the correspondence were descriptions of famous and sumptuous feasts – Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* IV 128a (1, 1 – 7, Kaibel), p. 291.

[59] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* IV, 129b – c (3, 13 – 17, Kaibel), p. 293.

[60] Anaxandrides of Camirus (or Colophon), An author living in the 4th c. B.C. A representative of the middle comedy.

[61] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* IV 131e (7, 61 – 62, Kaibel), p. 299.

[62] Semka, *o.c.*, p. 69, 77, 192; cf. also. Wiktor, *o.c.*, p. 14.

[63] The shell of this mollusc was an emblem of those who made pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella in Spain – Semka, *o.c.*, p. 121; cf. also Wiktor, *o.c.*, p. 15 – 16.

[64] Thompson, *o.c.*, p. 133 – 134; cf. Wood, *o.c.*, (1927), p. 309.

[65] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* II 58, 116, 1 – 120, 2, p. 55.

[66] The statement is consistent with the data concerning mollusc stock given by both Paul of Aegina (*Epitome* VII 3, 6, 15 – 21, p. 213) as well as Aetius of Amida (*Iatricorum libri* II, 144, 1 – 16, p. 206).

[67] A sauce made from olive and vinegar.

[68] Epicharmus of Sicily. Born circa 550 B.C. An author of a number of works which preceded Greek comedy.

tellin (τέλλιν), stating that they were very tasty.[69] Athenaeus testified that this name was used interchangeably with the Latin mytilus,[70] and at the same time introduced another of its versions, tellina (τελλίνα). Diphilus of Siphnus[71] confirmed that tellinai inhabited the Nile.[72] In addition, he informs that they are divided into two different types, one saltwater and the other freshwater, and that the former variety is known as tellinai basilikai (τελλίναι βασιλικαὶ), while the latter has purgative properties. The river tellinai were, however, sweeter than their saltwater relatives. Diphilus' data concerning the laxative properties of this mollusc species are probably based on the findings of Hippocrates.[73] Information provided by Paul of Aegina indicates that the burnt shells of these mussels were used in cosmetics, preventing the growing back of unwanted hairs.[74]

Thompson is of the opinion that the term "telline" refers not to one, but to a number of mussel species. These are the Donax trunculus (Donax anatinus),[75] which were very popular throughout the Mediterranean Basin, also in Egypt. Another plausible species would be the Cardita sulcata, a small mussel that is eaten even today. The final candidate probably covered by the term 'telline' is Scrobicularia piperata.[76]

Oribasius also wrote about the otion (ὠτίον) molluscs. However, the context in which the otia appear in the *Collectiones medicae* does not indubitably prove that they inhabited Egyptian waters. Only when we compare Oribasius' information with the *Deipnosophists* do we find that the otia were also caught in the sea into which the Nile flowed. Authors quoted by Athenaeus state that they could be found off Alexandria, particularly in the coastal rocks around Pharus.[77] Oribasius' works clearly indicate that the otia constituted an element of the diet of Egypt's inhabitants. From the point of view of dietetics, these mussels had properties typical for the whole ostrakoderma group. Thus, their consumption was not advised against. It was, however, necessary to keep in mind the fact that they were hard and difficult to digest, on the whole tasteless, and negatively influenced the digestive tract. As all molluscs, they had laxative properties. According to Oribasius, otia were most commonly prepared in the teganon (τήγανον), with the addition of silphion, wine vinegar and rue. The *Collectiones medicae* also inform us that Alexandrian otia were smaller than those caught off the Illyrian coast and in the Ionian Sea.[78]

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[69] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 85e (31, 1 – 3, Kaibel), p. 198.

[70] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 85e (31, 4 – 8, Kaibel), p. 198.

[71] Diphilus of Siphnus, a physician of Lisimachus. Active in the first half of the 3rd century B.C. Author of a work entitled *On foods for sick and healthy people*.

[72] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 90c (40, 7 – 11, Kaibel), p. 208.

[73] Hippocrates *De victus ratione* II 28, p. 681.

[74] Paulus Aegineta *Epitome* VII 3, 19, 11 – 3, p. 265.

[75] W i k t o r, *o.c.*, p. 18.

[76] T h o m p s on, *o.c.*, p. 259.

[77] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 87f (35, 2 – 4, Kaibel), p. 203

[78] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* II 58, 130, 2 – 132, 2, p. 55.

The *Deipnosophists* repeat Oribasius' data. Although the otion mussels appear therein under the same name as used by the author of the *Collectiones medicae*, Athenaeus also referred to them by means of a new term, namely otarion (ὠτάριον). The Eolians called otia "Aphrodite's ear" (οὖς Ἀφροδίτης).[79] Finally, Aristotle added yet another name for them — the sea ear, thalattion ous[80] (θαλάττιον οὖς). They were nutritious, but difficult to excrete.[81] As regards typical methods of preparing these mussels, the authors quoted by Athenaeus confirm the fact — previously mentioned — that otia were processed primarily in the teganon.[82]

Thompson has certain doubts as to identification. In his opinion, there are two options. The first would be to connect otion molluscs with the Haliotis tuberculata mussel, which is commonly consumed today.[83] This mollusc is well known in English as the "Ormer" or "sea-ear", in French as the "ormier", and in Italian as the "orecchia di mar" or "orecchia di S. Pietro". Sicilians call it "patella reale".[84] The second — and less plausible option — would consist in identifying these molluscs with the Fissurella graeca. The latter hypothesis is based on a detail provided by Aristotle in the *Historia animalium*, namely a description of a hole located in the lower shell of the fissurella, which functions as the outlet of the mussel's digestive tract. Thompson states that such a shape of the rectum is characteristic (if not solely, then primarily) for the fissurella species. The English scholar also maintains that there exists one other circumstantial piece of evidence supporting the connection between the otia and the fissurella. Namely, Aristotle uses one other term — lepas agria (ἀγρία λεπάς) — when describing the otion, thalattion ous molluscs, and Thompson has put forward the hypothesis that the epithet ἀγρία is in actual fact a corrupted version of the noun ἄρριχος, which means 'basket'. This is the shape brought to mind by the mollusc. A trace of this name can also be found in Hesychios'[85] lexicon, where oysters are called arryga (τὰ ἄῤῥυγα).[86] The fissurella is present within the entire Aegean Sea and continues to figure in the local diet.[87]

Another of the animals eaten in Egypt — according to Oribasius — was the tethos[88] (τῆθος), also described by Greek authors by the deminutivum

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[79] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 88a (35, 5 – 7, Kaibel), p. 203.

[80] Aristotle *Historia animalium* 529b 15, p. 125 (I use the edition: Aristotelis *de animalibus historia*, textum recognovit L. Dittmeyer, Lipsiae 1907).

[81] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 87f (35, 2 – 4, Kaibel), p. 203.

[82] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 91a (40, 41 – 42, Kaibel), p. 209.

[83] C. J u r a, *Bezkręgowce. Podstawy morfologii funkcjonalnej, systematyki i filogenezy*, Warszawa 1996, p. 668.

[84] T h o m p s on, *o.c.*, p. 296.

[85] Hesychius of Alexandria, a Greek grammarian living in the 5th or 6th c. A.D. The author of an alphabetic lexicon of Greek glosses..

[86] Hesychius *Lexicon*, τήθεα (διθῶν), τ, 742, 1, p. 151 (I use the edition: Hesychii Alexandrini *Lexicon*, post I. Albertum, recensuit M. Schmidt, IV, Ienae 1862).

[87] T h o m p s on, *o.c.*, p. 297.

[88] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* II, 58, 110, 1 – 115, 1.

tethynakion[89] (τηθυνάκιον). The best tethe could be found in Smyrna, but they were also present in Egypt (although not in the whole country). They lived in the sandy bed and in places overgrown with seaweeds and resembled submarine mushrooms. Those with leathery shells were difficult to digest. They were served — with rue — to persons suffering from kidney and stomach ailments, constipation and ischialgia in the upper abdomen. Before preparation the animals were cut open and washed, and subsequently seasoned with silphion and rue; finally, salted water and wine vinegar were added (the next step was boiling or roasting). This recipe could be simplified, the dish then being served with vinegar, sweet wine from Mitylene (προτρόπος) and green mint.

Tethe were well-known and popular. They were mentioned by Homer[90] in the *Iliad*,[91] while Aristotle included them in the oyster family.[92] Their shells were uniformly coloured[93] and smooth.[94] They lived on rocks.[95] Athenaeus cites a fragment of a poem by Archestratus,[96] in which the famous gourmet praises the tethe caught near Carthage,[97] recommending their dietetic properties. He particularly stressed their nutritiousness, adding however that their meat has an unpleasant smell.[98]

According to Thompson, the tethe belonged to the Tunicata, while Oribasius and other authors made references in their works to a species belonging to the ascidian class (Ascidiacea).[99] We would thus be dealing not with a mussel, but with a small invertebrate that grows to a length of forty centimetres. Tunicates are eaten within the entire Mediterranean Basin. In France, they are known as "vioulets", while in Italy — as "tette" or "tetinotti". The edible species are Cynthia papillosa and Phallusia mamillata.[100]

The Alexandrians also ate lobsters, astakos[101] (ἀστακὸς). Such at least is the claim of Athenaeus, who recounts an anecdote concerning Apicius,[102] a well-

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[89] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III, 85c (30, 4 – 8, Kaibel), p. 197.

[90] Homer, the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

[91] Homer *Ilias* XVI 746 – 747, p. 93 (I use the edition: Homeri *Ilias*, edidit G. Dindorf. Editio quinta correctior quam curavit C. Hentze. II, *Iliadis* XIII-XXIV, Lipsiae 1939).

[92] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III, 88b (35, 11 – 1 3, Kaibel), p. 201.

[93] The Ascidiacea have no hard shell but a jelly-like, skin–like or cartilaginous covering which is called "tunica" — J u r a, *o.c.*, s. 801 – 802.

[94] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 88b, (35, 16, Kaibel), p. 201.

[95] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 89e – f (38, 20, Kaibel), p. 206 – 207.

[96] Archestratus z Syracuse or Gela. He lived in the 4th c. B.C. and wrote a poem on culinary matters entitled the Γαστρονομία (according to Chrysippus), the Ἡδυπαθεία (according to Lynceus of Samus), the Δειπνολογία" (according to Clearchus) or the 'Οθοποία. One of the main Athenaeus' sources.

[97] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 92d (44, 13, Kaibel), p. 213.

[98] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 88a (35, 7 – 9, Kaibel), p. 203.

[99] J u r a, *o.c.*, p. 801 – 807.

[100] T h o m p s on, *o.c.*, p. 261 – 262.

[101] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* I 7a (12, 3 – 8, Kaibel), p. 14.

[102] Apicius is a fictitious personage. Caelius Apicius was the name ascribed to the author of a cook book, entitled *De re coquinaria libri decem*. In fact the real author remains anonymous. We ignore the actual time when the book was written. It is probable that the work was published in the 3rd or 4th c. AD. Indubitably, the

known gourmet from the times of Emperor Tiberius. Authors quoted in the *Deipnosophists* testify that Attic Greek had one more form of this term — "ostakos"[103] (ὀστακὸς). The ostakoi were considered as belonging to the group of animals with soft shells, the malakostraka (μαλακόστρακα), and as related to the group of the ostrakoderma (ὀστρακοδέρμα).[104]

Alexandrian lobsters were probably not the largest, but then we have no information indicating that specimens available on this market were considerably smaller in size than others sold in the Mediterranean Basin. The largest specimens were called lions, leon[105] (λέων). Aelian stated that leonine lobsters were bluish, and that their fat[106] was used to produce a certain face cream.[107]

Aristotle wrote that lobsters live on the flat, sandless seabed, while crawfish[108] (κάραβος) prefer rocks. Oppian,[109] however, questioned the findings of the Stagira philosopher, maintaining that both lobsters and spiny lobsters prefer the rocky bed.[110] There were a few locations that were densely inhabited by lobsters. The largest and best specimens lived in the waters surrounding the Liparean Islands, while considerable numbers were also caught in the Hellespont area.[111] Aristotle added one detail to this data — lobsters could also be found in sea off Thasus.[112]

Lobsters acted as an inspiration for poets, and are thus frequently mentioned by dramatic authors. They were known to Epicharmus,[113] and have also been mentioned by others, cited by Athenaeus.[114] Primarily, however, lobsters were a prized food. They were written about by Archestratus, while Matron[115] testifies that they were served during exquisite feasts.[116] Unfortunately, neither of these authors has left any details concerning their preparation.

As regards dietetics, lobsters were highly valued. Galen stated that their meat is juicy,[117] and Diocles of Carystus praised them as constituting a tasty dish. The

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author referred to the notoriety of Marcus Gavius Apicius, who lived during the reign of emperor Tiberius (14 – 37 A.D.).

[103] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 105b, (65, 2 – 4), p. 240.

[104] Aelian *De natura animalium* XI 37, p. 200.

[105] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 106c – d (68, 1 – 8, Kaibel), p. 243.

[106] The author means a certain part of the body which was termed "fat".

[107] Aelian *De natura animalium* XIV 9, p. 238.

[108] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 105c – d (65, 21 – 22, Kaibel), p. 241.

[109] Oppian of Coricus in Cillicia (or of Anazarbus in Cillicia). He was active from the time of Antoninus Pius until the rule of Caracalla. The author of a didactic poem entitled *Halieutica*.

[110] Oppianus *Halieutica* I 261 – 262, p. 232 (I use the edition *Oppian, Colluthus, Thryphiodorus* with an English Translation by A.W. Mair, London-New York, 1928).

[111] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 64, 104f – 105a (64, 29 – 36, Kaibel), p. 240.

[112] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III, 105d (65, 22 – 24), p. 241.

[113] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 105a – b (64, 37 – 41, Kaibel) p. 240.

[114] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 86e (32, 28 – 35), p. 201.

[115] Matron of Pithane, an author of Homeric parodies. He lived in the 4th c. B.C.

[116] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* IV 136a (13, 83 – 84, Kaibel), p. 308.

[117] Galen *De temperamentis* II 6, p. 639 (I use the edition: Galen *De temperamentis libri tres*, Kühn, I, Lipsiae 1821, p. 639.

latter classified them as a food with diuretic properties.[118] Diphilus of Siphnus pointed out some of their less favourable characteristics. Lobsters are, quite naturally, more fleshy than crabs (due to their size, for instance). At the same time, however, they are difficult to digest.[119] Galen,[120] Oribasius,[121] Aetius of Amida[122] and Paul of Aegina[123] maintained that lobsters have the same dietetic properties as mussels. Their juices are strongly purgative, while their meat hinders the proper functioning of the bowels, and may thus lead to constipation. In order to avoid such problems, it is best to first boil the meat in good quality drinking water. This process may be repeated twice or even three times. Nevertheless, lobsters were invariably considered as difficult to digest. On the other hand, they are nutritious, but satisfy the organism very slowly and only for a short period of time.[124] Lobsters figure in a number of special diets recommended for specific ailments. Aetius of Amida thought that astakoi should be served to persons suffering from rabies.[125] Paul of Aegina recommended their consumption by persons who use medication in the form of bindweed Convolvulus oleaefolius (to bring about evacuation of the bowels).[126]

Thompson has no doubts as to the identification of the astakoi. They are lobsters (order: Decapoda; family: Homaridae[127]) that are present within the entire Mediterranean Basin, including Egypt.[128]

Finally, we come to Strabo's[129] mention of Egyptian snails,[130] which he called kochliai megaloi (κοχλίαι μεγάλοι). A special characteristic of these comparatively large animals was that they were purportedly able to emit noises. Oribasius and Athenaeus have not made any references to this phenomenon, which does not mean — quite obviously — that they knew nothing about snails. To the contrary. Snails were a very popular culinary material, or so Galen maintains.[131] He

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[118] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 105b (65, 8 – 10, Kaibel), p. 240.

[119] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 106c – d (68, 1 – 8, Kaibel), p. 243.

[120] Galen *De alimentorum facultatibus* III, 34, p. 735 – 736 (I use the edition: Galen *De alimentorum facultatibus libri tres*, Kühn, VI, Lipsiae 1823).

[121] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* II 54, 1, 1 – 4, 2, p. 45 – 46; III 18, 9, 1 – 10, 1, p. 80; III 28, 2, 1 – 3, p. 86; III 30, 4, 10 – 6, 3, p. 88 – 89.

[122] Aetius of Amida Iatricorum libri II 255, 13 – 15, p. 247; II 264, 1 – 7, p. 251.

[123] Paulus Aegineta *Epitome* I 91, 1, 1 – 12, p. 64.

[124] Galen *Hippocratis aphorismi et Galeni in eos commentarii*, p. 484 – 485 (I use the edition: Galen *Hippocratis aphorismi et Galeni in eos commentarii*, Kühn, XVII, 2, Lipsiae 1829).

[125] Aetius of Amida *Iatricorum libri* VI 24, 157, p. 169.

[126] Paulus Aegineta *Epitome* V 50, 1, 1 – 12, p. 35 – 36; on the plant cf. S. Kohlmünzer, *Farmakognozja. Podręcznik dla studentów farmacji,* Warszawa 1985, p. 362; plants belonging to the family Convolvulaceae have laxative factors – cf. ibidem, p. 463.

[127] The abovementioned authors are likely to mean the European lobster, Homarus gammarus. The animal reaches a length of 65 centimetres, while his weight comes up to 11 kilograms – Jura, *o.c.*, p. 483.

[128] Thompson, *o.c.*, p. 18 – 19.

[129] Strabo of Amasea, a renowned historian and geographer. Born in 64/63 B.C., died circa 23.

[130] Strabo, *Geographica* XVII 2, 4, 1 – 16, p. 148 (I use the edition: *The Geography of Strabo* with an English Translation by H.L. Jones. In Eight Volumes, VIII, London-New York 1932).

[131] Galen *De alimentorum facultatibus* III 3, p. 688 – 669.

also stated that they constituted a typical local food in Alexandria.[132] Poliochus[133] has confirmed this opinion.[134] Athenaeus' data indicate that a number of general and generic names were applied in relation to snails. The Lacedemonians used the term semelos[135] (σέμελος). In his work Apollodorus[136] has given one other name kolysideipnos[137] (κωλυσίδειπνος).

Many different snail species inhabited the entire Mediterranean Basin. Available information indicates that they lived on the slopes of Mount Aetna.[138] Aelian learned that snails lived in the Red Sea,[139] and it is highly probable that many species thrived in the humid Nile Valley. This is confirmed by Strabo's general account, cited above. Unfortunately, his data is insufficiently precise for us to determine whether he was referring to water snails, or to animals living on land, for such a distinction — between land and sea snails — was drawn by the ancients and Byzantines.[140] What is more, we do not know whether Strabon's Egyptian snails had shells, or if — similarly to the species described by Aelian[141] — they had no such external protection.

Oribasius devoted one whole chapter of his *Collectiones medicae*, albeit short, to snails. According to dietetics, this food has the same properties as ostrakoderma. We learn that the meat of snails is hard and thus difficult to digest. On the other hand, they contain juices that act as a purgative. Ideally, snails should be boiled (up to three times[142]), and subsequently placed in fresh water and boiled with olive oil, garum (γάρον) and wine. Thus prepared, they purportedly prevented diarrhoea and were nutritious, while the stock obtained therefrom was used in medicine as a laxative.[143] Sea snails — including, in all probability, those that were available in Egypt — had juiceless meat and were tasty, but also difficult to digest. Nevertheless, they were lighter than their land-based relatives. The most valuable part of the snail's body was the so-called leg. The meat had precisely described dietetic values — it was easy to excrete, had a pleasant smell and acted favourably on the stomach. In order to eliminate the negative properties of snails, it was recommended to prepare them with wine vinegar, silphion and white mustard.[144] The

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[132] Galen *Ad Glauconem de medendi methodo libri duo*, p. 142 (I use the edition: Galen *Ad Glauconem de medendi methodo libri duo*, Kühn, XI, Lipsiae 1826).

[133] Poliochus of Athens a representative of the old comedy living in the 5th c. B.C.

[134] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* II 60 b – c (56, 3 – 11, Kaibel), p. 141.

[135] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* II 63d (63, 28 – 29, Kaibel), p. 148.

[136] Apollodorus the son of Asclepiades. A grammarian of the 2nd c. B.C. The author of a work comprising Greek glosses.

[137] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* II 63d (63, 29 – 30, Kaibel), p. 148.

[138] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* II 63b (63, 8 – 11, Kaibel), p. 148.

[139] Aelian *De natura animalium* XI 21, p. 195.

[140] Paulus Aegineta *Epitome* I 91, 1, 8, p. 64.

[141] Aelian *De natura animalium* II 45, p. 35.

[142] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* III 13, 2, 3, p. 74.

[143] Galen *De alimentorum facultatibus* III, 3, p. 669; Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* II 29, 1, 1 – 3, 5, p. 37; II 58, 81, 1 – 83, 1, p. 52; III 29, 7, 1 – 8, 1, p. 87, etc.

[144] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* II 58, 86, 1 – 87, 1, p. 52.

consumption of snails was not always viewed as healthy. Snail juices, by fixing water in the organism,[145] caused the concentration of juices in humans.[146] According to Alexis,[147] they also acted as an aphrodisiac, while Heracleides of Tarentum maintained that they are conducive to fertility.[148]

Paul of Aegina wrote at length about the various uses and applications of snails. Data given in his *Epitome* reiterate antiquity's general findings. The stock obtained from boiled snails was considered to be a strong purgative.[149] According to Paul's recipe, this should be prepared by first adding olive oil and garum to salted water, and then throwing in the snails (which should be boiled until they are soft). Prepared meat was tough and rather difficult to digest, for snails were deemed to have exactly the same properties as other molluscs.[150] The physician of Aegina recommended that people suffering from melancholia ought not to eat snails, this because their meat contributed to the production of black bile in the organism[151]; this is in line with the opinion of Oribasius.[152]

Thompson is unable to identify this diversity of species.[153] As regards water snails, he has refrained from passing any opinions. Indeed, he mentions only one freshwater snail species — Limnaeus stagnalis. According to him, the land snails described in sources are the continuously popular Helix (Roman snail).[154]

Let us now make an attempt at summarising our information regarding molluscs, crustacean and other invertebrates living in Egyptian waters. It seems unquestionable that they were a food highly valued by gourmets, and — in all probability — frequently present on dining tables. If this had not been the case, ancient medicine would not have elaborated a classification of their gustatory and dietetic properties, while Byzantium would not have adopted these findings. The majority of data indicates that they were consumed by the rich,[155] but Oribasius' works convey the impression that they also figured in the diet of the middle classes. If we take into consideration the general information on customs connected with consumption and table manners, we will reach the conclusion that they even played a certain magical role.[156]

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[145] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* III 3, 6, 2, p. 71.

[146] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* II 64e – f (67, 17 – 22, Kaibel), p. 149.

[147] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* II 63e – f (64, 13 – 18, Kaibel), p. 149. Alexis, an author of the so-called middle comedy. He lived in the 4th c. B.C.

[148] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* II 64a (65, 1 – 5, Kaibel), p. 150.

[149] Paulus Aegineta *Epitome* I 43, 1, 11 – 13, p. 28.

[150] Paulus Aegineta *Epitome* I 91, 1 – 12, p. 64.

[151] Paulus Aegineta *Epitome* III 14, 2, 35 – 39, p. 158.

[152] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* III 9, 1, 5, p. 73.

[153] Cf. J u r a, *o.c.*, p. 651 – 673.

[154] T h o m p s o n, *o.c.*, p. 129 – 131.

[155] O. J u r e w i c z, L. W i n n i c z u k, *Starożytni Grecy i Rzymianie w życiu prywatnym i państwowym*, Warszawa 1970, p. 144.

[156] Shells were crushed after the meal in order to prevent the enemy to cast a spell on the person who have had the molluscs – J. M r u w k ó w n a, *Zwyczaje i przesądy związane ze stołem w starożytnym Rzymie*, Filomata 1964, p. 173.

Neither ancient works (with the exception of Apicius' cookery book),[157] nor those written during the Byzantine period contain any detailed data concerning the preparation of frutti di mare. Nevertheless, we are able to discern certain patterns and regularities. The usual method of preparation consisted in roasting, boiling or stewing. Apicius has described a method of serving molluscs that should probably be classified under stewing. It differs somewhat from Oribasius's simplified recipes and, although containing no direct reference to Egypt, includes products that were easily available on that particular market. Fish sauce was poured into a casserole and mixed with chopped celery, caraway seed and savory; next, raisin wine and ordinary wine were added — the former to give the dish a sweet taste, and the latter to attain the required sourness. Finally, water and then mylitus mussels (that is the previously mentioned Mytilus edulis, L, glykymaris, melainis) were added to the mixture. The mussels were stewed in this sauce until they were soft.[158]

There is no doubt that mussels, snails and lobsters were boiled. Available data event indicates that this method of preparation was the most popular, and certainly recommended by dieticians. The problem lies in the fact that the sources are sometimes insufficiently precise to make it possible to distinguish between boiling and stewing. When, however, Oribasius clearly differentiates between the properties of stock obtained from the initial boiling of mussels and the gustatory and dietetic properties of their meat, and also uses the term dzomos (ζωμὸς) to describe the liquid obtained in the course of the boiling process, we should assume that the famous physician was referring to boiling. Oribasius recommended that mussels be pre-boiled at least twice in a large quantity of water.[159] The making of this stock did not involve any elaborate procedures. Usually, it required salted water seasoned with garum, wine and olive oil, but without any vegetables. Paul of Aegina[160] has put forward a recipe that is similar to Oribasius', mentioning that dill was also added to the stock.[161]

Oribasius' fragment also indicates that molluscs were served from the teganon "frying pan". There is no mention, however, of the fat used for frying, and this has led the author of the present article to conclude that the mussels were prepared in their own natural juices. As regards roasting, we have information to the effect that the molluscs were sometimes removed from their shells; they were, nevertheless, frequently prepared in whole. Such a conclusion would follow from the abovequoted fragment of the *Collectiones medicae* concerning the ktenes mussel.[162] Maybe, then, they were also taken out of their shells prior

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[157] The *De re coquinaria*, though a Latin work, serves to supplement the data extracted from Greek sources.

[158] Apicius *De re coquinaria* IX, p. 238 – 239.

[159] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* III 28, 1, 1 – 1, 4, p. 86.

[160] Paulus Aegineta *Epitome* I 91, 1, 8 – 11, p. 64.

[161] Paulus Aegineta *Epitome* VII 3, 6, 15 – 21, p. 213.

[162] Oribasius *Collectiones medicae* II 58, 56, 1 – 58, 72, 1, p. 51.

to boiling — but we have no unequivocal information on this topic. As far as the process of roasting is concerned, Oribasius does not provide us with any details. It may be that they were prepared in an oven, spitroasted, or even immersed in ashes (probably wrapped up in leaves). Alternately, they could have been roasted directly on coals, as Aristophanes has testified.[163] Our sources indicate that wine was treated as an additive increasing the gustatory and dietetic properties of dishes prepared in this way.

Oribasius has also mentioned that mussels were protected against deterioration by means of preservation. There exists no precise recipe for preserving mussels and snails. We may, however, guess that the ancients and Byzantines employed the same preservative that was used for fish, i.e. salt. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that it was recommended to use spices with a distinct taste (such as white mustard or wine vinegar) in order to camouflage — as we should presume — the taste of the salt marinate. In any case, I have not been able to find any mention of marinated molluscs being soaked prior to boiling or roasting. Vinegar was probably sprinkled onto ready dishes. Dishes consisting of fresh molluscs were also served with spices. The list of seasonings is the same as for other fish preserves, although it should be supplemented by mint, which — according to Oribasius — was ideal for the telline mussel. As before, however, we have no information that would allow us to establish whether the spices in question were treated as an addition to the ready dish, or possibly added in the course of preparation. The author of the present article is of the opinion that both methods were plausible.

The sources do not inform us of the proportionate shares of saltwater and freshwater aquatic animals in the Egyptian diet. However, one is under the impression that these products were very popular. It is obvious that the presence of foodstuffs obtained from Egyptian waters were bound to depend on means and private tastes. In all probability, however, the Egyptian Greeks followed the trends set by their compatriots, who (everywhere and always) had a liking for frutti di mare.

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[163] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* III 86f (33, 2 – 4, Kaibel), p. 201.

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LOVE IN PLAUTUS' COMEDIES

By

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Ovid in *Tristia* (II, 1, 369) says: *fabula iucundi nulla est sine amore Menandri,* and this opinion is usually related to the whole New Comedy, which had a rather sentimental tone and was concentrated on a love theme. The main topic of plays by Menander, Diphilos or Philemon was this strong feeling of liking someone and being sexually attracted. The above-mentioned playwrights presented a young man in love with a daughter of his neighbour or with a courtesan, who as the girl of his choice usually turned out to be a free-born woman, and this revelation of her origin made her marriageable. This was a popular pattern, and even if a couple of lovers appearing on the stage were man and wife — as in the *Epitrepontes* by Menander — a chain of coincidences separated them and the main subject was their unhappy love, which after many twists and turns of the plot found a happy end.

Since New Comedy was dominated by the love theme, one assumes that its Roman form — well known as *palliata* — also uses this subject as a basis of plots. There is love in all the plays by Terence and in nearly all (with one exception — the *Captivi*) by Plautus. Even preserved fragments of other playwrights of *palliata* suggest that a man in love was one of the heroes in those comedies. However, although love was present in Roman *palliata*, it did not play the same role as in Greek New Comedy, at least not in Plautus' works.

Terence, whose plays are closer to New Comedy and imitate its style and tone, does indeed presented love troubles, and the most important thing was a happy ending and the happiness of the couple.[1] All the comedies written by this Roman playwright (except the *Hecyra*) have a double love intrigue, as if one couple of lovers was not enough to entertain the audience and to complicate the already complicated plot.

While love in comedies by Terence is a fundamental and an integral part of

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[1] Only Clitipho (*Heaut.*) forsakes his courtesan Bacchis and marries a girl of his father's choice, maybe because in Terence's plays happy end never crowns love for a prostitute.

his plays, Plautus, on the contrary, places this theme in background. The most prominent themes in his works are tricks, swindles and frauds, and these play the main role. Love and female characters are sometimes so insignificant, that they can be easily replaced with something else, or removed altogether, but the basic pattern of action will remain unchanged.[2] Very often a successful trick itself becomes a happy end, and the audience does not see the solution of love troubles of protagonists (*Bacch., Cas., Cist., Pseud., Truc.*). Only two comedies by Plautus (*Bacch.*, *Poen.*) out of the 21 he wrote have a double love intrigue, but one should remember that it is in rudimental form.

Thus, since Plautus' attitude towards love themes was not the same as that shown by Terence and the Greek New Comedy, maybe it would be interesting to investigate how he treats this strong feeling on the stage. Since amorous scenes and scenes with declarations of love already have been researched,[3] we will focus on the other aspects of love. We will try to reconstruct the definition of love according to Plautus and to find answers on several questions:

— who is the patron of love — Amor or Cupid?
— who has the right to love?
— who loves and who is loved?
— were girls raped or only seduced?

All these topics also will help us to investigate the connection between Plautus' comedies and Greek or Roman reality, as well as a literary tradition.

Definition of love

In Plautus' comedies one can find some passages, where the playwright gives a longer description or even a definition of love (*Cist.* 203 – 228; *Mer.* 18 – 38; *Trin.* 223 – 276, 667 – 678). We will present only a few examples of the typical features of love. A young man, Charinus, in the first lines of the *Mercator* (18 – 38), confesses that he is in love and lists the symptoms of this state of heart and mind: care (*cura*), sorrow (*aegritudo*), immoderate elegance (*nimia elegantia*), sleeplessness (*insomnia*), distress (*aerumna*). Some of them, nearly synonymous, are set up in some kind of gradation from the less to the most troubling features: uncertainty, fear, escape (*error*, *terror*, *fuga*) or silliness, stupidity,

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[2] Such an experiment has been already done. Bohomolec, the Polish playwright who wrote comedies for a school stage of the Society of Jesus had to fulfil the requirements of "Ratio studiorum" which forbade to present female characters and love theme. Bohomolec used for his adaptation comedies by Plautus, since without any problem he could replace all forbidden elements with something else. See: E. S k w a r a, *Plautus in the Polish Jesuit comedies. The example of Franciszek Bohomolec* (c. 1750), Eos LXXXVIII 2001, p. 1 – 7.

[3] W.G. A r n o t t, *Amorous scenes in Plautus*, Papers of Leeds International Latin Seminar VIII 1995, p. 1 – 17; A r n o t t, *Love scenes in Plautus*, *o.c.*, p. 11 – 121; P. F l u r y, *Liebe und Liebessprache bei Menander, Plautus und Terenz*, Heidelberg 1968; G.E. D u c k w o r t h, *The Nature of Roman Comedy. A Study in Popular Entertainment,* Princeton, New Jersey 1952, p. 279 – 285.

recklessness (*ineptia*, *stultitia*, *temeritas*), or immoderation, impudence, lust (*inmodestia*, *petulantia*, *cupiditas*). Love is such an unusual emotion that it causes even contrary feelings and statements, e.g. talkativeness — taciturnity (*multiloquium — parumloquium*), because — as Charinus says — a man in love speaks many words which are beside the point, aimless and untimely, and in this case he is talkative. However, on the other hand he is silent when he has a good opportunity to press his suit. All the above-mentioned attributes are typical for young lovers in comedies by Plautus.

A very important feature of a man in love is his extravagance and prodigality, which lead to poverty and loss (*inopia*, *dispendium*). An audience watching love and lovers on the stage can define this feeling as „an emotion which causes man to forget, for the time being, how many *minas* there are in a *talent*".[4] Calidorus, a young man from the *Pseudolus* (120 – 122) let his slave steal his father's or mother's money, which he needed for the girl whom he was in love with. Philolaches, a young man in love from the *Mostellaria* (233 – 234), would even like to learn that his father has died, since in that case he could make a gift of his inheritance to his courtesan. The slave Milphio from the *Poenulus* (198 – 199) sighs that his master suffering the pangs of love has a love-spot (*amoris macula*) in his chest that simply cannot be eradicated except at high cost (*non sine damno magno*).

Thus, love does not go hand in hand with economy, parsimony and fortune. Maybe because of this, young Lysiteles from the *Trinummus* (230 – 232), considering what he should choose in his life — love affairs or business — treats these two things as exclusive. Since he flees from love, he resolves to seek the polar opposite of love, namely marriage (374 – 375). He intends to wed the sister of his impoverished friend. Also the father of Lesbonicus, of the second youth in the *Trinummus*, uses a marriage as an antidote against the love troubles of his son (1183 – 1186), and presses him to wed the daughter of a next-door neighbour. A young lover feels guilty because of his affair with a courtesan, so he accepts this kind of punishment, and even is happy that he may become a husband of only one woman, since — as his friend says — he should marry a hundred wives for his sins, and it would not be enough.[5]

Thus, marriage protects against love or at least does not go hand in hand with this affection[6]. One can also state that in a comedy real marriage causes the end of love. It seems to be true, although Scapha, a maid of a hetaera in the *Mostellaria*, warns her mistress (195 – 196) that a warm affection disappears rather with the coming of senility (*aetate*) and satiety (*satietate*). However, an audience never sees this in the course of the performance.

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[4] W. Beare, CR XLII 1928, p. 110.

[5] By the way one should add that this punishment and a medicine against love affairs is also served in Terence's *Heautontimorumenos* (1054 – 1062), where Clitipho is being pressed by his father to marry, of course, not his beloved courtesan, but a bride of his father's choice — red-headed, hook-nosed girl with green eyes and a spotty face.

[6] See also: D. Wiles, *Themes in Drama 11: Women in Theatre*, Cambridge 1989, p. 33.

One could remark that two out of the 21 comedies by this Roman playwright present the main characters as young married couples (*Amph.*, *Stich.*). However, the theme of these plays is not love, and between wife and husband there are various feelings, but not infatuations. In the *Stichus* we can see two sisters, who do not want to divorce their long absent men, although their father insists on their remarrying. The women give (7 – 8a; 46) as the reasons for their refusal a duty and a loyalty (*officium*, *pietas*), but they do not even mention love. At last they decide to fulfil the wish of their father (54), believing that children should obey their parents. And only by a happy coincidence do their men come back before their wives remarry. Neither do the husbands give any proof of a deep affection for their wives. The only remark made by one of them is (525 – 526) that his wife had managed his household affairs in such a way that she left him bare and destitute of everything... which was upsetting. However, it is not an expression of love.

A similar situation is found in the second play, the *Amphitruo*, where the main characters — Amphitryon and Alcmena are a young married couple. However, let us notice that the real male lover and Alcmena's partner in amorous scenes is a god, Jupiter. Amphitryon appears on the stage only as a jealous husband, who causes violent quarrels and disagreement.

Although it sounds paradoxical, since a wedding is a highly desirable goal to young men and women of Roman comedy, it seems that marriage lays down the limit of love — at least in the plays of Plautus.[7] No married state is pictured as a happy and desirable one. And married life among older people is consistently portrayed as unpleasant and disagreeable — a state to be endured rather than enjoyed.

Amor or cupid?

If a warm feeling is so short-lived and ephemeral, one should consider who is the patron of this affection — Amor or Cupid? Plautus' lovers very often address the god of love, and they turn to him with a request for a favour. To whom, however? Amor or Cupid?

In Greek mythology and literature there is one god of love — Eros.[8] However, Romans divided his competence between two deities: Amor has become a patron of a tender sentiment and warm feeling, while Cupid is said to be responsible for lust and sexual excitement. Especially in Roman comedy this division was very clear. One of the remaining fragments by Afranius (*Cinerarius*, frg. 3) underlines: *Alius est Amor, alius est Cupido.* In Plautus also one can find a ques-

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[7] In the *Phormio* by Terence young Antipho is married and still in love. Also Pamphilus in *Hecyra* is married and this fact does not ruin his hopes for a happy love.

[8] Himeros (Yearning) can not be taken as the equivalent of Cupid in distinction to Eros/Amor, since he and Eros are represented together as companions of Aphrodite. And the most important — Himeros is absent in nearly all Greek literature (with one exception — *Theogonia* (w. 201) by Hesiod).

tion about the patron of a warm feeling; A boy from the *Bacchides* asks (20): „Is it Cupid, or Amor, raging within you?"

Sometimes these two deities are combined, e.g. in the *Curculio* (3) Phedromus answers the question as to where he is going: „Where Venus and Cupid command, where Amor entices", and Philolaches from the *Mostellaria* confesses (163 – 4) that Amor and Cupid trickled like rain into his heart. Lysiteles in the *Trinummus* (667 – 673) describes the methods used by Amor and he concludes: „It is mighty poor business, putting up at Cupid Inn". The above-mentioned examples lead us to the judgement, that in the imagination of personages on the stage these two gods are complementary.

However, sometimes Cupid appears in comedy without Amor, and *vice versa*. Cleareta, a procuress in the *Asinaria* (156), is absolutely sure that the client of her courtesan always will be coming back to their house, because — as she says — his heart is fastened to them with one of Cupid's spikes. And Sagarystio in the *Persa* (25) a slave, who according to rights in comedy should not love, confesses that Cupid thrusts an arrow through his heart. We could assume that neither a pimp or a slave is interested in that sentimental feeling that love is, but rather in sexual pleasure, and because of this they both address Cupid. But on the other hand, Amor appears also as an inhabitant of courtesans' houses (*Bacch*. 115) and in their declarations of feeling (*Cist*. 69). Lysiteles in the *Trinummus* (237 – 238) describes Amor as a god who can trap anyone except men of loose desire.

In the light of these remarks we can conclude that Amor is present here, where no doubt Cupid is expected. However, a person who calls to Amor dreams also about Cupid, but not everyone who prays to Cupid, wants to be in the power of Amor.

There can also be another — less romantic — explanation of this puzzle of why Plautus uses Amor and Cupid interchangeably. One should not forget that the playwright had to pack his ideas into the metrical system, and words *Amor* and *Cupid* are not identical in respect of length and quantity. However, this hypothesis calls for closer scrutiny.

Who has the right to love?

Love is an expensive business — also or maybe especially in comedies by Plautus. A slave girl ranges in cost from twenty (*Asin*. 89, 230; *Pseud*. 52, 344) to forty *minae* (*Epid*. 51). The high price was a tribute to her beauty, charm and an indication of her desirability. If such a girl cost thirty *minae*, i.e., half of talent, she was a very expensive luxury, since an attractive house could be bought for two talents.[9]

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[9] G.E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy. A Study in Popular Entertainment,* Princeton, New Jersey 1952, p. 275.

Taking into consideration the fact that love wants and needs money, one could assume that only a person who is rich has the right to love. However, money is a thing which can be acquired. Everyone who has a good head on his shoulders or, better, a rascal slave, can have money. There are three ways to get it: to borrow from a friend, to be in debt to a moneylender, and in the worst case to steal the money. Always one of these possible solutions leads to success. So, money does not give the right to love, it only makes love easier. And a lack of it is only an obstacle strengthening and intensifying this warm feeling.

Of course, everyone is able to love, but in comedies by Plautus some lovers are successful and others are punished because of the audacity which presses them to take on this hazard and fall in love. It is widely known that youths find happiness in their affairs and slaves or old men get into troubles and suffer humiliation.

What is the reason for this difference? What gives the right to love and what forbids it? Let us look at the persons on the stage, or rather at their *personas*, i.e., masks. Among the ludicrous and grotesque masks of slaves, parasites, pimps, old men, and women, only youths — including soldiers, young girls and courtesans — have nice and natural faces. And they are usually involved in love affairs. Thus, the right to love belongs to youth, with its beauty, charm and attraction.

Even if one agrees with the opinion of French and Italian scholars, and does not believe that masks were used in Rome from the beginning of Roman theatrical activity, i.e. in Plautus' time,[10] one must remember that masks were present on the Athenian stage. There they were suited to the characters and reflected their personalities. The basic schema of personages with their main features and a place in plot was transferred from Greek to Roman theatre — with masks or not is not important. In either case, masks were closely tied with features of characters and became their visual sign.

Looking at the mask we could assume that all persons who have a nice face are successful in their love affairs. However, it is a well known fact that a soldier always plays a role of a defeated rival (*Bacch.*, *Curc.*, *Epid.*, *Mil.*, *Poen.*, *Truc.*). It seems that physical beauty is not the only condition of happiness in love. A character who has not only charm but also a tender heart wins someone's warm feelings and can hope that his courtship will be successful. A youth who finds happy love is a good man, very often not able to steal, lie and cheat, so because of that a rascal slave appears at his side to do all these things instead of his young master. On the other hand a simple-minded, narcissistic and ridiculous soldier is always lost in spite of his beauty.

According to comedic reality, old men, even nice and magnanimous (*Asin.*), do not have the right to love, because of their age (expressed by a grotesque

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[10] D. W i l e s, *The Masks of Menander. Sign and Meaning in Greek and Roman Performance*, Cambridge 1991, p. 132.

mask) and their marital status — they are already married. If they take the risk of having an affair, their advances are rebuffed, and they always fail and become a butt for jokes (*Asin.*, *Cas.*, *Merc.*).

Also the advances of slaves are rebuffed (*Rud.* 414 – 439, *Cist.* 449 – 464). Their masks and especially red hair were a warning that their owner was cunning, and scheming, and none should trust him. In such a case the comedy *Persa* seems to be an exception for this rule. The play presents a slave in love, but his behaviour and his features are typical of a youth. His passion astonishes other slaves, who ask (25): „Servants love here?" It is very probable that Plautus used this „disguise" for a comic purpose, presenting a young slave with all characteristic features of a youth of a noble birth, according to the rule expressed in the *Poenulus* (447) that love compels a free man to obey his slave.

Who loves and who is loved?

The answer to this question depends on to whom this warm feeling is addressed. There are tree groups of female characters which are involved in love: independent courtesans (*Bacch.*, *Men.*, *Mil.*, *Most.*, *Truc.*), slave-girls in the power of a pimp and doomed to a harlot's life (*Asin., Cist., Curc., Rud.*). This type of heroine was usually abducted in her childhood and at the end of a play she is discovered to be of respectable parentage and this revelation of her birth is a solution of all love troubles.[11] The last type of female characters involved in love are daughters of reputable citizens, who are mute persons or even not presented on the stage (*Aul.*). An audience knows that they exist, because marriage with them is the aim of an intrigue.

Some women yield to their lovers for purely mercenary reasons, but these are hardened courtesans, like Phronesium in the *Truculentus* (49 – 50), whose true nature Diniarchus realizes when he sums up the dilemma of lovers. The conclusion is that if he spends a few nights with her, his peace of mind will be ruined, but if the nights are many, he is happy, but his money is gone. Also Erotium, the courtesan from the *Menaechmi* (694), is angry with her lover for coming without money. So, the affection of hetaera is rather love for youth's money than for him. The bigger and more expensive presents she gets, the higher her sexual temperature will be. Thus, in the couple consisted of a youth and a courtesan he loves and she is loved.

A happier configuration for a youth is when he chooses as a subject of his warm feeling a slave-girl in the power of a pimp (*Asin.*, *Cist.*, *Curc.*, *Epid., Pers.*, *Poen.*, *Pseud.*, *Rud.*). In this pattern of plot all the dangers and obstacles are put in the lovers' way by the procurer, but a girl loves her beloved youth as much as she is loved. In nearly every case she turns out at the end of a play to be the

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[11] See also: P.G.McC. B r o w n, *Love and marriage in Greek New Comedy*, CQ XLIII 1993, p. 189 – 205.

daughter of a reputable citizen (*Cist.*, *Curc.*, *Epid.*, *Poen.*, *Rud.*,), which makes her marriageable, and the youth weds her.

Unfortunately we know nearly nothing about feelings of the third group of female characters — girls of noble birth. They wear masks of a virgin (*virgo*) and usually do not appear on the stage, since they are not needed for a plot any longer. Their main role was already played — they were raped.

Raped or seduced?

Sometimes youths fall in love with a daughter of their neighbours — girls of the same social status. Their beauty arouses sensuous desire and love affairs begin with an unfortunate episode of rape at a nocturnal religious festival (*Aul.*, *Cist.*, *Truc.*). By today's morality it is shocking behaviour, and we would like to believe that this pre-marital sexual intercourse was a kind of seduction rather than a rape,[12] since we do not want to stop liking a hero.

Plautus describes this episode using the word *comprimere* (*Aul.* 689; *Cist.* 158 – 169) which means to press together, to squeeze together, to embrace. Maybe if he did want to accuse a youth of a rape, he would introduce the terms *violare*, *stuprare* or *vitiare*. Diniarchus from the *Truculentus*, Lyconides from the *Aulularia* and Demipho from the *Cistellaria* — every one of them ran away from the place of the act and tried to avoid the responsibility for it. However, it is not a proof that they had raped a virgin. Roman law in the time of the Republic imposed a penalty on men who committed the crime of sexual intercourse with unmarried girls of respectable parentage. This law let her family take revenge. This crime was called *stuprum* or *adulterium,*[13] and the law did not introduce the distinction between a violent act (a rape) and the act with a girl's agreement (seduction). Thus, the escape of youths does not clarify if they had raped a virgin or only seduced her. They say in their defence that this criminal act was provoked by night and wine, which ancient literature regards also as an aphrodisiac causing love and sexual excitement.[14] In the case of Demipho it is said that he used force, but it is very difficult to decide if it was a real rape in today's meaning. His act was only on one occasion and never repeated, which leads us to the conclusion that it could have been an extortion of sexual contact, called by Americans „date rape".

In any case, Roman law punished the crime of sexual intercourse with a girl

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[12] See also: E.M. Haris, *Did the Athenians regard seduction as a worse crime than rape?*, CQ XL 1990, p. 370 – 377; P.G. McC. Brown, *Athenian attitudes to rape and seduction: the evidence of Menander Dyscolos 289 – 293*, CQ XLI 1991, p. 533 – 534.

[13] W. Wołodkiewicz, *Prawo rzymskie. Słownik encyklopedyczny,* Warszawa 1986, p. 20, 145.

[14] One should add that in Terence's *Adelphoe* (470 – 471) Hegio mentions as a potent factors in initiating many of the love affairs: darkness, passion, wine, youth (*nox amor vinum adulescentia*) and he concludes — It is human nature (*humanumst*).

of respectable parentage, and the only way out was to marry her. And here we come back to the above-mentioned paradox of marriage, which on the one hand is a highly desirable goal to men in comedy, but on the other hand ends love. The men have no choice: if they had pre-marital sex with a virgin, they had to marry her. If they had pre-marital sex with a slave-girl, who turned out to be a free-born daughter of a citizen, they had to marry her, too.

In comedy sex causes many troubles: symptoms of illness, loss of money, revenge. Every youth is aware of the danger, but none try to avoid it, in accordance with the law: *dura* sex *sed* sex.

It seems that this literary idea was used mainly in order to seize and hold the attention of an audience. Plautus knew that sex (also combined with violence) was what most theatregoers expected. However, he does not present this act of force on the stage, but places it before the action. Even scenes with desire and sexual advances (*Curc.* 158 – 215; *Most.* 290 – 302)[15] show the love-making only as far developed as it is allowed in front of the public gaze. The Roman playwright had to — as Arnott says — walk a tightrope between offering traditional material in a traditional way and producing the kind of novelty and innovation that might mystify and so defeat a conservative audience.[16] The idea of sexual intercourse fulfilled this requirement: there were sex and crime, which became a knot of the play, but everything happened behind the public's back.

Comedy and reality

Many scenes by Plautus imitate Greek realities, e.g. parties follow the established conventions of a Greek *symposium*, with hand washing, bringing in the table, crowning with garlands, toasts, etc. (*Pers.* 769 – 773; *Stich.* 702 – 708). There are also many Italian elements,[17] which together with the detailed descriptions of Greek customs are taken as a proof that Plautus comedies copy real life — rather Athenian than Roman.

However, the feelings and emotions presented on stage are not real, they are exaggerated. Love and amorous scenes are full of humour, and youths infatuated with a free-born girl or with a courtesan often seem comic to the eyes of an emotionally uninvolved observer. Although in real life also the total involvement of lovers in each other tends to encourage ridicule, in comedy caresses and the sweet talk of them is much more absurd, especially when they are accompanied by a slave making funny remarks to the romantic duo.

We also wonder why the picture of married life is so unpleasant. Primarily, we may suppose, because marriage is a conventional means of arousing laughter

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[15] Arnott, *o.c.* p. 6 – 9.

[16] Arnott, *o.c.* p. 1 – 2.

[17] E. Skwara, *Toga spod pallium. Koloryt rzymski u Plauta*, Classica Wratislaviensia XXII 2001, p. 99 – 107.

and, as such, bears little relation to the realities of life.[18] The farcical plots and grotesque characterisations found in Plautus make it impossible to take seriously his references to marriage and married life.

The world created in comedies by Plautus does not have much in common with either Greek or Roman real life, but rather demonstrates the poet's imagination in an exaggerated and fantastic guise for comic purposes.[19] His ideas were dependent on the expectation of the audience rather than on real life.

Plautus and literary tradition

It is widely known that Plautus' plays are based on Greek models. Mainly, but not exclusively New Comedy was the Greek pattern for the Roman playwright. In comedies by Menander love is a dominating subject, but there are no love scenes similar to those which can be found in Plautus: lovers rarely meet, but when they are together on the stage, their conversation is not erotic, and sexual encounters are only described after the event.

Much closer in spirit to Plautus' love scenes is Old Comedy, where there are many descriptions of sexual pleasure: preliminaries for intercourse arranged by Myrrhine in *Lysistrata* (845 ff.), instructions on how to use sexuality in the *Thesmophoriazusae* (1172 ff.), or a young man's serenade in the *Ecclesiazusae* (938 ff.).

One should not believe that Plautus knew Aristophanes at first hand. It is much more possible that his comedies were influenced as much by such improvised Italian performances of his own time as Atellane farce and mime.

To sum up, we can conclude that, although Plautus does not always present and treat affection in the same way as Terence and Menander, since for him sexual courtship is more interesting than sentimental feeling, he still follows the tradition of the literature.

Love and sex do not play the main role in his comedies, and very often provide only a background for tricks, but passion dominates all the young men and is a source of and a force in all their activities. The power of infatuation is for them a circumstance out of their control, and when they feel desire right up to their finger-tips, they are ready to act inconsiderately and foolishly.

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[18] J.P.V.D., Balsdon, *Roman women*, London 1962, p. 200 – 223.

[19] Duckworth, *o.c.*, p. 273 ff.

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THE ELEVENTH BOOK OF QUINTILIAN'S *INSTITUTIO ORATORIA* AND JEROME[1]

By

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Jerome was thoroughly familiar with Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.[2] The intensive *Quellenforschung* of Hagendahl and others has nonetheless been unable to identify any debt whatsoever on Jerome's part to certain books of this classic of the art of public speaking. One such case is the ninth book.[3] Very recently however it has proved possible to establish that Jerome's *oeuvre* does evince the influence of this book after all.[4] One other book of the *Institutio* which likewise has so far defied all the efforts of commentators to detect a single borrowing in Jerome is the very long and penultimate eleventh,[5] which covers the essential topics of propriety, memory and delivery. In view of Jerome's unusual expertise in memorization the second part in particular of this book can certainly be assumed to have been the object of his extremely close attention.[6] Hence the failure of scholarship to discover any trace whatever of this book in Jerome's very extensive literary output is all the more puzzling. The purpose of the present article is to argue that such influence can in fact be identified.

Jerome's momentous 'dream' is indubitably the most celebrated event of his entire life;[7] in it he had vowed to stop reading the classics. The frequency of clas-

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[1] Works are cited according to the conventions of *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum*, Leipzig 1990², unless otherwise indicated.

[2] Cf. H a g e n d a h l, *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and Other Christian Writers*, Göteborg 1958, Acta Univ. Gothob. LXIV, 2, p. 412.

[3] Cf. H a g e n d a h l, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 412; idem, *Jerome and the Latin Classics*, Vig. Chr. XXVIII 1974, p. 216 – 227. No echo is registered in either study.

[4] Cf. the p r e s e n t w r i t e r, *The Ninth Book of Quintilian's Institutio oratoria and Jerome*, Arctos XXXII 1998, p. 13 – 25.

[5] In the Teubner edition only the ninth book itself occupies more pages.

[6] For Jerome's remarkable proficiency at memorizing and reproducing phraseology from a whole range of works which are unconnected with his particular theme and cannot therefore be supposed to have been reread specially cf. (e.g.) the p r e s e n t w r i t e r, *Tertullian in Jerome (Epist. 22, 37, 1 f.)*, Symb. Osl. LXVIII 1993, p. 129 – 143.

[7] On its date, location and real significance respectively cf. the p r e s e n t w r i t e r, *The Date of the Dream of St. Jerome*, Stud. Class. Orient. XLIII 1993, p. 263 – 273; idem, *Hierosolymam militaturus pergerem: A Note on the Location of Jerome's Dream*, Κοινωνία XVII 1993, p. 81 – 83; idem, *Gregory of*

sical citations in Jerome's subsequent writings then led Rufinus to charge him with breaking this vow. Jerome was therefore obliged to defend himself in his *Apologia contra Rufinum* by invoking the power of memory (1, 30): here he is accordingly dealing with precisely the same topic as the second part of Quintilian's eleventh book. In this connection Jerome observes: "etiam asini et bruta animalia, quamvis in longo itinere, noverunt secundo diverticula". Apropos of this statement Lardet's highly praised and very detailed commentary is reduced to the following admission: "je ne lui connais pas de précédent littéraire".[8] It would nonetheless appear possible to show that such a "literary precedent" does in fact exist: moreover Jerome is here engaged in direct imitation of it.[9] The opening section of Quintilian's discussion of memory states:[10] "illa quoque animalia quae carere intellectu videntur meminerunt et agnoscunt et quamlibet longo itinere deducta ad adsuetas sibi sedes revertuntur" (*Inst.* 11, 2, 6). Here "illa quoque animalia quae carere intellectu videntur" corresponds to the "etiam... bruta animalia" of the *Apologia*, which has merely subjected Quintilian's rather long-winded phrase to characteristic coarctation;[11] similarly the *Institutio*'s ensuing "quamlibet longo itinere" exactly matches Jerome's "quamvis in longo itinere", which likewise occupies the succeeding position in the sentence.[12] The

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Nazianzus and Jerome: Some Remarks, [in:] M.A. Flower and M. Toher (edd.), Georgica: Greek Studies in Honour of George Cawkwell, London 1991, Inst. Class. Stud., Bull. Suppl. LVIII, p. 14 – 16.

[8] P. L a r d e t, *L'Apologie de Jérôme contre Rufin: Un commentaire*, Leiden 1993, Suppl. Vig. Chr. XV, p. 133 (sect. 231d). For the critical acclaim bestowed on the work cf. (e.g.) the reviews of J.J. T h i e r r y (Mnemosyne n. s. XLVIII 1995, p. 617: "Un commentaire précieux... ce commentaire fourmille de références: M.L. cite nombre d'autres passages de J. et des auteurs classiques et chrétiens") and S. R e b e n i c h (Gymnasium CIII 1996, p. 84: "Die gründliche und genaue philologisch-literarische Analyse sowie die beeindruckende Fülle einschlägiger Parallelstellen"). Both reviewers (p. 617 and p. 83 respectively) cite Lardet's treatment of this particular section of *Adv. Rufin.* 1, 30 as a palmary instance of his literary-critical method.

[9] L a r d e t, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 133 (sect. 231d) speaks of "le ton ici proverbial"; in the dissertation on which his commentary is based (*S. Jérôme: Apologie contre Rufin; Commentaire du livre premier* [fasc. II], diss. Paris 1980, p. 368 [sect. 231[i]]) he had been more categorical: "indéniablement proverbiale". However dissertation and commentary alike are obliged to note that the present passage of the *Apologia* is absent from both A. O t t o, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig 1890, repr. Hildesheim 1962, and R. H ä u s s l e r, *Nachträge zu A. Otto, Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer*, Hildesheim 1968. These corpora are in fact right to exclude Jerome's sentence: it is not "proverbial".

[10] Jerome evinces a particular propensity to borrow from such exordial passages; cf. P. P e t i t m e n g i n, *S. Jérôme et Tertullien*, [in:] Y.-M. Duval (ed.), Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient, Paris 1988, p. 50 ("c'est-à-dire aux passages qui restent le mieux gravés dans la mémoire"). The two sentences of the *Apologia* immediately preceding the one currently at issue ("si didicisses litteras, oleret testa ingenioli tui quo semel fuisset imbuta. lanarum conchylia nullae aquae diluunt") are also indebted to Quintilian: this time it is the beginning of the first book of the *Institutio* (1, 1, 5: "ut sapor quo nova inbuas durat, nec lanarum colores quibus simplex ille candor mutatus est elui possunt") which has inspired Jerome's identical combination of these two ideas.

[11] On Jerome's habit of compressing his source cf. the p r e s e n t w r i t e r, *Some Features of Jerome's Compositional Technique in the Libellus de virginitate servanda (Epist.* 22*)*, Philologus CXXXVI 1992, p. 235 f.; in the present case it may be remarked that "bruta animalia" is also a favourite Hieronymian collocation (cf. ThLL II col. 2216, 45 – 47, s. v. "brutus"). The same streamlining tendency is observable in Jerome's reduction of the three Quintilianic main verbs to one.

[12] No other example of this particular formulation is provided by ThLL VII, 2, 1 coll. 538, 27 – 545, 58, s.v. "iter"; ib. VII, 2, 2 coll. 1633, 14 – 1652, 10, s.v. "longus".

conclusion may accordingly be drawn that here we have a direct debt to the eleventh book of the *Institutio oratoria*.[13]

Besides superficial streamlining Jerome has also introduced more substantial modifications to his Quintilianic source: "asini" has been added to the beginning, while at the end the *Institutio*'s "ad... sedes revertuntur" gives place to "noverunt... diverticula". Pflugbeil's articles on "deverticulum" and "deversorium"[14] in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* link this text of the *Apologia* to Horace, *Epistles* 1, 15, 10f.: "mutandus locus est et deversoria nota / praeteragendus equus".[15] These Horatian verses share the same context as the passage of Quintilian: both concern the animalian sense of direction.[16] It would accordingly be natural for Jerome to combine the two texts: hence while the "equus" of the *Epistles* will be the reason for Jerome's addition of "asini" to "bruta animalia",[17] the Horatian "deversoria nota" accounts for "noverunt... diverticula" of the *Apologia*.[18] Jerome's modification of Quintilian is accordingly due to his simultaneous imitation of Horace:[19] such superimposition of one source over another is characteristic of Jerome's method of composition.[20]

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[13] In this connection it may be observed that the Quintilianic sentences immediately preceding and following the one just discussed also evince parallels to this section of the *Apologia*. Directly beforehand Quintilian had drawn a contrast between wakefulness and sleep: "nec vigilantibus sed etiam quiete compositis". Precisely the same antithesis opens Jerome's very next chapter ("haec dicerem, si quidpiam vigilans promisissem. nunc autem... obicit mihi somnium meum"; cf. ib. "non tibi sufficiunt quae de vigilante confingis, nisi et somnia crimineris"). Similarly Quintilian's following sentence had ended with the words "pueritiae recordari", which correspond exactly to the Hieronymian pair "recordatur infantia" that likewise concludes the sentence immediately anterior to the two cited in n. 10 above. While Jerome has here preferred "infantia" merely for the sake of the double cretic clausula, both writers employ the verb "recordari", for which numerous synonyms were available; cf. *Synon. Cic.* p. 443, 4 f. ("memini, memor sum, gnarus sum, certus sum, teneo, intellego, retineo, recordo"), to which the *Glossaria* add "in mente habeo", "recogito", "recognosco", "recolo", "reminiscor" and "repeto".

[14] The spelling of both words fluctuates between "de-" and "di-".

[15] K. P f l u g b e i l, ThLL V, 1 col. 853, 7 f., s.v. "deversorium"; ib. col. 854, 74 – 76, s.v. "deverticulum". Another distich of the *Epistles* (1, 2, 69 f.: "quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem / testa diu") is echoed in Jerome's previous sentence but one (cited in n. 10).

[16] The *Epistle's* "nota" also finds a counterpart in the "agnoscunt" of the *Institutio*; cf. (e.g.) *Diff.* ed. Beck p. 34, 53: *agnoscimus notos.*

[17] The ass was considered a notoriously "brutish" equid; cf. (e.g.) Gregory the Great, *Moral.* 1, 23: "quis asinus nisi gentilitas fuit, quam quilibet seductor reperit quasi brutum animal?".

[18] L a r d e t, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 133 (sect. 231d) again fails to recognize the "précédent littéraire". Particular importance attaches to the identification of this debt to the fifteenth poem of Book I of Horace's *Epistles*, since, whereas Jerome draws widely on the first four poems of this book, only one echo of the remaining three-quarters (viz. 1, 11, 27) is recorded by H a g e n d a h l, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 408. The same scholar's *Nachlese* (*a. c.* [n. 3]) is unable to add a single Hieronymian borrowing from any work of Horace whatsoever.

[19] The *Apologia's* antecedent sentence but one is indebted to the same pair of sources: while the phrasing there ("oleret testa...") comes from the *Epistles* (cf. n. 15), its association with the "lanae" of Jerome's next sentence is suggested by the *Institutio* (cf. n. 10).

[20] Cf. (e.g.) the p r e s e n t w r i t e r, *The Prologue of Sallust's* Bellum Catilinae *and Jerome*, Hermes CXXV 1997, p. 240 f. In this connection it may be observed *en passant* that another phrase of this section of the *Apologia* ("comatulus et sumpta toga... declamare") echoes Persius 1, 15 – 17 ("pexusque togaque recenti... leges"); it is proposed to deal elsewhere with this and other Hieronymian reminiscences of Persius, which have hitherto escaped the attention of commentators.

Two further points may be made regarding this sentence of the *Apologia*. Firstly both Pflugbeil and Lardet take Jerome's "diverticulum" to signify an "inn".[21] However the normal meaning of this word is "a turn-off" in both Jerome[22] and elsewhere.[23] Such must also be the sense of "diverticulum" here: for a lowly donkey and *a fortiori* for "bruta animalia" in general it is naturally more fitting to be concerned with "turn-offs" than "inns".[24] The same consideration has also led Jerome to substitute "diverticulum" for the Horatian "deversorium", which does mean "an inn":[25] Horace, unlike Jerome, is thinking primarily of people.[26] The second point concerns the phrase "asini et bruta animalia", which results from the *Apologia's* amalgamation of Horace and Quintilian. This collocation entails a somewhat inconcinnous pleonasm, which has significantly embarrassed translators: while Moricca prefixes an unwarranted "altri" to "animalia",[27] Bareille feels obliged to ignore Jerome's syntax altogether by turning the second half of his formulation into a mere apposition to the first.[28] Such inconcinnity due to the incorporation of material from elsewhere is another hallmark of the Hieronymian style:[29] the awkwardness in turn provides convenient verification of Jerome's debt to others here.

Lardet's comment on the preceding sentence but one of the *Apologia*[30] runs as follows: "'testa... quo semel fuisset imbuta' ('semel' est le mot d'Hor.) est proche de l'*ep*. 107 ('t.... quo primum imb. est' — où 'quo'... rappelle Quint.)...; mais 'oleret' est une variante inédite".[31] Here three observations would seem to be in order. In the first place there is no reason to express surprise at the *Apologia's* "oleret" as a "variante inédite": the word is simply a further echo of Horace,[32] whose "odor" was regarded in antiquity as the etymon of "olere".[33] The *Apolo-*

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[21] P f l u g b e i l, ThLL V, 1 col. 854, 70 and 74 – 76, s.v. "deverticulum" ("i.q. hospitium"); L a r d e t, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 133 (sect. 231d: "'diverticulum', 'auberge'").

[22] Cf. L a r d e t, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 133 (sect. 231d). To his examples of this sense of "diverticulum" in Jerome should be added *Epist*. 130, 2, 2 and *In Is*. 6, 15, 2b l. 42 (Gryson-Coulie). Lardet notes that "'diverticulum', 'auberge', est exceptionnel chez J.".

[23] Cf. ThLL V, 1 coll. 853, 75 – 854, 65 ("semita transversa").

[24] E. K o e s t e r m a n n, *Cornelius Tacitus:* Annalen III, Heidelberg 1967, p. 281 (on 13,25,1) observes with reference to Pflugbeil's ThLL article that the use of "deverticulum" to mean "inn" is "überaus selten"; it becomes significantly more so, when the present passage of the *Apologia* is eliminated from Pflugbeil's documentation.

[25] This is the only meaning assigned to the word by ThLL (V, 1 col. 852, 81: "hospitium").

[26] Cf. (e.g.) Porphyrio *Hor. epist*. 1, 15, 10 (ad loc.): "'deversoria nota'. Σύνλημψις, id est: mutanda".

[27] U. M o r i c c a, *S. Girolamo* II, Milan 1922, Pens. Crist. II, p. 204: "gli asini e gli altri animali".

[28] J.F. B a r e i l l e, *Oeuvres complêtes de S. Jérôme* III, Paris 1878, p. 87: "une âne même, une brute".

[29] Cf. the p r e s e n t w r i t e r, *a.c.* (n. 11), p. 236 – 238.

[30] Jerome's words are quoted in n. 10 above.

[31] L a r d e t, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 131 (sect. 231b). Later in the same sentence Lardet mentions Hagendahl, who had already pointed to the link between *Letter* 107, 4, 6 and this passage of the *Apologia*; however Lardet's reference is wrong (for "182, n. 1" read "182"). Similarly on the same page (sect. 231a) "Hagendahl, 106s" should be "197 – 201".

[32] The text of the *Epistles* is cited in n. 15 above.

[33] Cf. R. M a l t b y, *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies*, Leeds 1991, ARCA XXV, p. 427 (s.v. "oleo"), adducing Varro *Ling*. 6, 83 and Marius Victorinus *Gramm*. 4, 109 ("olere ab odore").

gia's similarity to *Letter* 107 is accordingly closer than Lardet asserts, since in addition the "oleret testa" of the former matches the latter's "testa... retinet... odorem". Secondly there are no grounds for maintaining that the "quo" of *Letter* 107 "rappelle Quint.". Here Jerome's "quo" is again due to Horace, whose "quo... est imbuta... odorem" corresponds exactly to the *Letter's* "odorem quo... imbuta est"; in Quintilian on the other hand the antecedent of "quo" is not "odor", but "sapor".[34] Thirdly the *Apologia's* "nearness" to *Letter* 107 is less significant than its precise correlation with Horace, to which Lardet should also have drawn attention: the Horatian "quo semel est imbuta / odorem testa" is reproduced *mot à mot* in Jerome's "quo semel fuisset imbuta / oleret testa".[35] Lardet does note that the *Apologia's* next sentence but one ("etiam asini et bruta animalia...") "se rapproche assez curieusement" with a later passage of *Letter* 107[36] (10, 2: "experimento didici asellum in via, cum lassus fuerit, diverticula quaerere. faciant hoc cultores Isidis et Cybelae, qui gulosa abstinentia Fasides aves et fumantes turtures vorant, ne scilicet Cerealia dona contaminent. hoc in perpetuo ieiunio praeceptum sit, ut longo itineri vires perpetes supparentur, ne in prima mansione currentes corruamus in mediis"). Lardet's dissertation had explicitly affirmed that *Letter* 107 was earlier than the *Apologia*.[37] The issue is in fact disputed: while the *Apologia* definitely belongs to the first half of 401, *Letter* 107 is variously assigned to "400"[38] and to "401 or early 402".[39] It would seem that this vexed question can now be settled by the echoes of Quintilian and Horace which have been identified in the present article. Unlike the *Apologia*, this passage of *Letter* 107 evinces no direct debt to either of these authors: on the contrary the phrases in question here ("asellum in via, cum lassus fuerit, diverticula quaerere" / "ut longo itineri vires perpetes supparentur"), which this time have also been separated from each other by a lengthy intervening sentence, are merely the *disjecta membra* of the tersely monolithic formulation of the *Apologia*. These words of *Letter* 107 accordingly constitute a further Hieronymian *Selbstzitat*.[40] Hence the *Apologia* is earlier than the *Letter*.

Lincoln, Nebraska

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[34] The full wording of the *Institutio* is given in n. 10 above.

[35] *Letter* 107 on the other hand exhibits a number of divagations from Horace, since it replaces "semel" with "primum" and inverts the order of "est imbuta".

[36] This phrase of Lardet's comes from his dissertation (*o.c.* [n. 9], p. 368 [sect. 231[i]]); the same "rapprochement" is registered by idem, *o.c.* (n. 8), p. 133 (sect. 231d).

[37] L a r d e t, *o. c.* (n. 9), p. 359 (sect. 231[b]): "sans doute l'année précédente". His commentary on the other hand avoids such explicitness.

[38] So F. C a v a l l e r a, *S. Jérôme: Sa vie et son oeuvre* I, 2, Louvain-Paris 1922, Spic. Sacr. Lov. II, p. 47; cf. also H.J. F r e d e, *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel*, Freiburg 1995[4], Vet. Lat. I/1, p. 516.

[39] So J.N.D. K e l l y, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies*, London 1975, repr. Peabody, Mass. 1998, p. 273 n. 1.

[40] For two comparable instances in which the phraseology at issue has in the first instance been similarly appropriated from elsewhere and on subsequent redeployment as a self-imitation has likewise undergone such emasculation cf. the p r e s e n t w r i t e r, *Tertullian and Jerome Again*, Symb. Osl. LXXII 1997, p. 158 – 162.

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C. LICINIUS MUCIANUS UND MOESIEN*

Von

LESZEK MROZEWICZ

Tac., *Hist.* III 46 (E. Koestermann):

mota et Dacorum gens numquam fida, tunc sine metu, abducto e Moesia exercitu. sed prima rerum quieti speculabantur: ubi flagrare Italiam bello, cuncta in vicem hostilia accepere, expugnatis cohortium alarumque hibernis utraque Danuvii ripa potiebantur. iamque castra legionum excindere parabant, ni Mucianus sextam legionem opposuisset, Cremonensis victoriae gnarus, ac ne externa moles utrimque ingrueret, si Dacus Germanusque diversi inrupissent. adfuit, ut saepe alias, fortuna populi Romani, quae Mucianum viresque Orientis illuc tulit (...)[1]

Tac. *Hist.* IV 4.2 (E. Koestermann):

multo cum honore verborum Muciano triumphalia de bello civium data, sed in Sarmatas expeditio fingebatur.

C. Licinius Mucianus war ein berühmter Feldherr und Politiker[2], ein hervorra-

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* Prosopographia Moesiaca 5. Der Artikel entstand während meines Aufenthaltes in Rom (November/Dezember 2000) als Stipendiat der Lanckoroński-Stiftung (Fondatio Lanckoroński)

[1] Deutsche Übersetzung von J. Borst (Tacitus *Historien*, Lateinisch-deutsch von..., unter Mitarbeit von Helmut Hross und Helmut Borst, München 1969, S. 313 – 314): „Auch das Volk der Daker, das ja niemals Treue kannte und das jetzt durch den Abzug des römischen Heeres aus Moesien nichts zu fürchten hatte, regte sich. Anfangs freilich beobachteten sie den Lauf der Dinge in aller Ruhe; sowie sie aber erfuhren, dass in Italien der Krieg aufgeflackert sei, alles gegeneinander in Waffen stehe, da erstürmten sie das Winterlager der Kohorten und Schwadronen und bemächtigten sich der beiden Donauufer. Sie wären auch noch dazu gekommen, das Legionslager zu zerstören, wenn nicht Mucian, über den Sieg bei Cremona bereits unterrichtet, ihnen die sechste Legion entgegengestellt hätte; er wollte es verhüten, dass durch einen auf verschiedenen Wegen erfolgten Ansturm der Daker und Germanen auswärtige Feinde von zwei Seiten her über uns hereinbrechen. Zustatten kam uns, wie so oft, das gewohnte Glück des römischen Volkes, das den Mucian mit den Streitkräften des Orients an den richtigen Platz führte (...)".

[2] PIR^2 L 216 (S. 49 – 51); A. K a p p e l m a c h e r, *Licinius* (116a), [in:] RE XIII 1926, S. 436 – 443; W. R u g e, [in:] RE XVIII 1949 S. 379 Nr. 7; C. P a t s c h, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa* V. Aus 500 Jahren vorrömischer und römischer Geschichte Südosteuropas. 1. Teil. Bis zur Festsetzung Römer in Transdanuvien, Wien 1932 (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Bd. 214), S. 177 – 178; S. De L a e t, *De samenstelling van den romeinschen senaat gedurende de eerste eeuw van*

gender Vertreter der Flavier-Anhänger. Mit Moesia war er rein zufällig und nur für kurze Zeit im Jahre 69 in Berührung gekommen. Er führte damals aus dem Orient über Moesia nach Italien eine Armee, deren Kern die Legio VI Ferrata[3] bildete. In der Zeit seines Durchmarsches erfolgte der Überfall der Daker, die die Abwesenheit eines grossen Teiles der moesischen zu diesem Zeitpunkt in Italien weilenden Garnison zu ihrem Vorteil ausnutzen wollten[4]. Mit Hilfe der syrischen Armee gelang es, die Daker abzuwehren[5]. Dieser Erfolg diente später als Begründung für die Verleihung an Mucianus der ornamenta triumphalia: de facto erhielt er die ornamenta für seine Teilnahme am Bürgerkrieg, in dem er sich auf die Seite Vespasians stellte, was aber „in Sarmatas expeditio fingebatur"[6].

Die Anfänge der Laufbahn von Mucianus sind uns nicht bekannt. Konsul (suff.) wurde er zum ersten Mal im Jahre 64[7]. Er war Statthalter von Licia sicherlich noch vor 64[8], in den Jahren 67 – 69 hingegen in Syrien[9], was dazu führte, dass er zu den hervorragendsten Persönlichkeiten dieser Epoche zählte. 69 stellte er sich zunächst auf die Seite von Otho und gegen Vitelius. Nach dem Sieg des Letzteren wurde er zum eifrigen Anhänger des Vespasian und trug entscheidend dazu bei, dass dieser Kaiser wurde. Er hat also eine Rolle gespielt, die man mit der Rolle von Antonius Primus[10] vergleichen kann; nach der Ankunft in Rom stellte er jedoch Antonius Pri-

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het principaat (28 vóór Chr. - 68 na Chr.), Antwerpen 1941, S. 158 Nr. 1042; A.E. G o r d o n, *Quintus Veranius, consul 49 A.D. 49. A study based on his recently identified sepulchral inscriptions*. University of California. Publications in Classical Archaeology, vol. 2 no. 5, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1953, S 320 Nr. 50; M. F o r t i n a, *Un generale romano del I secolo dell'impero: C. Licinio Muciano*, Novara 1955; R. S y m e, *Tacitus*, Oxford 1958 s. 785, 790 – 791; i d e m, *The march of Mucianus*, [in:] idem, Roman Papers III, Oxford 1984, S. 998 – 1013 (= Antichthon 11, 1977, s. 78 – 92); G. B i r k, *Der Wandel der römischen Führungsschicht unter Vespasian*, Diss. Stuttgart 1967, S. 94; W. E c k, *Ergänzungen zu den Fasti Consulares*, Historia XXIV 1975, S. 336 – 337; P.A. G a l l i v a n, *Some comments on the Fasti for the reign of Nero*, CQ LXVIII 1977, S. 305; J. N i c o l s, *Vespasian and the partes Flavianae*, Stuttgart 1978, S. 73 – 74, 101, 105 – 106 und passim; Chr. D a n o v, *Die Thraker auf dem Ostbalkan von der hellenistischen Zeit bis zur Gründung Konstantinopels*, ANRW II 7.1 (1979), S. 165 – 166; B. R é m y, *Les carrières senatoriales dans les provinces romaines d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire (31 av. J.-C. - 284 ap. J.C.) (Pont-Bithynie, Galatie, Cappadoce, Lycie-Pamphylie et Cilicie)*, Istanbul-Paris 1989, S. 284 – 286; J. S c h e i d, *Le collège de frères Arvales. Études prosopographiques du recrutement (69 – 304)*, Rome 1980, II, S. 4 Nr. 58, S. 316 – 318.

[3] Tac. *Hist.* II 83: „legio sexta et tredecim vexillariorum milia".

[4] Tac. *Hist.* III 46: „abducto e Moesia exercitu".

[5] P a t s c h, *l.c.*; T. S a r n o w s k i, *Wojsko rzymskie w Mezji Dolnej i na północnym wybrzeżu Morza Czarnego* [Das römische Heer in Niedermoesien und im Norden des Schwarzen Meeres], Warszawa 1988 (Novaensia 3), S. 31

[6] Über die Situation in Moesien zu diesem Zeitpunkt siehe P a t s c h, *o.c.*, S. 176; K a p p e l m a c h e r, *o.c.*, S. 439; S a r n o w s k i, *o.c,* S. 30 – 31, mit früherer Literatur.

[7] S y m e, *Tacitus*, S. 785; Gallivan: „Therefore A.D. 64 is the most probable year for the consulship of Mucianus and Macer"; E c k, *o.c.*, S. 336 – 337: starke Argumente für das Jahr 64; nach ihm N i c o l s, *o.c.*, S. 105; früher A. D e g r a s s i, *I fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano*, Roma 1952, S. 18 und F o r t i n a, *o.c.*, haben sich für das Jahr 60 ausgesprochen, vgl. N i c o l s, *o.c.*, S. 73 – 74 und PIR^2, S. 50.

[8] R é m y, *o.c.*, S. 284 – 286: am frühesten im Jahre 60.

[9] Tac. *Hist.* I 10: Syriam et quattuor legiones obtinebat Licinius Mucianus...; E. D ą b r o w a, *The governors of Roman Syria from Augustus to Spetimius Severus*, Bonn 1998, S. 58 – 60.

[10] PIR^2 A 866.

mus in den Schatten und beraubte ihn aller Einflussmöglichkeiten. Im Jahre 70 wurde er zum zweiten Mal Konsul (suff.)[11], 72 hingegen zum dritten Mal[12]. Obwohl er nach dem Konsulat keine Ämter innehatte, war er wahrscheinlich nach wie vor die graue Eminenz geblieben. Er starb nach 75, möglicherweise im Jahre 78[13]. Er war frater Arvalis[14]. Auch als Schriftsteller[15] wurde er berühmt.

Über Herkunft und Familie von Mucianus ist uns nur sehr wenig bekannt. Es lässt sich nicht ausschliessen, dass er aus Hispania[16] stammte. Er kann irgendwie mit L. Licinius Sura[17], dem berühmten vir militaris aus der Trajans Zeit, verwandt gewesen sein: denn beide gehörten zu tribus Sergia[18]. Verwandt mit Mucianus kann auch der uns nicht näher bekannte A. Licinius Mucianus[19] gewesen sein. Am besten charakterisiert die Persönlichkeit des Mucianus wohl Tacitus[20], wenn er schreibt: „Syriam et quattuor legiones obtinebat Licinius Mucianus, vir secundis adversisque iuxta famosus, insignes amicitias iuvenis ambitiose coluerat; mox adtritis opibus, lubrico statu, suspecta etiam Claudii iracundia, in secretum Asiae sepositus tam prope ab exule fuit quam postea a principe. luxuria industria, comitate adrogantia, malis bonisque artibus mixtus: nimiae voluptates, cum vacaret; quotiens expedierat, magnae virtutes. palam laudares, secreta male audiebant: sed apud subiectos, apud proximos, apud collegas variis inlecebris potens, et cui expeditius fuerit tradere imperium quam obtinere"[21].

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[11] D e g r a s s i, *o.c.*, S. 20. PIR^2 L 216 (S. 51).

[12] *Ibidem*, S. 21.

[13] R. S y m e, *Some Arval Brethren*, Oxford 1980, S. 15; idem, *Tacitus*, S. 790, plädierte für das Jahr 77; cf. D ą b r o w a, *o.c.*, S. 59: „He died between A.D. 75 and 77".

[14] CIL VI 2052; S y m e, *Arval Brethren*, S. 6, 13, 15; R é m y, *o.c.*, S. 286; S c h e i d, *o.c.*

[15] K a p p e l m a c h e r, *o.c.*, S. 440 – 443.

[16] So schlägt Syme vor, *Tacitus*, S. 790 – 791, mit Akzeptanz: S c h e i d, *Arvales*, S. 316.

[17] PIR^2 L 253 (S. 60 – 61); S y m e, *Tacitus*, S. 790 – 791; cf. D ą b r o w a, *o.c.*, S. 59.

[18] S y m e, *Tacitus*, S. 791; S c h e i d, *o.c.*, S. 4 und 316.

[19] PIR^2 L 215 (S. 49).

[20] Tac. *Hist.* I 10 (E. Koestermann).

[21] Deutsche Übersetzung von J. Borst (Tacitus *Historien*, Lateinisch-deutsch von..., unter Mitarbeit von Helmut Hross und Helmut Borst, München 1969, s. 19): „Syrien mit seinen vier Legionen hatte Licinius Mucianus unter sich, ein Mann, der durch sein Glück sowie sein Unglück gleichviel von sich reden machte. In jüngeren Jahren hatte er sich ehrgeizig um freundschaftliche Verbindungen mit vornehmen Kreisen bemüht; wie dann später sein Vermögen zerrüttet war und sich seine Verhältnisse unhaltbar zeigten, wie er auch den Zorn des Claudius fürchten musste und nach dem fernen Asien abgeschoben worden war, stand er der Verbannung ebenso nahe wie nachher der Erhebung auf den Thron. Er stellte eine Mischung dar von Verschwendungssucht und Tatkraft, Leutseligkeit und Anmassung, von schlechten und guten Eigenschaften; er war übermässig vergnügungssüchtig, wenn er dazu Zeit hatte; wenn er ins Feld zog, ein ganz trefflicher Mann. Sein öffentliches Auftreten konnte man nur loben, von seinem privaten Treiben war nichts gutes zu hören. Auf Untergebene, nahe Bekannte, Amtsgenossen besass er allerhand Anziehungskraft und war daher von starkem Einfluss, ein Mann, für den es leichter gewesen wäre, die Herrschaft einem anderen zu verschaffen als sie selber zu erlangen und festzuhalten".

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PONTI LETTERARI SULLO JONIO. LA GRECIA NELLA POESIA GRECANICA DI CALABRIA

Da

PAWEŁ KRUPKA

Le relazioni odierne fra la Magna Grecia, cioè quello che è rimasto della grecità italiana, e la madre patria non sono state finora soggette a studi e ricerche particolari. Gli stretti contatti fra le comunità ellenofone della Calabria e del Salento con la Grecia, sviluppati nel ultimo ventennio, meriterebbero un accurato studio mirato a definirne gli obiettivi e le prospettive di sviluppo sul piano sociale, culturale ed economico. Qui desidero fare un accenno su un piano strettamente filologico, limitandomi ad una breve analisi della presenza della Grecia, intesa come madre patria dei Greci calabresi, nelle opere letterarie scritte e pubblicate in lingua grecanica. Come obiettivo di questo sguardo sulla Grecia nelle opere dei poeti greco — calabri, intendo sopratutto un tentativo di definizione del ruolo che il concetto della Grecia e della grecità ha svolto e continua a svolgere nella formazione di un' identità etnica, della coscienza di appartenere ad un' altra area culturale, non latina.

Non mancano, certamente, numerosi esempi di autocoscienza della propria origine greca in diversi scrittori dell' Italia meridionale, espressi solitamente attraverso riferimenti storici e mitologici, sempre, però, attinenti all' antichità classica, piú raramente all' epoca bizantina. Una comunanza culturale e linguistica con la Grecia odierna appare in Italia, comunque, come un fatto recente, legato alla riscoperta della lingua grecanica ed ai tentativi di ristabilire le relazioni con i Greci dell' altra sponda dello Jonio. Queste relazioni si sono sviluppate in una zona ristretta della Calabria e del Salento, che comprende paesi che hanno conservato fino ai nostri tempi qualche traccia di lingua grecanica nell'arco degli ultimi venti, venticinque anni. Esse, promosse principalmente dai Comuni interessati, alcune col meccanismo di gemellaggio con comuni della periferia di Atene, nonché da associazioni socio — culturali di entrambe le zone, hanno portato alla conoscenza della Grecia in una popolazione che aveva vissuto in isolamento pressoché totale dai parenti orientali. In effetti, oltre i pochi gruppi attivi nella promozione culturale della grecità, l'interesse e la conoscenza della Grecia

e della sua realtà di oggi è, persino nella stessa zona della Calabria Jonica, scarso e non si differenzia molto da quello di altre regioni d'Italia.

Pertanto, appare come un fatto interessante la riscoperta della Grecia nella sua totalità, come concetto di origine ed altrettanto come realtà di un paese culturalmente vicino, nelle opere di chi ha tentato di esprimere la propria grecità in termini diretti, usando la lingua di origine greca che si trova in stato di quasi estinzione. I testi disponibili non sono naturalmente numerosi, vista la scarsità del fenomeno della rinascita grecanica. Sono per lo piú poesie; l'unico romanzo scritto finora in grecanico, *Chalònero* di Salvino Nucera, è ambientato nella zona dell' Aspromonte e non contiene nessun riferimento alla Grecia. Altri testi pubblicati in grecanico, principalmente nelle riviste locali, non hanno di solito carattere letterario, quindi non costituiscono oggetto del presente studio, pur essendo una preziosa fonte di informazione sui contatti della popolazione locale con la Grecia per una ricerca di carattere socio — culturale.

Inizio dal primo volume in lingua grecanica che è comparso in libreria, *Agapao na graspo*[1] di Salvino Nucera, anche se alcuni testi pubblicati posteriormente sono certamente di una data antecedente. Il primo poeta ellenofono della Calabria, pubblicamente conosciuto, a differenza di alcuni colleghi, è un naturalista concentrato sul contatto sensuale dell' uomo con il suo ambiente. I suoi versi giovanili sono ispirati dal contatto diretto con il mondo naturale ed umano, quindi non vi sono dei riferimenti ideologici ne considerazioni etnico — storiche. L' approccio alla Grecia, conosciuta direttamente dall' autore in diversi viaggi, non si distingue nella sua poetica da quello generico che riguarda la terra, gli elementi vivi, l' universo della natura. In questa raccolta non mancano riferimenti a località particolari in Grecia, esse appaiono, però, nello stesso clima di unione dell' uomo con la natura, priva di qualsiasi contenuto ideologico, o socio — culturale. Queste scarse immagini della Grecia posseggono le medesime caratteristiche degli elementi di un paesaggio calabro, oppure anonimo, senza indicazioni geografiche particolari. Cosí, per esempio, nel testo *Igghio stin Crita*[2], il paesaggio delle spiagge cretesi svolge le stesse funzioni liriche d' immedesimazione dell' uomo nella natura accogliente, di altre immagini analoghe situate in natíe località calabresi oppure anonime. La stessa poetica, servita persino degli medesimi elementi (acqua calda di mare, sabbia, uomo solitario sulla spiaggia), si sviluppa parallelamente nelle immagini di Rodi nella poesia intitolata *I oplí*[3]. Anche se in questa poesia intima, concentrata sulla convivenza dell' uomo solo con la natura, non mancano elementi sociali, essi si limitano all' ambiente dei paesi ellenofoni della Calabria. L' unico riferimento alla Grecia di carattere culturale si osserva nell' ultimo testo della raccolta *Rize*[4] nella quale si affermano chiaramente le radici „lontane e remote che finiscono al di là del mare, in Gre-

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[1] S. N u c e r a, *Agapao na graspo*, Marra editore, Reggio Calabria 1987.
[2] Ibidem, p. 15.
[3] Ibidem, p. 19.
[4] Ibidem, p. 52.

cia". Solo qui la coscienza della diaspora ed il lontano richiamo della madre patria si esprimono in termini diretti e chiari.

Quattro anni dopo, nel 1991, viene alla luce la raccolta poetica maturata in molti decenni dall' autore che ha costituito forse il pilastro fondamentale della rinascita linguistica, culturale e sociale della comunità ellenofona calabra: *Strafonghia sto scotidi* di Bruno Casile[5]. Poeta contadino, di formazione autodidatta, per la sua lunga ed intensa vita è stato un devoto e carismatico custode e divulgatore della tradizione culturale dei paesi ellenofoni nonché un prezioso promotore e difensore della lingua grecanica nei tempi della sua estinzione. La sua scomparsa, nel dicembre del 2000, costituí un enorme perdita per la comunità greco — calabra, per la sua lingua e la sua cultura. Casile ha compiuto vari viaggi in Grecia ed ha collaborato con diversi studiosi e promotori della realtà ellenofona, al fine di divulgare in madre patria la conoscenza della parte della diaspora per secoli rimasta nell' oblío. La sua opera poetica testimonia largamente queste esperienze.

Il motivo del sostegno morale e materiale della madre patria alla cultura greco — calabra in declino è il quadro chiave della Grecia nella opera di Bruno Casile. Nel testo *I glosa dikímu*[6] leggiamo: *Ta leddídia an din Ellada / mas tin donnu tin fudía, / azzuníasi ligo i athropi / ce platégghete spithía*. Dal testo si evince chiaramente l' influenza positiva dell' interessamento da parte della Grecia sul risveglio della coscienza ellenica degli ellenofoni e della tutela della lingua. Infatti, parecchi testi poetici esprimono riconoscenza verso i collaboratori greci del poeta nell' opera della salvezza del mondo grecanico. Nella poesia rivolta alla scrittrice Angela Meriano[7] si esprimono ringraziamenti per l' interesse per la lingua e l' assistenza e si sottolineano i legami di sangue fra i popoli sulle sponde opposte dello Jonio. Similmente, nel testo *Ja ton filo Kreakoukias*[8] viene esaltato il contributo del linguista greco alla diffusione della lingua grecanica. Un' altro ringraziamento al regista Dimitris Mavrikios[9] e l' elogio generale rivolto ai „fratelli della Grecia"[10] nella poesia *Cheretume*, mettono in risalto l' impegno degli amici Greci a sostenere gli sforzi degli ellenofoni della Calabria per conservare la loro lingua.

Questo sentimento di amore e riconoscimento verso la generosa e fedele antica patria si esprime pienamente nel testo *Atene*[11], nel quale la capitale greca appare come indiscutibile punto di riferimento per la diaspora, rappresentata da uno che „ci ha portato la lingua della stirpe". I due ultimi versi *den mas emiriae i thálassa / ti sto chorafi mbenni* definiscono in termini materiali e decisi i rappor-

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[5] B. C a s i l e, *Strafonghia sto scotidi*, Vibo Valentia 1991.
[6] Ibidem, p. 18.
[7] *Ja tin kiría Angela Meriano*, ibidem, p. 20.
[8] Ibidem, p. 22.
[9] *Ja ton filo Mavrikios*, ibidem, p. 26.
[10] Ibidem, p. 26.
[11] Ibidem, p. 28.

ti di sangue che intercorrono tra le popolazioni che abitano sulle rive opposte dello Jonio. La visione della Grecia e dei Greci nella poesia di Bruno Casile è quindi omogenea e compatta. Il poeta ne ricava un rapporto di valori percepito principalmente in termini etici, senza sprofondare nelle sfumature di carattere storico — mitologico, politico e sociale. In questa dimensione si pone anche l'omaggio all' illustre pensatore e romanziere Nikos Kazanzakis[12], di cui il poeta risalta unicamente la austera onestà.

Una simile coscienza del rapporto fra diaspora e madre patria scaturisce dalla poesia di un' altra poetessa contadina originaria di Roghudi, Francesca Tripodi, il cui testo *Antica gapisia* fu pubblicato in un' ampia antologia poetica nel volume *Ellenofoni di Calabria* nel 1993[13]. La dichiarazione *Egò immo in Calavria, na morcio sc'essè Ellada* è chiarissima nella sua impostazione del discorso Grecia — Calabria. Peraltro, è sviluppata nei termini cognitivi ed etici, tipici del classico rapporto capitale — provincia: *Ellàda su gapao, me esú en gapase emmè / de scerise pia immo, ma egò agronizzo essè*. La frustrazione di una etnía per un' identità soppressa si rivolge non solo verso il dominante elemento latino, ma anche verso l' antica patria che rimane lontana ed indifferente.

Un' opera letteraria ricca d' ispirazioni e riferimenti diretti alla Grecia è il volume *Pemmu jati?* di Filippo Violi[14]. Componente della associazione culturale „Jalò tu Vua", orientata all' intensificazione dei contatti con la Grecia (essa, fu infatti, fra gli ispiratori del gemellaggio di Bova Marina con il Comune di Paleò Faliro), il poeta appartiene agli entusiasti della ricerca dell' identità culturale della popolazione ellenofona sulla sponda opposta dello Jonio piuttosto che nei sentieri storici dell' Aspromonte. Nel testo *Lontano da Itaca* leggiamo: *Ecí icha tes dikémmu rize, / ecí arte ísonne na tegliòsi / to zzerò porpàtima ti zoímmu*[15]. La ricerca delle radici conduce irrmediabilmente lí, sulle sponde greche, sull' Isola di Ulisse, un simbolo leggibile non solo in termini ideali e mitici ma anche geografici. Un riferimento ancora piú diretto e laconico d' identità mitologica collocata in un luogo preciso è la breve poesia *Termopili*[16], che riporta due personaggi chiave del simbolismo della storia antica: Leonida che „ricorda al. mondo la forza della verità ed il Maratoneta che „moriva annunciando la libertà".

La poesia *Kalimera, Makedonia, Kalimera*[17] costituisce un esempio particolare di coscienza dell' ellenismo a livello ideologico, diffuso principalmente nella Grecia che ha nello Stato il motore di una formazione etnica, in termini storico — culturali ben diversi di una diaspora la cui grecità appena con grande fatica si manifesta a livello del dialetto e di una cultura popolare soppressa nei secoli. Il poeta calabrese s' immedesima con la tradizione della grande Macedonia storica,

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[12] *Ja ton Nikas Kazanzaki*, [in:] ibidem p. 154.
[13] A. Casile, D. Fiorenza: *Ellenofoni di Calabria*, Bova Marina, 1993.
[14] F. Violi, *Pemmu jati?*, Bova Marina, 1995.
[15] Ibidem, p. 10.
[16] Ibidem, p. 24.
[17] Ibidem, p. 26.

l'opera di Alessandro Magno ed il sacro luogo archeologico, il sarcofago dei re macedoni di Verghina. L' impegno che Violi mostrò al tempo del noto conflitto politico per l' eredità dei simboli macedoni, è di uno stampo greco moderno, di una chiara identificazione con gli ideali dell' ellenismo diffusi nella madre patria. Dalla lettura della raccolta *Pemmu jati?* scaturisce una percezione della Grecia ben diversa dalle opere precedenti. Un' identificazione piú matura e piú avanzata con l' ellenismo universale, con la Grecia originaria, che peraltro, è compresa nei confini dell' unico Stato greco, erede del multisecolare passato imperiale. La Grecia di Violi non è piú solo un punto di riferimento per una parte della grecità smarrita, un appoggio materiale e spirituale all' identità recuperata. Questa Grecia costituisce un punto di partenza per costruire una visione della realtà fondata sulle radici antiche, nella quale è la prima originaria patria di tutti i popoli che riconoscono la loro appartenenza al mondo ellenico, quella di Atene con i suoi valori e la sua attualità di riflessione e di azione.

Di questa breve rassegna si possono cogliere alcune caratteristiche essenziali della presenza della Grecia nella poesia greco — calabra. Data la scarsa produzione letteraria in grecanico, sullo esempio di pochi testi si raccolgono le principali tendenze che, secondo me, si sono evolute in tre diverse fasi generazionali. La prima, quella della conoscenza della Grecia, un' antica patria lontana ed ignota alle generazioni anteriori, sopravvissute nell' isolamento. La seconda, quella della formazione di un rapporto di relativa dipendenza, caratteristica della provincia riguardo alla capitale. Ed infine, la terza che costituisce un' aspirazione ad entrare a pieno titolo nell' ambito socio — culturale e linguistico della comunità greca internazionale alla pari con quella cipriota, o quelle della diaspora ellenica americana oppure australiana. Non pretendo qui, naturalmente, di valutare questa evoluzione né prospettarne le conseguenze sul piano linguistico e culturale. Sarebbe oggetto di un'altra analisi accurata e necessaria da farsi. L'obiettivo di questo studio era quello di dare una prima testimonianza sulla Grecia vista dai poeti calabresi di lingua grecanica. Una Grecia, come vediamo, ben diversa da quella dei marmi e degli dèi olimpici, vagheggiata dai loro colleghi connazionali scriventi in italiano.

Warszawa

EDITOR'S NOTE

Ten years ago in Warsaw, Jerzy Łanowski opened the conference *The Classical Tradition in European Culture: The Polish Perspective*, which inaugurated the activity of the Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe (OBTA), Warsaw University.[1] His introductory address ended in an appeal that scholars of antiquity and its reception would not avoid the regional perspective, and take into consideration the specificity of the part of Europe in which they lived and worked. The world's knowledge about the reception of the classical tradition in this region was insufficient, Łanowski said, and Polish antiquity scholars had the opportunity of taking on the role of an intermediary between East and West. The multicultural tradition of the First Republic of Poland, its location on the border of Latin Slavdom and Byzantine Slavdom, provided the premises for their fulfilling such a role. A few years later, at the 24th General Assembly of the International Federation of the Associations for the Classical Studies (FIEC), in his capacity as President of the Polish Philological Society (PTF), Jerzy Axer expounded on these ideas in his paper *The Classical Tradition in Polish Culture: Between Rome and Byzantium*.[2] The celebration of the PTF's 100th jubilee in Kraków and Lviv brought the philological communities of Poland and Ukraine closer together.[3]

Today the Eos editors, in association with OBTA UW and the "Institute *Artes Liberales*" Foundation, have decided to make the periodical's pages more widely available to these issues. We inaugurate this section with Jerzy Axer's text on the relations between national identity and the way in which neo-Latin studies are practiced in East-Central Europe, followed by an article by Yaroslav Isaievych, director of the Slavic Studies Institute of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences (active in many areas with the aim of reviving classical studies in Ukraine), on the repressions suffered by classical scholars in his country during Soviet rule.

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[1] *Tradycje antyczne w kulturze europejskiej — perspektywa polska*, series Eseje i Studia, ed. J. Axer (Warszawa: OBTA, 1995).

[2] See Eos. Supplementum ad volumen LXXXIV 1996 [1997] (Warszawa – Poznań: PTF/OBTA 1997).

[3] See M. Grzesiowski, *Jubileusz Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego Kraków – Lwów 1994* and Y. Isaievych, *Wznowienie współpracy: Polskie Towarzystwo Filologiczne – Ukraińskie Towarzystwo Kultury Antycznej* [in:] Antiquorum non immemores... Polskie Towarzystwo Filologiczne 1893 – 1993, ed. J. Łanowski, A. Szastyńska Siemion, series Acta Societatis Philologae Polonorum, ed. J. Axer, III (Warszawa – Wrocław: PTF/OBTA 1999), p. 360 – 372.

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NEO-LATIN STUDIES AND NATIONAL IDENTITY: THE CASE OF EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

By

JERZY AXER

Neo-Latin studies deal with everything that has been written in Latin from the beginning of humanism right up to our times. This definition was adopted at the Second International Congress for Neo-Latin Studies in Amsterdam in 1973 and is quoted in the regulations of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies. Such a description expressed the feeling that a new field of studies in the humanities had developed and become separate. The fundamental books of Jozef IJsewijn[1] and the subsequent study by Walther Ludwig, *Die neuzeitliche lateinische Literatur seit der Renaissance*[2] confirmed the borders and goals of neo-Latin studies thus defined. IJsewijn's *Companion* became an international textbook on the history of neo-Latin literature, and a guide to studies of that history.

However, the emancipation of neo-Latin studies and the fact that the community became organized, was not followed by this discipline being included in any systematic way in university curricula, which would have ensured scholars involved in these studies professional stability in the academic community and started a natural process of academic-worker succession. Moreover, appreciation for the special value of neo-Latin studies occurred at a time of crisis and loss of prestige by traditional studies of the languages and literature of antiquity. The year 1968, when one of the main battle cries in Paris was "Down with Latin!",[3] revealed the disintegration of the whole model of educating successive generations in the traditional way — guaranteeing the transfer of relatively broad knowledge on the Greek and Roman heritage, with an expanded program of teaching Latin. Over the next dozen or so years this new situation changed the position of classical studies at universities. Marginalized, deprived of financial

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[1] J. IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, Amsterdam 1977, 2nd entirely rewritten edition Leuven: University Press — Peters Press, 1990, I and 1998, II.

[2] [In:] *Einleitung in die Lateinische Philologie*, ed. Fritz Graf, p. 323 – 356, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1997.

[3] A. Bosquet, *A bas le latin*, Combat, Oct. 9, 1968, p. 1.

possibilities and prestige, not directly related to the labor market, the community of classical scholars usually reacted with the defensive splendid isolation, combined with frustration and loss of interest in any action going beyond defense of the traditional minimum. Thus, this was no longer a reservoir of linguistically well educated, ambitious scholars in search of a new area of expansion; in the previous two generations this expansion had moved naturally toward neo-Latin studies.

Clearly, the future of neo-Latin studies today cannot rest exclusively or mainly on classical studies. If this kind of humanities studies is at least partly to fulfill the hopes pinned on it years ago, it has to be anchored in the university structure as a separate, new course or as a component of the curricula of many traditional courses. The greatest problem here is classifying neo-Latin studies within one of the traditional disciplines and specialties in the humanities. If this is to be philology, then should it be the national philology, or neo-philology which deals with languages other than one's native tongue, or maybe a specially constructed continuation of classical philology? On the other hand, maybe this shouldn't be philology at all, but a new variety of culture studies, on the border between philology, history and art history (and consequently included in the teaching of various disciplines), as is the case with contemporary medieval studies.[4]

In the present article, I would like to focus mainly on the first of these questions, though I am a supporter of the second solution. I am doing so because today, neo-Latin studies are practiced mainly as language studies in the philological community. Thus, I will leave my own credo till last, concentrating here on a problem that for many generations seemed fundamental in disputes over the value and sense of neo-Latin studies: What is the relation between neo-Latin studies and national culture? Are these studies a part of studying national literature, or is such an approach outdated in face of the unity of *Respublica Litterarum*, which was not divided according to ethnic borders?

In the times when Poland functioned as a satellite state of the Soviet Union, it was possible to be interested in neo-Latin studies also because they offered the opportunity to reach for as yet unexploited, valuable sources of Polish culture and national tradition. The literature of the Golden Age provided evidence of the magnitude and power of the First Republic and served as a reminder of the richness of this country's multinational culture — a dramatic contrast to the reality of People's Poland. A large part of that evidence was written in Latin. These writings were less exploited by Polish-language scholars and historians than sources written in modern languages, and studies of these materials were subject to lesser control from the censors. Therefore, we could view our role similarly to the classical scholars in Poland back in the 19th century. At least for some of us,

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[4] H. Helander, *Neolatin Studies: Significance and Prospects*, [in:] SO Debate, Symbolae Osloenses, LXXVI 2001, p. 5 – 102.

one important argument was that when the nation is not independent, it is the duty of a humanities scholar to work on preserving memory and educating successive generations, in the expectation that "the republic of independent spirit" will emerge at some point in the form of a sovereign state.

Of course we realized that Latin literature and language was the core of Western culture and civilization, and our conclusion from this was that the number and quality of neo-Latin texts written on the territory of what historically had been the Polish state, confirmed that we belonged to that civilization. Moreover, the strict connection between Catholicism and the Polish identity (which developed relatively late as a reaction to bondage) meant that the relations between Latin and the Catholic Church did not pose a problem for us in defining ourselves in religious terms, as pro- or anti-clerical, leftist or rightist. Contrary, for example, to France as it inherited the ideas of the Revolution, *Latinitas* in Poland meant placing oneself within the cultural identity of the nation as a whole, and not making ideological declarations in any other sphere.[5] The feminist perspective that is so prominent in the humanities today was also completely outside our consciousness. At that time, the main contradiction for us was the opposition between East and West, and this attitude was combined — strange as that sounds — with special importance being attached to all that was native, national, our own, threatened by external oppression and the unwanted importation of a foreign ideology.

In the dispute over the role of Latin, Poland has always taken the position characteristic of the whole borderland between *Slavia Latina* and *Slavia Byzantina*. For many centuries, *Latinitas* was understood in Poland as a declaration of identity and cultural affiliation with the West. Later, the loss of political independence at a time when the structures of ethnic national states were developing and strengthening, paradoxically consolidated this connection.[6] The paradox was that instead of rebelling against Latin schools, Jesuit teachings, models imposed by an elite that advocated a classical education, Poles in the 19th century — and the Hungarians were very similar — improved their self-esteem by reading the declarations of their real or imaginary ancestors, written in Latin. Latin patterns and formulas were searched to find arguments in support of the

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[5] J. A x e r, *The Classical Tradition in Polish Culture: Between Rome and Byzantium*, EOS Supplementum ad vol. LXXXIV 1996 [1997], Actes de la 24e Assamblée Générale de la Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Etudes Classiques (FIEC) Varsovie les 21 – 24 Août 1997, Warszawa-Poznań 1997, p. 61 – 68; idem *Latein als Sprache der Adelsnation in der polnisch-litauischen Konfederation (16 bis 18 Jahrhundert). Eine These,* [in:] Latein und Nationalsprachen in der Renaissance. Vortrage des 37. Wolfenbütteler Symposions in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttell vom 25. bis 28. September 1995, ed. Bodo Guthmüller, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden 1998, p. 131 – 135; idem *Latin as the Second Language of the Polish Republic's Noblemen's Nation*, [in:] Terra marique. The cultural intercourse between the European center and periphery in modern time, ed. J. Kieniewicz, OBTA: Warszawa 2001, p. 59 – 63; cf. J. A x e r, J. K i e n i e w i c z, *Poland*, [in:] Encyclopedia of the Renaissance, New York 1999.

[6] J. A x e r, *Latin in Poland and East-Central Europe: continuity and discontinuity*, European Review II, No 4 1994, p. 305 – 309.

Poles' desire for independence and distinctness; reaching for these formulas did not mean conformism and conservatism, on the contrary — it could go together with revolutionary thought and action.

In People's Poland, at least within the intellectual elite, we continued exactly this attitude toward tradition. The opposite argumentation — that Latin was the enemy, a symbol of oppression and coercion, quite natural and compatible with the national sense of identity when used in progressive circles in the West, reached us from the opposite direction and in caricatural form, as part of the indoctrination and planned compulsion which contained a core from a much older tradition than communist propaganda — built from the stereotypes of Russian and Orthodox anti-Latin and anti-Western rhetoric.[7]

The specificity of the situation in Eastern Europe emerged with full prominence during the "Autumn of the Peoples" after 1989 (and to some degree throughout the decade preceding the breakthrough), when the search for a state identity — either for newly formed states or those existing as an idea among elite groups of political activists — engaged some neo-Latin scholars in activity that was a response to social demand. Their aim was to provide evidence of their own identity, untainted by the communist system but also free from the influence of once stronger neighboring nations.

This is what happened in Lithuania, where literature in Latin is a fragment of post-medieval culture (and maybe the only one) which did not undergo linguistic Polonization in the period from the 15th to the 18th century, or imposed Russification in the 19th and 20th centuries. This led to the publication of anthologies such as *Cantus solo soli et sibi*, *Anthologia poesis Lithuaniae XVI — XVII,*[8] which included authors and poets writing their works anywhere within the First Republic who had any connection (patrons, subject matter of poems, clerical employment) to the Lithuanian part of the Republic of Two Nations.

In Belarus, one fascinating example of turning a neo-Latin text into the focal point of a dispute over identity is *Carmen de statura, feritate ac venatione bisontis* by Mikołaj Hussowski (Kraków 1523). This work dedicated to the pope, written in the first half of the 16th century by a nobleman in the service of the Płock bishop, unquestionably is an attempt at ennobling the woodland landscape and

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[7] In this context, the specificity of the region of East-Central Europe in terms of perception of ancient culture is confirmed yet again (cf. *Tradycje antyczne w kulturze europejskiej — perspektywa polska*, „Eseje i Studia" series edited by J. Axer, OBTA UW, Warszawa 1995, *passim*). In this book, and especially in the records of the discussion (over 100 participants) which reflects the views of the Polish humanities community of 10 years ago, you can tell we were hardly aware of this aspect of regional distinctiveness. The depth of the crisis in the teaching of Latin in the West, and treating that teaching as a giant ideological manipulation, is described in a fascinating way by Françoise Waquet in the book *Le latin ou l'Empire d'un signe,* Albin Michel, Paris 1998 (English version *Latin or the Empire of a Sign*, trans. John Howe, Vers: London – New York 2001). This author, however — similarly to us — sees only one side of the coin: she gives rather superficial consideration to facts and ideas belonging to the heritage of East-Central Europe — treating them more like curiosities than a part of the European experience requiring understanding and perhaps modification of general opinions.

[8] Translators: several, editor: E. Ulčinaite, Vilnius 1993.

lifestyle of the inhabitants of Poland's eastern regions; the Latin language and the work's classical form are meant to denote that this people has become emancipated to the standing of a cultured European nation.[9] Three different editions and commentaries were published in Belarus within a short period. In them, the work was presented as proof of the existence of a separate and unique Belarusian identity, as practically a declaration of independence or a manifesto of Eastern-Slavic separateness from the West (with clear intent to point to Moscow as the natural center of independence understood in this sense), or else what was sought in it was a sense of belonging to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as culturally separate from Poland, but also from Russia, while unconnected to ethnic Slavism.[10] Similar examples can be found on Croatian territory during the period of Yugoslavia's disintegration. Analogies can also be found in completely different parts of the world (e.g. the role of Latin in the historical memory of the inhabitants of today's Quebec). It's hard to deny that over the whole area of emancipation of subjugated nations, neo-Latin scholars could, and often wanted to, strongly emphasize the links between their discipline and the very essence of national identity.

We have been observing the opposite tendency in Poland recently. The young generation of scholars, brought up after 1989 under conditions of regained independence, very quickly lost any interest in accenting the relations between the subject of neo-Latin studies and national identity. To them, neo-Latin studies are attractive mainly as documentation of the European unity of the past, a kind of prefiguration of the common Europe of tomorrow. Of course the scholars exploring these possibilities treat neo-Latin studies not as a variety of Polish studies, but a neo-philology studying the literary heritage of the European cultural community, recorded in a specific language. They don't mind the artificiality of that language — learned and not inherited, something that had bothered not only the Romantics but also all defenders of the national language.

On the contrary, the use of a non-ethnic language can be an asset from their point of view: the subject of studies is then the historical supra-national circulation of texts — a market for which an analogy can be found today in the worldwide circulation of English-language literature (with the obvious difference that post-antiquity Latin did not have a homeland).[11]

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[9] S. S c h a m a, *Landscape and memory*, New York 1995, cap. "In the realm of the Lithuanian Bison", p. 37 – 53.

[10] Cf. editions: Minsk 1980 (commentary W. Daraszkiewicz), Minsk 1981 (commentary J. Siemiazon). Hussowski's monograph see: J. Porecki, Minsk 1984. Most recently, the topicality of Hussowski's work as a text about identity (Lituanian this time) finds confirmation in a publication by Prof. Juozapas Girdzijauskas, available on the website of the Lithuanian Scientific Society Information Center (prepared and financed as part of the UNESCO "Publica" program). A discussion about this work, which took place in an international group of young scholars from Lithuania, Ukraine, Belarus and Poland, is in the collection of the East-Central European School in the Humanities, OBTA UW, Warsaw.

[11] Cf. P. U r b a ń s k i, *Theologia fabulosa. Commentationes Sarbievianae*, Szczecin 2000, in which the author displays complete understanding of the difference between the two types of argumentation justifying studies of neo-Latin literature, and considers the national perspective to be less attractive.

The future of neo-Latin studies understood as this kind of neo-philology doesn't seem very promising to me. In a situation of deep crisis, or maybe even the end of books as carriers of cultural identity, binding oneself in this way to philological methodology and a historical-literary perspective does not bode well for the new discipline. In a deeper sense, it is also incompatible with the mission of neo-Latin studies as declared 30 years ago by their "founding fathers". What they wanted was mainly to make humanities scholars aware of the existence of a little-used universal key to a major part of the heritage of all peoples and regions encompassed by the influence of the Mediterranean civilization. If that is the fundamental mission of neo-Latin studies, then understanding it to be a neo-philology or a component of national philology is purely the result of the 19th-century belief that studying a literary text in isolation is sufficient to discover the main current of tradition, and that only philologists can undertake studies of that message. This was exactly the way in which the modern 19th-century university was organized, where the core of the humanities was the history of literature as the most important documentation of the development of national culture.

The history of literature has lost that role at universities over the past few decades.[12] However, various forms of interdisciplinary courses and studies are appearing — a symptom of new searches. This is where I see a great, if not the only, opportunity for neo-Latin studies. These studies should become a variety of culture studies, making use of the methodologies of many disciplines and being a part of many courses: history, philosophy, philology, theology, European studies, gender studies, etc. etc.

Neo-Latin studies in this sense are practiced by the scholar studying a text written in Latin and the person recognizing the Latin tradition in texts written in national languages. To conduct such studies properly, these scholars have to work with other people studying the past, because the essence and goal of the studies is not to write a history of supra-national European literature (or to add separate chapters to the histories of national literatures), but to contribute to the writing of the history of past culture and mentality.

This history can be divided at will and according to one's interests. It can certainly be described and structured so as to give prominence to everything that is shared. No less attractive is a search for the rules and processes whereby this community developed many different local variations. Local does not mean national in the 19th-century sense, though certainly our contemporary ethnic national sense contains something of that old local distinctness. Maybe a regional perspective could be one of the most attractive ways of ordering the neo-Latin culture today. It corresponds to the tendency to identify historical regions in the uniting Europe that do not conform to the borders of national states, but are de-

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[12] Cf. B. R e a d i n g s, *The University in Ruins*, Harvard University Press 1996; J. A x e r, *The Reader as an Actor* [in:] Rhetoric of Transformation, OBTA and Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa 2003.

fined by the existence of communities where an exchange of goods and ideas continued for centuries. It also corresponds to the need, felt by many, to rebuild people's links to their small local homelands.

In Poland, the tradition of small homelands was thoroughly confused by changing borders and mass-scale resettlement, but nevertheless attempts are being made to restore it in the new circumstances. You can see this in the activity of mayors in towns with old Renaissance traditions, especially in southern Poland.[13] By no means a coincidence, neo-Latin sources are also exploited intensively in the regions which Poland took over from Germany after World War II. Under communism, if these sources were referred to, it was only to annex the Latin-language authors from those regions to the community of Polish national culture. Things are different today. What scholars seek in neo-Latin texts now is a Silesian specificity, for example, by reaching into a layer of tradition as yet undisturbed by Polish-German disputes. In Gdańsk and the area of former Royal Prussia, the Latin tradition is searched for evidence of dual identity and the complicated sense of loyalty of the Hanseatic community's German-speaking citizens who at the same time were the Polish king's subjects.[14]

An interest in historical regions combining parts of different countries is most clearly present in the areas of *Barbaricum*: north and east of the former frontiers of Imperium Romanum. Projects inspired by neo-Latin scholars include the *Mare Balticum — Mare Nostrum* program, linking the Scandinavian countries and the countries of the Baltic's southern coast (three conferences followed by publications in 1992 – 1999).[15] There is another international project, initiated in 1999 at Collegium Budapest, that promises to be very interesting: *Multiple Antiquities — Multiple Modernities: The Politics of the Humanities in Europe*. This project concentrates on the various local/regional/national perceptions and uses of ancient (and medieval) traditions and their interdependence with the various visions of modernization and their political success or failure. At Warsaw University's Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe (OBTA), interdisciplinary neo-Latin study programs have been carried out for ten years, focusing on the entire shared heritage of the countries lying between Russia and Germany, especially Poland, Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania. These programs include *Latin in Poland. Literary texts and docu-*

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[13] One good example is the initiative of Tyczyn's Mayor Kazimierz Szczepański, who searched for ways of stimulating the residents' emotional connection with their local homeland back in the early 1990s, and to this aim used the Renaissance humanist and diplomat born in this town, Jerzy of Tyczyn, about whom I once wrote a doctor's dissertation in neo-Latin studies. Cf. also the special publication marking the town's 600th anniversary, ed. A. Zielecki, *Z dziejów Tyczyna i regionu*, Tyczyn 1998.

[14] Cf. *Panorama lojalności. Prusy Królewskie i Prusy Książęce w XVI wieku*, ed. A. Skolimowska, series: Eseje i Studia, edited by J. Axer, 4, OBTA/Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa 2001.

[15] Cf. *Mare Balticum — mare nostrum. Latin in the countries of the Baltic Sea. Acts of the Helsinki Colloquium, 16 – 21 August, 1992*, ed. O. Merisalo, R. Sarasti-Wilenius, Jyväskylä 1994; *Terra marique. The cultural intercourse between the European center and periphery in modern time*, red. J. Kieniewicz, series: „Eseje i studia", edited by J. Axer, 5, OBTA, Warszawa 2001 (part one *Mare Balticum — mare nostrum*, p. 13 – 87).

ments on East-Central Europe (1993 – 2000) and *Latin as the language of the elites. Respublica Polonorum vs. Respublica Litteraria Europea* (1997 – 2000). These studies are being continued, the results have been partly published and partly prepared for publishing.[16] They are accompanied by teaching of neo-Latin studies as part of educating the most talented young scholars in the humanities from this region within the *East-Central European International School in the Humanities. New methods in studies and teaching*.[17]

In this context, we are doing our best to practice a form of neo-Latin studies that is not limited to philology alone. The range over which Latin patterns exerted an influence in time and space, and the nature of the source material, means that neo-Latin studies can offer a foundation for all disciplines that deal with culture and tradition. We are convinced that it is not enough to show even the greatest meticulousness in publishing neo-Latin texts in the same way that Virgil, Horace or Cicerone are published.[18] These are not masterpieces whose artistic quality could ensure them immortality. What is our goal, though, is to develop databases linking literary texts to oratory texts, epistolography and to other sources that neo-Latin scholars usually ignore. These databases will allow us to reconstruct the system of values and the rules of communication in the society of the past, and could become a natural field of cooperation between philologists and historians.

One good example are the ongoing studies of the correspondence of Johannes Dantiscus, involving successful cooperation between neo-Latin scholars from Poland, Spain, Germany, Belgium and Sweden.[19]

Thus, neo-Latin scholars supply material both to those for whom national identity is important and to those not interested in it at all. We realize that our present fascination with regional communities emerged under the influence of the historical moment in which we are working. This, in a sense, is an ideological choice — neither better nor worse than the choices which our predecessors

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[16] Cf. J. A x e r, *Project for Scholarly Publication: Latin in Poland — a Collection of Literary Texts and Documents*, [in:] Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, New York 1994, p. 299 – 302; series: *Łacina w Polsce*. Zeszyty Naukowe (1 – 9) edited by J. Axer, OBTA, Warszawa 1995 –1999; *Łacina jako język elit. Respublica Polonorum a Respublica Litteraria Europaea*, I: *Respublica Polonorum*, II: *Respublica Litteraria Europaea. Łacina jako język dyplomacji* (materials gathered within the research program, prepared for print at OBTA).

[17] Cf. *Building a Liberal Arts Education. Warsaw University Case Example*, publisher Fundacja "Instytut Artes Liberales", Warszawa 2002.

[18] Cf. I. A.R. D e S m e t, *Not for Classicist? The State of Neo-Latin Studies,* [in:] The Journal of Roman Studies 1999, p. 205 – 209.

[19] Cf. *Españoles y Polacos en la Corte de Carlos V. Cartas del embajador Juan Dantisco*, ed. A. F o n t a n, J. A x e r y otros, Madrid 1994; *En Torno a Dantisco*, ed. A. S k o l i m o w s k a, Warszawa 2001; J. A x e r, *Juan Dantisco y la Res Publica Litteraria Europaea*, [in:] Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clasico. Homenaje al. Profesor Luis Gil, pub. J.M.M. M a e s t r e, J.P. B a r e a, L.C. B r e a, II 3, Cadiz 1997, p. 1397 – 1404; Studia Europea II, *Johannes Dantiscus (1485 – 1548). Polish Ambassador and Humanist. Proceedings of the International Colloquium*, Brussels, May 22 – 23, 1995, edited by J. IJsewijn and W. Bracke, Brussels 1996.

acted upon. Neo-Latin studies, similarly to any studies of the past, are a part of culture. They only make sense as one of the dimensions in which one chooses those parts of tradition that a given generation or community is prepared to recall in view of its experiences and desires.

Contemporary neo-Latin studies are unquestionably endangered, as IJsewijn noted in the postscript to his work, by what is practically the eradication of Latin from humanities education. This loss of ability to read in Latin, paradoxically, has hit the neo-Latin scholars harder than the classical scholars, because the latter can take advantage of high-quality bilingual editions. A minimal percentage of neo-Latin texts has been translated, and existing translations are often unsatisfactory.[20] James Hankins was right when he called neo-Latin literature a lost continent.[21] Comparing it to Atlantis, sunk between the Greek and Latin literary heritage and contemporary literature in national languages, emphasizes the nearly completely obliterated memory of these writings from the awareness not only of broad reading audiences but also scholars and authors of school (or university) curricula. Hankins believes that only works published with a good translation into English can be saved from oblivion. Under his direction, a bilingual series of Renaissance literature, *I Tatti Renaissance Library* (modeled after the Loeb Classical Library), has started being published. This is a chance, true, but only for certain masterpieces of the Italian Renaissance which can hope to receive support from sufficiently strong and financially independent institutions, and make their way to the huge English-language market. Nowhere else, and certainly not in East-Central Europe, can this submerged continent count on this kind of emergence from the depths of time in a language that is universally understood today. This leads to a catastrophic loss of contact with sources for the potential partners of neo-Latin scholars: theologians, historians, neo-philologists, historians of science.[22] The only way of counteracting this is to return to reading the sources in the original, i.e. in Latin, and that means reforming the curricula of various disciplines and specialties in the humanities, and intensive, interdisciplinary training at the postgraduate level.

At least equally dangerous is the prospect of the regression of neo-Latin studies to the role of a specialization within classical studies. The chances of neo-Latin culture, which was masculine, elitist and linked to the traditions of the Catholic Church, is the same as that of the whole of the European output and heritage: it has to find a way of reaching people brought up in a very different world. Some may find it attractive to belong to a kind of club that uses Latin as

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[20] W a q u e t, *o.c.*, p. 274 — conclusion of the book.

[21] *The Lost Continent: Neo-Latin Literature and the Rise of Modern European Literatures: Catalogue of an Exhibition in the Houghton Library, 5 March – 5 May, 2001*, edited by James H a n k i n s. Harvard Library Bulletin, new series, 12. 1 – 2 (Winter — Spring 2001).

[22] Cf. the articles by W. L u d w i g, *Über die Folgen der Lateinarmut in den Geistenwissenschaften*, Gymnasium LXXXIX 1991, p. 139 – 158; *Sind wir mit unserm Latein am Ende*?, Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte LII 1993, p. 458 – 462.

its language of initiation. Hence some successes scored by the "Latina viva" movement, which however has little to do with learning about the past. There is much greater hope in the natural need to use the past to better understand the present. The world of neo-Latin writings is excellent as a distant mirror allowing us to see in a new perspective the words and gestures of members of our community: our civilization — nation — local community.

The region of East-Central Europe particularly strongly feels the lack of neutral carriers of historical memory, not poisoned by ideological interpretation and never abused in ethnic conflicts. Anything that was written in Latin, and also that sphere of symbols and public behaviors which once made intensive use of Roman analogies and gestures, is quite "pure" in that respect. To a certain degree, this is a neutral field on which it is possible to rediscover all that is shared while recognizing what is different, not against one's neighbors but in order to understand them better.[23] Provided they find their proper place in the university structure, neo-Latin scholars can fulfill the role of a middleman between different university specialties, and gain satisfaction from this as well as establishing contact with the educated part of society.[24]

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[23] J. A x e r, *How the classical tradition can serve to promote the twenty first century: the East-Central Europe case example* [in:] Kritika and Kontext, 1/98, Bratislava, p. 113 – 116.

[24] A book dedicated to Prof. Antonio Fontana, under preparation for print in Cadiz, will include my article *Neo-Latin studies and national culture* (in Spanish); the present text is an extended version of that article.

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ANTI-CULTURE'S WAR AGAINST CULTURE: UKRAINIAN TRANSLATORS OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE AS VICTIMS OF POLITICAL REPRESSION

By

YAROSLAV ISAIEVYCH

Though the title of this paper mentions no country, nor does it specify the times it concerns, is that really necessary? Surely it was only in the Soviet Union, in the period of building a "classless society", that people whose only "blame" was the dissemination of knowledge of ancient Greek and Roman literature were sentenced to labor camps, or even executed together with millions of other victims. This was the only state that officially considered "a spiritual escape from reality into the world of antiquity" to be a political crime. In Ukraine this "crime" was persecuted especially intensely, because it was also considered a sign of... Ukrainian nationalism.

It is hard to believe, but this was the actual substance of the propaganda campaign that preceded the arrests and murders — based on quasi-legal sentencing — of writers and translators who wanted to use Greek and Latin antiquity, and the subsequent cultural models based on it, to modernize Ukrainian culture and art. This is what Yevhen Hirchak, a Marxist literary critic, wrote about the issue in 1930: "The neo-classics, as representatives of a certain trend in literature, have assumed as their literary platform a continuation of the forms and methods of Greek and Roman art, and this alone reveals their certain class essence and specific method of class struggle..." His summary sounded menacing: "There is an ongoing war with the neo-classics, because they reflect, display and represent the class interest of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie".[1]

Volodymyr Zatonskyi, a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine, was even more open in his statements, and soon afterwards was appointed people's commissar for education and "elected" a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences after this initially self-governing institution was made subordinate to the party dictate:

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[1] From: V. Petrov, *Kulturni diyachi Ukrayinskoyi RSR 1920 – 1940*, New York 1959, p. 46.

"There is no Ukrainian bourgeoisie as yet, but it is not mandatory that it should really be in place. After all, there already exist forerunners and ideologues of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie. It's that Hrushevskyi, the Academy of Sciences located in Kiev. That whole academy of sciences, the whole ideology [manifested by] the people gathered around the Academy and in the literature, calls themselves the *neo-classics* [the emphasis is mine — Y.I.], and this is in fact the ideology of the future Ukrainian bourgeoisie, hence its orientation towards Europe, hence the desire to build a Ukrainian culture… in such a way that would make it unlike Russian [culture]. Hence the all-embracing setting in opposition of the Russian and Ukrainian cultures".[2]

Though Hirchak and Zatonskyi ideologically underpinned the terror practised towards culture activists, they themselves also fell victim to the terror machine: the former disappeared from the scene in 1934 (he was executed on February 27, 1938); the latter was arrested in 1937 and executed on July 29, 1938.[3] It is worth quoting these people's arguments from the times when they were spokesmen for the official policy, because despite the hypocrisy that was the rule in totalitarian societies, they disclosed some important motives of the repressions, incomprehensible from the point of view of plain logic.

These were, first of all, fear of an alternative way of thinking, a fear very typical of regimes building social utopias founded on an ideological monopoly. Secondly, something characteristic of the situation in the "national republics" overrun by Moscow, there was the hostile attitude towards the culture of the subjugated nations wherever it was based on local and world models, and was not just a local version of the Bolshevized Russian culture. In order not to allow for anything that would work against integration according to the officially accepted model, the accusation of being anti-Russian was used — even towards writers who supported contacts with Russian culture while not renouncing the cultivation of their own country's cultural identity.

It would not be right to say that every totalitarian system has to be hostile toward the heritage of antiquity, or that symptoms of such hostility are not possible in non-totalitarian societies. After all, the Italian fascists and even the rulers of the Third Reich not only liked to use the symbols of the Roman Empire, but even considered themselves to be continuators of its tradition.[4] On the other hand, in the late 19th and the 20th century there existed a superficially pragmatic attitude that spread not only among some of the supporters of social revolutions, but also in liberal-democratic circles. According to this viewpoint, the world mainly needed technological development, and studying Greek or Latin was a waste of time or even an instrument of ideological control in the hands of conservative and clerical social forces. In a sense, then, the Bolsheviks inherited their aver-

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[2] From: *Istoriya Akademiyi Nauk*, 1, 9.

[3] *Akademiya Nauk Ukrainy. Personalnyi Sklad*, Kiev 1993, p. 55.

[4] Some informative remarks on the fascists' use of motifs taken from the works of Virgil are offered by T. Ziolkovski in his *Virgil and the Moderns*, Princeton 1993.

sion to classical education from the previous period. But it seems only they included the heritage of antiquity among the trends that should be eradicated by means of political terror. In their view, antiquity was a relic of the old world that needed to be demolished to the ground, so that, in the words of the *Internationale*, a new, "better world" could be built on the rubble.

Given the intentionally implemented policy of eliminating "the relics of the old system," it is no surprise that the period when Ukraine was a Soviet province was a period of gradual degradation of studies on Greek and Roman antiquity, and of an enforced renunciation of the very good traditions in this area.[5] It was still possible to continue relatively independent academic studies in the 1920s, but step after step, their scope was restricted; the atheist doctrine was the first thing to be imposed. Straight after the revolution, Greek and Latin classes were eradicated from all secondary schools, and the authorities' attitude towards former teachers of these subjects was clearly hostile — they were treated as relics of the old society's culture, whose destruction was seen as the task of the proletarian culture. The 1930s were a time of terror, particularly ruthless toward cultural activists, including classical scholars and translators from the classical languages. Finally, the post-World War II period was a time when studies of ancient culture were tolerated, but their standard was very badly influenced by the general ideologization of cultural and academic life, and by the preference given to subjects that "directly served to build communism".

The invectives that the Bolshevik ideologues threw at the neo-classics, as quoted above, revealed the new regime's attitude both to antiquity as such and in general to "uncommitted" culture, or rather culture committed to cultivating universal ideals of good and beauty. The organizationally informal group of writers widely referred to as the "neo-classics" was the target of exceptional disapproval, though this group simply offered the most emphatic formulation of views which were typical for a large part of the old intelligentsia and which were budding among people attempting to be creators of culture, and not just executors of the authorities' orders.

Contemporaries considered the "fivefold cluster" to be the core of the neo-classics. They were Mykola Zerov, Pavlo Fylypovych, Mykhailo Drai-Khmara, Maksym Rylski and Osvald Burghardt (pen name Yuri Klen).[6] A similar position was enjoyed by the historians of literature and critics: Mykhailo Mohylanskyi, Viktor Petrov and (at one time) Boris Yakubskyi.

Out of these five "flagship" neo-classics, the first three were murdered in labor camps, Rylski started writing propaganda texts after a few months spent in jail (though he never completely abandoned his work in support of Ukrainian literature), while Yuri Klen was spared because he escaped to the West.

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[5] See the brief review of the output of Ukrainian scholars and translators of classical literature in the encyclopedic article by Volodimir Stetsiuk (V. S t e t s i u k, *Classical studies*, [in:] Encyclopedia of Ukraine, 1, Toronto 1984, p. 519 – 520).

[6] S. H o r d y n s k y, *The Fivefold Cluster of Unvanquished Bard*, Ukrainian Quarterly III 1979.

Not all the neo-classics were translators of classical literature, but motifs from ancient literature occupied a prominent place in their poetry. The main figure towards whom the group drifted was Mykola Zerov (1890 – 1937).[7] He was a born poet, and translated from various languages, including Russian, Belarusian, Italian and German. From Polish, he translated two sonnets by Mickiewicz,[8] the whole of Słowacki's *Mazepa*, a fragment of his *Balladyna*, two of Ignacy Krasicki's fables, poems by Antoni Sowa and Bohdan Zaleski (these two because of their links to Ukrainian literature), and Zenon Przesmycki (Miriam). His most important translations, though, were from French (J.M. de Hérédia, P. de Ronsard, J. Du Bellay and others), and from Latin, which were actually the most numerous.

He had a good classical education, having studied Greek at the University of Kiev with Prof. Witold Klinger, among other courses. "Sensing" that the professor would test him on translations of Thucydides, in 1912 he wrote a cycle of eight humorous poems called *Peri tou Thoukydidou.*[9] His first translation from Latin was Virgil's *Eclogues*, translated in 1910.

After graduating from university, Zerov worked as a teacher in Zlatopole, Kiev, and in 1920 – 1923 in the village of Barishivka near Kiev, which he jokingly called Lucrosa (the Ukrainian "barish" means *lucrum*). Despite the general trend and official decrees, the principal of the Barishivka school, Mykola Simashkovych not only left Latin classes in the school's curriculum, but even invited several outstanding writers and academics to work there. This allowed them to survive.[10] During his time in Barishivka, Zerov published an anthology of Ukrainian translations of six Roman poets (Catullus, Virgil, Horace, Propertius, Ovid and Martialis).[11] As of 1923, Zerov was a lecturer, mainly of Ukrainian literature, at the Kiev People's Education Institute — established by the Soviet authorities to replace the university. In 1924 he published the volume *Kamena*, which included his own works (among them poems with an ancient theme) and more translations from Latin. He was an active participant in the discussion referred to as the "literary discussion," though it was not just about literature but also, or even mainly, about the cultural policy.[12] Zerov spoke out against the "traditionalist-ethnographic" trend, and supported the national communist Mykola Khvylovyi with his slogan of an orientation towards "the psychological Europe." To Khvylovyi's question "Where should we go?" he responded "Ad fontes!" He wrote: "Let us not avoid ancient, and even feudal

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[7] His most complete biography can be found in the book by V. B r i u k h o v e t s k yi, *Mykola Zerov*, Kiev 1990.

[8] He based two of his own sonnets, *Chatyr Dah* I and II, on motifs from Mickiewicz (M. Z e r o v, *Tvori*, 1, Kiev 1990, p. 22 – 23.

[9] Z e r o v, *o.c.*, 1, p. 89 – 93.

[10] Y. K l e n, *Spohady pro neoklasykiv*, Munich 1947, p. 5.

[11] *Antolohia rymskoi poezii*, Kiev 1920.

[12] M. S h k a n d r i i, *Modernists, Marxists and the Nation: The Ukrainian Literary Discussion of the 1920s*, Edmonton 1972.

Europe. The issue is how we should go through the process of Europeanization: like pupils, like ignorant provincials who are able only to sense and copy the external shape, or like mature and thinking people, capable of admiring the nature, spirit and effects of such an assimilation, and thus able to take something from the very core, the very cultural essence… to drink from the very source".[13]

The orientation towards Europeanness was immediately received with great hostility. It is characteristic that no volume of Zerov's works or translations could be published after 1924 — he was left with the option of what he called "Gutenberging", or calligraphically copying books of poetry. After the July 1, 1925 article in *Pravda* which stated that "in a class society there is no neutral art and there cannot be any," and after the appropriate decree of the Ukrainian Central Committee, Zerov's friend Pavlo Fylypovych wrote a humorous *Epitaph to the Neo-classic* — over whom "like the sword of Damocles there hangs the Central Committee's resolution," while the muse "shuddered when she heard that translations of Homer and Catullus would revive the capitalist world".[14] As early as 1926, despite all efforts, Zerov was not allowed to present his paper in Kharkov during a Virgil jubilee event.

It is impossible to describe here in detail how the atmosphere thickened around Zerov and his friends, especially in 1928 – 1930. Arrested in April 1934, he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in the Solovetsky Islands for… preparing acts of terror. In the labor camp, he wrote a course of classes in Roman literature, and also translated the *Aeneid*, but the manuscript has not been found in the archives. On October 9, 1937 the "threesome" of NKVD heads for the Leningrad district decreed the execution by firing squad of Zerov, his friend the neoclassic Fylypovych, the young poet Marek Vorony (pen name Marko Antioch; he was the son of a poet of the older generation, Mykola Vorony, who was executed the next year), and the historian and ethnographer Borys Pylypenko.

Another victim of terror was Volodymyr Svidzinskyi, author of subtle lyric poems, a significant number of which were never published. He translated Aesop's fables into Ukrainian, and Hesiod's *Works and Days*, the comedy *The Wasps* by Aristophanes, and Ovid from Latin. He was arrested during the Red Army's retreat and, according to reliable sources, was burned alive in a barn in the village of Nepokryte.[15]

The fate of the philosopher Volodymyr Yurynets, a member of the Academy of Sciences, was also tragic. He was an expert in Greek philosophy; for example, he wrote about Democritus and Plato from a Marxist standpoint. First the authorities threatened him until he turned into an informer, and ultimately he was executed on October 4, 1937 for his alleged "links to the German and Polish intelligence service".[16]

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[13] *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva ym. Vev[enka]* 1979, p. 377.

[14] V. Briukhovetskyi, *Mykola Zerov*, p. 125, 127.

[15] I. Zborovets, *Obstavini zagibeli poeta V. Svidzinskoho*, Kraieznavstvo 1995, 1 – 4, p. 54 – 56.

[16] M. Rozhenko, *Tragedia Akademika Yuryntsia*, Kiev 1996, p. 91, 164.

Now let us turn to those who survived the repressions and, despite persecution, remained faithful to their vocation.

Mykola Khomychevskyi (1897 – 1983) was an outstanding translator of Greek literature; he used the pen name Boris Ten (which came from the Greek name for the Dnepr, of course). As a priest of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church, in his parish in Kiev he organized a theater club, but performances with religious and ancient themes were soon forbidden. After being released from labor camp, he managed to publish translations of the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes and fragments from Aristotle.

Hryhoryi Kochur (1908 – 1994) was an eminent translator of many literatures, including Greek: Archilochos, Tyrtaeus, Theognis, Alkaios, Sapho, Anacreon; Ovid (some of these translations were published in the volume *Ancient literature*). He was in a labor camp in 1943 – 1953, and was only rehabilitated in 1962. In 1968 he signed the letter of the 139 protesting against the groundless arrests of cultural activists. He was thrown out of the Writers' Union in 1973, when he proposed that he be arrested instead of Ivan Dziuba who had tuberculosis. Despite persecution from the KGB, he was able to unite young writers and translators around him, including dissidents. Many of them recall him fondly as their tutor and adviser. In 1966 and 1990, together with Dmytro Pavlychko, he prepared collections of Mykola Zerov's poems and translations for publication.

Another writer who "did his term", as people used to say, was Mykyta Hodovanets from Kamenets Podolski (1893 – 1974) — a poet who translated the fables of Aesop and Babrios, and also wrote fables himself.

For Borys Zdanevych (1886 – 1966), a translator of Herodot, Xenophon and Heliodorus, the road to a university career was closed. He remained a modest librarian at the Academy of Sciences Library in Kiev (today the V. Vernadski National Library). The unknown edition by Gutenberg or from Gutenberg's circle titled *Provinciale Romanum* (List of Dioceses of the Roman Church), discovered in the binding of a 16th-century print, disappeared from the library director's safe when he was arrested by the NKVD. The model catalogue of the Academy of Sciences Library's incunabula, compiled by Zdanevich, was published many years after his death.

The Ukrainian poet best-known in Poland is, of course, Maksym Rylski, due to his excellent translation of *Pan Tadeusz* (he also translated many other Polish poets). The twenty-volume collection of his works contains just one translation from Roman literature (in vol. 11), namely a fragment from *De rerum natura*. However, his poetry, especially in the 1920s, included many works saturated with ancient motifs.

It is not surprising that many of the philologists and translators who survived the years of terror decided to emigrate during the war. The great contribution of Mykola Zerov's brother Mykhailo, known under the pen name Mykhailo Orest (1901 – 1963), was the publication of his great brother's poems and translations

abroad. Another writer who died an émigré was Volodymyr Derzhavyn (1964), who at one time also translated Greek and Latin authors; only Longos' romance about Daphnis and Chloe was published in book form. Andriyi Kotsevalov (1892 – 1960) also spent his last years abroad. He was a former professor of Kharkov University and studied Greek inscriptions from the Black Sea colonies (his best-known work is *Syntaxis inscriptionum antiquarum coloniarum Graecarum orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini*, 1935). Mykhailo Sonevytskyi (1892 – 1975), a graduate of the universities of Chernovtse and Vienna, published his Ukrainian translation of Xenophon's *Anabasis* abroad (1986). From among the former students of the prewar Lviv University who went into exile, it is worth mentioning Vasyl Stetsiuk (1910 – 1975), author of a historical grammar of Latin (vol. 1, 2, 1950, 1953), brochures on the principles of lexicalization of words of Greek origin in the Ukrainian language, and a number of articles.

Theoretically, the authorities' attitude towards classical philology changed for the better. After the war Stalin liked to make references to tsarist Russia — even the uniforms of the Soviet militia were modeled on the uniforms of the pre-revolution gendarmerie. In cities, schools were again divided into girls' and boys' schools after the war, and Latin was allowed at some secondary schools.

At Lviv University, the classical philology department was reactivated after the war, but was provided with only a few teaching positions. The voluntary or forced emigration of many professors had a greatly negative impact on the standard of antiquity studies in Ukraine after the war. I will point only to examples from Lviv University, where this was the reason why, after the departure of the Polish professors, it was hard to find the necessary lecturers.

Despite declarations that the "new culture" was a continuation of the culture of all the preceding epochs, Latin and Greek university studies were barely functioning, and permission to publish non-political works, including translations from the literatures of ancient Greece and Rome, was issued very sparingly in fear of such publications being competition for "more topical" subjects.

The situation was a little better in Moscow and Leningrad. There were more representatives of the old intelligentsia there, and care was taken to preserve university courses necessary to represent the Soviet Union on the international arena in all academic and cultural fields.

The head of the classical philology department in Lviv in the first years after the war was Prof. Ryszard Gansiniec.[17] Before he left for Poland, he also spent a few months in prison. What he lived through in prison and afterwards is known not only from the limited edition of his memoirs, but also from archival docu-

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[17] Prof. Gansiniec (before the war known as Ganszyniec) left particularly fond memories among the few — due to the *numerus clausus* — Ukrainian students of the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv. He had vehemently opposed the bench ghetto and other forms of persecution of Ukrainians and Jews by the [Polish] National Democratic youth and those representatives of other political orientations who tolerated or even supported the excesses of the radical National Democrats. Former classical studies students recall that the relations between students of different nationalities were more correct here than in some other, more politically oriented departments.

ments. After the professor was released, the authorities regarded the seizure of his property by a Soviet officer as "an inadmissible offence". This fact illustrates a procedure characteristic for the regime of the time: carrying out a planned and wide-scale program of repressions out of ideological and political motives, from time to time the authorities punished some of the program's executors for illegal actions. Allowing that some officials may have been showing genuine good will, essentially at that time this illusion of lawfulness served to boost the regime's credibility, and so to strengthen it and not liberalize it. Of course, the repressions, though not as mass-scale as they had been before the war, accelerated the exodus of Poles, including the professors. In later years, the lecturers of this department were former secondary school teachers, like Yosyp Kovbuz, Mykhailo Bilyk, Yuri Pastushyn and others, and also an exile from Leningrad University, Prof. Solomon Lurye. The academic periodical *Pytannia klasichnoi filolohii* was published from 1964. In 1974, however, the Central Committee's Politburo decided that the Soviet Union had too many periodicals. To simulate obedience to the new decree, the Ukrainian authorities announced the closing down of the only independent periodical on classical philology, which from that moment was published as every fifth issue of the quarterly *Inozemna filolohia*.

Under this system, the life of a philologist, an academic in general, and a writer-humanist was never easy. Solomon Lurye (1890 – 1964), a representative of the Russian school of classical philology, was the target of unjustified criticism on many occasions. A St. Petersburg student of Tadeusz Zieliński, he was head of the classical philology department in Lviv from 1953.[18] Mykhailo Bilyk (1889 – 1970), known for his translation into Ukrainian of Klonowic's *Roxolania* and of the *Aeneid* (he published books 1 – 6 at his own cost in 1931 in Stryi), did not live to see the publication of the work of his life — always due to either lack of permission from the ministry or lack of money. It was only thanks to great pressure from the Ukrainian Writers' Association that his translation of the *Aeneid* was finally published in 1972.

Characteristically, the last wave of repression towards the humanities took place at the time of the "thaw" in international relations. Though compared to the mass-scale murders and sentencing to labor camps of the 1930s these repressions would seem to be quite gentle, it would be hard to find an analogy to them in any relatively civilized country. In 1973, Ukraine witnessed a wave of arrests of dissidents and dismissals of scholars, not only those with "smears" in their CVs, but also those suspected of disloyalty. Yuri Mushak, an assistant professor at the classical philology department, was fired from the university and forbidden to publish his own works and translations. Officially, this was an "employment cut" but nobody made a secret of the fact that his real blame was that he had at one time lectured at the Greek-Catholic Academy of Theology in Lviv. He was a translator of Terentius, Plutarch, fragments from Plato, Latin courses

[18] During his decade in Lviv, he published the book *The Language and Culture of Mycenaean Greece* (Moscow 1957) and a number of articles in the publications of the Ivan Franko University.

in philosophy from the Kiev-Mohyla Academy; a large part of his translations are still manuscripts.

Just before they were due to defend their doctoral dissertations, Yosyp Kobiv[19] and Eugenia Skorobohata were forced to retire — Kobiv for his participation in education societies before the "liberation", and Skorobohata allegedly for contacts with her sister in Australia. The most prolific and excellent translator from Greek and Latin, Andryi Sokomora, couldn't teach at university because his father was an Orthodox priest. The ban on certain jobs for reason of "social origin" was in force until the Soviet Union's final years. Persecution "for one's biography" was much more widespread and more ruthless than in most countries of the Soviet bloc. Of course the classics scholars were not the only victims of this policy, but the percentage of victims among them was particularly high. One of the reasons was that many of the classical philologists had been born in Western Ukraine or were descendants of people born in that region, where nearly everybody's kin included participants in the national movement who had been murdered or deported to Siberia, or simply someone who was living abroad. Family in the United States or Canada could be a blessing for peasants receiving parcels from their relatives, but for the intelligentsia the very fact of having siblings overseas was often a barrier to their careers.

This is just a handful of examples, and those from the postwar period mainly concern Lviv. A more complete picture of the situation requires systematic studies of the archives. It is becoming urgent to put together a collection of memoirs of the witnesses and participants of the process of political control over culture and academic life.[20]

I planned to write the present text without any emotional bias, but the subject forces one to make political judgments which, despite intentions, sound like commentaries. But is it possible to write calmly about the senselessly cruel persecution of educated people who fostered culture in the deepest sense of the word?

It is hard today to rebuild education and culture in the post-Soviet societies, one of the reasons being that so much of the intelligentsia was murdered, oppressed in labor camps, chased out of the country or demoralized. To pay homage to the victims of repression, the people who tried in the hardest of circumstances to preserve whatever they could of the cultural heritage left by previous generations — that is the goal of this contribution.

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[19] In 1994, during the centenary of the Polish Philological Society in Lviv, Josyp Kobiv was granted honorary membership of the Society in recognition of his role in keeping continuity of classical philology being taught in this city.

[20] Some of the documents on the policies implemented by party authorities and the security service's control over culture have been collected in the publication *Kulturne zyttia v Ukraini. Zakhidni zemli. Dokumenty i materialy*, 1, Kiev – Lviv 1995; 2, Lviv 1996.

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MODALITY IN PINDAR'S ODES. STUDY OF PRAGMATIC-SYSTEMATIC FUNCTIONS OF AN/KE(N) PARTICLE WITH THE OPTATIVE IN THE MAIN CLAUSE IN GREEK*

By

ŁUKASZ TOFILSKI

The problem of the research has not often been a subject of the linguists' interest so far. Not more than ten people observed the use of the particle itself in the last century. As far as Pindar is concerned one can surprisingly find no paper that aims at this particular matter recently. The existing two articles come from the nineteenth century. This is even much surprising if we stress the fact that modality, the particle ἄν/κε(ν) and in particular linguistic interpretation of the utterly difficult text of Pindar's poetry seem to be very interesting and important matter for studies.

The interpretation conducted in the thesis focuses on the use and meaning of the modal predicate — the optative mode and the particle ἄν/κε(ν) in the main clause and, if necessary, on the analysis of various syntactical structures of its context, particularly those of them, that involve the modal meaning. The vast part of the thesis deals additionally with the status of ἄν/κε(ν) as a non-verbal operator in Greek grammar, traditionally called a particle. The third important part of the thesis is an argumentative section with necessary remarks on the definition and the denotation of modality as a linguistic phenomenon. Complementary to the research was, obviously, the description of the method presenting this complex problem. The reason is that what we have to cope with while analysing and interpreting the ancient texts is the diachronic dimension. Our task is not only to decode the polysemy, which is the immanent feature of every act of communication which puts the boundaries we cannot cross or reach. It is also the problem of regaining the lost meaning, or, to be more accurate, an attempt to make at least partially readable the text that is not likely to be fully readable any more. The major problem of reading and understanding ancient texts is entropy

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* The paper is an abstract of the doctoral thesis written under prof. A. Szastyńska-Siemion supervision. The defence took place in February 2001at the Faculty of Philology at University of Silesia in Katowice.

— gradual destruction of coherence of the bits of information that are constituent for their sense. If it is possible to regain them at all, the only method we can apply is complete, thorough and detailed interpretation of a single element of the semantic-syntactic structure of utterances that the text as a whole consists of. It does not involve the loss of pragmatic scope. This process is irretrievable. Between the system model and the unique use of one particular phrase there is an area that we may call the recognised pragmatic function scope. Meanings of a structure, from functional grammar point of view, are the different contexts predicted for this structure. The real communicative situation goes beyond it. The description of grammar is confined to some necessary generalisation. And it is entropy that is the reason why the difficulty in reading thoughts uttered in ancient languages results from something more than just lack of data. It is caused by the fact that we do not know some functions of the system and much of pragmatic scope, which are obvious and predictable in modern language use. The constituent role they play in the meaning of utterances of a text is what an ancient text researcher, interpreter or linguist has to bear in mind while analysing its structure and sense. Thus, the method of as acute penetration of these text as possible is a must. A receiver, a modern language native speaker, instinctively tends to seek for some context and since he does not find it he creates it subconsciously with the aid of his language contexts. The need to understand what is not to be understood completely results in this kind of extrapolation that a receiver is unaware of and cannot avoid. The only way of defence — in some possible extent — is the method. Its first rule is to regard every single detail of semantic-syntactical structure of a text as equally important and significant, no matter if it seems to be such or not. The next step is gathering every bit of information and then checking every option of interpretation followed by a balanced analysis presenting how much of unreachable hundred per cent we might know. If we treat a text as a coherent structure we may apply then what has been called here *the contextual interpretation*. It is not regarded — of course — as a new original method but rather as a technical instrument supporting and organising the course of analysis. It consists in distinct division of all the elements of the whole text. The elements are connected with the construction ἄν/κε(ν) by relations merely syntactic, syntactic-semantic and merely semantic. The first and the second group are represented by one, defined (although not always finished) syntactic structure as phrase or clause. It is called here *the strict context*. Semantic relations going beyond this structure are called *the broad context*. It allowed to confine the classification and description to what is relevant and to emphasise what is essential in the analysed part of the text. On the other hand it showed that despite this simplification it is hardly possible to avoid difficulty in describing syntactic structure in poetry, especially in Pindar, because of ambiguity of the syntactic functions of his language and his inconsistent — in a way — use of parataxis and hypotaxis. Above all, the applied method seems to show clearly enough how the criteria and nature of relations between particular elements of a

text are comprehended and interpreted. The smallest, central element is the analysed modal predicate — ἄν/κε(ν). The following circles or rather spheres are the strict context and the broad context. The latter is semantically defined component but it has its own context — the background. It means the consituation from one hand and from the other hand the whole ἐπινίκιον. The analysis with the contextual applied method of interpretation had to be limited to the odes that have been preserved as a whole texts. Trying to interpret and explain the functions of the analysed structure in fragments would be no more than pure guesses or hypotheses. As a result of this selection a subject of studying were all 26 passages in Olympian, Pythian, Nemeian and Isthmian odes where ἄν/κε(ν) with the optative appears in the main clause.

Its systematic function defined originally as potential is of great value and predominates other linguistic phenomena belonging to the category of modality. This category is an obligatory semantic compound of every single utterance and influences significantly internal world of a sender and relation between him and his external world. However, it is here considered nothing more but evaluation of the degree of probability of events. The matter of great importance is making clear distinction between modality itself and modalization. In other words, one should avoid identifying particular type of utterances, classified as modal, with the strict modal value they convey. The study on modality itself, separate from real and complex meaning of the whole utterance and therefore strictly theoretical and abstract, is rather a subject of interest of philosophers and mathematicians than linguists. The latter, when interpreting and describing modality, take into account every kind of utterances, regarded both as strictly modal and those in which modality is barely one of many semantic components. The optative with ἄν/κε(ν) particle seems to be such a modal predicate that shows clearly, at least from the structural point of view, disposition of all modal elements on the surface of a sentence. The optative itself denotes wish and when used with the particle-possibility. However, the closer examination of examples of these constructions makes it less certain, that the above scheme is sufficient. The emphasis is put on subjective point of view of a sender and thus closer to his thoughts and emotions than the subject. Fulfilment of wish is rather unlikely. The bare optative can also play the role of the potential mood but, on the other hand, the optative with the particle can be similar in meaning to the former. Classification of ἄν/κε(ν) particle as well as classification and description of the moods' functions have been always a matter of great interest. None of the scholars has come up with a fully convincing and satisfactory scheme. It is noteworthy to mention here the C.J. Ruigh's approach he presented in his *Autour de te epique*. When summarizing research of his predecessors he gives the clear functional division with the use of the particle involved. From one hand the optative mood, primarily cupitive, is capable of gaining potential value and from the other hand the conjunctive mood, primarily prospective, is capable of gaining voluntative value. It allows to compare respectively similar functions of both moods:

cupitivity with voluntativity denoting a mental emotionally featured process and potentiality with prospectivity denoting an intellectual process. The particle is apparently a superfluous factor of modality whereas the moods denote a subjective point of view of the sender. They both are used to describe a process or state but the conjunctive expresses thoughts, desire for something expected in future, whereas optative form denotes something vague not really expected or likely. Ruijgh does not confine his definition — understandably — to the schematic outline and makes an attempt to explain thoroughly the specific of each function. He admits, however, that this explanation is far from the perfect model of parallelism presented primarily. It comes without saying that the analysis conducted does not aim at putting the end to the discussion that began over a hundred years ago. It may give, however, some important arguments in this difficult and complex matter to support any of the concepts of the structure in question. Granted that the modal and modalization features of ἄν/κε(ν) particle are unquestionable, two main approaches relating to the status and position of the particle within the structure of a text should be presented: we assume either semantic function or syntax function of the particle. If we assume that the form attributes semantic value to an utterance then we have to admit that the particle possesses this value independently i.e. lexically, outside the context. Following this we could compare its meaning — more or less — with such Polish phrases like: *prawdopodobnie, pod warunkiem, chyba, dajmy na to* or English, *probably, maybe*, which would lead to conclusion that it modalises the predicate by appealing to deep semantic structure. We could say then that the modal function of the predicate would be — without concerning the proportions — a sum of the modal value of the mood and the particle. This relation could be compared to correlation between the verbal form and its circumstantial determinant. It follows from this consideration that: firstly ἄν/κε(ν) is not the form that directly constitutes the modal value of the predicate and the form is used rather for stylistic purposes. This proves that under certain circumstances its presence is nearly redundant e.g. with optative when the structure functions as iussive-desiderative predicate. If we assume that the structure does not attribute semantic value to an utterance then we have to admit that the particle is meaningless and we must look for evidence proving that there is no adverbial function of the particle or, at least, there are no instances that could confirm that assumption. Then we can continue to account for the function of the particle as a verbal form modulator. It would then be nothing more but the part of the predicate. If we look at the matter this way we shall imply that the function of the modal particle corresponds with the one it plays in irrealis where it only determines the verbal form as an analytic modal indicator. It belongs to all the elements that organize a text it its surface structure. No relevant equal particle can be found in Polish, but it seems legitimate to compare ἄν/κε(ν) particle with interrogative *czy* or aglutinate *-by*, which is perhaps the best reference possible. The modal function of the predicate would not be a sum of modal value of the mood and ἄν/κε(ν) but it results from

modalizing force of the particle. The stylistic function covers the predicate as a whole. It is related indirectly to the use of the particle because the range and the nature of the modal function of that particle are constant. The analysed constructions in Pindar's have shown that, despite the fact that the connection between ἄν/κε(ν) and the optative is not facultative and is not a matter of interpretation, it is extremely difficult to find argument proving that the particle is asemantic. One cannot ignore or diminish variety of meanings of this structure as Pindar uses it. We, of course, consider the role of the context and the meaning of a verbal form, but it does not seem legitimate to deny particle at least the slightest meaning value it apparently conveys. Provided that the analysis is logically and methodically correct the conclusion is: in construction optative and ἄν/κε(ν) the latter — being non — verbal modal operator indisputably influences the variety of semantic relationships of the predicate with other utterance compounds and evidently affects directly its stylistic value.

It seems reasonable at this point to present some instances of the structure analysed in the thesis. That should allow to illustrate sufficiently the method of interpretation and elicit problems that occur although it is not possible here to quote long passages of detailed analyses.

An interesting example is the apostrophe beginning the fourth antistrophe in the *Pythian Ode* I. Modally featured verbal structure plays a significant role in achieving lofty tone of the utterance — the poetic prayer addressed to god — which starts with a vocative form Ζεῦ τέλειε. The request for intervention in three matters, which are signalled with the appropriate predicates; the infinitive διακρίνειν, the optative with the particle κεν ... τράποι and aorist imperative νεῦσον. The latter was — and it is very important — paratactically preceded by perfomative λίσσομαι. The whole utterance, in this context being the request for tutoring and guiding the fate of those on behalf of whom the poet speaks, combines iussive function of the predicates with careful, indirect pointing the real and most important addressee of the request — Zeus. Although the optative with ἄν/κε(ν) doubtlessly denotes iussive nature of the predicate the total neutralization of the particle cannot be taken into account in this interpretation. There is an agreement among scholars as to the fact that this function may get weaken, changing from categorical iussive into potential. Here potential value fits perfectly the logic of the entire utterance. The third person singular of the optative appoints the performer ἀγητὴρ ἀνήρ of the task τραπεῖν. This is not the god, to whom, however, the request is addressed. The sender would not dare openly to commit the god with fulfilling the request. The fact that the god was appointed explicitly and clearly the only — though not direct — performer of the request is paradoxically reinforced or confirmed with the means of particle. Thanks to it the utterance is well balanced and becomes — as far as the modest status of the sender allows — discreet, cautious request for a chance. This request weakening the categorical iussive form emphasizes the role of the causative factor, which could be translated *make it possible* or *let it be possible*, *allow it to be possible, to happen*.

Another good example of analogical structure, showing the effectiveness of the applied method, is the passage form the *Isthmian Ode* VIII (v. 45) Here the evïdent jussive function of the optative with ἄν/κε(ν) particle results from employing two predicates that precede the form — imperative and prohibitive. Themis gives an order and a ban concerning the Thetis' wedding and then she sets the moment of performing it: ἐν διχομηνίδεσσιν δὲ ἑσπέραις, and then she puts a demand, λύοι κεν χαλινὸν ... παρθενίας. This third predicate is affected by the context and thus has its jussive function corresponding to the predicates it follows. If we analyse the constructions in a more detailed way, we must state that the utterance undergoes slight potential modalization by means of the particle as well as the compounds construing the entire context. We can assume therefore that the jussive function of the utterance has been weakened conventionally, which may give the impression that the person taking the order is allowed freedom to a certain extent. "A certain extent" means on one hand that the sender using the imperative appeals somehow to the will of the recipient and gets the person to perform the task willingly. On the other hand the sender assumes the positive attitude of the recipient towards the content. This makes the order unlikely to question.

Most of the analysed examples denote primarily potential features and the lexemes modalized are *verba dicendi*. It is significant that the potential softens somehow the assertion and can be motivated quite precisely although differently in each case.

The discussed construction was used three times in questions deciding about their rhetoric nature, especially when accompanied by negation. Negative particle that has appeared twice, which accordingly to grammar classification denotes assertion in predicate, does not deprive totally the particle of its potential function. It is noteworthy that the modalization is sometimes related to introduction of gnomes, which are a recognizable feature of Pindar's poetry and are themselves an interesting subject to concern. The modal value of some utterances is affected by their gnomic nature. Any moral advice — a wise saying — can be expressed by the adhortative, or if it points some aspects of reality (like for example δύνατα and ἀδύνατα), can refer to the general truth that focuses on undeniable principles of the world. They can also refer to common knowledge. Here it was regarded as the knowledge of Pindar's society; not the poet's himself as the author but expressed only by him. Some scholars indicate Pindar as the author of some of the gnomic sentences and point some gnomes of doubtful or unknown origin. That results in interpretation of the communicative function analysed in the text. The problem lies in dual nature of the modal function of a gnome. Being a *phrasem* — an integral element, self-sufficient in the structure of a poetic utterance — it gains its illocutionary force just when applied in the text and used within its structure. It apparently gives an intellectual support to it. Using a gnome, introducing it into the text is an argument itself. And on the other hand, it influences the modal structure of the gnome since its function is

neutralized to some extent. The point is that the particular sense of a gnome becomes a background element in relation to its function on the whole. The comprehension of the gnome becomes schematised, the interpretation less detailed. If we followed this course of thinking we should state the process of neutralization of meaning. It would not be, though, a reasonable assumption. We must be constantly aware of the fact that we deal with poetry, which neglects or rejects every routine of everyday language. It is unique because of continuous strive with the paradox of referring to language convention and breaking its rules at the same time. Thus introducing another author's thought in a poetic text so as not to damage its harmony requires exceptional skills in the adaptation process. There can be no compromise between poetry and everyday language, between the poetic metaphors and well-known phrases or clichés. Between quoting and creating. The analysis of one of the examples of Nem. 7. 87 allows us to presume that the hesitation φαῖμέν κε, which is a principal sentence for the subordinate sentence — the gnome εἰ δὲ γεύεται ἀνδρὸς ἀνήρ τι ... ἔμμεναι νόῳ φιλήσαντ᾽ ἀτενέι γείτονι χάρμα πάντων ἐπάξιον, is a moment of reflection over the way how to express it. It is not the question of choosing appropriate gnome, one particular of the existing but it is a matter of poetic art. This versus has been widely discussed as to the origin of the gnome as well as classification of the conditional sentence. If we know the aim of its modalization then we may easily present a solution to both questions. The first one: Pindar does not use the existing phrase but gives his own, showing that he feels its gnomic nature; the second one: the mood applied is realis and the optative is an element external to the structure of the conditional sentence.

Another difficult problem that occurs is defining the function of an apodosis in conditional sentences. Protasis is regular, having commonly recognized structure here but there are some exceptions. This function is sometimes overtaken by a participle or any other predicate. Sometimes it is omitted although it is present as *dormant protasis* — the name used by Smyth, author of "Greek Gramar". The predominant variant in Pindar contains indicative in protasis and optative with particle in apodosis. It is of utmost importance to study the sentence order and state whether the particle that is sometimes distant from the optative is in fact related to it. Linguistic interpretation of the text has lead to conclusions similar to some other scholars' who applied different methods and have different point of view and aim of the studies. One of them is Landreth, who regarded the position of ἄν/κε(ν) particle when studying colon constructions in Pindar's odes. When we interpret conditional sentences we must bear in mind their obligatory and natural pattern — Homeric syntax. That may lead to ambiguousity of such clear — as they seem — structures as irrealis, which in Homer is expressed by optative with the particle. It is noteworthy to stress that in all analysed examples the predicate classified as *potentialis purus*, maintaining its primary basic function, appears only once in versus 298 of the *Pythian Ode 4*, where the context confirms only possibility communicated by the use of the optative + particle.

Flexibility in creating new syntactic and lexical constructions with particular compounds of the context gives us right to adscribe the particle semantic value and to draw a conclusion that in Pindar's text the particle appears in its decline, i.e. on one hand it appears to be semantically motivated and on the other non-motivated modal operator. As the particle developed its use it got petrified and the form became an obligatory element of certain structures. It was meaningless whereas the meaning it had conveyed earlier added some stylistic value to it. Finally the form, accordingly to language rules, went out of use in time. Surprisingly enough this fact has passed unnoticed by the scholars who paid too much attention to the role of the particle in irrealis, claiming that this asemantic and constitutive function is different from its function in other structures. When we compare the role the particle played in Homer, where it could form various constructions and connections freely to the role in classical attic prose, where it was petrified and ascribed to particular structures, we can state that the use of the particle by Pindar shows some features of transition stage. In discussion on the matter it has been stressed that the reasons for introducing the particle were not connected with such poetry formal factors as, for example, metrics. The poet used the existing form including the archaic one. Therefore the particle does not prove to be inserted inadequately, as a historic form, used in a different way in comparison to the attic prose, but it is one of the elements of the structure of utterance that are syntactically, lexically and stylistically coherent proportionally to their status.

It must be stressed, however, that the above remarks relate solely to the structures considered in this study. Presentation of more general opinion and drawing final conclusion is possible only on this condition that the studies comprise also other structures containing ἄν/κε(ν) particle with the conjunctive mood in the main clause and subordinate clauses as well as they cover different texts.

The conclusions resulting from interpretation made in the thesis and from each analysis of the role of ἄν/κε(ν) are not final. They may even open new discussion. Yet one conclusion is doubtless and important. It is the fact that similar studies should be carried out on a larger scale and on much larger range of texts. Linguistic studies of ancient languages — especially syntactic-stylistic studies — are still inefficient in Poland although this question has been risen by many scholars so far. The matter of great importance is also widening common methodological scope of studies that the researchers of ancient and modern languages could share. The former have broader experience but more difficult task, the latter can easier verify results of their work and thus develop new interesting and valuable theories.

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TRIUMPH AS THE EXPRESSION OF ROMAN IDEOLOGY OF VICTORY FROM AUGUSTUS TO DIOCLETIANUS*

By

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A triumph was the highest and the most prestigious military honour in Rome and at the same time the most distinct instrument by means of which the ideology of victory during the Empire was created to a large extent. The triumph was of a great political importance in the process of individual emperors' desire to promote values and ideas that originally were to create the general image of an ideal and invincible ruler, heading the powerful and strong Empire.

The subject of the triumph, perceived in a wide context of ideology of victory, promoted by its means, was constantly present in the political operations of Roman emperors during the principate. The political role of the triumph resulted from political transformations, taking place at the turn of the golden era. In the previous period the triumph was the highest military honour with strong sacred overtone and in many cases a source of the social prestige. This custom, highly valued in Rome, crowned military operations of kings and later on talented commanders of the Republican period, and was put in the legal and customary context. Its strong sacred nature met requirements of Roman religiosity. The most honourable award for the achieved success, able to thrill the whole Rome for ages, carried a strong ideological load. It was very quickly noticed by the emperors of the principate and used in their policy. In the period mentioned above, the triumph became one of the means used to promote the ideology of victory. Actually, it even became the most important means as others were strongly connected with it. Those were, first of all, emperor's acclamations as well as victorious titles, victory monuments and coins, disseminating ideas of victory. First symptoms of the triumph evolution appeared in a decadent Republican period and grew stronger at the turn of the Republic and the Empire. The evolution of the triumph headed for putting this institution into political rather than religious

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* The paper is an abstract of my doctoral thesis written under Professor Leszek Mrozewicz's supervision. The public defence took place in November 2001 at the History Faculty of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.

context. The reason for such a situation was the appearance of strong individuals, driving at exercising absolute power. Pursuing a goal implied searching for the most convincing forms of expression and specific political contents transmission with strong emotional and ideological potential. It was possible then to put the triumph into this kind of context when the Republican political system collapsed and a new political order began to form. Disorder, accompanying this process, contributed to the coexistence of ideological contradictions in many parts of life and created a susceptible ground for transformations of the triumph itself and institutions connected with it. The first princeps, Octavian August, initiated the next and at the same time the final stage in the triumph development. Actions, driving at power legalization as well as gaining the social prestige and society favour, required the most convincing gestures, steps, and symbols. In the first place Octavian named them and then, by means of the verbal and visual propaganda, carried into effect. At the same time, by means of incredibly clever manipulations in the field of the triumph, victorious titles, victory monuments and emperor's acclamations, he limited the right to honours mentioned above, first — to the person of the ruler and then — to designated successors. The emperor's monopoly on the triumph pointed at the highest political position of the emperor strictly and unambiguously. Therefore, during the reign of Octavian August very essential changes in the conception of the triumph took place. Since then its overtone and essence were not limited to the recognition of commanding talents and military successes only. They, first of all, became the evidence of the emperor's power. Besides, they were used to create the image of the emperor, continuously achieving victories over both the external and internal enemies, able to guarantee safety and peace to the inhabitants of the Empire. The idea of victory promotion was taking place by means of well-thought-out political moves, sophisticated activities, heading for the new image of the Roman triumphator's creation, characterized by the divine charisma of the invincible and then adjusting this image to the personage of the emperor. All these exertions required proper social reception reached by the use of suitable propaganda means. This way of promoting the ideology of victory was adopted by succeeding emperors who, by means of the triumph, were going to reach specific political goals or engender specific social reactions. Symbols of victory and triumph were propagated all over the Empire. Coins, provided with very specific inscriptions as well as visual symbols, clear to everyone, reached each part of the Roman country, reporting on emperor's victories that would always build the power of the invincible Empire. Emperor's moves are patronized by gods and other supernatural forces, such as: *virtus*, *felicitas*, *fortuna*. On every issue, not necessarily concerning the triumph and victory, the emperor's head was crowned with laurels symbolizing victory. On the majority of coins the image of Victoria, the goddess of victory, was placed, and the abundance and variety of symbols accompanying the goddess did not make the coin less clear. The ideology of victory was always connected with a suitable kind of propaganda.

During the Empire the triumph was of great political importance, constituting not only the evidence of his military victories but the subject of emperor's very specific expectations. That is why, it was politically important and useful.

The analysis of the emperors' triumphal policy, carried out by the majority of them during the Empire, results in many fundamental conclusions. The most important of them and common for all the emperors-triumphators, was the need to use the triumph as the expression of the propagated ideology of victory, with very specific political purposes. In this case the emperors were united by the same idea — the intention to a self-presentation of the ruler with a charismatic image, and at the same time extremely powerful and victorious. Purposes of such aspirations were also very similar, meant to come up to specific expectations.

The triumph and the ideology of victory, expressed by its means, in most cases were meant to emphasize the emperor's power. In this case, the basis of emperors' aspirations for the triumph was the desire to bestow a prestige on themselves and on wielded power, strengthened by the supernatural sanction because of the triumph and victory. In order to deserve a triumph, the basic means to propagate the ideology of victory, the emperors quite many times provoked wars themselves. Another side of propagated ideology of victory was the desire to make the triumph an argument in emperor's reign legitimization. The basis of emperors' aspirations to celebrate the triumph was in this case the need to emphasize strength and power of the emperor at the head of the Empire, who succeeds globally thanks to exceptional military talents as well as tactical and strategic abilities. This way he somehow justifies the role he plays in the country. In some cases the purpose of endavouring after the triumph was the desire to satisfy his personal military ambitions (Domitian's case) and at the same time to prove his own commanding talents and abilities as well as predispositions to wield the highest power. The aspiration for the triumph and placing it in the context of ideology of victory in some cases resulted from the intention to introduce new rules. The triumph was to play the part of the presage. The ceremony of victory, promoting a new emperor, was the promise of country's peace and power. The policy of the triumph was extremely often adjusted to the promotion of hereditary plans; in this case it was placed into the dynastic policy. Very definite examples of the triumph and similar institutions in the field of this policy usage were observed during the whole period of the principate. This practice was especially well observed in the reign of August who allowed to honour his stepsons with a triumph or an ovation only if their candidatures appeared in the dynastic context. That way he let everyone understood clearly who would be his successor. He used the triumph not only to run his own dynastic policy; the example of honouring Germanic proved that August had great influence upon Tiberius' hereditary plans. The instances of honouring with the triumph in order to promote the successor were also observed in the second half of the first and second centuries. Emperors who promoted their successor, usually their own sons by means of

their own triumph, were initiators of such demarche. The reference is made here to Vespasian, Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus.

Not all the emperors from August to Diocletian promoted the ideology of victory based on the triumph. Many of them used symbols of victory and enriched their form of addressing with "cognomina ex virtute". The vast majority of them, however, noticed the greatest ideological potential exactly in the triumph. That is why, as a result of the analysis of elements connected with the emperor's triumphal policy, a great political importance of the triumph could be noticed. The emperors admitted the triumph would be useful for purposes of the policy run by them. Octavian August by means of extremely efficient manipulation reserved the triumph to the emperor only to create an image of an invincible and charismatic ruler. Tiberius was his faithful continuator, he did not, however, attach a great importance to the ideology of victory and triumph as such. Only the reign of Claudius, the last but one from the Julo-Claudian dynasty, can be considered a significant stage in the ideology of victory creation during the principate. The reign of Caligula or Neron, Claudius' successor, is the period of the total collapse of the victorious idea of the triumph, introduced and consistently propagated by August. The triumph of Claudius was the first emperor's triumph since August, celebrated by the ruling princeps. It can even be considered the first emperor's triumph in general. During the triumph in 29 B.C. Octavian still did not officially possess a definite political status; he was in a transitional moment from the position of the triumvir to the princeps. It was quite difficult to call him the emperor at that time. Despite the possibility of the triumph celebration that appeared after his political position stabilization, August did not take advantage of it. He rejected three triumphs, granted to him by the senate in 25, 19 and 8 B.C. Tiberius celebrated his both triumphs in 7 B.C. and 12 A.D. during the reign of August, while Germanic — in 17 A.D. during the reign of Tiberius. At that time they were both members of the emperor's family only, equipped with independent "empire". In spite of Caligula's intention to enter Rome in a triumph, he confined himself to an ovation; a famous ceremony at Baiae, rich in numerous triumphal accents, has still been interpreted as a travesty of the triumph. Even if, nevertheless, we will regard August's triumph as emperor's, in the course of nearly seventy years no other emperor had a triumph. In comparison with the times of the Republic, very rich in triumphs, this fact arouses afterthoughts. Claudius' reign was the time of an extremely intensive introduction of the ideology of victory by means of the triumph. His policy in this field can be regarded as an example. After the period of the partial collapse of the idea of victory during the reign of Nero, its resurrection took place during the reign of Flavius. The emphasis put on the triumph at that time proved the significance attributed to it. Again, the power of dynasty was supported and strengthened by military victory and the triumph as a result. The whole second century was, on one hand, an intensive promotion of Trajan's ideology of victory and, on the other hand, the first symptom of the crisis during the reign of

Antoninus. In the last period of all mentioned above, one of the ideology of victory fundamental tasks was to promote Commodus as a successor, just like during the reign of Severs. What is more, the triumph was still more often accompanied by other national ceremonies, eclipsing sometimes the ceremony of victory itself.

Owing to a widespread crisis that affected almost all walks of life, the third century of the Empire with its essence of the triumph and ideology of victory is very difficult to evaluate because of barely sufficient sources. That is why, coins were of a great importance in research. Thanks to them, it became quite possible to render some trends and elements of the triumphal policy. In that period the essence of the triumph as well as the way of its comprehension were modified to a certain degree. The national power crisis manifesting itself, first of all, in numerous usurpations, caused its debilitation and simultaneously some kind of change in the external policy. In contradiction to the expansive policy of emperors from the first and second centuries A.D., the third century was characterized by defensive moves aiming at the defense of possessed territories and, as in the case of Gallienus and Aurelian, restitution of lands, previously lost, reform and reinforcement of Roman power on these lands, reform of the whole world and the human kind. The emphasis was put not so much on victory as on the fact of the global victory itself and, what is even more fundamental, peace reached as a result of it. The essence of the ideology of victory was connected with the promotion of the powerful and always victorious ruler's image who, thanks to these features, would get the Empire out of the crisis. Diocletian's reign was not only the end of the principate but the final stage in the Roman triumph development as well. The triumph, celebrated in 303 AC, was the last one in the history of Rome. Diocletian's ideology of victory was at the same time the ideology of victory of three other tetrarchs.

Owing to barely sufficient sources, it is not possible to reconstruct the image of the triumph entirely in the context of the ideology of victory and the size of its usage in this field. It is quite difficult to estimate the effects of the ideology of victory promotion. We should not, however, doubt the emperor's prestige increase as a result of the triumph. This kind of the political status reinforcement was of a great importance in emperor's actions effectiveness and winning general favour. The emperors realized pretty well the power of the triumph political potential. August's procedure, i.e. the right to the triumph limitation as far as the emperor's personage is concerned, aimed at the propaganda effect. It was the emperor only who was able to rule Rome effectively, widen Empire's borders and care about the country's safety as well as its citizens' peace. Roman emperors realized that prestige and authority in the society, based on victorious glory, constitutes the gate to everything. People love victories and winners are put on pedestals. The rule of numerous emperors during the principate was subjected to winning a triumph and base the ideology of victory on it. Their main purpose was to persuade the inhabitants of the Empire that there was an element of vic-

tory in the emperor. Thanks to this element, country's well-being and, in critical moments, some kind of hope to overcome misfortunes and get the country out of an unfavourable situation were secured. That is why, the ideology of victory, propagated by the emperors, was of such a great importance for them. The triumph was its most important and spectacular element.

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THE DIVINE AND THE FALLEN. DIVINITY OF ROMAN WOMEN FROM THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS TO NERO*

By

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Explanation, looking for the answer to the question 'why?', lies at the very heart of science. It is also the key task of history since only through explanation may we reach the state of understanding. The term 'history' can be interpreted to mean at least two things: the past (chronological records) of the society, or a branch of science or knowledge of the past events, i.e. the result of scientific cognition. Therefore, to understand history means both to understand the past and to understand the science and historical knowledge. It is not possible to isolate the understanding of the past events, from the understanding of the methods, narration and historical consciousness. When analysing any one of those aspects the others must be touched upon, at least to some extent.

The title of my dissertation, its content and form reflect this conviction. It is not possible to discuss the divinity of Drusillia, Livia, Claudia Augusta and Poppeia Sabina without understanding the construction bases of historiography to date, which left the divinity of women outside the scope of its interest, satisfying itself with the thesis about their immorality. The 'fallen' in the title of my dissertation are the empresses and princesses from the first Roman dynasty, as interpreted by the historians from ancient to modern times and the 'divine' are the same characters in my eyes. The Roman 'fallen and divine' to whom I devoted this thesis are the female characters from historiography and from the past, the two inseparable sides of the same coin, history.

The subject of my reflection is the significance of the phenomenon of divinity of women belonging to the imperial family at the times of the Julian-Claudian dynasty on the entire territory of the *Imperium Romanum* at the time and the territories subjected to the influence of Rome. The main purpose of my dissertation is to find an answer to the question why divinity of women occurred in ancient Rome, and what was its role in the new power system of the

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principate which was being institutionalised. The rules of the Julian-Claudian dynasty were a 'transitory' period during which the still alive traditions of the Roman Republic were subordinated to the new political situation. Hence, the analysis of the phenomena of those times should give the most meaningful answers to the questions raised by me.

In my understanding, the term 'divinity' means both the procedure of elevating the women to the rank of goddesses (*consecratio*) and their cult (*cultus*), including religious worship and the total of the religious rituals and practices applied to them. I focus my interest mainly on those women who became goddesses from the beginning of the independent rule of Octavian Augustus (conquer of Alexandria on 1 August, 30 B.C.) to the death of Nero (June, 68 A.D.). These dates, however, are of purely symbolic significance due to scarcity of sources and historical analyses,[1] but also due to the fact that I attempt to present the divinity problem in a broader perspective without restricting myself exclusively to the times of the first Roman dynasty. In order to analyse the 'prehistory' of the divinity of women in Rome I refer to the Greek tradition, the Hellenistic heritage and, relate to the precedents from the times of the republic. In order to reveal the underlying sense of elevating women to the rank of goddesses, I focus not only on the female characters from the first Roman dynasty but also, present examples related to their successors.

Studies like the present one may not be restricted to a single type of sources. Moreover, there are so few sources pertaining to women that, in order to be able to restore their heritage, all available types of evidence should be used (literary, archaeological, epigraphic and artistic, including architecture, sculpture, gems, numismatics and handicraft). This approach is also in line with the methodological postulates of recent years, emphasising the significance of comparative studies. My work is, then, an interdisciplinary analysis in the sociological context, combining the elements of anthropology, gender studies, art history, social history and religious study.

In my analysis I make use of the category of *gender*. The application of this concept in historical studies and appreciation of the fact that the difference between the sexes is one of the key organisational principles of the society which not only decides about the social practice, but also penetrates the systems of social representation, is an important impulse for contemporary studies. The more so, that the adoption of this assumption means acceptance of the fact that there is no single field of historical action or thought which could function regardless of the 'male/female' distinction or for which this distinction would not play a more or less significant role. Therefore, the notion of 'gender' enables a new reading of the past records, constructing a new system of coordinates in which new

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[1] See U. Hahn, *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im griechischen Osten anhand epigraphischer und numismatischer Zeugnisse von Livia bis Sabina*, Saarbrücken 1994; T. Mikocki, *Sub Specie Deae. Les impératrices et princesses romaines assimilées à les déesses. Études iconologique*, Roma 1995; M.G. Mirón Pérez, *Mujeres, religión y poder. El culto imperial en el occidente mediterráneo*, Grenada 1996.

reference points and new organising patterns will occur. This is the greatest challenge which *gender studies* have posed to history and in this way the perspective, in a provocative manner, extends to all the history and not only to the history of women.

And so in my dissertation I do not isolate the sexes in order to examine only one of them. The roles of women and men occur and change in relation to each other. It would not be possible to understand one gender without the other as both build their identity through contrasts and comparisons. Therefore, I am trying to create a history which — despite focusing on the cult of empresses and princesses — attempts to establish a new discourse associating the history of the 'imperial cult' with the gender studies. I treat my work as an attempt at overcoming the existing discourse on antiquity and opposing the common opinion that the history of women may not contribute anything to the understanding of problems of the past nowadays considered as essential. The issue of the women's presence in historical studies, just like the issue of exercising power in the context of which I am analysing the phenomenon of women's divinity in ancient times is not only important for the history, but also for ourselves.

The divinity of men and women in Rome occurred together with the fall of the Republic and the introduction of dynastic rules, i.e. at the time when provinces were annexed to the Roman social and political system. The 'imperial cult', however, was not an inevitable consequence of the changes but rather a playing field for a game in which the power of the imperial family, the senate and the city elites was at stake. Therefore, an important aspect of my considerations is the approach to the discussion about the relation between the 'imperial cult' and the political system, between the 'ceremonial' and 'effective' aspects of the state. Referring to the modern anthropological theories, I see the cult, the policy and diplomacy as inseparable aspects of the Roman Empire reality. Hence 'religion' and 'power' are the concepts encompassing the phenomenon of divinity of women from the Julian-Claudian dynasty.

I divided my work into two sections. In the first one (Historiography), I analyse the historical discourse pertaining to women in general, and then specifically to the empresses and princesses from the Julian-Claudian line and to the 'imperial cult'. By the term 'discourse' I understand a set of rules which underlie the formulation of the whole blocks of theses which can be either 'right' or 'wrong' as we have different tools to prove them. Thus, a discourse may also be understood as a system of opportunities enabling the formulation of theses and, consequently, the existence of particular branches of knowledge.

The purpose of the first part is then to identify the existing foundations of the historical discourse in which Roman women did not find their place or if they did, the empresses and princes from the Julian-Claudian dynasty were mostly discussed from the ethical perspective and the fact of their divinity was totally disregarded. The modern history did not tackle the problem of the divinity of

women or their active participation in cult practices (Chapter 1). The reason is that the historical discourse about women — including Roman women — from the ancient times to the second half of the 20th century did not assign them the role of subjects but only a function of representing political ideas (Chapter 2) and the concept of the 'imperial cult' was constructed in a way completely excluding the possibility of such a reflection (Chapter 3). The first part, however, brings not only a deconstruction of the existing classification rules but also a proposal of a new construct. If, on the one hand, we agree that the 'imperial cult' is only a modern category of historical studies which, in light of our present knowledge, lost its interpretation potential and, on the other, we treat different forms of worship of the imperial family as one of the elements of the Roman religion reorganised in the times of Augustus, and among them we recognize the significance of the cult of women, we will be able to interpret anew the phenomenon of the divine imperial family (*domus divina*).

The second part (History) is an attempt at creating a new interpretation of the phenomenon of divinity of men and women in Rome, which takes into account both the emperor and the women related to him, as well as the senate and the city elites in the provinces. I begin from trying to characterise the Roman concept of the relationship between heaven and earth (men and women) and the Greek concept of *Gottmenschentum* and the forms of its peneteration into Rome in the form of philosophical ideas (Cicero) or artistic practices in the area of visual arts, poetry and literature (quasi-mythical tale of the conception of Octavian by Atia). I also discuss the Roman concept of quasi-divinity, created both for the men (*genius*) and for the women (*iuno*) (Chapter 4). The next three chapters are devoted to the analysis of the phenomenon of divinity of women from the Julian-Claudian dynasty, reviewed from three points of view which reflect the positions of the three stakeholders involved in the worship of people elevated to the rank of gods. The most important was the imperial family (*domus Augusta*) which ruled Rome during the age of the principate. I present then the process of its formation, identification of its interests with the state affairs (*res publica*) and the role which, most of all, Livia (*Augusta*, *sacerdos divi Augusti*) played in it. In the context of the dynastic policy, I interpret both the refusal of her divinisation during the rule of Tiberius and the decision made by his successors to carry out the procedure of consecration of Drusillia, Livia, Claudia Augusta and Poppeia Sabina (Chapter 5). Subsequently, by reconstructing the sequence of steps in the ritual of elevating women to the rank of goddesses (*consecratio*), composed of the public agony, rituals in Forum Romanum (*pompa*, *laudatio funebris*: Appendix 1) and Campus Martius (*decursio*, *crematio*) and the actual implementation of the cult and its forms I am trying to depict the role of the senate in the establishment of this institution. The structural analysis of the ritual is complemented by a historical analysis of the development, including its social significance and the dependence on the changing relations between the emperor and his family and the Roman senators (Chapter 6). In the last chapter I tackle an important

problem of worship of the members of the imperial family from the perspective of the 'system of exchange'.[2] I present both the objective pressures and limitations (resulting mostly from legal status of a given community), but also individual strategies and subjective factors having impact on the results of the exchange. Emphasising the benefits of the control of the imperial family cult to the city elites and the city model of dominance, I focus closely on the role of the women (Appendix 2), as their priesthood in the provinces represented an integral element of the system of exchange (Chapter 7).

In my dissertation I prove that the divinity in Rome was neither a result of the transfer of the Greek *Gottmenschentum* concept, nor a consequence of the development of a late republican tradition or a tool of legitimising monocracy. The incorporation of the emperor and his family into the ritual of a religious nature was a symbolic form of interpretation of the new political reality in which the competition between aristocratic lines was replaced by the hegemony of the princeps' family. The 'imperial cult' in Rome did not exist. Religion was a factor sanctioning the social system as a whole, not only its particular elements. However, neither the entire religion nor its selected components (e.g. the 'imperial cult') ensured a doctrinal or — literally speaking — ethical support to the political structure of the system or the policy implemented or propagated by the state. The Roman religion did not produce a formal doctrine or a religious structure which could sanction (or legitimise) a specific ruler or system of rule.

The rituals related to the imperial family did not replace the existing cult but found its place within it. There did not actually exist a crowning ceremony combined with a religious sanction nor a new year's festival in which the emperor would be the main actor and which would contemplate his special religious status. What did exist were only a number of various, scattered forms of worship of the members of the imperial family depending on the local tradition. The most important ritual took place in Rome and was a post-mortem ritual. Paradoxically, it was the ritual which allowed the senators' aristocracy ruling the Republic to maintain its power despite the radical change in the political system.

In fact, the supreme principle of the principate was that the person assuming power was the one with the highest personal qualities and this could only be decided by the senate. In this way Caligula took over the rule after Tiberius and was himself followed by Claudius. When the senate was deprived of its right to make the final decision — which was the case when Tiberius and Nero were coming into power — this fact had to have its symbolical explanation. Hence, the deification of the Roman emperors (Augustus and Claudius) seems to be an act aimed at maintaining the authority and power of the senate, combined with the confirmation of the decision made by the emperor before his death without consulting the senators. If the senate could not influence the election of the successor, it could decide whether the late emperor had sufficient virtues and quali-

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[2] Definition of the concept: S. P r i c e, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984, p. 65 – 77.

ties to become one of the gods as a result of deification and, consequently, whether his decision regarding the choice of the successor was right and in line with the interest of the state and its citizens. In this way the new emperor owed his election to the senate which recognized the deceased emperor as god and his decisions (including the one concerning the succession to power) as the right ones. Thus, thanks to the *consecratio* procedure, it was possible to reconcile the principle of dynastic succession with the belief that the ruler of the state is the candidate who was found to be the most appropriate by the senate.

The religious forms also offered explanation of the particular position of women from the imperial family. Despite the fact that in conformity with the republican tradition, women could not be assigned an official position in the political system, explanation had to be found for their influence on the power relations which Velleius Paterculus described as *potentia.*[3] The titles *Augusta* and *sacerdos divi Augusti/Claudi* allowed the women from the imperial family for a public activity whose limits were set by Livia, wife of Octavian Augustus. They also allowed the emperors to define the succession patterns within their own *domus*, which functioned as a source for potential successors and in which the women played the role of power succession guarantees. In the period of the Julian-Claudian dynasty, succession was related to the female line and, because of that, women had an extraordinary public position or even the status of goddesses. Performing their role, they passed on the power ensuring sustainability of the dynasty and, at the same time, the state. There were, however, no criteria which would trigger their consecration procedure, unless the emperor expressed such will.

Obviously, the elevation of women to the rank of goddesses was possible only as a result of publicising their roles as the members of *domus imperatoria* and virtues traditionally assigned to women in the Roman society, in particular including those related to maternity. All in all it was the women who gave birth to subsequent emperors. But at the same time, their elevation was always in conflict with the idea of choosing the best man of the potential candidates. For this reason the senate was not interested in the process as it undermined its position. The emperor could, however, put pressure on the senators and make them participate in the consecration ritual. It was easier because of the fact that the role of women as mothers had mostly a symbolic dimension and, therefore, the divinity of women despite its extraordinary form enhanced the traditional image of a woman as a dedicated wife and fertile mothers.

In his lifetime, the emperor enjoyed an unrestricted, although at the same time undefined, power which extended everywhere and affected everyone. Though he had to respect the prestige of the senate, he could make any decision he wanted. Any, with the exception of his own deification. This would destroy an unwritten pact with the Roman elite for whom the consecration procedure

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[3] Vell. 2, 130, 5; Tac. *Ann* 4, 21, 1; see further SCPP 117 (*plurumum posset*) and Tac. *Ann*. 2, 34 (*Urgulaniae potentia*).

was of key significance as it defined its position and importance. In the case of women from the imperial family this issue was not co important. And so the emperor could receive divine honours still during his lifetime in a number of indirect forms, or even directly, from the inhabitants of the provinces. He could even raise the members of his family to the rank of gods but in Rome, the emperor himself had to remain the princeps, the highest official in the state (*res publica*). Thus, most likely, there were two consecration procedures in Rome. The first one, intended for the emperors and initiated by the senate, did not change as long as the senators were in the capacity of making the decision, and the other, applying to the members of the imperial family, including the women and initiated by the emperor, in which the decision about the award of *funus publicum* meant at the same time the establishment of the cult after the funeral *(consecratio*).

Hence, the divinity of the members of the imperial family seems to be a much more complex institution as compared to what it had been thought to be. It was not a collection of tributes which would form an independent element of the Roman reality but a symbolic system whose structure defined the roles of all groups and actors on the social arena. Its long existence during the imperial period was possible only because of the fact that all parties directly involved in the divinity benefited from it. If the emperor and the senate cooperated, i.e. the senate accepted the privileged position of the emperor and the emperor worked together with the senate and did not claim divine rights in his lifetime, he could expect commemoration in the form of his elevation to the rank of god. Thanks to the cooperation, after the death of the emperor, the senate could retain its symbolic power in the state, while the emperor could expect confirmation of the dominant position of his family and the appointment of a successor from among its male members. Additionally, both parties enhanced its power over the Roman people. We should not forget, however, that the senate, the emperor and the imperial family were not the only active parties in the divinity phenomenon. The divine honours paid to the emperor and to the members of his family, including women, benefited also the city elites in the provinces.

In the period of the Julian-Claudian dynasty, the priest-official model established by Augustus was transferred to all cities of the Empire. Similarly as the emperor who thanks to his piety (*pietas*) towards gods guaranteed the well-being of the entire state, the provincial elites, including women, by controlling the local religious systems and worshipping gods and the imperial family (*domus divina*), assumed responsibility for the well-being of the communities which they led, performing the functions of officials, priests and "benefactor". In this way, by entrenching the relations of respect, dependence and authority, they expressed their participation in the Roman system of power.

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Rush Rehm, The Play of Space: Spatial Transformation in Greek Tragedy, Princeton-Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2002, p. 448 + 16, 12 figures.

It is certainly true that busy with verbatim translations and detailed analyses, the classicists occasionally forget (or at last seem to forget) that tragedy was, and still is, primarily theatrical phenomenon. Unless we deal with Seneca, and even then not certainly so, the plays surviving from the ancient times were enacted, watched and listened to, not read in solitary exclusion of university library. The scenic reality evoked was intrinsically as (if not more) multidimensional as is today's one: overlapping semantic levels, so carefully traced by modern scholars, visual allusions and verbal resemblances, all of these were spatially organized within and beyond the limits set by the architects of Dionysus' theatre. Yet, the theatrical experience of the Greeks would be hardly compatible with our own: after all, we are the reading society, and moreover, we are used to the repetitiveness of theatrical performances (even if the actual quality varies with each evening), while an average Athenian would be probably quite shocked to see today's theatre schedule: the play was, or at least major part of them were, unique and deeply religious phenomenon. And it would be experienced in a definite spatial setting endowed with very clear (at least, clear to the Athenian public) reference to the contemporary reality.

There are numerous advantages to Rush Rehm's works on ancient tragedy: first, they are extremely well written. Then, there is the author's singular, provocative imagination that allows him to reconstruct a drama around a single, yet startlingly open-ended concept: his analysis of Sophocles' *Antigone* in *The Marriage to Death* remains among the most thought-provoking in the recent literature.[1] His latest work, *The Play of Space: Spatial Transformation in Greek Tragedy*, dealing with the subject of spatial relations as present in the Greek tragic theatre, was obviously intended as a continuation of some ideas visible already in the earlier work.

Rehm's main concept of interpretation evolves around five major spatial patterns he discerns in extant tragedies. More than one is usually discernible in a single play, yet in some cases the tragedy promotes one pattern over the others. This gives rise to the following division:

— space for return (exemplified by *Oresteia*, *Hercules Furens*)
— eremetic space (*Aias, Antigone, Philoctetes, Prometheus Bound*)
— space and the body (*Hecuba, Electra, Bacchae*)
— space, time, and memory (*Oedipus Tyrannus*)
— space and "the other" (*Persae, Medea*).

I shall certainly return to Rehm's readings of the single plays, yet before I do, it is necessary to remark on the categorizing criteria which are applied to the phenomenon of space within each play. Thus, for our author each play involves simultaneously:

— theatrical space (physical reality of Dionysus' theatre)
— scenic space (the reality portrayed and visible)
— extrascenic space (indoors etc.: immediate, but invisible reality)
— distanced space (i.e. one of no immediate relationship with or bearing on the scenic space: e.g. Corinth in *OT*, Troy in Euripides' *Electra*)

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[1] *The Marriage to Death: Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy*, Princeton University Press 1994.

— self-referential/metatheatrical (when the theatre turns on itself: allusions to other plays, theatrical reality etc. belong to this category)
— reflexive (conditioned by the presence of critically alert audience and involving civic reflection and political actuality).

All of these are considered to contribute to the workings of spatial dimension in every existing play. To this categories the author adds three important concepts provided by modern psychological and philosophical works: Gibson's notion of occultation (a human never truly loses track of what he/she does not see), Gestalt concept of hodological, mediating space, and, finally, Michel Foucault's *heterotopia* (better elsewhere). These three to the large degree condition his understanding of dramas analyzed. Yet, as it often happens with the application of modern psychology to the ancient works, difficulties follow and Rehm's reading of three Euripidean plays: *Hecuba*, *Electra*, and *Bacchae*, destined to illustrate the space-and-the-body dimension remains possibly the most troubling feature of his whole work. Exempli gratia: the spatial translocation of the plot in the *Electra* is a point not to be underestimated in any serious commentary: by removing the heroine from the traditional surroundings of Argos and banishing her to the poor shack in the countryside, Euripides achieves the first of multiple coups de scene abounding in the play.[2] Yet, focusing on Electra's intimate body, on her obsessive concentration on herself as a victim of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra,[3] the work risks to neglect several possible conclusions that could actually have been drawn from such a spatial analysis, had it concentrated on the scenic space instead of body as space. The point actually is (and Rehm comes very close to realizing it), that analysed in terms of space, several events taking place in *Electra* may possibly be interpreted as alluding to Aeschylus' *Oresteia*: when the author wonders why Orestes would bring Aegistus' body to Electra's humble house, one could possibly ask whether the cursed house of the Atridae, looming so prominently over *Agamemnon* and *Choephorae* has not transferred itself into this play, whether by removing Electra to the countryside, Euripides did not move the *alastor* of the doomed family as well. If one is right in assuming that Clytemnestra's arrival in this very intertextual play mirrors Agamemnon's arrival in Aeschylus's drama, both of them arriving by chariot, both accompanied by Trojan prisoners of war, and both descending their chariot to enter the interior on the terms of a φίλος who is not their friend at all, moreover, both of them descending the chariot to go (unawares) to their death, such a dislocational interpretation would gain additional support. The "house reeking of blood" is not the palace – at least not only: in Euripides, this house is moved, albeit slowly, to the countryside, it invades the outdoors with its detailedly depicted cruelty and macabresque visual effects, clashing with the festival proceedings and the country landscape as the shield of Achilles clashed with the beauty of the sea. That Aegisthus is slain in a ghastly parody of sacrificial ritual during an open air sacrifice is another sign that spatial disorder governs this play, and it is hardly surprising that the most memorable choral ode in the *Electra* deals with the spatial vs. temporal disturbances that resulted from the Thyestean banquet.[4] As the old Watchman of *Agamemnon* prays to the light, Electra prays to the Night, a prayer possibly alluding to that of Aeschylean Furies of the *Eumenidae*.[5] Like the Gorgon's head to which the Chorus alludes,

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[2] The recent readings that make the most of this spatial misplacement: G. Gellie's *Tragedy and Euripides'* Electra, BICS XXVIII 1981, p. 1 – 12 and C.A.E. Luschnig's analysis of the play in *The Gorgon's Severed Head*, Mnemosyne Suppl. CLIII, Leiden – New York – Köln, 1995, p. 86 – 159, and Anne P. Burnett *Revenge in Attic and Later Tragedy*, Sather Classical Lectures LXII, University of California Press 1998, p. 225 – 246, Ann Norris Michelini *Euripides and the Tragic Tradition*, University of Wisconsin Press 1987, p. 181 – 230.

[3] Interestingly, Rehm's Electra makes very unappealing heroine — in the manner of some other scholars, including H.D.F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy*, London 1939, p. 332 – 344; E.M. Thoury *Euripides'* Electra: *An Analysis through Character Development,* RhM CXXVIII 1985, p. 5 – 22 and others, he elaborates on the notion of her sexual obsessions, her meanness etc. — this unilateral concept of the heroine largely influences his understanding of the whole drama.

[4] For this see V. J. Rosivach, *The 'Golden Lamb' Ode in Euripides* Electra, CP LXXIII 1978, p. 189 – 199.

[5] Another possible reference would be to Sophocles' Electra, yet this would lead us into the much disputed issue of chronology, which is certainly irrelevant to the scope of this essay.

butchered bodies (exemplified by the severed head of Aegisthus) are endowed with transformative powers.[6]

In his former book, Rehm was at his best when interpreting Sophocles. Here however, his touch seems to have faltered. Certainly, the rejection of binary oppositions between the civilized and the wild, the in- and outdoors so adamantly supported by the structuralist school yields some worthwhile results that prove of considerable interest in the reading of *Ajas*, *Antigone,* and *Oedipus Tyrannus*, yet his conclusions remain to say the best controversial: it is in Sophocles' interpretation that Foucault's concept of *heterotopia* plays the most visible part. Certainly, it is possible to view Philoctetes' lonely exile as another Prospero's island, or as a place where the better of human nature resurfaces, as it does in both the hero and Neoptolemus: yet, it is also the place of imprisonment and suffering, and one may well wonder whether it is the nature of Lemnos or the very pain of the hero that makes the young man better — at least for the moment. In her insightful analysis, Belfiore remarks on the importance of interpersonal relations as present in this drama — symptomatically, it is her study that pays more attention to the spatial acts performed in the *Philoctetes*.[7] The important point, however, is that Rehm's understanding of *Philoctetes* influences his reading of *Oedipus the King*: and this influence may well leave the reader troubled. As Rehm rejects the structuralist notion of uncivilized wilderness as contrasted with the order of *polis*, maintaining instead that Sophocles actually supported the pessimist view of civilization, Oedipus' withdrawal to the Cithaeron becomes a sign of hope rather than destruction.

On the other hand, it is the very assumption of the six categories of space that weights almost too heavily on Rehm's reading of *Ajax*: the necessity to highlight the metatheatrical dimension of this play leads the author into several highly controversial remarks: thus, when remarking on the staging of the play, the scholar notes that Ajax and Teucros would actually be impersonated by the same actor. This is certainly noteworthy occurrence, but I am unconvinced by Rehm's allegiation that Teucros is exact opposite of his dead brother.[8] Certainly, there is an inversion of the roles as compared to the *Ilias*, with Teucros acting as protector of the family, but the concern for honor as hero's due is prominent in both brothers, as is the will to die in its defense. On the other hand, when Rehm claims that Tecmessa is the person whose advice Ajax should have followed, one cannot help but wonder whether the author chose the right approach: the correspondence between Tecmessa's personal history, dire as it is, and Ajax's own fall is not a correspondence at all, as Ajax **is not** his war bride, nor can he be expected, being who he is, to suffer the disgrace he brought onto himself.[9] The only person whom he should have imitated (and this should have, if any, refers to the very past tense) is his arch-enemy, Odysseus.

The rejection of structuralists' division seems quite promising when it comes to the interpretation of the *Bacchae*,[10] yet some doubts cannot be suppressed when it comes to the actual reading of the drama. Thus, for example, there is something disturbing in Rehm's assumption that the Cadmus' reassembling of Pentheus' remains metaphorically enacts the reconstruction of the temporal and spatial continuity lost in the course of Dionysus' invasion. Certainly, the spatial and the temporal are there, as Cadmus guides

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[6] On the importance of the Gorgon image see M.J. O'Brien, *Orestes and the Gorgon: Euripides'* Electra, AJP LXXXV 1965, p. 13 – 39; for the Achilles Ode see also K.C. King, *The Force of Tradition: The Achilles Ode in Euripides'* Electra, TAPA CX 1980, p. 195 – 212.

[7] The ritually significant handclasp shared by the hero and Neoptolemus, the passing of the bow etc. — cf. E. Belfiore, *Murder among Friends: Violations of Philia in Greek Tragedy*, Oxford University Press 2000, p. 65 – 69.

[8] Rehm, *The Play of Space,* p. 133: "the actor playing the title role, a self-centered character who fails his family, returns as Teukros, who who provides for his family's safety and risks his life for his brother's burial". Interestingly, Rehm sees Ajax' failure in his suicide rather than in the disgrace he brought onto the whole family.

[9] For comprehensive analyses of Ajax' temper see e.g. B.M. Knox, *The Heroic Temper*: *Studies in Sophoclean Tragedy*, University of California Press 1983; E. Garrison, *Groaning Tears: Ethical and Dramatical Aspects of Suicide in Greek Tragedy,* Mnemosyne Suppl. CXLVII 1995; Belfiore, *o.c.*, p. 101 – 116.

[10] Among the chief exponents of the oppositition one should number R. Friedrich (see his *City and mountain, dramatic spaces in Euripides'* Bacchae *II,* [in:] R. Bauer et alii (eds.) Proceedings of the XIIth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association (München Iudicium-Ver. 1990), p. 538 – 545.

Agaue back from her enthusiastic madness, and these dimensions are not lost when the focus turns to the body: yet, like the shattered reality of the *Bacchae*, this torn carcass **cannot** become one again. The dismembered form displayed onstage becomes metaphorical illustration of the royal family torn apart by the god, of the city thrown into chaos: there is no going back in the *Bacchae*, the order is never restored, but changed forever.[11] Women do return to their house chores, yet they bring back the experience foreign to those previously existing. Pentheus' head that Agaue cradles in her arms becomes an indication of far reaching change — this is after all the proof of the hunt she has given, the ultimate measure of Dionysus' transformative powers which extend over all the levels of this tragedy.[12]

Certainly, any interpretation of ancient drama, philological standards notwithstanding, remains deeply personal phenomenon. And there are considerable advantages to *The Play of Space*, e.g. refusal to share in the usual bipolar notion of theatrical semantics, or the focus on actual performance aspects. The creative imagination and theatrical insight of its author, famous for his on-stage productions, contribute to the persuasiveness of the whole book, yet some conclusions he draws would benefit from more detailed analyses. Still, the work remains uneven and puzzling with its occasional flashes of brilliance and, by turn, inconsequencies.

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C. J. Tuplin and T. E. Rihll (eds.), Science and Mathematics in Ancient Greek Culture, Oxford University Press 2002, p. 379 + XVI.

There are subjects and subjects in the field of classical philology. Nobody, for example, would deny that interpreting Euripides or some other poet belongs to the duties of a true classicist: by contrast , some issues in ancient culture seem to be treated with considerable reserve by the more traditionally minded scholars. Let us consider the ancient mathematics: apparently, some mistrust of calculation is work here for it seems that we would generally be happy to leave this part of classical heritage to the historians of science, or, to be even more precise, to historians of mathematics.[1] Certainly, this is hardly reprehensible in itself; yet, all too often it results in a simple removal of large portion of Greek culture from universities' curricula: as an effect, rare are those who have any idea of Eudoxus' homocentric spheres or of the reasons that lay behind the intricacies of ancient time-counting methods. On the other hand, historians of ancient science, the race at least occasionally mistrusted by their more literature-oriented collegues, tend

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[11] The question of order as present in the ending of the drama continues to puzzle the scholarship: J. Griffin decidedly rejects the concept of actual political references being the issue of the ending of the *Bacchae* (*Social Functions of Attic Tragedy*, CQ XLVIII 1998, p. 39 – 61) and T.B.L. Webster points to the bleak ending where no hope is left to the heroes (*The Tragedies of Euripides,* London, 1967, p. 276), the polis-related aspects of the *Bacchae* are carefully explored by V. Leinieks (*The City of Dionysus,* Stuttgart und Leipzig 1996). Though the author occasionally overstates his case, the book offers an interesting vision of what Rehm would term the *reflexive* space of the drama. However, see also J.E.G. Whitehorne, *The dead as spectacle in Euripides'* Bacchae *and* Supplices, Hermes CXIV 1986, p. 59 – 72.

[12] Should we want to account for the self-referentiality of the drama: the actor who played Dionysus' enemy Pentheus returns as Agaue, another *theomachos* of the drama (Agaue did after all refuse to believe the divine nature of Dionysus' birth). Pentheus was removed from the land of the living and now Agaue, having murdered her only child, is condemned to the existence of an exile, a repetitive pattern that may contribute something to the understanding of the Euripidean play.

[1] Characteristically, T. Heath's *History of Greek Mathematics*, originally published in 1921, still remains a standard sourcebook for most students of ancient mathematics.

to construct their discourses in such a specialized manner as to leave a potential student perfectly puzzled (one would almost want to repeat after the second century astrologer, Vettius Valens, that their speech is intended to fool and discourage the uninitiated from any attempt to penetrate the mysteries of their lore). All the more should we appreciate those specimens that seek to combine both learning and readability: and if several of them meet to produce a book like *Science and Mathematics in Ancient Greek Culture*, recently published by the Oxford University Press, the achievement is even more remarkable.

Seventeen essays that form the body of this collection reflect the papers that were originally read in July 1996 at the Liverpool conference *Science Matters: The Role and Achievement of Science in Greek Antiquity*. The contributions deal with history of science, but discussing it against a wide social and cultural background, as the authors seek to pay more attention to issues such as application and possible praxis of respective lore. Additionally, some of them illustrate the important differences between the modern and ancient definition of the terms science, experiment, etc. These differences lie at heart of some major misunderstandings that for centuries obscured our image of the ancient scientists, eliminating from this privileged group all astrologers, alchemists, and even considerable number of the medical practitioners.

Two introductory chapters are written respectively by philosophizing biologist, Lewis Wolpert, and by Tracy E. Rihll, the editor of the volume: they both underline the social importance of science, the cultural and intellectual milieu that shapes its practice and its popularity: after all, no science functions in a timeless and perfect social vacuum, nor do societies remain unchanged by the ongoing scientific research. Indeed, the first of featured contributions, Andrew Barker's *Words for Sounds* provides a perfect illustration for the issues highlighted by Wolpert and Rihll, as the author traces the consequences the lack of specialized technical language had on the development and, even more importantly, on the modern (and not only modern) understanding of the ancient lore of harmonics. His vindication of Archytas provides a persuasive example of a misunderstanding originating in the language alone, while the reconstruction of Ptolemy's argument for the quantitative character of ὀξύτης and βαρύτης in his *Harmonica* I, 3 (the traditionally accepted and manifest difference is qualitative one) shows the manner in which the everyday alone language could be employed to furnish a conclusive argument in favor of the author's own views, even without much factual or logical support.

In his essay on Ptolemy's cartography, J.L. Berggren begins by stressing the importance of the author's focus on geographical latitude and longitude as principles of map drawing, and continues by demonstrating how illustrative are maps, if we want to discuss the ancient theories of spheric geometry and, consequently, astronomy. Moreover, he seeks to explain the ancient preference for length of daylight calculation, and points toward the popular usage of astronomical terms in the Greek societies (as a result of their omnipresence, Cleomedes and Ptolemy often forgo an explanation of terms entirely unclear to the modern reader). Due to its involvement with trigonometry the essay belongs to the more "mathematical" group of contributions, yet one should not be discouraged by the appearances, for the calculations remain clear and accessible.

Well-read, though made occasionally uneven by the author's firm belief in the reader's open mind (see e.g. his interpretation of *Ilias* B 780 – 785), Harry M. Hine's essay on the ancient perception of volcanoes and seismic activity highlights the problem at the very heart of the history of science: where does this latter start? Obviously, Pliny the Younger's detailed account of his uncle's death (*Ep.* VI 16), despite its prominence in modern books on vulcanology, is far removed from what we would consider scientific observation: symptomatically, had it not been for the fact that the famous encyclopedist Pliny the Elder died as a result of asphyxiation, we would have to manage without the relation. It is the other's demise rather than the eruption itself that focuses the author's attention: the description is secondary to epistle's scope, and we are indebted to Tacitus' curiosity for the details of the event that go beyond the primary theme (*Ep.* VI 20). The point is that in spite of providing major tourist attraction, the volcanoes were somehow neglected in major studies: this is certainly an interesting occurrence, given the otherwise present interest (Seneca notes the changes in the shape and activity of Aetna and remarks on Lucilius' ardent interest in the activity of this particular volcano): this was likely to get even worse in case of other seismic activities — given the frequency of trembling in the Mediterranean, even major catastrophes would not attach enough notice to deserve a reliable account.

Three essays on ancient astronomy feature in the volume, each of them addressing another issue in the history of this science. A.C. Bowen (p. 76 – 111) concentrates on the issue that can only be termed cultural, as he traces the reasons that lie behind Livy's famous, but unfortunately false, account of the lunar eclipse immediately preceding the battle of Pydna (XL 37. 5 – 9). Livy's story, which served as stock argument for the popularity of predictive astronomy in Cramer's monumental work,[2] is belied by the astronomical data: no eclipse took place on the eve of the battle. Yet, Bowen indicates considerable appeal that a juxtaposition of these two events could have held for the historian: by crediting Roman legate with abilities he didn't necessarily possess, Livy fulfils Polybius' postulates concerning the ideal army general (*Hist.* IX 19. 1 – 4). By contrast, in the next essay, Robert Hannah investigates what was left of Euctemon's parapegma in order to reconstruct the focus of astronomer's interest and his concept of time calculation: though the question whether he used simple day distance or days of a Zodiacal month to mark the temporal distance of celestial phenomena may well seem of no relevance, the actual implications are of much import, being indicative of the focus of astronomical observation.[3] Finally, Liba Taub crowns the astronomical section with her essay on the Alexandrian astronomical instruments, concentrating on the famous copper rings that are described by Ptolemy in his *Syntaxis*, Book One. The interesting point is that designed to indicate the time of equinox, they proved notoriously unreliable (you are likely to obtain more than one equinox time if relying solely on the ring observation) but nonetheless continued to be publicly displayed. Taub brings an interesting solution to this manifest discrepancy as she suggests that the long survival of the instrument in spite of its inadequacy may possibly indicate that apart from the astronomical use, the rings contributed to the image and prestige of Alexandria as the world famous center of scientific studies.[4]

In the first of two essays dedicated to the famous constructor and engineer, Hero Alexandrinus, J.J. Coulton seeks to explain rather controversial issue of the dioptra — this instrument, providing main basis for astronomical measurements, could possibly be employed for land measuring purposes. Yet, Coulton argues, the structure of Hero's dioptra positively eliminates a possibility of using it on any elevated spot that would not allow a relatively wide flat surface for ground plotting. Moreover, it preserves, at least to some extent, the errors that Hero himself criticized in the more commonly employed groma. Interestingly, the historian sees the possible explanation in the theoretical approach of the author, in his lack of practical experience in surveying: his efforts notwithstanding, Hero's dioptra remains an astronomical instrument.

Renowned for her contributions to the history of ancient mathematics,[5] Serafina Cuomo tackles the *Belopoeica* of Hero trying to assess his civic involvement in the everyday life of Alexandria. The repeated allusions to safety and state's security lead her to consider the author as a conscious observer of I AD history, which in spite of Roman propaganda proved very far from peaceful period (particularly for a contemporary Alexandrian).

Covering the impressive period of intellectual history, J.R. Milton's essay addresses the problem found particularly interesting by many historians of philosophy and involving the fundaments of ancient atomist theory: why did it not develop beyond what was offered by Epicurus? Instead of the more fashionable (at least among the scientists) focus on the limitations stemming from the notion of indivisibility, the author traces the other factors inhibiting the development of Epicurean theory, pointing toward difficulties that follow the shape assumption, the lack of inertia motion, predominant notion of uniform velocity of atoms and, finally, the dogmatic refusal of mechanistic concept of the universe.

While Milton investigates the limitations of Epicurean philosophy, Reviel Netz concentrates on seemingly more prosaic obstacles that human nature raises in the development of mathematics. In his entertaining and imaginative paper, the historian investigates the popularity of mathematical lore in the an-

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[2] Cf. F. Cramer, *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics*, Philadelphia 1954, p. 49 – 50.

[3] E.g. *the third day of Cancer*, etc. The Zodiacal month serve as the basic time division in the *parapegma* accompanying Geminus Rhodius' writings (cfr. Geminus *Elementa astronomiae*, p. 210 – 233 Manitius).

[4] This fame of Alexandria continues into the late antiquity: see A. Jones, *The Place of Astronomy in Roman Egypt,* [in:] T. D. Barnes (ed.) The Sciences in Graeco-Roman Society, Apeiron XXVII 1994, p. 25 – 52.

[5] Cuomo is the author of *Pappus of Alexandria and the Mathematics of the Late Antiquity*, Cambridge University Press 2000 and *Ancient Mathematics*, Routledge 2001.

cient Greek milieu with the results that number of scholars may find rather surprising: accustomed to hearing of the great achievements of Euclides, Eudoxus, Pappus, Theon, or Hypatia, we rarely if ever give any thought to the transmission of mathematical knowledge. And this latter, argues Netz, could be quite tricky affair: assuming that his calculations are right, we arrive at relatively low number of mathematically educated people and it seems highly likely that most mathematicians of Antiquity died without having a decent student to whom pass the accumulated knowledge. This fact agrees well with source data, and the scholar point out that any deceased mathematician would be greatly lamented by his collegues, frantic to find some way to immortalize their own achievements before time run out. What is probably even more interesting, Netz provides a persuasive example of striking mathematical ignorance in the person of none the less than the eminent and usually reliable Polybius, as a closer look at his calculation of the length of siege ladders undermines any assumption of his being even superficially acquainted with Pythagoras' theorem to which he obviously alludes (*Hist.* IX 19. 6 – 7).

Netz's essay finds an appropriate supplement in Edward Hussey's investigation of Aristotle's attitude toward mathematics. Certainly, the famous passage on the division of sciences in *Metaphysics* E establishes its position among the most advanced types of knowledge, yet considerable amount of source material may be found beyond this single passage. Thus, Hussey highlights Aristotle's important contribution to the notion of mathematics as corresponding to reality, the notion that resulted in partial subjection of the physical sciences to the rules of arithmetics and geometry (this subjection being best exemplified in philosopher's rejection of atomist principle of indivisibility), and moreover, he stresses the mathematicization of space and time concepts: given the general notion of time as motion espoused in *Physics* IV, Aristotle proceeds to view space and time as infinitely divisible, that is in terms of geometry. Certainly, much of the matters Hussey deals with in his essay would benefit from a more exhaustive treatment: nevertheless, he notes is a strangely disjunctive view of philosopher's thought, resulting from the usual separate treatments of Stagirite's philosophical and scientific works: if we want a wholesome picture, argues the author, it is important to consider both these areas together.

Finally, the last of three essays on the ancient mathematics, C.M. Taisbak's inquiry into Euclid's *Elements* remains (apart from that of Berggren) the most mathematical of all found in the discussed volume. Yet, the numbers it comprises are more than necessary to the theme, as the stress lies on the particular feature of ancient thought that was to weight heavily on Euclid's work: the concept of measuring as applied to number. Strange as it may seem to us, the ancients would not think of a A as being divisible by number B: instead, they would say that B measures A by the number C (our quotient). This very concept, argues the scholar, prevented the great mathematician from providing a proof for the Fundamental Theorem of Arithmetics (*every number is either a prime or a product of primes in one way only*).

Two distinguished Galen scholars, Vivian Nutton and Teun Tieleman contributed to the volume discussing problems related to the history of medicine: Nutton's contribution comes in the form of analysis of the modern approach to the history of medicine, with the notable shift from the age-sanctioned division of Coan and Cnidian schools to the more complex image of the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, and with the awakened interest in the works of the most prolific writer of Greek culture, Galen himself. Considerably neglected in the modern scholarship and regarded as repetitive and original, he was relegated to the second (at best) rate literary corpus and left virtually uncommented till relatively recent times: symptomatically, the only edition of *opera omnia* (given the recent discoveries of undeniably Galenic treatises surviving all too often in languages other than Greek) one would do well to drop the *omnia* part) was produced in the early nineteenth century by Kuhn; moreover, most of the works still await translation.[6]

By contrast, Tieleman's essay concentrates on the problems involving his apparently favorite work, Galen's *De placitis*: what he tries to establish is the importance of experiment (with all the cautionary assumptions as to the application of this sanctioned term) and moreover, the complicated relationship between the philosophical assumptions and observatory data: consequently, one of the main questions raised

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[6] The results of such a neglect can be quite appalling: not so long ago I happened to mention Galen's name in a chance conversation only to be asked by my interlocutor (not a classicist, yet hardly an ignoramus herself) what was so important about this Galen and whether any of his works survived: the astonishment upon sighting the impressive dimensions of Kuhn's edition was great.

by Tielemann is why Galen was so adamant in locating Plato's third soul in the liver, if no experiment would possibly endorse such a hypothesis?

At the end of the volume, we find two contributions to the history of chemistry: one is by T.E. Rihll and her coworker J.V. Tucker, the other comes from C. Anne Wilson. First of these deals with the Athenian silver: we all know about the use of silver coinage in Athenian commerce, but how many of us realize how advanced processes were needed to obtain the metal? Then, another issue arises: did the experience with metallurgy exercise any influence over the ancient thought in general? The work is coherent and easily readable, and illustrative descrtiptions of smelting and cupelling processes and their by-products throw some light on the life in V-IV century Athens, including even the south wind problem discussed by Aristotle.[7] They also pay some attention, though one could wish for a more detailed inquiry, to the position of metallurgy in Greek religion: here, however, one may hesitate when confronted with the allegation that metallurgy, in contrast to the number of other technical skills, would be linked to deity (Hephaestus) alone — some tales of the Telchines tell of their extreme proficiency in dealings with metals.[8] Still, the range of themes covered in this 30 pages long essay, qualifies it as commendable introduction to the intricacies of ancient metallurgy. Moreover, by referring to Aristotle's works, Rihll and Tucker are able to convey the idea that the process of cupelling, in spite of exact details being obscured by lack of theoretical fundaments, was actually known to the general public of Athens.[9]

Wilson's essay on the art of distillation and sublimation techniques in the ancient metallurgy concludes the volume. Pointing toward the more subtle and philosophical connotations of the transmutation, the author traces the interest in sublimation, so manifest in Zosimus' works, back into the Classical period — the development of relatively advanced machinery would certainly support the long tradition behind the surviving literature.

To summarize: the volume offers a wide-ranging and fascinating perspective on both the ancient sciences and their cultural and intellectual implications. Aimed at more general audience, it avoids the technical language of numerous works on the ancient science, while the collective character of the volume keeps the authors from loosing themselves in the depths of their respective subjects: kept in check by the spatial limits, they maintain overall clarity of both argument and discourse.[10] The mathematical/calculatory elements are notably minimized so as to render the lecture painless even to the most hardened enemies of counting — in general, what we have is a perfect illustration of J.J. Gould principle that scientists, if they choose, are often much better, or at least much clearer, speakers (or, in this particular case, writers) than most of humanists. Certainly, some flaws are there, yet the overall impression is that of most welcome introduction to the studies of Greek scientific culture. Should one wish to continue the studies, the bibliography assembled in the volume will safely guide him trough meanders of ancient science.

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[7] Aristotle *Pr.* 26.17, 942a 16 – 17 et aliis. The south wind was infamous for causing number of illnesses — Rihll and Tucker note that given that it blew from the Laurion direction, it is possible that the air would be heavily polluted with toxic lead oxide, one of cupellation's by-products (p. 282)

[8] For this see M. Detienne, J-P. Vernant, *Cunning Intelligence among Greeks and Romans*, tr. J. Lloyd, Chicago University Press 1991, p. 259 – 275.

[9] Obviously, metallurgy remains one of the purely empirical branches of knowledge, one relying mostly on experience of the practitioner, were the *aitiai*, reasons for occurring phenomena remain mostly unknown — such sciences may rank low in the *Scholia in Euclidem* (XIV, p. Heiberg), but certainly, the expertise in silver mining would be endowed with considerable practical value.

[10] This is hardly easy in dealing with intricacies of Greek scientific thought, witness the complexities of G.E.R. Lloyd's *Early Greek Science: Tales to Aristotle*, London 1970 or his other works.

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Panezio di Rodi, Testimonianze. Edizione, traduzione e commento a cura di Francesca Alesse, Napoli 1997, Bibliopolis, Elenchos. Collana di testi e studi sul pensiero antico diretta da Gabriele Giannantoni XXVII, ss. 349.

Hans von Arnim (1859 – 1931) opublikował fragmenty filozofów ze szkoły stoickiej w latach 1903 – 1905[1], ale wydanie obejmowało tylko starszych stoików — Zenona z Kition i jego uczniów (vol. 1) oraz Chryzypa z Soloi i jego następców (vol. 2 – 3). Nie uwzględniało ono Panajtiosa z Rodos (185/180 – 110/109), który w istotny sposób zmodyfikował doktrynę stoicką[2], a August Schmekel uznał go za twórcę „średniej Stoi" (die mittlere Stoa)[3]. Historycy filozofii antycznej przez długi czas musieli korzystać z niedoskonałego wydania H.N. Fowlera z 1885 r.[4]. Dopiero Modestus van Straaten opublikował miarodajną edycję Panajtiosa w 1946 r.[5], którą później wydał dwukrotnie w wersji poszerzonej[6]. Przed kilkunastu laty rozpoczęła studia nad filozofią Panajtiosa F. Alesse (= Al.), pracująca w Centro di Studio del Pensiero Antico w Rzymie założonym przez G. Giannantoni w 1979 r. Najpierw opublikowała ona książkę *Panezio di Rodi e la tradizione stoica*, Napoli 1994, a później komentowane wydanie testimoniów tego filozofa[7].

Al. traktuje wszystkie przytoczone teksty jako testimonia. Nie omawia ona bardzo ważnego problemu, czy można oddzielić fragment od testimonium w tekstach filozoficznych. Przypuszczam, że Al.

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[1] *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* collegit Ioannes ab Arnim, I – III, Lipsiae 1903 – 1905 (przedruk Stutgardiae 1968). Vol. IV zawierający indeksy wydał M. Adler (Lipsiae 1924). Nowe wydanie szkoły stoickiej zapowiada Jaap Mansfeld, profesor filozofii antycznej i średniowiecznej w Utrechcie.

[2] O Panajtiosie zob. np. M. P o h l e n z, *Die Stoa. Geschichte einer geistigen Bewegung*, Göttingen 1948 – 1949 (1980[5]), I, s. 191 – 207, II, s. 97 – 102; i d e m, *Panaitios*, RE XVIII 2, 1949, szp. 418 – 440; J.M. R i s t, *Stoic Philosophy*, Cambridge 1969, s. 173 – 200; A.A. L o n g, *Hellenistic Philosophy. Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics*, London 1986[2], s. 211 – 216; P. S t e i n m e t z, *Die Stoa*, [w:] H. Flashar (Hrsg.), Die Philosophie der Antike, IV: Die hellenistische Philosophie, Basel 1994, s. 646 – 660; G. R e a l e, *Historia filozofii starożytnej*, III: *Systemy epoki hellenistycznej*, Lublin 1999, s. 439 – 448; B. I n w o o d, *Panaitios*, DNP IX 2000, szp. 226 – 228.

[3] A. S c h m e k e l, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa in ihrem geschichtlichen Zusammenhange dargestellt*, Berlin 1892 (przedruk Hildesheim 1974). Pogląd ten odrzucili m.in. P o h l e n z, *Die Stoa...*, I, s. 191 („Aber die Antike (...) weiß nichts von einer 'mittleren Stoa', und der Ausdruck führt insofern irre, als er die Vorstellung weckt, als ob damit eine geschlossene Gruppe gemeint sei. Tatsächlich beginnt in der Geschichte der Stoa mit Panaitios eine neue Enwicklung (...). Daher dürfen wir von einer mittleren Periode der Schule sprechen. Aber in dieser begegnen uns die verschiedensten Strömungen. Deshalb werden wir den Ausdruck 'Mittelstoa' besser vermeiden") und H. D ö r r i e, *Stoa*, KP V 1975, szp. 377 („Da der Terminus 'mittlere Stoa' uneinheitlich verwendet wurde, ist es ratsam, auf diesen Terminus ganz zu verzichten"). Poza tym niektórzy badacze twierdzą, że „średnia Stoa" zaczyna się jeszcze przed Panajtiosem. Mieli do niej należeć już Diogenes z Seleucji (ok. 240, przed 150) oraz Antypater z Tarsu († 129). Tak np. M. S c h ä f e r, *Ein frühmittelstoisches System der Ethik bei Cicero* (...), Diss. München 1933, München 1934 i S t e i n m e t z, *o.c.*, s. 496 („Die mittlere Stoa reicht demnach vom Beginn des 2. Jh. bis ins 3. Drittel des 1. Jh. v. Chr."). Różne opinie o początku „średniej Stoi" omawia E.G. S c h m i d t, *Archedemos*, RE Suppl. XII 1970, szp. 1383 – 1384.

[4] H.N. F o w l e r, *Panaetii et Hecatonis librorum fragmenta*, Diss. Bonnae 1885. Po raz pierwszy wydał fragmenty Panajtiosa F.G. v a n L y n d e n w pracy *Disputatio historico-critica de Panaetio Rhodio philosopho stoico*, Diss. Lugduni Batavorum 1802.

[5] M. v a n S t r a a t e n, *Panétius, sa vie, ses écrits et sa doctrine, avec une édition des fragments*, Amsterdam 1946.

[6] *Panaetii Rhodii fragmenta*. Collegit tertioque edidit M. v a n S t r a a t e n. *Editio amplificata*, Leiden 1962 (Philosophia antiqua V).

[7] Al. wydała niedawno książkę *La stoa e la tradizione socratica*, Napoli 2000 (Elenchos. Collana... XXX).

przyjęła bez zastrzeżeń pogląd G. Giannantoni, który w wydaniu sokratyków świadomie zrezygnował z podziału na świadectwa i fragmenty[8]. Podobnie postąpili wydawcy spuścizny Teofrasta[9]. Przyznaję, że zgadzam się z takim podejściem do tego problemu i sam postąpiłem podobnie wydając Teodora z Kyreny oraz Euhemera z Messeny[10]. Sądzę jednak, że Al. powinna uzasadnić swoje stanowisko, ponieważ nie wszyscy badacze są tego samego zdania. Dowodzi tego postawa C. Lévy, który zarzucił edytorce, że traktowanie wszystkich tekstów jako testimonia „accentue l'impression de flou méthodologique (...)" (REL LXXVI 1998, s. 302).

Wydanie (s. 13 – 79, T 1 – 163) obejmuje nie tylko świadectwa, w których występuje imię Panajtiosa, ale także testimonia niepoświadczone, przede wszystkim z traktatu Cycerona *De officiis*, opartego prawdopodobnie na rozprawie Panajtiosa Περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος . Wprawdzie podobnie postąpił także van Straaten, ale Al. włączyła do swego wydania aż 20 nowych tekstów z *De officiis*. Ponadto uwzględniła inne niepoświadczone testimonia pominięte przez van Straatena — Plutarch, *De tranquillitate animi* 13 p. 472 C i 473 A (T 59 i 58), Galen, *De foetuum formatione* 6 (T 127), Stobajos, *Eclogae* p. 62 Wachsmuth (T 57). Zastosowała ona „un criterio che tenesse conto degli aspetti lessicali, oltre che dei contenuti filosofici" (s. 11). Dalej pisze następująco: „Sono stati accolti dunque passi per i quali l'attribuzione risulta incoraggiata dalla presenza di termini tecnici e formule che altre fonti attribuiscono espressamente al filosofo". Nie będę ukrywał, że zastosowanie takiej zasady przy edycji filozofa greckiego budzi mój głęboki sprzeciw. Jestem zdania, że wydawca powinien wyraźnie oddzielić testimonia poświadczone od niepoświadczonych i nie może ulegać subiektywizmowi. Testimonia niepoświadczone powinny znaleźć się w drugiej części wydania lub w apendyksie. Nie można przecież wprowadzać w błąd użytkownika stwarzając wrażenie, że dany tekst rzeczywiście przekazuje poglądy Panajtiosa. Należy wyraźnie rozróżnić między tym, co pewne i tym, co jest tylko prawdopodobne.

Al. podaje na ogół szerszy kontekst testimoniów niż van Straaten, ale czasem obszerniejszy tekst jest w wydaniu holenderskim. Np. T 102 van Stratena (Cic. *De offic.* 3, 7, 34 – 3, 8, 35) i T 104 Alesse (Cic. *De offic.* 3, 7, 34). Aparat krytyczny, umieszczony pod tekstem każdego fragmentu, jest bardzo skromny i niewystarczający. Lepszy był w wydaniu van Straatena, który zamieścił także sigla kodeksów. Al. korzysta na ogół z dobrych wydań, ale raz powołuje się na przestarzałą edycję scholiów do *Żab* Arystofanesa (F. Dübner, Paris 1842), zamiast na nowsze wydanie J.W. White (Boston/London 1914 [przedruk Hildesheim 1970]) lub D. Holwerda (Groningen 1977).

Po tłumaczeniu testimoniów na język włoski (s. 81 – 143) następuje komentarz (s. 145 – 304). Al. pisze (s. 12), że chce: a) dać obszerne informacje o materiale historycznym i biograficznym, b) ustalić oryginalne cechy myśli Panajtiosa, c) pogłębić wiedzę o działalności niefilozoficznej, która rzadko przyciągała uwagę badaczy. Dokładne zbadanie testimoniów pozwoli, zdaniem Al., przezwyciężyć uprzedzenia, które jeszcze podważają wiarygodność Panajtiosa jako filologa i historyka filozofii. Trzeba przyznać, że komentarz jest pożyteczny i niektóre kwestie są rzeczywiście przedstawione bardzo dobrze. Np. przynależność Panajtiosa do tzw. kręgu Scypiona Afrykańskiego Młodszego oraz stosunek filozofa do reformy agrarnej braci Grakchów (s. 167 – 171, T 21 – 35), problem niewystarczalności samej cnoty do

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[8] *Socraticorum reliquiae*. Collegit, disposuit, apparatibus notisque instruxit G. G i a n n a n t o n i, I – IV, Roma 1983 – 1985; *Socratis et Socraticorum reliquiae*, I – IV, Roma 1990. Zob. notę 1 „Sui criteri della presente raccolta" oraz idem, *Per un'edizione delle fonti relative alle scuole socratiche minori*, [w:] G. Giannantoni (ed.), Scuole socratiche minori e filosofia ellenistica, Bologna 1977, s. 9 – 23. Por. M. W i n i a r c z y k, *Nowe wydania fragmentów Posejdoniosa*, Meander LI 1996, s. 262 – 263. Problemowi edytorstwa tekstów fiozoficznych było poświęcone seminarium w Asconie w 1996 r. Wygłoszone wtedy referaty opublikowali W. B u r k e r t et al. (Hrsg.), *Fragmentsammlungen philosophischer Texte der Antike — Le raccolte dei frammenti di filosofi antichi*, Göttingen 1998 (Aporemata. Kritische Studien zur Philologiegeschichte III). Por. M. W i n i a r c z y k, *Międzynarodowe seminarium poświęcone fragmentom filozofów greckich* (Ascona 22 – 27 IX 1996), Meander LIII 1998, s. 103 – 112.

[9] Theophrastus of Eresus, *Sources for his Life, Writings, Thought and Influences*. Edited and Translated by W.W. Fortenbaugh, P. M. Huby, R. W. Sharples, D. Gutas (...), I – II, Leiden 1992 (Philosophia antiqua LIV 1 – 2).

[10] *Diagorae Melii et Theodori Cyrenaei reliquiae*. Edidit M. W i n i a r c z y k, Leipzig 1981; *Euhemeri Messenii reliquiae*. Edidit M. W i n i a r c z y k, Stutgardiae et Lipsiae 1991.

szczęśliwego życia (s. 212 – 213, T 74 – 77). Ciekawy jest komentarz o stosunku Panajtiosa do wróżbiarstwa (s. 268 – 270, T 136 – 139). Al. przyjmuje hipotezę van Straatena, że Panajtios wątpił w istnienie wróżbiarstwa, a odrzucał astrologię. Natomiast uznaje za mało prawdopodobny pogląd, że filozof wątpił w mantykę naturalną, a odrzucał wróżbiarstwo sztuczne (tak A. Bouché-Leclercq). Można mieć oczywiście zastrzeżenia do pewnych partii komentarza, ponieważ niektóre kwestie można było przedstawić bardziej szczegółowo. Np. T 120 określenie Platona jako „divinus"[11]. W T 141 (s. 273) Al. zastanawia się, czy dzieło Περὶ αἱρέσεων (D. L. 2, 65) należy przypisać Teodorowi z Kyreny, czy jakiemuś innemu filozofowi[12]. W T 130 – 135 (s. 267 – 268) został omówiony niewystarczająco bardzo ważny problem „theologia tripertita" i kwestia, czy Panajtios był twórcą tej koncepcji[13].

Mam poważne zastrzeżenia do bibliografii (s. 305 – 329). Przede wszystkim Al. nie podaje stron przy artykułach i hasłach z encyklopedii, co poważnie obniża wartość bibliografii. Ponadto na ogół nie ma serii wydawniczych i przedruków. Czasem tytuły są w formie skróconej (np. W. Crönert). Zauważyłem brak kilku dzieł cytowanych w komentarzu (W. Fahr, A. Giesecke, A.S. Pease, F.H. Sandbach). Jest rzeczą zdumiewającą, że Al. przeoczyła ważną pracę o stoicyzmie P. Steinmetza z 1994 r. (zob. przyp. 2, s. 491 – 716) oraz nie uwzględniła w komentarzu wydania Posejdoniosa W. Theilera (Berlin-New York 1982) i wydania fragmentów Arystotelesa O. Gigon (Berlin-New York 1987).

Al. nie zamieściła „Numerorum comparatio", dlatego dopiero po porównaniu „Index fragmentorum" w wydaniu van Straatena (s. 59 – 62) z „Indice delle fonti" (s. 333 – 340) mogłem stwierdzić, że badaczka włoska nie uwzględniła niektórych fragmentów (4*, 91). Brak konkordancji obu wydań jest poważnym mankamentem.

Przypuszczam, że Al. nie zna dobrze literatury patrystycznej. Na s. 220 przypisała *Homilie* Pseudo Klemensa Rzymskiego Klemensowi Aleksandryjskiemu i zniekształciła tytuł utworu (w SVF II 1072 autor i tytuł jest podany poprawnie). W dziwny sposób cytuje ona utwór *De fide* Epifaniusza z Salaminy — ed. K. Holl, G.C.S. III, Lipsiae 1933. Przy GCS (= Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller) należy podać tom serii (37), a III oznacza t. 3 dzieł Epifaniusza wydanych w ramach GCS. Al. cytuje *Adversus nationes* Arnobiusza według edycji z 1934 r., natomiast istnieje drugie wydanie Torino 1953. Ponadto brak serii dzieł patrystycznych przy Clemens Alexandrinus (GCS) i Lactantius (CSEL). Al. nie zna również najnowszych wydań poetów greckich. Archilocha cytuje za Diehl-Beutler zamiast M.L. West, *Iambi et elegi Graeci*, I, Oxonii 1989[2], a komedie Eupolisa według wydania Edmondsa zamiast PCG V, edd. Kassel-Austin (Berlin-New York 1986).

Ponadto zauważyłem różnego rodzaju drobne błędy: kilka literówek (s. 169 Finlay pro Finley, s. 273 Meyer pro Mejer, s. 307 prêtes pro prêtres, s. 340 Meinecke pro Meineke), w T 139 (D. L. 7, 149) wypadły na początku 3 greckie słowa, a w „Indice dei nomi moderni" (s. 345 – 349) nie ma nazwisk dwu badaczy (Döring, Lévy), którzy są wymienieni w bibliografii i komentarzu. W „Indice delle fonti" nie ma imienia Michael Apostolius, chociaż tekst z jego utworu jest w T 96. Ponadto dzieło *De aeterni-*

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[11] M. Winiarczyk, *Euhemeros von Messene. Leben, Werk und Nachwirkung*, Stuttgart/Leipzig 2002 (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde CLVII), s. 46 przyp. 78 przytacza inne cytaty z dzieł Cycerona o boskości Platona, np. *De nat. deor.* 2, 32 „deus quidam philosophorum", *Ad Attic.* 4, 16, 3 „deus ille noster". Tam również teksty mówiące o boskości innych filozofów (m.in. Pitagorasa, Epikura i Jamblicha).

[12] Obszerniej pisze o tym problemie M. Winiarczyk, *Theodoros* ὁ Ἄθεος, Philologus CXXV 1981, s. 85 – 86 z przyp. 94.

[13] Por. Varro *Ant. rer. div.* fr. 6a Cardauns ap. Aug. *Civ. Dei* 6, 12: „Nunc propter tres theologias, quas Graeci dicunt mythicen, physicen, politicen, Latine autem dici possunt fabulosa, naturalis, civilis". Zob. np. G. Lieberg, *Die „theologia tripertita" in Forschung und Bezeugung*, ANRW I 4, 1973, s. 63 – 115; idem, *Die Theologia tripertita als Formprinzip antiken Denkens*, RhM CXXV 1982, s. 25 – 53; J. Pépin, *Mythe et allégorie. Les origines grecques et les contestations judéo-chrétiennes*, Paris 1976[2], s. 13 – 32, 276 – 392; A. Schiavone, *Nascita della giurisprudenza. Cultura aristocratica e pensiero giuridico nella Roma tardo-repubblicana*, Roma/Bari 1977[2], s. 5 – 68; A. Dihle, *Die Theologia tripertita bei Augustin*, [w:] H. Cancik (Hrsg.), Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion. Festschrift für M. Hengel, II, Tübingen 1996, s. 183 – 202; Y. Lehmann, *Varron théologien et philosophe romain*, Bruxelles 1997 (Collection Latomus CCXXXVII), s. 171 – 183, 193 – 225. Według Steinmetz, *o.c.*, s. 653 theologia tripertita „wenigstens in ihrer Systematisierung auf Panaitios zurückgeführt werden kann".

tate mundi Filona Aleksandryjskiego wydali L. Cohn i S. Reiter, a nie L. Cohn, P. Wendland i S. Reiter. Wydawcą t. 1 – 2 Stobajosa jest C. Wachsmuth, a nie C. Wachsmuth i O. Hense.

Chociaż mam szereg zastrzeżeń do książki Al. (jednakowe traktowanie testimoniów poświadczonych i niepoświadczonych, niezbyt dobra znajomość warsztatu patrologa i badacza poezji greckiej, liczne usterki w bibliografii i indeksach), uważam, że nowe wydanie Panajtiosa, szczególnie zaś komentarz, jest pożyteczne i zasługuje na uwagę historyków filozofii hellenistycznej.

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Lukian von Samosata, Alexander oder der Lügenprophet. Eingeleitet, herausgegeben, übersetzt und erklärt von Ulrich Victor, Leiden – New York – Köln 1997, Brill, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, vol. CXXXII, ss. VIII + 180, il. 5.

Pismo Lukiana (ok. 120 — po 180) *Alexandros ē pseudomantis*[1] od dawna interesuje badaczy religii greckiej[2]. Wprawdzie początkowo traktowano Aleksandra z Abonuteichos w Paflagonii jako mało

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[1] Polskie tłumaczenie *Aleksander albo rzekomy prorok* M.K. Boguckiego [w:] Lukian, Dialogi, II, Wrocław – Kraków – Warszawa 1962 (Biblioteka przekładów z literatury antycznej VIII), s. 158 – 179. Utwór powstał po śmierci Marka Aureliusza w 180 r., ponieważ cesarz jest określony jako theos Markos (c. 48). Zachętą do napisania utworu miała być prośba epikurejczyka Kelsosa (c. 1), autora pisma przeciw magom (c. 21). Nie należy go jednak identyfikować z platonikiem Kelsosem, autorem rozprawy antychrześcijańskiej *Alethēs logos*, z którą polemizował Orygenes w książce *Przeciw Celsusowi* (przeł. St. Kalinkowski, Warszawa 1986[2]).

[2] Zob. np. A. T h i m m e, *Alexander von Abonuteichos. Ein Beitrag zur Glaubwürdigkeit Lucians*, Philologus XLIX 1890, s. 507 – 514; E. B a b e l o n, *Le faux prophète Alexandre d'Abonotichos*, Revue Numismatique 4. sér. IV 1900, s. 1 – 30; O. W e i n r e i c h, *Alexandros der Lügenprophet und seine Stellung in der Religiosität des II. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, NJA XLVII 1921, s. 129 – 151, przedruk [w:] idem, Ausgewählte Schriften, I, Amsterdam 1969, s. 520 – 551; F. C u m o n t, *Alexandre d'Abonotichos et le Néo-Pythagorisme*, RHR LXXXVI 1922, s. 202 – 210; A. S t e i n, *Zu Lukians Aleksandros*, [w:] M. Abramić-V. Hoffiller (ed.), Strena Buliciana. Commentationes gratulatoriae F. Bulić ob XV vitae lustra feliciter peracta oblatae a discipulis et amicis (...), Zagrebiae – Aspalathi 1924, s. 257 – 265; E. d e F a y e, *Alexandre d'Abonotique a-t-il été un charlatan ou un fondateur de religion*?, Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses V 1925, s. 201 – 207; A.D. N o c k, *Alexander of Abonoteichos*, CQ XXII 1928, s. 160 – 162; M. C a s t e r, *Études sur Alexandre ou le faux prophète de Lucien*, Paris 1938; S. E i t r e m, *Orakel und Mysterien am Ausgang der Antike*, Zürich 1947 (Albae Vigiliae NF V), s. 73 – 86; L. R o b e r t, *A travers l'Asie Mineure. Poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie*, Paris – Athènes 1981 (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et Rome CCXXXIX), s. 393 – 421; C.P. J o n e s, *Culture and Society in Lucian*, Cambridge, Mass. – London 1986, s. 133 – 148; A.V.B. M i r o n, *Alexander von Abonuteichos. Zur Geschichte des Orakels des Neos Asklepios Glykon*, [w:] W. Leschhorn-A.V.B. Miron, A. Miron (Hrsg.), Hellas und der griechische Osten. Studien zur Geschichte und Numismatik der griechischen Welt. Festschrift für P. R. Franke zum 70. Geburtstag, Saarbrücken 1996, s. 153 – 188; G. S f a m e n i G a s p a r r o, *Alessandro di Abonutico o „pseudo-profeta" ovvero come costruirsi un'identità religiosa, I. Il profeta, „eroe" e „uomo divino*", SMSR LXII 1996, s. 565 – 590; eadem, *Alessandro..., II. L'oracolo e i misteri,* [w:] C. Bonnet-A.Motte (éds), Les syncrétismes religieux dans le monde méditerranéen antique. Actes du Colloque International en l'honneur de F. Cumont à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa mort. Rome, Academia Belgica, 25 – 27 septembre 1997, Bruxelles – Rome1999, s. 275 – 305; A. M a s t r o c i n q u e, *Alessandro di Abonouteichos e la magia*, [w:] N. Blanc-A. Buisson (éds), Imago antiquitatis. Religions et iconographie du monde romain. Mélanges offerts à R. Turcan, Paris 1999, s. 341 – 351.

ważną postać[3], ale stopniowo odkrywane źródła numizmatyczne, epigraficzne i archeologiczne uświadomiły badaczom, że kult Nowego Asklepiosa Glykona odgrywał bardzo ważną rolę we wschodnich prowincjach Cesarstwa Rzymskiego aż do pierwszych dziesięcioleci IV w. po Chr.[4] Kult Glykona ustanowiony w prowincjonalnym mieście nad Morzem Czarnym, prawdopodobnie w latach 140 – 145, był znany nie tylko w całej Azji Mniejszej, ale także w Syrii, Mezji i Attyce. Pierwszą monetę z wizerunkiem węża Glykona wybito najpóźniej w 161 r. (jest na niej podobizna Antonina Piusa), a ostatnie ukazały się za rządów cesarza Trebonianusa Gallusa (251 – 253). Nie świadczy to jednak o tym, że kult dalej nie istniał, ponieważ w tym czasie przestano wybijać monety w prowincjach[5]. Nazwę Abonuteichos zmieniono na Ionopolis (ob. Inebolu) w latach 161 – 169 (na monecie jest podobizna Lucjusza Werusa)[6]. W roku 1963 odkryto przypadkowo w Costanza (ant. Tomi), w Rumunii, schowek zawierający 24 posągi i reliefy, które ukryto starannie w ziemi zapewne u schyłku czasów pogańskich. Najciekawszy był marmurowy wąż, którego sploty miały 4,67 m długości, a głowa z włosami i uszami ludzkimi jest taka, jak na monetach z Abonuteichos. Nie ma wątpliwości, że jest to posąg kultowy Glykona.

Dotychczas nie było miarodajnego wydania *Aleksandra*. Wprawdzie M.D. Macleod opublikował dzieła Lukiana (t. 1 – 4) w Bibliotheca Oxoniensis w latach 1972 – 1987 (*Aleksander* [w:] t. II, Oxonii 1974, s. 351 – 359), ale edycja spotkała się z krytycznym przyjęciem[7]. Dlatego Victor ponownie zbadał tradycję rękopiśmienną (s. 57 – 79) i ukonstytuował tekst opatrując go obszernym aparatem krytycznym oraz tłumaczeniem na język niemiecki (s. 80 – 131).

Victor omawia we wstępie problem wiarygodności Lukiana (s. 8 – 26)[8]. Przekonująco dowodzi, że Samosateńczyk przedstawił relację opartą na faktach (Tatsachenbericht), jednakże ich interpretacja jest subiektywna i nie zawsze zasługuje na zaufanie czytelnika[9]. Według Victora (s. 17) nie można porów-

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[3] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff et al., *Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache*, [w:] P. Hinneberg (Hrsg.), Die Kultur der Gegenwart, ihre Entwickelung und ihre Ziele, I 8, Berlin – Leipzig 1905, s. 173 „der kleine Winkelprophet". Według Lukiana (c. 59) Aleksander zmarł nie mając jeszcze 70 lat, dlatego badacze na ogół sądzą, że żył on w latach ok. 105 – ok. 175. Tak np. Weinreich, *o.c.*, s. 131 – 132; J. Ferguson, *The Religions of the Roman Empire*, London 1970, s. 187 – 189; D. Sigel, *Alexander*, DNP I 1996, Sp. 482.

[4] Wprawdzie Nock, *o.c.*, s. 160 przyp. 7 zakwestionował pogląd, że Themistios pisze o wyroczni w Abonuteichos w or. 27 p. 402 (II 156 Downey-Norman), ale Victor bronił przekonująco tego poglądu (s. 171).

[5] Monety z Glykonem znaleziono w Paflagonii, Galacji, Bitynii, Myzji i Mezji. Zob. G. Bordenache Battaglia, *Glykon*, LIMC IV 1 1988, s. 281. Por. Miron, *o.c.*, s. 159 – 166, 178 – 185, która ukazuje, jak stopniowo zmieniał się sposób przedstawiania Glykona.

[6] Victor (s. 53 z przyp. 209) uważa za prawdopodobne lata 166 – 169. Babelon, *o.c.*, s. 15 przyjmował rok 166, a Weinreich, *o.c.*, s. 135 rok 163. Według Robert, *o.c.*, s. 412 nazwa „Ionopolis" pochodzi od Iona, syna Apollona, który był przodkiem Jonów i ktistōr Asiados chthonos (Eur. *Ion* 74). Podobnie R.L. Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, London 1988, s. 249. Miron, *o.c.*, s. 173 zwraca uwagę na to, że Ion był także władcą Aten i „damit Nachfahre des schlangengestaltigen Stammesheros des Erechthidengeschlechts". Poza tym jako kapłan wyroczni delfickiej był ściśle związany z Apollonem. Miron, *l.c.*, przypuszcza, że cesarz nie wyraził zgody na nadanie nazwy „Glykonopolis".

[7] Zob. H.-G. Nesselrath, Gnomon LVI 1984, s. 577 – 609.

[8] Wiarygodność Lukiana uznawali wyraźnie lub milcząco m.in. F. Cumont, O. Weinreich, E. de Faye, M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, II, München 1961[2], s. 472 – 474; L. Robert, C. P. Jones. Natomiast mniej lub bardziej wyraźnie kwestionowali wiarygodność M. Caster, J. Bompaire, *Lucien écrivain. Imitation et création*, Paris 1958 (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome CXC), s. 481; Fox, *o.c.*, s. 241 – 250.

[9] Victor (s. 15): „Lukians Urteile sind mit Vorsicht aufzunehmen, während die Tatsachen, die er berichtet, Vertrauen verdienen". Podobnie Jones, *o.c.*, s. 136: „The materials with which Lucian works, however, look genuine enough"; por. s. 143 „Lucian has as usual started with a concrete fact but interpreted it maliciously". Według Lukiana (c. 42) kobiety chwaliły się, że urodziły dzieci dzięki bogu, co potwierdzali ich mężowie. Samosateńczyk interpretował to złośliwie uważając Aleksandra za ojca tych dzieci. Dopiero w 1888 r. odkryto marmurowy cokół w lidyjskim mieście Kaisareia-Troketta, na którym umieścił inskrypcję Miletos, kapłan Apollona i syn paflagońskiego Glykona (IGR IV 1498). Zob. Robert, *o.c.*, s. 405 – 408.

nywać *Aleksandra* z utworem *De morte Peregrini*, który jest typową satyrą. Lukian sięga w niej do skarbca inwektywy antycznej i przedstawia Peregrinusa Proteusa wyłącznie w czarnych barwach. Natomiast w *Aleksandrze* posługuje się inwektywą tylko na samym początku (c. 5 – 7) i przyznaje, że prorok z Abonuteichos posiadał również wiele zalet — m.in. jego wygląd zewnętrzny miał w sobie „coś prawdziwie boskiego" (theoprepēs, c. 3), był doskonałym lekarzem oraz wpływową postacią w życiu publicznym. Ponadto Lukian nie krytykuje, jak to robi w innych pismach, różnych przejawów religijności swojej epoki, ponieważ nie pisze satyry, ale Tatsachenbericht, w którym byłoby nie na miejscu szydzenie z tego, w co wierzyło wielu jego czytelników. Victor zwrócił uwagę na to, że Lukian pisze jako naoczny świadek i jako bezpośredni uczestnik wydarzeń (c. 55 – 57) — NB wizyta u Aleksandra nie przedstawiała autora w najlepszym świetle, ponieważ najpierw ugryzł proroka w rękę, a później udawał, że się z nim pojednał z obawy o własne życie. Zanim Lukian przybył do Abonuteichos, próbował zdemaskować wyrocznię jako wielkie oszustwo przesyłając starannie opieczętowane tabliczki (c. 53 – 54). Wykorzystał również pewne dokumenty, np. zapisany złotymi literami dialog między Glykonem a niejakim Sakerdosem (c. 43), list Aleksandra do Rutilianusa (c. 4) oraz zbiór wyroczni, z których przytoczył aż 25. Victor przypuszcza, że zbiór ten był identyczny z Hypomnemata (c. 27)[10]. Innym źródłem Lukiana byli świadkowie wydarzeń nastawieni wrogo lub przychylnie do Aleksandra. Ponadto Samosateńczyk przyznaje dwukrotnie (c. 6 i 10), że nie ma pewnych informacji o faktach, chociaż mógł to ukryć przed czytelnikami. Victor sądzi (s. 25), że Lukian zrealizował w *Aleksandrze* zasady, które przedstawił w teoretycznej rozprawie *De historia conscribenda*. Jest to jednak pogląd dyskusyjny.

W rozdziale 3 wstępu (s. 26 – 37) są omówione przyczyny wrogości Lukiana do Aleksandra. Victor zwraca uwagę na to, że ludzie stawiali w wyroczniach na ogół standardowe pytania. Nie oczekiwano od boga proroctwa, ale rady lub pomocy przy podejmowaniu decyzji. Zanim ktoś przyszedł do boga ujmował swój problem w alternatywę, albo podjął już decyzję i chciał się dowiedzieć, jaki bóg najlepiej może pomóc przy realizacji postanowienia. Natomiast w Abonuteichos i Mallos w Cylicji można było postawić niestandardowe pytania. Wyrocznie te przypisywały sobie boską wszechwiedzę i bardziej niż inne ingerowały w życie pytających. Victor przypuszcza (s. 34), że właśnie ta cecha wyroczni w Abonuteichos sprawiła, iż Lukian uważał Aleksandra za fałszywego proroka. Inne przyczyny krytycznego stosunku do Aleksandra są oczywiste: 1) Przygotowanie i inauguracja działalności wyroczni przez rzekome odkrycie brązowych tablic w świątyni Apollona w Chalkedonie oraz znalezienie gęsiego jaja z wężem w fundamencie świątyni budowanej w Abonuteichos. 2) Pokazanie po kilku dniach dużego węża jako wcielenie Nowego Asklepiosa Glykona[11]. 3) Otwieranie i ponowne opieczętowywanie tabliczek z pytaniami kierowanymi do wyroczni. 4) Wyrocznie „samomówiące". 5) Działalność kryminalna (np. próba utopienia Lukiana).

W rozdziale 4 wstępu (s. 38 – 52) omawia Victor organizację i doktrynę w kulcie z Abonuteichos. Doszedł on do wniosku, że Aleksander połączył 4 niezwykle ważne elementy życia religijnego i społecznego swoich czasów, które dotyczyły podstawowych potrzeb ludzkich:

1) W ramach kultu Asklepiosa troszczył się o zdrowie ludzi, podobnie jak w innych sanktuariach tego boga. Trwała obecność Asklepiosa w postaci węża Glykona dawała jednak lepszą gwarancję skutecznego leczenia niż odległy bóg.
2) Działalność wyroczni wychodziła naprzeciw ludzkim obawom przed przyszłością. Abonuteichos przewyższało inne wyrocznie, ponieważ udzielało odpowiedzi na wszystkie pytania. Aleksander przekroczył tradycyjne ramy kultu Asklepiosa, który stał się bogiem wyroczni, podobnie jak jego ojciec Apollon.
3) Było rzeczą wyjątkową, że kapłan misteriów otrzymał własne miejsce w micie kultowym jako wnuk boga. Aleksander stał się w ten sposób pośrednikiem miedzy bogiem a ludźmi, który przez swój związek z Selene mógł przekazać ludziom pewność o życiu po śmierci. Podczas trzydniowych świąt, które nawiązywały do misteriów eleuzyńskich (c. 38 – 39), odbywały się

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[10] Victor (s. 23): „daß diese Hypomnemata annalistische Veröffentlichungen waren, die der Verherrlichung des Orakels dienten, vielleicht im Stil von Aretalogien"

[11] W starożytności uważano, że drugą część imienia Asklepiosa stanowi przymiotnik „ēpios", który ma takie znaczenie jak słowo „glykys". Dlatego Nowy Asklepios nazywa się Glykon.

kolejno zaślubiny Apollona z Koronis, matki Aleksandra z Podaleiriosem, synem Asklepiosa, oraz samego Aleksandra z Selene.

4) Pewność o życiu po śmierci należała do zabarwionej pitagorejsko nauki o wędrówce dusz, która usuwała strach przed zaświatami. Z pitagoreizmu przejęto formę organizacji zwolenników, ponieważ w Abonuteichos istniała mała wspólnota połączona z prorokiem rytuałem pocałunku. Sam Aleksander twierdził, że jest podobny do Pitagorasa (c. 4). Potwierdzał to jego wygląd zewnętrzny — długie włosy (c. 11) i złote udo (c. 40), działalność lekarska (c. 5, 22) oraz umiejętność ochrony przed zarazą (c. 36).

Trzecią część książki Victora stanowi komentarz do *Aleksandra* (s. 132 – 172). Trzeba przyznać, że zawiera on wiele pożytecznych informacji, które bez wątpienia ułatwią studiowanie utworu Lukiana. Uważam jednak komentarz za niewystarczający, ponieważ wiele problemów jest przedstawionych bardzo powierzchownie i często brak podstawowej literatury naukowej oraz similiów z literatury antycznej. Oto kilka przykładów: c. 5 — problem magii, c. 10 — znalezienie brązowych tablic w świątyni[12], c. 18 — zwrot „eimi Glykon" (tj. samoobjawienie boga) ma liczne paralele w tekstach religijnych, c. 19 — znaczenie słowa „theologos"[13], c. 38 — chrześcijanie jako bezbożnicy i ateiści[14], c. 55 — aretalogie Izydy[15], c. 59 — śmierć od pioruna jako apoteoza[16]. W ogóle nie ma prac poświęconych Apolloniosowi z Tyany (Aleksander był jego „Enkelschüler" [c. 5]) oraz problemowi theios anēr[17].

Victor uważa za rzecz oczywistą, że Lukian był w Abonuteichos w 165 r. Podstawą tego poglądu jest inskrypcja z Amastris (IGR III 84), którą do niedawna rzeczywiście datowano na rok 165. Jednakże

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[12] Zob. także W. S p e y e r, *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike*, Göttingen 1970 (Hypomnemata XXIV), s. 125 – 128; M. W i n i a r c z y k, *Templum Triphylii Iovis na wyspie Panchaia w utworze* Hiera Anagraphe *Euhemera z Messeny*, Eos LXXXVI 1999, s. 70 – 72.

[13] Zob. np. F. K a t t e n b u s c h, *Die Entstehung einer christlichen Theologie. Zur Geschichte der Ausdrücke theologia, theologein, theologos*, Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche NF XI 1930, s. 161 – 205, szczeg. s. 162 – 173; L. Z i e h e n, *Theologos*, RE V A, 1934, szp. 2031 – 2033; A.-J. F e s t u g i è r e, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, II, Paris 1950², s. 598 – 605; V. G o l d s c h m i d t, *Théologia*, REG LXIII 1950, s. 20 – 42; W. J a e g e r, *Die Theologie der frühen griechischen Denker*, Stuttgart 1953 (przedruk Darmstadt 1964), s. 12 – 19, 220 – 223.

[14] Zob. np. A. H a r n a c k, *Der Vorwurf des Atheismus in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten,* Texte und Untersuchungen NF XIII 4, 1905, s. 3 – 16; E. F a s c h e r, *Der Vorwurf der Gottlosigkeit in der Auseinandersetzung bei Juden, Griechen und Christen*, [w:] Abraham unser Vater. Festschrift für O. Michel, Leiden – Köln 1963, s. 78 – 105; N. B r o x, *Zum Vorwurf des Atheismus gegen die alte Kirche*, Trier Theologische Zeitschrift LXXV 1966, s. 274 – 282; J. J. W a l s h, *On Christian Atheism*, Vigiliae Christianae XLV 1991, s. 255 – 277. Inne prace [w:] M. W i n i a r c z y k, Bibliographie zum antiken Atheismus 17. Jahrhundert — 1990, Bonn 1994.

[15] Zob. M. T o t t i, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1985 (Subsidia Epigraphica XII); L.V. Ž a b k a r, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae*, Hanover – London 1988, s. 135 – 160, 185 – 188; H.S. V e r s n e l, *Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion*, I: *Ter Unus. Isis, Dionysos, Hermes. Three Studies in Henotheism*, Leiden 1990 (Studies in Greek and Roman Religion VI 1), s. 39 – 52; A. G ó r n i a k, *Aretalogie bogini Izydy*, Meander LVII 2002, s. 3 – 25.

[16] Zob. M. W i n i a r c z y k, *Śmierć i apoteoza Heraklesa*, Meander LIV 1999, s. 116 z przyp. 39.

[17] Zob. np. E.L. B o w i e, *Apollonius of Tyana. Tradition and Reality*, ANRW II 16, 1978, s. 1652 – 1699; H.D. B e t z, *Gottmensch II*, RAC XII 1983, s. 234 – 312; F. G r a f, *Maximos von Aigai. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferung über Apollonios von Tyana*, JbAC XXVII – XXVIII 1984 – 1985, s. 65 – 73; G. A n d e r s o n, *Philostratus. Biography and Belles Lettres in the Third Century A.D.*, London – Sydney – Dover, New Hampshire 1986, s. 121 – 239; M. D z i e l s k a, *Apollonius of Tyana in Legend and History*, Roma 1986 (Problemi e ricerche di storia antica X); E. K o s k e n n i e m i, *Der philostrateische Apollonios*, Helsinki 1991 (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum XCIV); G. A n d e r s o n, *Sage, Saint and Sophist. Holy Men and Their Associates in the Early Roman Empire*, London – New York 1994; D. S. D u T o i t, *Theios Anthropos. Zur Verwendung von theios anthropos und sinnverwandten Ausdrücken in der Literatur der Kaiserzeit*, Tübingen 1997 (WUNT. 2 Reihe, XCI), szczeg. s. 282 – 320 (Apollonios), s. 329 – 348 (Aleksander).

Ch. Marek[18] dowodził już w 1985 r., że w tekście jest mowa o erze Lukullusa, a nie Pompejusza, dlatego datował inskrypcję na 159 r. Pogląd ten przyjęło kilku innych badaczy[19]. Natomiast J.-J. Flinterman[20] uznał za słuszne datowanie inskrypcji na 159 r., ale starał się dowieść, że wizyta w Abonuteichos miała miejsce między latem 161 r. a końcem 162 r. Lukian jechałby więc na północ z rodziną i ojcem dopiero po wybuchu wojny partyjskiej, gdy Samosata była zagrożona przez Partów.

Ponadto Victor (s. 2 z przyp. 8) nie wspomina o tym, że niektórzy badacze odrzucili hipotezę W. Amelinga[21], wedle której ołtarz z napisem „Aleksandrou", znaleziony niedawno w Klaudianopolis, w Bitynii, był poświęcony Aleksandrowi z Abonuteichos[22].

Zauważyłem w książce Victora dosyć dużo drobnych błędów oraz usterek warsztatowych[23]. Poza tym rozczarowuje bibliografia, w której tytuły prac są często w formie skróconej, brak serii wydawniczych, przedruków i niektórych prac poświęconych Aleksandrowi z Abonuteichos.

Wydaje mi się, że najbardziej wartościową częścią książki Victora jest nowe wydanie krytyczne pisma Lukiana. Natomiast wstęp i komentarz nie satysfakcjonują w pełni badacza religii greckiej. Nadal oczekujemy na gruntowny komentarz do utworu Lukiana *Aleksander albo rzekomy prorok*.

Marek Winiarczyk (Wrocław)

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Αἰμίλιος Δ. Μαυρουδῆς, Ἀρχιγένης Φιλίππου Ἀπαμεύς. Ὁ βίος καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἑνὸς Ἕλληνα γιατροῦ στὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴ Ρώμη. Ἀθῆναι 2000, ss. 530.

Emilios Mawroudis, Archigenes z Apamei. Życie i dzieło greckiego lekarza w cesarskim Rzymie.

Chyba żaden ze starożytnych lekarzy (poza, oczywiście, Hipokratesem i Galenem) nie doczekał się tak gruntownej i wyczerpującej monografii jak Archigenes z Apamei w Syrii, mimo iż jego dorobek znany nam jest tylko pośrednio z fragmentów przytaczanych przez innych starożytnych i późniejszych pisarzy. Autor książki, Emilios Mawroudis — profesor filologii klasycznej na Uniwersytecie Arystotelesa w Tesalonikach, wydał ją w serii naukowej Ateńskiej Akademii, w dziale greckiej i łacińskiej literatury.

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[18] Ch. M a r e k, *Katalog der Inschriften im Museum von Amasra. Mit Anhang: Die Inschriften von Amastris und die angebliche Pompeianische Ära der Stadt*, Epigraphica Anatolica VI 1985, szczeg. s. 146 – 149; Por. SEG XXXV 1985 [1988], s. 366 (nr 1318).

[19] C.P. J o n e s, *Lucian and the Bacchants of Pontus*, EMC XXXIV 1990, s. 62 przyp. 43, który odrzucił swój pogląd wypowiedziany w książce cytowanej w przyp. 2; W. L e s c h h o r n, *Antike Ären. Zeitrechnung, Politik und Geschichte im Schwarzmeerraum und in Kleinasien nördlich des Tauros*, Stuttgart 1993 (Historia Einzelschriften LXXXI), s. 166 – 167; M i r o n, *o.c.*, s. 170 przyp. 115; S. S w a i n, *Hellenism and Empire. Language, Classicism and Power in the Greek World AD 50 – 250*, Oxford 1996, s. 326 przyp. 99.

[20] J.–J. F l i n t e r m a n, *The Date of Lucian's Visit to Abonuteichos*, ZPE CXIX 1997, s. 280 – 282.

[21] W. A m e l i n g, *Ein Altar für Alexander von Abonuteichos*, Epigraphica Anatolica VI 1985, s. 34 – 36.

[22] Ch. M a r e k, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia*, Tübingen 1993, s. 84 przyp. 569; M i r o n, *o.c.*, s. 185 – 186.

[23] Np. s. 42 przyp. 172: Victor 1995, 509 f. pro 1996, 506 f.; s. 48 przyp. 192: hymin pro hemin; s. 172: PW 1890 ff. — ostatni tom ukazał się już w 1978 r., a indeks w 1980 r.; s. 174: Roscher 1884 ff. — ostatni tom Słownika ukazał się w 1936 r.; s. 175: Burkert, Goes, Rhein. M. 105, 50 pro 36 – 55; s. 177: Weinreich, Amsterdam 1996 pro 1969. Niestaranny i niedokładny sposób cytowania — s. 138: Treu, Gottesfreund, RAC 11, 1043 – 1060; s. 143: Wünsch, PW IX 159 ff.; Usener, Kl. Schriften IV 127. Niekonsekwencje w cytowaniu autorów — s. 143: Strabo XVI 23 (780) oraz XVII, 801. Przypuszczam, że autor nie zweryfikował cytatów i nie przeprowadził dokładnej korekty tekstu książki.

Archigenes z Apamei uchodził za jednego z najbardziej znanych lekarzy w starożytnym Rzymie czasów Trajana. Cieszył się popularnością do tego stopnia, że przez pewien czas jego nazwisko funkcjonowało jako swego rodzaju synonim do *medicus*. Dla historyka medycyny cenne są zwłaszcza (doceniane już w starożytności) jego subtelne odróżnienia diagnostyczne i bardzo trafne spostrzeżenia w zakresie patognomoniki (παθογνωμονικόν). Jego poczynania w zakresie chirurgii określa się jako bardziej śmiałe od Galena. Dotyczy to zwłaszcza ginekologii, podejmował już bowiem próby operowania raka piersi i macicy. Sukcesy odnosił też w postępowaniu terapeutycznym (θεραπευτικόν) przy amputacjach i ligaturach naczyniowych.

Dotychczasowe informacje o życiu i działalności Archigenesa z Apamei wykazują wiele braków a nawet nieporozumień, jak np. przypisywanie mu prac, których w rzeczywistości nigdy nie napisał. Wynika to głównie z nieznajomości tekstów wcześniej nie poznanych, a także z błędnej interpretacji starożytnych źródeł, co bardzo często jest rezultatem bezkrytycznego polegania na nich. Monografia Mawroudisa ma tutaj pionierski charakter, nikt bowiem do tej pory nie zajmował się naukowo losami spuścizny syryjskiego lekarza w sposób gruntowny i kompleksowy. Składają się na nią cztery rozdziały, z których pierwszy stanowi próbę rekonstrukcji biografii i działalności Archigenesa, a pozostałe poświęcone zostały jego spuściźnie z uwzględnieniem zarówno potencjalnych źródeł we wcześniejszej literaturze medycznej, jak i jej późniejszych losów. Dochodzą do tego jeszcze trzy aneksy, a całość uzupełniają indeksy odpowiednich rękopisów, cytowanych miejsc, nazwisk starożytnych i późniejszych lekarzy, terminów dotyczących starożytnej medycyny, streszczenie w języku niemieckim oraz bardzo bogata literatura przedmiotu.

Życie i działalność starożytnego lekarza rekonstruuje Mawroudis na podstawie dość pokaźnej liczby zweryfikowanych przez siebie świadectw tak greckich, jak i łacińskich, a obejmujących bardzo rozległy okres, bo od drugiego aż do siedemnastego wieku, z których wiele do tej pory było niezanych. Pewną jest rzeczą, że Archigenes pochodził z syryjskiej Apamei, zasiedlonej onegdaj i zamieszkiwanej po większej części przez macedońskich żołnierzy, przez co miasto to nazywano nieraz syryjską Pellą. Spore trudności pojawiają się przy identyfikacji jego ojca Filipa, w związku z czym nierozstrzygnięta pozostaje m.in. kwestia, czy był on również lekarzem. Jakkolwiek niektóre źródła dokładnie podają datę urodzenia i śmierci Archigenesa (jak np. Wellman, który twierdzi, że żył on od 54 do 114 n.e.), Mawroudis rezygnuje z podawania konkretnych dat, ograniczając się do stwierdzenia, że żył on mniej więcej od połowy I do drugiego dziesięciolecia II wieku n.e. i że szczytowy okres jego działalności przypada na lata 90-120 n.e. Raczej jako pewną należy uznać informację, że jego śmierć była wynikiem powikłań związanych z kamicą nerkową i pęcherzem, na co przez długi czas cierpiał. Prawdopodobnie był za życia związany z nauczycielem Agathinosem ze Sparty.

Mimo swoich bliskich kontaktów i układów z dworem cesarskim, Archigenes de facto nigdy nie był osobistym lekarzem Trajana. Jako lekarz wojskowy pełnił prawdopodobnie nadzór nad żołnierską służbą zdrowia i to raczej w garnizonie samego Rzymu lub jego okolicy, nie posiadamy bowiem żadnych wzmianek o tym, że brał on udział w jakichś dalszych wyprawach. Sporo uwagi poświęca tu również autor wszystkim możliwym świadectwom, które wiążą imię Archigenesa ze szkołą pneumatyczną, której był jednym z najwybitniejszych przedstawicieli. Próbuje też uchwycić jego związki z innymi antycznymi szkołami, zwłaszcza dogmatyczną, empiryczną i metodyczną, co pozwala na dość jasne określenie jego dorobku jako eklektycznego.

Analizą potwierdzonych i domniemanych prac Archigenesa zajął się autor w drugim rozdziale. Z bogatej spuścizny antycznego pisarza jako pewnych uznać można co najmniej 17 tytułów. Wychodząc od informacji, jaką podaje *Księga Suda*, że Archigenes ἔγραψε πολλὰ ἰατρικά τε καὶ φυσικά Mawroudis próbuje dokonać podziału jego dorobku w oparciu o kategorie tematyczne zgodnie z klasyfikacją przyjętą przez szkołę pneumatyczną (πνευματικὴ σχολή). Badane są tu szczegółowo świadectwa dotyczące poszczególnych prac, analizowane kwestie dotyczące ich tytułów, dokonywane są też próby odtworzenia treści poszczególnych ksiąg, przy czym odniesienie do tematyki stricte medycznej ma raczej charakter ogólny, autor bowiem kładzie wyraźny nacisk na filologiczną stronę swoich dociekań, które cechuje godna podziwu skrupulatność i φιλολογικὴ ἀκρίβεια. Z wielką dokładnością odnosi się tu także do stanowisk i poglądów współczesnych badaczy tej materii.

Historii losów Archigenesowej spuścizny poświęcony został rozdział trzeci. Jest to zadanie niełatwe, spuścizna ta bowiem — jak już wspomniałem — ma charakter tylko fragmentaryczny i po-

średni. Również tutaj — podobnie jak w całej pracy — dyskutowane są wszelkie wzmianki dla każdego pisma oddzielnie. Rozważane są szczególnie kwestie wzmianek o ewentualnym istnieniu wśród prac Archigenesa także dzieła Περὶ σφυγμῶν (oprócz, oczywiście, informacji w ośmioksięgowym traktacie Galena pod tym tytułem) oraz Περὶ τόπων πεπονθότων. Próbuje się też dociekać, jak funkcjonowały w obiegu pisma tego autora już to w sensie oddzielnym (jako *scripta separata)*, już to w ramach pewnego *Corpus Archigenianum.* Dla zwiększenia wiarygodności znalazły się tu także opinie lekarzy armeńskich i arabskich. W pomieszczonym tu przeglądzie świadectw znalazło się w sumie 31 rękopisów (23 greckie i 8 łacińskich), z których większość do tej pory nie była kojarzona w kontekście Archigenesa. Większość z nich pochodzi albo od Galena albo od Aetiosa Amidenosa. Poszczególne fragmenty prac Archigenesa przedstawione zostały według schematu uwzględniającego kolejno:

- fragmenty znajdujące się w wydanych tekstach autorów anonimowych,
- fragmenty, które interpolacyjnie znalazły się u Aetiosa (co dotyczy zarówno jednostkowych wydań oddzielnych pism, jak i krytycznego wydania całości, które opracował A. Olivieri),
- fragmenty przypisywane Archigenesowi w różnych rozdziałach Ἐπιτομὴ ἰατρικῆς Paulosa Eginety.

Ostatni z rozdziałów wypełnia problematyka związana z ustalaniem źródeł, z jakich mógł korzystać Archigenes oraz jego powiązań z wcześniejszym piśmiennictwem medycznym. Żeby sprostać temu niełatwemu zadaniu, musiał grecki profesor pokonać szereg trudności, które zresztą pojawiają się we wszystkich tego rodzaju poczynaniach. Do najważniejszych z nich należy zaliczyć fragmentaryczność przekazu, nieostre granice fragmentów przytaczanych przez późniejszych lekarzy, trudności w ustaleniu adekwatnych kryteriów, nieznajomość dokładniejszej chronologii w zakresie działalności wielu spośród lekarzy, których nazwiska pojawiają się w kontekście Archigenesa, nie wspominając już o bardzo często występującej tu homonimii. Dochodzi do tego jeszcze istotny fakt, że wiele starożytnych tekstów medycznych nie zostało do tej pory wydanych. Ostatecznie lista lekarzy, których nazwiska pojawiają się u Archigenesa bądź wykazują w swoich pracach jakiś związek z nim, została podzielona na trzy kategorie. Pierwsza z nich obejmuje odpowiednio tych, którzy faktycznie stanowili źródło dla Archigenesa; uwzględnia ona tak lekarzy znanych z nazwiska, jak i anonimowych. Ma tu również miejsce próba ustalenia, z jakich konkretnie ich prac korzystał apamejski medyk. W rezultacie ustalona zostaje liczba 51 nazwisk oraz 13 fragmentów dzieł anonimowych. Grupę drugą tworzą lekarze, których nazwiska pojawiają się u Apamejczyka tylko w związku z określonym lekiem; znaleźli się tu również lekarze, których Archigenes, co prawda, nie wymienia z nazwiska, ale wymienia lek, którego byli oni wynalazcami. Do trzeciej wreszcie grupy włączone zostały nazwiska lekarzy łączących się z Archigenesem w okresie późniejszym.

W załączonych do monografii trzech aneksach autor zajmuje się problematyką pism niesłusznie przypisywanych Archigenesowi. Pierwszy z nich dotyczy 12 pism przypisywanych mu przez lekarzy arabskich. W ich liczbie znajdują się takie, których tytuły kojarzone są z tytułami ksiąg w traktatach Archigenesa i przez nieporozumienie wymieniane są jako oddzielne dzieła, takie, które można by utożsamiać ze znanymi już za pośrednictwem Galena czy Oribasiosa i wreszcie takie, które pojawiają się wyłącznie u lekarzy arabskich. Zdaniem autora, informacje arabskie należy przyjmować ze szczególną ostrożnością, zwłaszcza tam, gdzie nie znajdują one innego potwierdzenia. Zawsze też należy liczyć się z prawdopodobieństwem pomylenia go z jakimś innym Archigenesem.

Drugi aneks dotyczy 11 pism przypisywanych Archigenesowi przez nowszych badaczy. Wynika to z jednej strony z nieporozumienia polegającego na złej interpretacji antycznych świadectw, z drugiej stanowi rezultat lansowania hipotez, które stoją w wyraźnej sprzeczności z posiadanymi danymi, zwłaszcza z pozyskanymi ostatnio.

W aneksie ostatnim poruszony został problem starożytnych pisarzy, którzy błędnie zostali określeni jako źródło Archigenesa. Dotyczy to w pierwszym rzędzie anonimowego traktatu Περὶ ἰοβόλων θηρίων καὶ δηλητηρίων φαρμάκων, które E. Rohde w swoim czasie przypisał Apamejczykowi, a które w świetle ostatnich badań musiał napisać jakiś późniejszy lekarz, być może Aelios Promotos.

W ocenie ogólnej na uwagę zasługuje przede wszystkim ogromna praca, jaką autor włożył do zgromadzenia, analizy i weryfikacji tak obszernego materiału źródłowego i do wnikliwego przestudiowania tak bogatej literatury przedmiotu. Udało mu się dzięki temu w sposób systematyczny i całościowy oddać obraz starożytnego lekarza rodem z Syrii, o którym mało kto do tej pory słyszał. Monografia E. Ma-

wroudisa zajmować będzie niewątpliwie ważną pozycję w zakresie greckiego piśmiennictwa medycznego, wnosi ona bowiem bardzo dużo i do filologii i do historii medycyny, chociaż zakres jej czytelników siłą rzeczy ograniczony być musi tylko do znawców języka nowogreckiego, w którym została napisana. Mamy nadzieję, że rychło też ukaże się wydanie odzyskanych fragmentów Archigenesa, które autor zapowiada w swojej książce.

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Elizabeth Bartman, Portraits of Livia. Imaging the Imperial Women in Augustan Rome, Cambridge 1999, s. 242 + XXIV, ilustracji 194.

W ostatnich latach pojawiło się kilka studiów dotyczących sposobu prezentacji w sztuce kobiet z dynastii julijsko-klaudyjskiej[1]. Wszystkie one — w mniejszym lub większym stopniu — punktem odniesienia swojej analizy czynią przedstawienia Liwii, żony Oktawiana Augusta. Badania przedstawień pierwszej cesarzowej są bowiem istotne nie tylko, dlatego że matka Tyberiusza była pierwszą Rzymianką, której fizjonomię konsekwentnie prezentowano w różnych mediach artystycznych, ale także, dlatego że w sposobach jej prezentacji (zarówno w sztuce, jak i w literaturze) znalazły swoje odbicie zmiany społecznej mentalności, które następowały wraz z rozwojem pryncypatu. Zmiana systemu politycznego uczyniła Liwię osobą publiczną, posiadającą niezależność prawną i ekonomiczną. Jednak mimo że była żoną pierwszego cesarza, to pozostawała kobietą poddaną rzymskiej tradycji ograniczającej publiczną aktywność kobiet. Ponieważ zaś w okresie Republiki Rzymianie nie wypracowali reguł obecności kobiet w przestrzeni publicznej, Liwia sama musiała tworzyć nowe wzory zachowań i reprezentacji. To właśnie owe wzory przedstawień, które naśladowały Rzymianki przez następne trzysta lat, są przedmiotem omawianej pracy.

Celem studium Elisabeth Bartman jest jednak nie tylko stworzenie nowego katalogu portretów pierwszej cesarzowej, ale także ich interpretacja w kontekście historycznym. W ten sposób dwiema kategoriami ujmującymi omawiane zagadnienie stały się polityka oraz społecznie skonstruowana rola kobiety (*gender*). Bazę źródłową analizy stanowią natomiast nie tylko monety i rzeźby, ale także — chociaż w ograniczonym zakresie — inskrypcje oraz literatura. Praca składa się z siedmiu rozdziałów podzielonych na dwie części. Całość zamykają katalog portretów Liwii, źródeł epigraficznych odnoszących się do nich, aneksy (A: „Octavia and Julia"; B: „The 'Albani/Bonn Type'"; C: „Portraits commonly misattributed to Livia") oraz wybór bibliografii i indeksy (inskrypcji, muzeów oraz przedmiotowy).

Część pierwsza („Patterns of representation") została poświęcona historii atrybucji portretów Liwii i zagadnieniom ich stylu. W rozdziale pierwszym („Identifying Livia") autorka omawia w sposób krytyczny dotychczasowe sposoby identyfikacji Liwii i budowę jej korpusu portretowego. Zwraca uwagę, że duży wpływ na jego kształt miały wyobrażenia o postaci Liwii oraz portretowy typ „Fayum" stworzony w latach 20. I wieku przed Chr. („Types of evidence"). Swoje ogólne spostrzeżenia autorka konkretyzuje omawiając sposoby identyfikacji portretów Liwii od czasów renesansu („Historiography"), w których dystansuje się od badań ikonograficznych opartych na kryteriach stylistycznych (przede wszystkim rysów twarzy i fryzur), bowiem — jej zdaniem — tworzenie sztywnych typów portretowych pomija to, co unikalne, w jednostkowych portretach oraz pozbawia je związku z kontekstem historycznym[2]. Po-

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[1] S. Wood, *Imperial Women: A Study in Public Images, 40 B.C.-A.D. 68*, Leiden 1999; B. Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*, Cambridge 1997; R. Winkes, *Livia, Octavia, Julia*, Louvain – Providence 1995.

[2] Por. L. Fabbrini, *Livia Drusilla*, [w:] Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica IV 1961, s. 663 – 667; W. Gross, *Julia Augusta. Untersuchungen zur Grundlegung einer Livia-Ikonographie*, Göttingen 1962; V.

szczególne obiekty nie powinny być analizowane jako przykłady określonych typów, należy je raczej rozpatrywać jako warianty tworzone z elementów pochodzących z różnych przedstawień. Zauważalna zależność pomiędzy różnymi mediami portretowymi świadczy — zdaniem Bartman — o tym, że ikonografia była kontrolowana centralnie i jej powtórzenia zależały od augustowskiego programu ideologicznego („Portrait media"). Autorka zwraca także uwagę na problemy wynikające ze ścisłego związku przedstawień Liwii z portretami Oktawii i Julii oraz wpływem jej fryzury na przedstawienia innych Rzymianek („Iconographic confusions").

W rozdziale drugim („(Gendered) modes of portrait production and reception") autorka rekonstruuje proces tworzenia i rozpowszechniania portretów Liwii. Chociaż był on wynikiem interakcji pomiędzy zainteresowanymi stronami (rodzina cesarska, mieszkańcy prowincji itp.), to centrum kreowania wzorów pozostawał Rzym („The mechanics and motives of portrait production"). To tutaj, być może nawet przy współudziale Liwii, powstawały jej oficjalne przedstawienia. Stanowiły one jednak tylko część produkcji, stąd też znamy więcej wariantów portretów Liwii niż bliskich kopii wzorów. Zauważalna jest także zależność zmian jej przedstawień od portretu męża („Patterns of reception"). Dla Augusta wyróżnia się trzy typy przedstawień, natomiast dla Liwii — cztery (dwa funkcjonowały za życia pierwszego princepsa, trzeci — po jego śmierci, czwarty — po deifikacji Liwii). Proces zmian stylistycznych ich portretu przebiegał od realizmu zabarwionego hellenistyczną emocją („typ Akcjum" Augusta/„Marbury Hall" Liwii) do typu idealnego, zawsze młodzieńczego o klasycznych wpływach (typ „Prima Porta"/„Fayum"). Idealizacja portretów w czasach Augusta miała przyczyny ideologiczne („Beauty and the question of female idealization"), ale w przypadku Liwii wypływała ona również z rzymskiej koncepcji kobiecości. Biologiczne zdeterminowane piękno nadawało transcendentny charakter reprodukcyjnemu potencjałowi jej ziemskich związków. Realistyczne detale dopasowywano więc do estetycznej struktury idealnej perfekcji.

Rozdział trzeci („Facial signs/body language") został poświęcony analizie społecznego znaczenia elementów portretu Liwii (fryzura, strój, pozy itp.). W przeciwieństwie do kobiecego portretu późnorepublikańskiego przedstawienia Liwii z lat 20. i 30. przed Chr. charakteryzowały się skromnością. Głównym elementem jej fryzury był dobrze znany w Rzymie nodus, który dystansował jej portret od „wschodnich wzorów" (greckich bogiń i hellenistycznych władczyń) i określał go jako „rzymski" („Hair"). Rysy twarzy, przede wszystkim oczy i usta, wyrażały silną osobowość i emanowały pięknem („Facial features"). Symetria elementów (duże oczy, małe usta i kształtny podbródek) tworzyły harmonijną całość gwarantującą piękno. Draperyjny styl szat Liwii był natomiast mieszanką tradycji rzymskich (tunika, palla, stola) i greckich (chiton i himation) („Dress and jewerly"). Pierwsza była ściśle związana z godnością i cnotami rzymskiej matrony, druga natomiast sugerowała quasi-boski lub boski status (pośmiertny). Przedstawienia Liwii za jej życia odznaczały się również bogatą gestykulacją („Gesture"). Tylko w jednym przypadku została przedstawiona w typie *pudicitia*, najczęściej natomiast ukazuje się w pozie wyzywającej, wyprostowana, z aktywnymi rękoma (jedynie przedstawienia siedzącej Liwii są mniej ekspresyjne). Także posągi pośmiertne odznaczały się ponadczasowym pięknem, bogactwem atrybutów, siłą wyrazu gestów i póz, które wyłamywały się z rzymskiej tradycji.

W części drugiej („The politics of the portraits") autorka ukazuje przedstawienia Liwii w kolejnych fazach życia w związku z pełnionymi przez nią rolami społecznymi oraz umieszcza je w kontekście politycznym integrując z historią dynastii julijsko-klaudyjskiej. W rozdziale czwartym („Livia and Octavian") omawia rolę przedstawień i samej Liwii w rywalizacji pomiędzy Oktawianem i Antoniuszem. Po ślubie z Liwią, Oktawian, w przeciwieństwie do Antoniusza eksponującego kolejne żony (Fulwię i Oktawię, siostrę Oktawiana), nie eksploatował jej wizerunku („Marriage"). Młodzieńczy portret Liwii, tak jak i innych kobiet o podobnym statusie społecznym, nie posiadał więc politycznego znaczenia aż do 35 roku przed Chr. („Statue grant of 35 B.C.E."). Dopiero wtedy Oktawian, zapewniając —

Poulsen, *Les Portraits Romains*. 1. *République et Dynastie Julienne*, Copenhague 1962; H. Bartels, *Studien zum Frauenporträt der augusteischen Zeit — Fulvia, Octavia, Livia, Julia*, Berlin 1967; K. Fittschen, P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom III, Kaiserinnen und Prinzessinnenbildnisse*, Mainz 1983, s. 1 – 3 nr 1; D. Boschung, *Die Bildnistypen der iulisch-claudischen Kaiserfamilie: ein kritischer Forschungsbericht*, JRA VI 1993, s. 39 – 79.

przede wszystkim Oktawii, ale także Liwii — *sacrosanctitas*, niezależność prawną i honorowe posągi, wykorzystał relacje rodzinne w sporze z Antoniuszem. Najprawdopodobniej posąg Liwii wykonano w typie „Marbury Hall", który później został uproszczony do „typu Fayum". Zapewne posłużono się tradycyjną ikonografią, bowiem sam fakt wystawienia posągu był wystarczającym wyróżnieniem. Posągi Oktawiana, Oktawii i Liwii tworzyły do bitwy pod Akcjum grupy statuaryczne, które później ograniczono jedynie do postaci małżonków.

Rozdział piąty („Livia and Augustus") poświęcony został roli przedstawień Liwii w programie „odnowy" Augusta, w którym stała się ona „liderem" i wzorem cnót dla rzymskich matron, ale jednocześnie była członkiem rządzącej rodziny. Liwię rzadko prezentowano samą, najczęściej pojawia się jako członek rodziny, co potwierdzają źródła epigraficzne („Inscriptions and statues"). Po bitwie pod Akcjum była często przedstawiana z Oktawianem, Agryppą i jego rodziną, ale także z Klaudiuszami (Tyberiuszem i Druzusem lub z ich synami: Germanikiem i Druzusem Młodszym) oraz z dwiema Juliami w typie „Marbury Hall" i „Fayum", charakteryzującym się wygładzeniem rysów twarzy, powiększeniem oczu, pomniejszeniem ust i redukcją detali. Adopcja Tyberiusza przez Augusta w 4 roku po Chr. nie wiązała się z powstaniem nowego typu portretowego, ale z rozpowszechnieniem się grup statuarycznych Augusta, Liwii i Tyberiusza. Kobiety z rodziny Augusta, podobnie jak i potencjalni następcy, były często prezentowane parami („The dynamics of the female duo"). Początkowo Liwii towarzyszyła Oktawia (matka Marcellusa), potem Julia, a po jej wygnaniu — Antonia, żona Druzusa. Ważną cezurą w prezentacji Liwii była śmierć Druzusa w 9 przed Chr. („The death of Drusus: Livia as mother"). Wtedy przyznano jej *ius trium liberorum*, honoryfikacyjny posąg i stała się „opiekunką" wszystkich członków rodziny. Wtedy też wielopokoleniowe grupy eksponują płodność Liwii jako idealnej matki gwarantującej nie tylko trwałość dynastii, ale i państwa („Livia as Victrix"). Utożsamienie rodziny cesarskiej z państwem eksponuje również Ołtarz Pokoju („Ara Pacis Augustae"), na ogrodzeniu którego Liwię (bez nodusa) odzianą w stolę zaprezentowano jako wzór rzymskiej kobiety-matki. Jednak ze względu na swoją pozycję Liwia znacznie ją przekraczała („Livia's public role"). Jej aktywność publiczna koncentrowała się przede wszystkim na sferze kultowej. O jej szczególnej pozycji świadczyło nie tylko zjawisko kojarzenia jej osoby z licznymi boginiami, np. Cererą, Junoną i Westą („Divine associations"), ale i kult („Livia and imperial cult").

W rozdziale szóstym („Livia and Tiberius") autorka omawia sposoby prezentacji Liwii za rządów Tyberiusza, gdy przysługiwał jej tytuł *Augusta* i gdy stała się kapłanką kultu boskiego Augusta („Livia as priestess"). Chociaż pełniła nową rolę, nie powstały kolejne wzorce portretowe, a inwencja artystów ograniczyła się do dodania atrybutów kapłańskich do istniejących wzorów ikonograficznych, eksponowania jej roli jako gwarantki *fecunditas* i podkreślania — poprzez upodobnienie rysów twarzy do Tyberiusza — jej macierzyństwa. Pomimo swojej szczególnej pozycji — wyrażającej się łączeniem jej osoby z bóstwami oraz personifikacjami — nigdy nie uzyskała roli porównywalnej do Tyberiusza (jej przedstawienie nie pojawiało się we wszystkich znanych nam grupach statuarycznych) („Mother/son relations") i pełniła przede wszystkim rolę matki całej rodziny cesarskiej, łączącej kolejne generacje Juliuszy-Klaudiuszy („Livia in the dynasty"). Obok portretów Liwii z nodusem, pojawiły się jej wizerunki jako młodzieńczej piękności z nową fryzurą, w której włosy opadają na boki otaczając skronie: typ „Salus Augusta" („Models of representation"). Bartman nie interpretuje tej zmiany jako radykalnej, ale podkreśla związki portretu z typem „Fayum", pomimo subtelnych zmian i eliminacji nodusa. Natomiast portrety wyróżnione z typu „Salus Augusta" i określane jako typ „Kiel"[3], uznaje za pierwszą rzeźbiarską próbę stworzenia nowego wizerunku Liwii. W czasach Tyberiusza współistniały więc ze sobą różne typy przedstawień odpowiadające różnym jej rolom: żony pierwszego cesarza, matki Tyberiusza i równej bogom *Augustae*.

W rozdziale siódmym („The posthumous Livia") autorka omawia pośmiertne portrety Liwii. Za czasów Kaliguli, który podkreślał swoje związki z Augustem, a przede wszystkim z Germanikiem, rola Liwii była ograniczona — znamy jedynie trzy posągi z tego czasu („Livia under Caligula"). Nośnikiem ideologii dynastycznej stały się bowiem jego siostry, dla których Liwia stała się wzorem prezentacji („Livia as portrait model"). Dopiero za czasów Klaudiusza, który podniósł ją do rangi bóstwa, znowu

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[3] B. Freyer-Schauenberg, *Die Kieler Livia*, BJh CLXXXII 1982, s. 209 – 224.

staje się istotnym elementem prezentacji *domus imperatoria* wykorzystującej monety, posągi i grupy statuaryczne („Livia and Claudius"). Wtedy też powstaje ostatni typ jej prezentacji — „diva Augusta" (z diademem, woalem, *infula* pośród falowanych loków, szeroką, „klasyczną" twarzą, szeroko rozstawionymi niewielkimi oczyma i zaciśniętymi ustami) — być może wzorowany na posągu kultowym na Palatynie. Pomimo nowego statusu Liwia pojawia się z różnymi atrybutami, najczęściej jako *genetrix* dynastii julijsko-klaudyjskiej odpowiadającej polityce Klaudiusza („Divine modes"). Po raz ostatni — chociaż jej kult przetrwał znacznie dłużej — jej wizerunek nabiera znaczenia za panowania Galby, który „propagandą" monetarną starał się dowieść związków z dynastią julijsko-klaudyjską („Galba").

E. Bartman konstruując swoją pracę z części narracyjnej (diachronicznej) i katalogu portretów (synchronicznej) połączyła zalety tradycyjnego — preferowanego przede wszystkim przez niemiecką archeologię — podejścia stylistyczno-typologicznego z wielowątkową analizą historyczną opartą na metodzie semiotycznej i teorii feministycznej. O zaletach takiego „uhistorycznienia" dzieł sztuki dawno już przekonały nas prace P. Zankera[4]. Ale właśnie porównanie omawianej pracy z wykładem Zankera o kulturze wizualnej czasów Augusta ujawnia także jej słabości. Po części nie wynikają one wcale z uchybień merytorycznych, ale stanu badań nad tak trudną i sporną atrybucją portretu kobiecego z czasów dynastii julijsko-klaudyjskiej. Już przecież J.J. Bernoulli, który jako pierwszy stworzył korpus portretów Liwii, twierdził, że „Das Kapitel der Livia ist in der römischen Ikonographie eines der schwierigsten"[5]. Chociaż Bartman zrezygnowała ze szczegółowych analiz stylistycznych, chociażby takich jak dla monet z Rzymu i prowincji przeprowadził W.H. Gross[6], to jednak nie udało się jej stworzyć w pełni przekonywającego obrazu Liwii. Z jednej strony, rozważania Bartman zbyt słabo osadzone są w kontekście historii rzymskiego portretu, aby bez wątpliwości zgodzić się z tezą o przełomowej roli przedstawień Liwii. Z drugiej zaś, zbyt mało otrzymujemy informacji historycznych, aby należycie docenić jej rolę w programie augustowskiej „odnowy". Niewątpliwie jednak uwagi metodologiczne dotyczące sposobów identyfikacji Liwii, prezentacja rozwoju jej portretu na tle polityki dynastycznej Juliuszy i Klaudiuszy, a także stworzenie poręcznego, ilustrowanego katalogu portretów z podstawową literaturą (zawierającego m.in. niepublikowany dotąd portret z Kartaginy — Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR. 1 — 1978), czyni pracę Bartman niezastąpionym wprowadzeniem do studiów nad wizerunkiem Liwii.

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Aspects of Friendship in the Graeco-Roman World. Proceedings of a conference held at the Seminar für Alte Geschichte, Heidelberg, on 10 – 11 June, 2000. ed. M. Peachin, Portsmouth 2001. (Journal of Roman Archaeology. Supplementary Series nr 43), s. 160.

W czerwcu 2000 roku odbyła się w Heidelbergu konferencja, której motywem przewodnim były różne aspekty przyjaźni w świecie grecko-rzymskim. Zorganizowana została na cześć Gezy Alföldy'ego przez jego przyjaciół — współpracowników, uczniów i stypendystów z różnych stron świata — jako swoistego rodzaju dar na sześćdziesiąte piąte urodziny heidelberskiego uczonego. Omawiany tom, wydany jako suplement do prestiżowego Journal of Roman Archaeology, jest plonem tej konferencji, chociaż z różnych względów nie wszystkie z wygłoszonych w Heidelbergu referatów zostały w nim zawarte. 14 referatów poprzedzonych wstępem M. Peachina, opublikowanych w języku niemieckim (5), włoskim (5) i angielskim (4) uporządkowane zostały w trzech częściach. Pierwszą — objętą wspólnym tytułem — „Friends and friendship in the inscriptions" (s. 11 – 51) stanowią cztery artykuły. Prezento-

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[4] P. Zanker, *August i potęga obrazów*, tłum. L. Olszewski, Poznań 1999.

[5] J.J. Bernoulli, *Die Bildnisse der römischen Kaiser und ihrer Angehörigen*, II 1, *Das iulisch-claudische Kaiserhaus*, Berlin – Stuttgart 1886, s. 85.

[6] Gross, *o.c.*, s. 9 – 66.

wane teksty ukazują, jak trudno jest sformułować, co jest rzeczywistą i „legalną" więzią między przyjaciółmi. Poruszono problemy narodzin przyjaźni, warunków i miejsca jej powstania (prof. S. Panciera, „Onorare l'amico nella sua casa. Amicitia e topografia a Roma e nel suburbio", s. 11 – 20), M.L. Caldelli („Amicus/a nelle iscrizioni di Roma: l'appotro dell'epigrafia al chiarimento di un sentimento sociale", s. 21 – 30) podejmuje się próby obszernej analizy bogatego materiału inskrypcyjnego z Rzymu. Na prawie pięciuset inskrypcjach znajduje się słowo *amicus/-a* w różnej formie i kontekstach. G.L. Gregori („Amici Brixiani", s. 31 – 40) próbuje w swoim artykule znaleźć odpowiedź na pytanie, jakie było najlepsze „środowisko" dla narodzin przyjaźni i jakie były przyczyny zawierania związków przyjaźni. Czyni to na podstawie materiału inskrypcyjnego z Brixii. C. Ricci („L'amicizia tra soldati: le truppe urbane", s. 41 – 50) pisze, że dzięki zachowanej dokumentacji epigraficznej możemy poznać prawdziwą, emocjonalną rzymską przyjaźń. Zaznacza jednak istnienie wielu więzi międzyludzkich, którym teoretycznie, ze względu na zewnętrzne „objawy" moglibyśmy nakleić etykietkę ze słowami amicitia lub philia, ale nie możemy tych relacji uznać za przyjazne. C. Ricci pisze o raczej formalnym typie przyjaźni, którą określa mianem amicitia testamentaria.

Część druga — „Friendly names and epithets" (s. 51 – 80) to dwa niezwykle interesujące artykuły z zakresu onomastyki. Pierwszy z nich autorstwa H. Solina („Zur Geschichte der Namensippe philos in der antiken Anthroponymie", s. 51 – 62) analizuje imiona i epitety często formułowane wokół słowa philos. Niewolnicy rzymscy nosili często imiona philodespotus czy philoganus, kiedy podobna formacja onomastyczna prawie wcale nie występuje wśród wolnej ludności greckiej. Natomiast analiza epitetów philosebastos i philokaisar (Ch. Veligianni, „Philos und philos-Komposita in den griechischen Inschriften der Kaiserzeit", s. 63 – 80) wprowadza czytelnika w religijne i polityczne życie mieszkańców greckiego Wschodu czasów Wczesnego Cesarstwa.

„Friendship in society and politics" (s. 81 – 154) to osiem tekstów, które wprowadzają nas w świat w którym przyjaźń bazowała na politycznych związkach, w rzeczywistość, w której amicitia Romana mogła funkcjonować i funkcjonowała jako słowo-klucz w kontaktach dyplomatycznych i często ta polityczna wersja przyjaźni była przez cesarzy rzymskich stosowana. Amicitia nierzadko była budowana na wierności — fides. Rzym bowiem oczekiwał od swoich amici, że pozostaną mu wierni. Artykuł L. Mrozewicza („Amicitia Romana. Die *freundliche* Provinzionalpolitik des Kaisers Claudius in den Donauländern", s. 109 – 120) ukazuje amicitia Romana jako instrument polityki wobec podbitych ludów. Każde lekceważenie i przeciwstawianie się autorytetowi Rzymu, otwarte bunty były natychmiast tłumione. To Rzymianie posiadali wyłączność na interpretację amicitia.

Kiedy w 137 roku dowództwo w walkach w Hiszpanii powierzono P. Korneliuszowi Scypionowi Emilianusowi, ten z pomocą lojalnych Hiszpanów i królów-klientów państwa rzymskiego zdołał zmobilizować armię, która przystąpiła do blokady Numancji. Odniesiony sukces wzmocnił nie tylko sławę i auctoritas Emilianusa, ale także jego rodzinę. Była to swoista demonstracja siły rodu Scypionów (F. Pina Polo, „Die Freunde des Scipio Aemilianus im numantinischen Krieg: über die sogennante cohors amicorum", s. 89 – 98).

S. Orlandi („Amicizie pericolose. Qualche nota su consoli nominati da usurpatori", s. 145 – 154) zwraca naszą uwagę, jak ważną rolę wśród późnoantycznych uzurpatorów, sięgających po władzę, odgrywała przyjaźń z ludźmi, którzy piastowali wysokie urzędy w administracji, posiadali wpływy polityczne i społeczne. Polityka bazowała na układach przyjaźni. Wydaje się, że każdy moment był dobry, by załatwiać swoje sprawy polityczne, jednocześnie zawsze należało być czujnym, by nie popełnić politycznej gafy. Nawet spotkania przy stole nie były wolne od politycznych układów i rozgrywek (M. Peachin, „Friendship and abuse at the dinner table", s. 135 – 144). O przyjaźni bazującej na politycznych współzależnościach i o relacjach między rzymską elitą i prowincjami, o trudnych i skomplikowanych relacjach patron-klient w okresie schyłku Republiki pisze w swoim artykule J. Nicols („Hospitium and political friendship in the Late Republic", s. 99 – 108).

Każdy artykuł zaopatrzony jest w bibliografię. Na końcu książki znajduje się indeks źródeł, osób i miejsc oraz wyrażeń związanych z pojęciem przyjaźni.

Autorzy zastanawiają się nad naturą przyjaźni w świecie grecko-rzymskim, nad ilością i rodzajem materiału źródłowego i możliwościami wykorzystania ich dla poznania i poszerzenia naszej wiedzy o antycznych stosunkach przyjaźni. Starają się znaleźć odpowiedź na pytanie, kto mógł być czyim przyjacielem, jakie informacje kryją w sobie dwa słowa philos i amicitia.

Czytelnik odkryje tu przepis na to, jak wykorzystać przyjaźń w polityce, jak manipulować przyjaźnią; analizę epigraficzną i onomastyczną pojęcia amicitia i philia. Nie znajdziemy tu opisu czystej i bezinteresownej przyjaźni, przyjaźni, jaką definiuje Cyceron: „Est enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio" (*Laelius sive de amicitia*, 6, 20).

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Mariusz Mielczarek, The Army of the Bosporan Kingdom. Studies on the History of the Ancient and Medieval Art of Warfare, vol. IV, Łódź, Oficyna Naukowa MS, 1999, p. 103, plates 25.

The present book written by M. Mielczarek is a first attempt to give a complete history of the Bosporan army. The subject deserves great attention, because the Bosporan kingdom was a place of mutual interchange of ideas between settled and steppe cultures. From the very beginning of its existence the kingdom remained under the constant influence of the steppe peoples. As the Bosporan state was cut off by sea from the main centers of Greek and Roman civilization, elements of Scythian and Sarmatian provenience were easily absorbed. Thus any research work concerning Bosporan military activities would provide us with an almost unique chance to study the impact of the steppe cultures on the development of the Hellenic art of warfare. Moreover, thanks to the fact that the state was located on the very edge of the Hellenic world and the main threats came from a strange steppe environment, the success of its armies depended on its adaptive abilities. That process was strengthened by one of the most obvious principles of war: one's ability to learn from one's enemies could be a critical element in the struggle for survival. Furthermore the ideas and patterns developed under these special conditions foreshadowed later fashions adopted by late Roman and early Byzantine armies. Thus on the soil of the Bosporan kingdom we can observe the roots of one of the most important changes, which occurred in the history of warfare, when cavalry using lances and bows replaced drilled infantry as a mainstay of armies. Any work dealing with the army of the Bosporan state should contain deep analysis of such an interplay of influences.

Despite the obvious advantages offered by research into such a promising theme, the armies of the Bosporan kingdom have never been subject of serious study. For a long time the old and now outdated work by Blavatskii (V.D. Blavatskii, Ocherki voennogo dela v antichnykh gosudarstvakh Severnogo Prichernomor'ya, Moskva 1954), remained the only serious attempt to cover the subject. Research work into the archeology and history of the northern Pontic area still remains an uneasy task due to difficult access to archaeological data, as the results of field work often occur in hardly obtainable papers. Therefore the present work written by M. Mielczarek successfully tries to fill the gap in our knowledge, providing us with an almost unique chance to get familiar with the results achieved by our eastern colleagues. As in the case of his previous book concerning heavy armored cavalry (see M. Mielczarek, Cataphracti and Clibanarii, Studies of the Heavy Armored Cavalry of the Ancient World, Łódź 1997) the author has shown considerable skill in combining evidence provided by the results of the research of both eastern and western scholars. Moreover, thanks to the fact that studies about cathaphracts not only needed deep insight into the process of copying patterns of steppe provenience into a clearly Mediterranean environment, but also required skillful handling of data coming from as diverse regions as Iran and Russia, the author was well prepared to cope with the present subject. However the most striking feature of this work is the equal treatment of all categories of sources, despite the fact that the very nature of available information sometimes required using one kind of data to supplement the lack of others. As the attention of ancient authors often omitted the Bosporan kingdom, skillful supplementing the lack of written accounts by archeological data remains the main virtue of the present work.

Bosporan kingdom was a long living entity and its armies were subject to constant evolution. Thus

the book is divided into three sections, covering different periods of the state's development. The first part embraces the times „from the beginnings of Panicapaeum to the end of Spartocid dynasty". The second part deals with period of Pontic domination over the Bosporan kingdom and the place of Bosporan forces within Mithridates's war machine, showing their role in his lifetime struggle with the Roman republic. Finally the third part covers the history of the Bosporan state from the reign of Aspurgus to the end of the kingdom. When the military history of the Bosporan kingdom is concerned two main features become apparent. First of all, the constant evolution in character of the Bosporan state's armies caused by mutual interchange of influences coming from both settled and steppe environments. As a wide and clear knowledge about copying patterns of steppe origins is one of the key factors in understanding the very nature of the Bosporan army, Mielczarek's work pays much attention to show the heterogeneous character of the Bosporan forces. He uses both literary information and archaeological data to attest the influence of steppe features on the Bosporan community. For example, one of the most significant features of the armies is the presence of the Scythian contingents. They played a prominent role among the Bosporan troops. Polyaneus account on the battle near the That river clearly indicates that they could form the bulk of the fighting armies. The existence of Scythian influence is supported by archaeological evidence, in this case by the presence of typical trilobate cast bronze arrow tips and the *akinaka* swords in grave assemblies. Furthermore the development of weapons and armament styles remains an important topic of Mielczarek's work. As becomes apparent from the collected data, evolution of the armament styles traceable inside the Bosporan kingdom reflect the general trends known from the rest of the Hellenic world. That feature becomes particularly apparent when the development of defensive armour is concerned, as Mielczarek correctly noticed, its gradual disappearance resembles the similar process, known from the rest of the Hellenistic world. However in such a specific environment, in an area which was a place of mutual interchange of technologies, many interesting developments occurred. The most striking feature is, as Mielczarek pointed out, the gradual disappearance of typical Greek weapons, replaced by artifacts of steppe provenience, when bow and arrow become the main offensive weapon. Meanwhile Scythian style armour was also adopted. Despite the fact that present state of research can not provide us with sufficient explanation about nature of that process (its appearance could be an effect of an acculturation process, or may indeed be a trace of allied steppe contingents), existence of such a feature says much about adaptive abilities of Bosporan society. During the period of Pontic domination patterns of Celtic provenience were absorbed. Meanwhile the northern littoral of the Black Sea became a place of long range interchange of ideas due to protracted conflicts with the Roman republic. As Mielczarek correctly admitted the most striking effect of that process was the appearance of helmets of presumably Italian provenience in Sarmatian graves. Moreover according to the author's opinion the adoption of Roman patterns by the Pontic army caused the appearance of similar elements among the Bosporan troops. That thesis seems to be correct as similar developments appear in contemporary forces of various Mediterranean states. Roman patterns were mostly adapted by the infantry, and later the Bosporan foot soldiers, as Tacitus' statement indicate, become almost indistinguishable from their imperial counterparts. Moreover Mielczarek stresses the fact that finds of elements of Roman military gear, like parts of a *cingulum* found in Pantecapaeum, could be treated as supporting evidence of former interpretation. Although that thesis remains somewhat risky, as we still bear in mind the presence of Moesian legionary detachments on the Crimean peninsula and the existence of Roman garrisons within the state's territory. Support of Roman troops was particularly important when siege activities were expected. For instance during the dynastic struggle between Mithridates III and his brother Cotys I Roman troops, which fought in support of the latter, besieged and captured Uspa, capital of the Siraces. In the Roman period the first detailed sources concerning the organization of Bosporan forces become available, as the scattered information provided by epigraphical data indicates that it was based on Greek patterns. For example the presence of *strategoi* posts resembles situation known from the other parts of the Hellenic world.

As Aspurgus seized power, founding a dynasty of clearly Sarmatian origins, even more important developments occurred, when steppe influences grew stronger. The most interesting phenomenon of the „Roman" period is, as Mielczarek pointed out, the adaptation of Sarmato-Iranian fashions, with the aristocracy forming the bulk of the heavy cavalry fighting in a close formations with heavy lance and long sword, supported by lightly armed „retainers" using the powerful recurved composite bow. As the ar-

chaeological data collected by Mielczarek clearly indicates, the appearance of new forms of equipment connected with that „new model" cavalry, such as the new, more powerful „Hunnic" bow and the long heavy lance wielded by two hands, is well attested by numerous grave *stelae* and by tomb paintings from both Panticapaeum and Tanais. In my opinion the thesis is correct and could be further supported by the fact that numerous grave *stelae* show that the new four horned saddle was adopted, indicating the increasing role of heavy cavalry. Mielczarek stresses the fact that copying equipment patterns from the steppe environment, also indicates the adaptation of organization structures connected with their use. To give further support to this interesting observation, analogies from medieval times can be used. One should bear in mind that such an astonishing feature sometimes could occur in strange circumstances. For example during the 13th century, when Spanish Moors became more dependent on heavy cavalry fighting in a knightly style, the whole system of chivalry was adopted. The Moors even copied the solely western concept of squires. Moreover due to Mielczarek's observations about the adaptation of the heavy cavalry concepts we can widen our knowledge about the beginning of one of the most significant changes which occurred in Late Antiquity. Traditional Mediterranean ways of waging war disappeared, when drilled infantry serving as a main assault force was replaced by cavalry based on Iranian patterns. As deep hindsight into the nature of these changes is one of the key factors in understanding later developments, which foreshadowed many medieval ideas, the huge amount of data provided by Mielczarek remains one of the main values of the present work. Sadly the impact of the Gothic armament, which became apparent from the 3rd century on, is only briefly mentioned in the book, despite the fact that the work contains a huge bibliography concerning the subject. Although the impact of the Bosporan state on the Germanic tribes remains an interesting theme, very little attention has been given to it. The Late Roman period and the Migration period still remains untouched, as the author decided to concentrate on earlier times.

The second phenomenon to which Mielczarek has given so much attention, is the appearance of mercenary troops, whose increasing role gradually made citizen service out of date. The occurrence of the same feature is also traceable on the Greek mainland because mercenaries become an attractive alternative to citizen hoplites. These citizen soldiers were mostly farmers or craftsmen who could not afford to embark on longer campaigns. Augmenting their numbers by hired troops gave the commanders an obvious advantage. But in the case of the Bosporan kingdom, as the present work clearly indicates, the hired troops were the mainstay of the armies. Mielczarek carefully uses accounts about the mobilization abilities of the particular city states to support his thesis, that only with the help of mercenaries such numerous armies as are attested by literary sources, could be fielded. As further support for the former thesis he uses the evidence of numerous inscriptions mentioning foreigners who found their way to the Bosporan kingdom as mercenaries. Although that thesis is somewhat risky, as these immigrants need not necessarily be hired soldiers, the presence of a large number of mercenaries among the Bosporan troops seems to be without doubt. Moreover the veracity of the former hypothesis could be given further support. Even if we bear in mind that ancient authors usually exaggerated the sizes of fighting forces, the difference between the mobilization abilities of the city states like Olbia (mere three or four hundreds of citizen hoplites) and the number of mercenaries serving Satyrus during his struggle for succession (as the accounts concerning the battle near the That river indicate, the number of mercenaries reached about four thousand, half of them were Thracian peltasts, who almost certainly were hired troops) remains significant. Moreover, despite the fact that mercenaries from distant parts of the Mediterranean world were employed, the attribution of particular forms of finds to them remains difficult. Furthermore, as Mielczarek carefully admits, the same types of weaponry could be found likewise in the hands of citizens and mercenaries. However, if hired troops had to provide their own weapons, the existence of such a practice, as the author pointed out, could indicate that military gear found in grave assemblies may belong to them. Mielczarek uses the example of two grave assemblies coming from Kerch and Panticapaeum as evidence to support the former thesis. In my opinion the hypothesis remains somewhat speculative, but if we bear in mind that mercenaries really formed the bulk of the armies, it nevertheless remains plausible. During the period of Pontic domination new developments occurred. These new features were: the creation of military formations maintained thanks to the cities expenses, and the presence of mercenaries of Celtic provenience. The appearance of these new developments is well documented by archaeological finds, from which the inscription from Phanagoria attesting the practice of giving citizen-

ship to foreign mercenaries, is worth mentioning. It is also noteworthy that the author focused his attention on presence of Celtic troops, using as a proof of their existence not only archaeological data, but also literary sources. Mielczarek rightfully uses the evidence provided by the Kazanluk tomb from Thracia to stress that items of presumably Celtic provenience such as shield bosses, and spine shields were widely copied and used in foreign, in this case Thracian, environments. Therefore reliance solely on analysis of archeological finds could be somewhat misleading, because, as Mielczarek carefully admited, Celtic style items such as spine shields appear in Bosporan art much earlier.

Although the amount of data provided by literary sources is very scarce, much effort has been taken to show Bosporan armies in action. Thanks to the skillful handling of information provided by the literary sources we can observe Bosporan armies fighting in disparate conditions. For instance the war over Theodosia was a typical conflict between two city states fought over control of a grain trade. The battle fought near the That river was the climax of the war of succession fought between the sons of king Perisades. The course of battle clearly shows the growing importance of mercenary troops, and the very eminent role played by allied Scythian contingents. Sadly, due to the noteworthy lack of sufficient information provided by literary accounts, other conflicts have been mentioned only briefly.

Showing the subtle interplay of influences coming from various cultural zones was an uneasy task for a book concerned with purely military matters. Yet the present work fulfilled this requirement more than sufficiently, clearly widening our scope and providing us with a great amount of information. Sadly the author decided to leave some important problems untouched. The present work rarely mentions problems concerning the maritime activities of the Bosporan kingdom, which, as Mielczarek has admitted, require special separate studies. The author also omitted any discussion of the Bosporan fortifications. Moreover little attention has been given to Late Roman period, and to the process of the collapse of the Bosporan state. Despite these features the book certainly will remain one of the most important works covering the subject, not only due to huge amount of information collected, but also thanks to deep insight into very nature of Bosporan armies. Moreover, because many improvements applied on the soil of the Bosporan kingdom foreshadowed later medieval ideas, the present work gives us an almost unique chance to study the impact of the steppe cultures on the development of the late Roman and early Byzantine art of warfare.

Radosław Gawroński (Warszawa)

C O M M E N T A R I I

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Miasto w starożytności. Ogólnopolska konferencja historyków starożytności (Poznań 19 – 21 września 2002).

W dniach 19 – 21 września 2002 odbył się w Poznaniu Zjazd Komisji Historii Starożytnej, działającej przy Zarządzie Głównym Polskiego Towarzystwa Historycznego. Komisja skupia historyków starożytności ze wszystkich ośrodków akademickich w Polsce. Jej głównym zadaniem jest integracja środowiska, szczególnie zaś młodego pokolenia, stojącego u progu kariery naukowej. Głównym punktem każdego zjazdu jest konferencja naukowa. W tym roku dotyczyła ona „miasta w starożytności".

Konferencje-zjazdy z reguły odbywają się w siedzibie aktualnego prezesa Komisji. Organizatorem tegorocznej konferencji był prof. dr hab. Leszek Mrozewicz z Zakładu Historii Społeczeństw Antycznych w Instytucie Historii UAM, który przewodniczył Komisji do końca września 2002 r.

Na konferencję zgłoszono 31 referatów, które ich autorzy dostarczyli organizatorom z odpowiednim wyprzedzeniem. Upowszechnione one zostały na stronie internetowej Zakładu Historii Społeczeństw Antycznych. Po przyjeździe uczestnicy otrzymali wydruk wszystkich tekstów. W trakcie obrad w pełni odczytywano tylko referaty plenarne, natomiast pozostałe przedstawiane były w tezach podczas trzyminutowej prezentacji, po której rozpoczynano dyskusję nad tekstem. W referatach poruszono mnóstwo różnych zagadnień, ale wszystkie dotyczyły jednego problemu: miasta świata grecko-rzymskiego. Autorzy tekstów skoncentrowali się zarówno na kwestiach związanych z administracyjno-prawnym funkcjonowaniem miasta, życiem religijnym, koncepcjami urbanistycznymi i problemami ludności żyjącej w antycznych miastach, jak i zwracali uwagę na żywotność antycznych idei urbanistycznych w mieście średniowiecznym, nowożytnym i współczesnym.

Konferencję otworzył, w Sali Lubrańskiego (małej auli UAM), Rektor prof. dr hab. Bodgan Walczak. Słowo powitalne wygłosił również prof. dr hab. Tadeusz Kotula, a po jego wystąpieniu odczytany został list prof. Józefa Wolskiego, założyciela i honorowego prezesa Komisji, skierowany do uczestników obrad. Przedpołudniową sesję plenarną otworzyli: prof. dr hab. Teresa Zarębska („Antyczne zespoły miejskie jako wzorce kompozycji przestrzennej"), prof. dr hab. Ryszard Kulesza („Sparta i jej problemy społeczne w V – IV wieku") i prof. dr hab. Maria Dzielska („Ostatni Hellenowie i ich miasta"). Podczas popołudniowego spotkania uczestnicy wysłuchali wystąpień prof. dr. hab. Lesława Morawieckiego („Monety miejskie w Italii w okresie Republiki Rzymskiej"), prof. dr. hab. Wiesława Sudera („Śmierć i choroba w mieście rzymskim I – II wiek n.e.") i prof. dr. hab. Adama Łukaszewicza („Dendera i Kaine").

Również w piątek odbyły się dwie sesje plenarne. Podczas pierwszej z nich wygłoszone zostały referaty prof. dr. hab. Marka Żyromskiego („Arystokracja Municypalna jako elita Cesarstwa Rzymskiego?") i prof. dr. hab. Józefa Zająca („Imiona własne miast i terytoriów „przypisanych" u mieszkańców antycznej Brixii w Italii północnej"). Po południu uczestnicy wysłuchali wystąpień dr. Andrzeja Trojnara („Rzym ośrodkiem kultury na przełomie Republiki i Cesarstwa"), dr. Przemysława Wojciechowskiego („Źródła epigraficzne w badaniach nad życiem religijnym miast rzymskich") i mgr Anny Tatarkiewicz („Świątynie w przestrzeni miejskiej Ostii"). Cykl sesji plenarnych zakończyły teksty dotyczące późnego antyku. W sobotę rano swoje referaty przedstawili prof. dr hab. Tadeusz Kotula („Chrześcijaństwo — religia miast"), prof. dr hab. Bożena Iwaszkiewicz-Wronikowska („Problem chrystianizacji miast starożytnych") i ks. prof. dr hab. Wincenty Myszor („Chrześcijaństwo jako religia miejska w świetle pism Cypriana z Kartaginy").

W sesjach roboczych referenci mieli trzy minuty na zaprezentowanie głównych tez i problemów zawartych w swoich tekstach, nad którymi następnie rozpoczynano dyskusję. Podczas sesji przedpołudnio-

wej dyskutowano nad następującymi referatami: „Ateny w oczach Arystofanesa" (mgr Michał Szyszka), „Urbanizacja Tracji w przededniu oraz w epoce hellenistycznej" (dr Jerzy Hatłas), „Trzy miasta według Filona z Aleksandrii" (mgr Marek Osmański). Mgr Matra Kurpisz przygotowała tekst o profesjonalizacji sportu w Azji Mniejszej, a mgr Marcin Śmietanka o tworzeniu się miasta Petra. „Czy miasto Kaina było miastem tyrana?" — tego dotyczyło wystąpienie mgr. Wojciecha Bejdy. O miejscu amfiteatru w mieście rzymskim pisał dr Dariusz Słapek („Amfiteatr w mieście rzymskim. «Pępek świata» czy peryferium"), zaś mgr Zenon Krawczyk przedstawił referat pt. „Kwaterunek wojsk *comitatenses* w miastach prowincji wschodnich w IV wieku naszej ery".

Popołudniową sesję roboczą rozpoczęła prezentacja dr Katarzyny Balbuzy („Roma Aeterna symbolem cywilizacji"). Po niej — swój tekst przedstawiła dr Agata Kluczek („Bogini Roma w służbie ideologii władzy cesarskiej w państwie rzymskim doby kryzysu III wieku n.e. Świadectwo monet"). Systemu ochrony porządku publicznego w Rzymie dotyczył referat mgr. Sebastiana Rucińskiego. Wystąpienie dr Krzysztofa Królczyka przybliżyło kwestię weteranów w życiu starożytnego Mogontiacum. Następnie swoje referaty zaprezentowali: mgr Paweł Madejski („Tabularium w pejzażu politycznym miasta rzymskiego"), dr Jacek Pudliszewski („Panem et circenses w miastach Hiszpanii rzymskiej w świetle źródeł epigraficznych"), dr Danuta Okoń („Reprezentanci miast galijskich w senacie epoki Sewerów"), dr Jacek Wiewiorowski („Czy dux Scythiae Minoris był odpowiedzialny za handel zagraniczny i tym samym za rozwój miast regionu?") i dr Mateusz Żmudziński („Z badań nad miastami w rzymskiej Dacji. Potaissa jako lokalne centrum gospodarcze").

W piątkowy poranek zorganizowano posiedzenie sprawozdawczo-wyborcze Komisji Historii Starożytnej ZG PTH. Dotychczasowy prezes, prof. dr hab. Leszek Mrozewicz, złożył sprawozdanie, które przyjęto przez aklamację. Ustępujący przewodniczący zaproponował kandydaturę prof. dr. hab. Krzysztofa Nawotki z Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego na nowego prezesa Komisji Historii Starożytnej Zarządu Głównego PTH. W wyniku przeprowadzonego głosowania prof. Krzysztof Nawotka został wybrany na tę funkcję na lata 2002 – 2005. Do Zarządu Komisji powołano prof. dr hab. Danutę Musiał z Uniwersytetu im. Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu (wiceprzewodnicząca) i dr Małgorzatę Pawlak z Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego (sekretarz). Podjęto również decyzję, że następny Zjazd Komisji Historii Starożytnej odbędzie się we Wrocławiu. Tematem konferencji będą „Rzymianie, Grecy i ich sąsiedzi".

Anna Tatarkiewicz (Poznań)

CONSPECTUS MATERIAE EUS LXXXIX UTRIUSQUE FASCICULI

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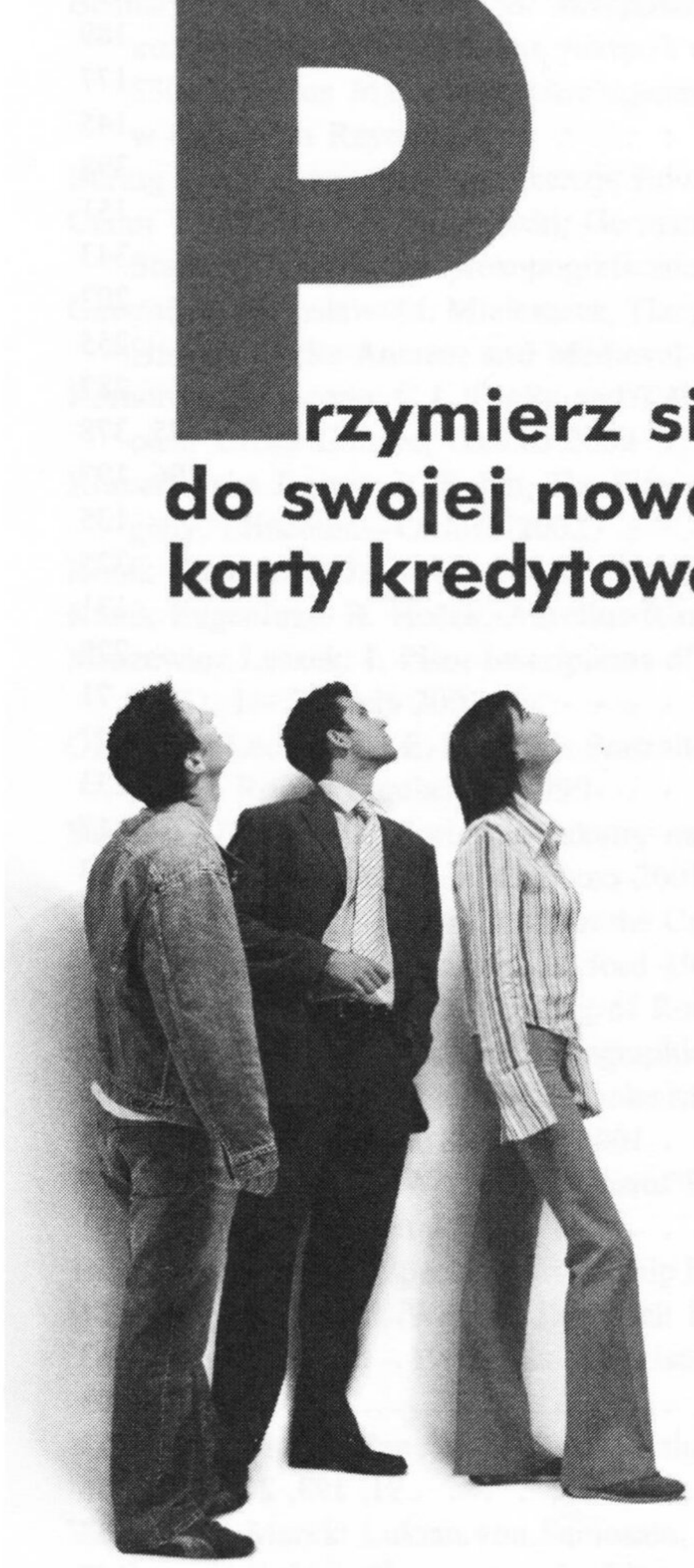
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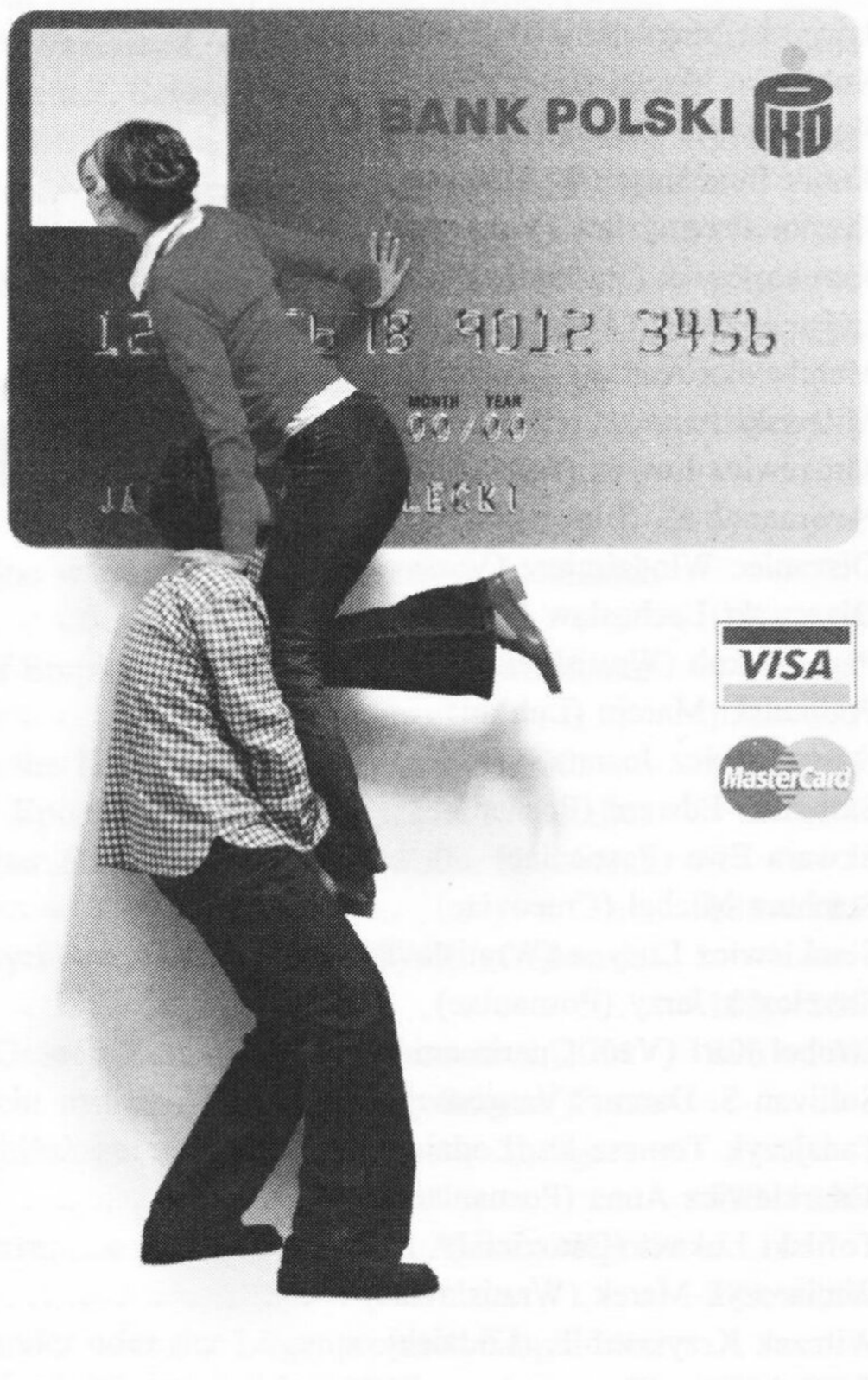
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