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2019

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EPIGRAPHY IN THE LANDSCAPE:
THE PLACES OF PUBLICATION OF DELPHIC DECREES¹

by

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to follow the discussion introduced by Peter Liddel in 2003 on the placement of published Athenian state decrees and to develop it alongside the case study of Delphi. The article explores the types of media upon which the Delphic decrees were displayed. It discusses the location of the inscribed media of choice of foreigners at Delphi and the Amphictyonic League to see how the Delphic publishing habit corresponded to the practices of other communities attested at Delphi.

The texts of stone decrees have been the centre of scholarly interest for decades. Yet, studies on the placement of such objects within the public space have so far not received adequate attention². The aim of this paper is to follow the discussion introduced by Peter LIDDEL in 2003 on the placement of published Athenian state decrees and to develop it alongside the case study of Delphi³. The article explores the physical context of decrees displayed at Delphi, i.e. types of media upon which they were inscribed and places where they were displayed. This is followed by an examination of the types of media preferentially employed

¹ The article would not be possible without the grant Maestro (no. UMO 2014/14/A/HS3/00132) financed by the funds of the Polish National Science Centre (NCN).

² For the location of the Athenian decrees, see especially LIDDEL 2003 (with references in notes 3 and 4 of his article); MEYER 2013; SHEAR 2007; also the project led by Chiara LASAGNI, "The epigraphic landscape of Athens". For the location of the Oropians proxeny decrees, see WILDING 2015; for the decrees from Megara, see LIDDEL 2009. WEIR (2004, 91 f.) discusses some Delphic decrees inscribed upon the Delphic treasuries. The recent publication by SEARS, KEEGAN and LAURENCE (2015) is a collection of essays concerning the practice of writing in Roman public space, in which the following are of particular interest; CORBIER's chapter devoted to writing within the Roman public space (pp. 13–47); NEWSOME's chapter on the movement and rhythms of written space (pp. 65–81); the case studies of writing space at Platea (TRIFILÒ, pp. 179–183); and finally, the chapters regarding Aquitania (CLEARY, pp. 217–230) and Roman Baetica (REVELL, pp. 231–245).

³ LIDDEL 2003.

by foreigners at Delphi and the Amphictyonic League, drawing comparisons between publishing habits of Delphi's citizens and foreigners. Honouring local and foreign benefactors was a habit the Delphians shared with others, but the culture of publishing the granting of honours is a local phenomenon which distinguishes Delphi from the rest of the Greeks⁴.

LIDDEL investigated c. 1679 Athenian state decrees, reaching the conclusion that only 553 (33%) of them bear the publication clause referring to the initial setting of inscriptions⁵. This is due to the fact that Athenian decrees were displayed on free-standing stelai within the Acropolis, the Agora, the Asclepieion and other minor sanctuaries. Without the preserved clause indicating where the stela was to be set up, the location of decree within the public space is often lost. Furthermore, it must be stressed that many of the decrees in Athens were not found *in situ*. In Delphi this is not the case, as 79,5% (604) of known state decrees were inscribed on building walls and only 20,5% (156) on free-standing stelai⁶. The locations of eight out of 156 stelai are known through either the decree's text or the actual finding spot⁷. Evidence from Delphi is therefore plentiful and its decrees outnumber the amount of Athenian decrees examined by LIDDEL.

THE TYPES OF MEDIA USED AT DELPHI

Before attempting to elaborate the places of publication of Delphic decrees it will be useful briefly to discuss the types of media upon which the Delphic decrees were displayed. The data is categorised by century up to the advent of the Imperial period, which has its own category due to the fact that a large proportion of abbreviated decrees issued between the 1st and 3rd centuries CE are dated generally as "Imperial" texts⁸.

⁴ GRZESIK, forthcoming.

⁵ LIDDEL 2003: 79. For the publication clause, see HENRY 2002: 94–97.

⁶ Inscriptions which do not indicate or do not preserve the place of publication have not been included. Delphic decrees, along with other inscriptions, have been published in six fascicules of *Fouilles de Delphes. Tome III: Épigraphie* (FdD), where the editors provided a description of the physical context of stone. However, for various reasons some documents published in the late 19th century in *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekten-Inschriften* lack information regarding the location of the stones (for instance SGDI 2660). There is also a large group of decrees published in the first fascicule of FdD whose location cannot be precisely determined, except for the fact that they were probably consecrated in the lower part of the sanctuary (Delphic decrees: FdD I 391–471; Amphictyonic documents: FdD I 472–480; decrees of others *poleis*: FdD I 481–485). In the following article, all FdD citations refer to the third volume of *Fouilles de Delphes: Épigraphie*.

⁷ Syl³ 821B; FdD III 216; 219; 222; 224; 228; FdD III 379 and 380.

⁸ For the definition of abbreviated decree, see GRZESIK 2013.

Tab. 1. The type of medium upon which Delphic decrees were displayed

DATE	STELAI	BUILDING WALLS
4 th century BCE	47 (+26)*	37
3 rd century BCE	41	310
2 nd century BCE	23	79
1 st century BCE	6	28
Imperial period	5	99
Undated	8	51
Total	156 (20,5%)	604 (79,5%)

* 26 decrees are dated to the turn of the 3rd century BCE.

A total of 156 out of the 760 decrees explored in this article were inscribed on stelai, with the remaining 604 appearing on the surfaces of monuments located with the Delphic *temenos*, which suggests that building walls were the predominant medium upon which the Delphians carved their decrees. Further observations can also be made after analysing the tabulated data. The first is that the largest number of stelai were set up by the Delphians in the 4th century BCE, when their decree habit was in its initial phase (Tab. 2)⁹. Moreover, the available evidence reveals that free-standing stelai were used more frequently to display grants of honours than building walls in this century. This situation was reversed from the beginning of the 3rd century BCE at Delphi, when the surfaces of treasuries, the polygonal wall and large statue bases replaced stelai as the main conduit(s) for inscriptions regarding the granting of honours. This prompts the oft-repeated question which, I would argue, has still not been answered adequately: why did the Delphians turn to inscribing honours on building walls when they used stelai so often in the 4th century? One likely answer, I suggest, is that at the turn of the 3rd century the prominent locations within the Delphic *temenos* had simply run out of room, not only for new stelai but also for honorific portraits and dedications. The monumental and honorific activities of foreign communities at Delphi during the Archaic and Classical periods led to a rampant overcrowding and at the beginning of the Hellenistic era a need for more space became apparent¹⁰. The once popular dedicatory areas, such as

⁹ The earliest epigraphic material attesting the spread of Delphic decree culture is dated to the beginning of the 4th century BCE (*BCH* XCIII 1969, 92; *FdD* IV 374). Decrees granted by the Amphictyony and other *poleis* appear at Delphi at approximately the same time (*SEG* XLIV 425; *CID* I 12). GRZESIK, forthcoming.

¹⁰ For dedications and votive offerings at Delphi from the Archaic and Classical period, see VATIN 1991; JACQUEMIN 1999; PARTIDA 2000; SCOTT 2010: App. A–F; KRUMEICH 2017. Cf. SCHÖRNER 2003 for votive offerings in Roman Greece.

the eastern side of the temple terrace and the southern area along the Sacred Way, grew overcrowded. This forced the Macedonians at first, then the Aetolian League (which dominated the territory of Delphi from 279 BCE to c. 190 BCE) to display their dedications and honorific statues in the underutilised space to the north and west of the temple¹¹. The Macedonians avoided the overcrowded parts of the sanctuary, while the Aetolians managed to establish their own zone of influence along the western flank of the temple terrace, as this was the only available area remaining¹². To increase the surface area and the capacity of the *temenos*, the Attalid kings had to break the walls and raise their *Stoa* on the eastern flank (Fig. 1)¹³. This situation was repeated during the Imperial period when, under Hadrian, the Roman agora was built in front of the main entrance to the sanctuary¹⁴. It is also plausible that the Aetolians erected the West *Stoa* in the 3rd century BCE for the same reasons¹⁵.

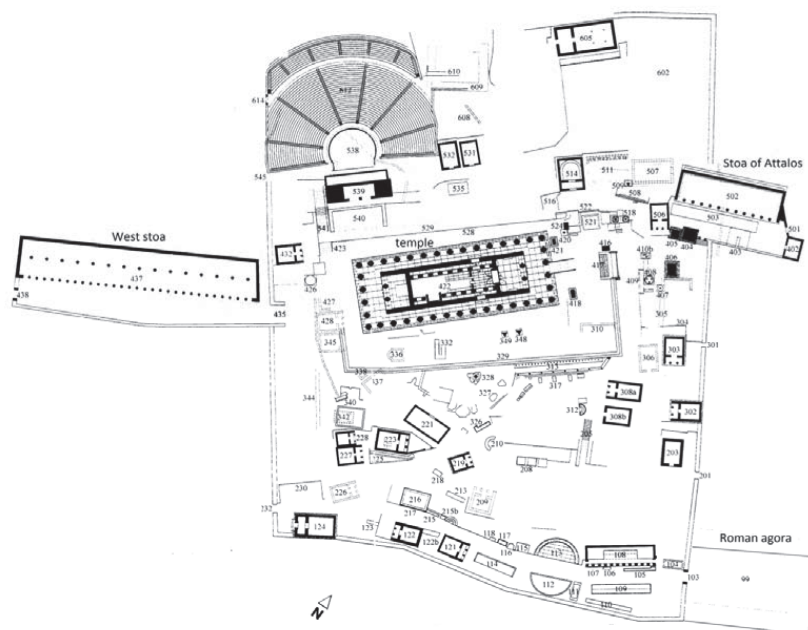


Fig. 1. Map of the sanctuary of Delphi¹⁶

¹¹ GRZESIK 2018.

¹² For Aetolian political domination at Delphi, see FLACELIÈRE 1937: 367; CHAMPION 1995; SCHOLTEN 2000: 30–95; SÁNCHEZ 2001: 306–309.

¹³ GRZESIK 2018: 37.

¹⁴ *Guide*: 111–114. WEIR 2004: 94 f.; SCOTT 2014: 241 f.

¹⁵ For the origin of the West *Stoa* and the debate concerning its erection, i.e. was it a 3rd century BCE Aetolian construction, or rather a 4th century BCE *hoplotheque*, see PERRIER 2011.

¹⁶ After *Guide* (Planche V), with modifications and adjustments made by the present author.

The Delphic decree habit, with its practice of engraving the texts of public decrees upon building walls, is not an exception in Greece; it fits into a broader pattern of documentary activity within smaller cities¹⁷. The Delphic *temenos* housed thousands of dedications, votive offerings and inscriptions granted not only by the citizens of Delphi, but also by the inhabitants of the entire Mediterranean world. At a minimum, there are 1184 decrees and 281 *tituli honorarii* preserved at Delphi. The total number of all inscriptions from Delphi is 3727. Only large cities like Athens and Ephesos produced more stone inscriptions than Delphi¹⁸. These cities did not, however, house as many foreign acts of piety as Delphi. Delphi also differs from other Panhellenic sanctuaries: neither Olympia, Nemea, nor Isthmia were in direct contact with a permanent settlement that possessed its own institutions. Many aspects of Delphic civic life took place within the *temenos*, with the *bouleuterion* and *prytaneion* being located within the *peribolos*¹⁹. Altogether this indicates that at the beginning of the 3rd century BCE Delphi simply run out of space, which is the main reason for the shift from free-standing stelai to building surfaces. Walls, statue bases and massive square pillars had, in contrast to stelai, two or four sides that could be inscribed upon. This allowed the Delphians to exploit the available material to its maximum without further cluttering the available space. HEBRIN points out that at the time of the Athenian colony monumental offerings, dedicated at Delos by individuals from all over the Mediterranean, had colonised all of the available spaces around the forecourt of the Altar of Horns and along the main lines of communication that run through the *hieron*²⁰. Overcrowding was therefore an issue for many of the sanctuaries that had an international audience and rich honorific culture²¹.

The economic aspect regarding the engraving of texts on walls instead of stelai should not be ignored. The citizens of Delphi adopted sides of building as the main epigraphic media at the time when their decree culture reached its peak (Tab. 2). The number of voted decrees in the 3rd century BCE is more than three times the number of decrees granted in the 4th century, which came at a price.

The mass production of honorary decrees at Delphi must have been extremely expensive. A text from 3rd century BCE Delos provides details regarding the cost of an inscription engraved on a stela. The stone cost 25 drachmas, transporting of the stone cost one drachma three obols, the engraving cost (at the rate of one

¹⁷ The habit of publishing proxeny decrees on a wall is attested in the city of Arcesine on Amorgos, in Megara; also Siphnian decrees were regularly inscribed on the wall of the shrine of Apollo Pythios (LIDDEL 2009: 428–433; PAPAZARKADAS 2013: 187). The citizens of Oropos displayed their proxeny decrees on honorific statue bases (WILDING 2015: 67–69).

¹⁸ GRZESIK, forthcoming.

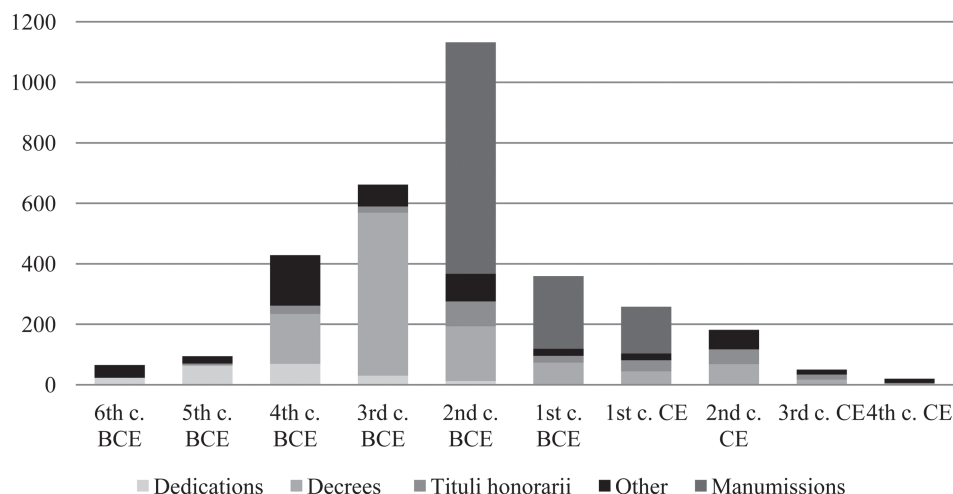
¹⁹ JACQUEMIN 1999: 33–35; GRZESIK 2018: 24 f.

²⁰ HEBRIN 2014.

²¹ For Delian honorific culture, see CONSTANTAKOPOULOU 2017 and 2019.

drachma per 300 letters) 100 drachmas, the lead five drachmas, the wood one drachma, and the erection of the stela two drachmas three obols. The overall sum is therefore 135 drachmas²². The use of building walls instead of stelai helped the citizens of Delphi to save money, as there were no stone, transportation or erection expenses, while the abbreviated form minimised the engraving costs²³.

Tab. 2. Inscriptions from Delphi by century (6th century BCE – 4th century CE)



Finally, the role that cutters played with regards to making stone decrees must be considered. TRACY estimated that approximately 15 to 20 cutters were employed to engrave decrees on stelai in Athens between 200 and 160 BCE and twice that number between 140 and 100 BCE²⁴. With this in mind, one may assume that less cutters were required at Delphi due to the common use of abbreviated decrees, therefore resulting in reduced costs.

A second observation worth noting after analysing Table 1 is the high number of decrees inscribed on the building walls during the Imperial Period; 99 in total. A general tendency from the last quarter of the 3rd century BCE onwards was the systematic fall in the number of texts inscribed on walls and stelai. The ostensible reversion of this trend in the Imperial era stems partly from my decision to enter all decrees granted between 1–250 CE together into a single category, in contrast to earlier decrees, categorised century by century. In fact, Delphi of the

²² IG XI, 2 161A, ll. 118–119. CONSTANTAKOPOULOU 2017: 172.

²³ The vast majority of Delphic decrees were published in an abbreviated form. GRZESIK 2013. Abbreviated decrees are attested also outside of Delphi, in Central and Northern Greece, the islands, parts of Asia Minor and in the Pontic colonies. SWOBODA 1890: 47; LARFELD 1914: 329–333; NAWOTKA 2014: 59.

²⁴ TRACY 1990: 227.

Imperial period saw only a brief renaissance in its honorific culture, the number of decrees granted rising in the 2nd century CE, especially under Hadrian's reign (Table 2); this brief window of time witnessed the increased epigraphic output of statues, decrees and grants of honours to a broader range of personages in Delphi and abroad²⁵.

THE PLACES OF PUBLICATION OF DELPHIC DECREES

As mentioned above, the exact locations of only eight out 156 preserved stelai from Delphi are known²⁶. One of which (dated between 81–96 CE and concerning Delphi's answer to a letter from Domitian) reveals the following publication formula: [πεμφθείσα]ς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστ[ο]λὰς ἐν τὸν ἐπισαμότατο[ν] τόπον τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐν λιθίναν] στάλαν ἐνχαράξαι (Il. 3–4)²⁷. The rest of the stelai whose location is known date to the 3rd century BCE. A series of five of these stelai was set up by the Delphians beside the Chian altar conferring honours upon the citizens of Chios²⁸, while two stelai come from the area near the offering of the Rhodians; they both concern honours for private individuals from Rhodes²⁹.

The analysis of the next table (Tab. 3), which presents the placement of Delphic decrees engraved on building walls, brings out a series of interesting patterns. Nearly one third of all decrees were displayed on three monuments: the Treasury of the Siphnians, the polygonal wall and the Treasury of the Athenians. The most engraved monument, the Treasury of the Siphnians (6th century BCE), bears texts of over a tenth of all Delphic state decrees. Many texts were inscribed upon its more prominent east and north flanks; sides that were easily seen by pilgrims passing along the Sacred Way³⁰. The aspect of visibility was therefore relevant in choosing the right spot for the inscription. The Treasury of the Siphnians stands out from other treasuries at Delphi, as the largest number of inscriptions displayed on its sides date to the Imperial period. Moreover, while it was common practice at Delphi to inscribe decrees for citizens of particular *poleis* onto the walls of monuments that were once dedicated by those cities, no citizen of Siphnos appears on the walls of the Treasury. The available evidence

²⁵ For honorific statues set up at Delphi in the 2nd century BCE, see GRZESIK 2019: 214–216.

²⁶ POUILLOUX (1976) published 111 Delphic proxeny decrees inscribed on stelai or marble blocks that were not fragments of building walls. They all come from the region between the temple and the northern areas, but their primary settings are unknown. *FdD* IV 373–450.

²⁷ *Syll*³ 821B; *Choix*, n^{os} 230–233.

²⁸ *FdD* III 216; 219; 222; 224; 228. No. 224 bears the publication clause: [ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψάφισμα τόδε τοῖς ταμίαις εἰς στάλας δύο καὶ ἀναθέμεν μίαν μὲν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, τὰν δὲ ἑτέραν ἐν Χίῳ] (Il. 14–15).

²⁹ *FdD* III 379 and 380.

³⁰ PARTIDA 2000: 35–47; WEIR 2004: 90.

indicates that Delphi's contacts with Siphnos were limited almost solely to the moment of the erection of the Treasury. After that the Siphnians lost interest in maintaining their monument³¹. It seems that for centuries the walls of the Siphian Treasury remained untouched, as the earliest decrees discovered on its walls postdate 150 BCE³², while the largest number of texts date to the Imperial period³³.

Tab. 3. Specific locations of Delphic decrees displayed on building walls

MONUMENT	TOTAL NUMBER OF DECREES
Treasury of the Siphnians	64 (10,5%)
Polygonal wall	62 (10%)
Treasury of the Athenians	49 (8%)
Base of the kings of Argos and the niche next to it	42
Base of the Boeotians	39
Base of the Arcadians	35
Cippi near the Treasury of the Athenians	32
Monument of the Messenians	30
Monument of Aemilius Paullus	24
Pillar of Eumenes II	22
Treasury of the Cnidians	17
Treasury of the Cyrenians	15
Base of the Aetolians	13
Treasury of the Thebans	10
Monument of Prusias II	9
Treasury of the Syracusans	2
Theatre	1
Other monuments	138
Total	604

The polygonal wall ranks second in the table with 62 Delphic state decrees. This large and remarkable 6th century BCE construction supports the platform

³¹ Paus. X 11, 2.

³² The earliest example: *FdD* I 260 (146 BCE) for a citizen of Hypata.

³³ At least 40 texts.

on which the temple of Apollo stands³⁴. Throughout the centuries it served as a surface for inscribing the texts of state decrees, Amphictyonic documents and manumission records.

The majority of the recipients of Delphic honours recorded upon the Treasury of the Athenians were in fact citizens of Athens, which indicates a continual relationship between Athens and Delphi and the constant use of the Athenian Treasury³⁵. Citizens of Delphi were only appointed as *proxenoi* of Athens twice, in the late 5th and early 4th centuries BCE, while Delphi made Athenians its *proxenoi* at least 62 times; most of these grants are located on the Treasury³⁶. Not only honorific decrees for the Athenians were placed upon the walls of their Treasury. A similar pattern of relevance appears in those decrees found on the Treasuries of the Cnidians³⁷, Cyrenians³⁸ and Thebans³⁹, or the bases of the Arcadians⁴⁰ and Boeotians⁴¹. There was a general tendency to erect inscriptions at places most relevant to their content. Therefore, if a city possessed an offering or monument from the past that could serve as a surface for inscribing, and contacts between the city and Delphi were maintained, then one could expect that in the Hellenistic period the building would display honours granted to its citizens⁴². This publication habit also applies, at least to some extent, to Romans honoured at Delphi, as the pillar of Aemilius Paullus contains at least five decrees regarding Roman citizens⁴³. An inscription dated between 20–75 CE for a musician from Magnesia on the Meander is also worth mentioning as it was inscribed on the statue base of another artist; which suggests that there may have been a plan (even in the Imperial period) to present honours in appropriate, not random locations at Delphi⁴⁴.

This latter decree sheds some light on matter concerning communities that did not possess a suitable monument at Delphi to house honours voted for them.

³⁴ Paus. X 16, 7; *Guide*: 199–216.

³⁵ *FdD* II 71–134; *Syll*³ 395 and 704C. BANKEL 1990: 410–12; PARTIDA 2000: 48–70; NEER 2004. For Delphic contacts with Athens, see GRZESIK, forthcoming.

³⁶ *IG* I³ 27 and *IG* II² 51.

³⁷ *FdD* I 196; 290; 299–301; 308; 314; 327.

³⁸ *FdD* III 163; 165–166; 169. PARTIDA 2000: 147–172.

³⁹ *FdD* I 354–365.

⁴⁰ *FdD* I 12–46 (with some unknown ethnics).

⁴¹ *FdD* III 78–116 (with some unknown ethnics).

⁴² There are, however, exceptions to this rule. The monument of the Messenians was at the same time covered with inscriptions both for its own citizens (11 grants) and for private individuals from other foreign cities (nine attestations). *FdD* IV 4–34.

⁴³ *FdD* IV 44–48. For the monument of Aemilius Paullus, see KÄCHLER 1965; JACQUEMIN, LAROCHE 1982; BOSCHUNG 2001; TAYLOR 2016.

⁴⁴ *FdD* III 129.

The bulk of decrees for inhabitants of peripheral areas such as Caria or Cilicia, or people from the Italian cities were found on the *cippi* near the Treasury of the Athenians⁴⁵, on *exedras* and niches located along the Sacred Way, or on the polygonal wall⁴⁶. Many of them were also engraved on buildings that possessed proper legal administrators⁴⁷. Perhaps the aforementioned decrees were set up at these monuments because their subject matter or honorands were connected with the city that dedicated the offering. However, no definitive answer can be given as most of these inscriptions are in abbreviated form, which reveal little about the honorands and any connection they may have had with the owners of the monument.

One notable case that does allow us to trace the process of inscribing honorific decrees upon particular flanks of monument, is the pillar of Eumenes II, the find-spot of many Delphic honorary decrees. This Aetolian dedication of 196 BCE reveals that newly inscribed grants did not disrupt the overall reading of the main dedication and that there was no level of competition between the texts⁴⁸. The main dedication for Eumenes II is located on the east side of the monument facing the Sacred Way. This flank remained un-inscribed for over 250 years, as all other decrees postdate 80–95 CE⁴⁹. The citizens of Delphi and the Aetolians engraved the earliest decrees, using smallest letters, on the less prominent southward wall between 196–166 BCE; all of these decrees concern Eumenes II or his envoys who were sent to Delphi⁵⁰. The north and west flanks of the monument were covered over time with decrees granting honours to the citizens of different *poleis*. Two of these inscriptions in particular are worth commenting upon, as they were granted in 86 BCE for Polygnota, a harpist from Thebes, and for her cousin⁵¹. Polygnota came to Delphi to participate in the Pythian Games, but the festival was cancelled due to the ongoing war between Sulla and Mithridates. Not discouraged, the Theban harpist performed independently in Delphi and received much praise for her music: she was granted a monetary reward and numerous Delphic privileges, including *proxenia*, *promanteia* (priority to consult an oracle), *proedria* (privilege of front-row seats), *prodikia* (priority of trial), *asylia* (immunity from the right of reprisal), and *ateleia* (exemption from public burdens)⁵². Inscribing her

⁴⁵ *FdD* II 176–178; 180–181.

⁴⁶ *FdD* II 208. Tarentum set up their own monument at Delphi (500–475 BCE) which was later covered with decrees for citizens of Tarentum (*FdD* I 131 and 135).

⁴⁷ E.g. decrees for citizen of Mallos (Cilicia, *FdD* I 84) or Sinope (*FdD* I 85) engraved upon the statue base of the kings of Argos.

⁴⁸ *FdD* III 230. DAUX 1943: 201–203.

⁴⁹ *FdD* III 231 (1st century CE); 232 (98/99 CE); 233 (80–95 CE); 234 (1st/2nd century CE); 235 (1st/2nd century CE); 236 (1st/2nd century CE).

⁵⁰ *FdD* III 237; 239–243.

⁵¹ *FdD* III 249–250.

⁵² BÉLIS 1999: 53–55; CHANIOTIS 2009: 87–91; *Choix*, n^{os} 208 f.; PERROT 2013: 205 f.

honorific decree upon the pillar of Eumenes II should be considered as an additional privilege, as a virtue of spatial contiguity, the allure of primary dedications radiated towards secondary inscriptions clustered around them. In the succinct words of MA, “statues attract statues”⁵³. It should be remembered that the proximity to other famous dedications, whether of deities, personifications, or mortals, gave a different perspective in which honorific decrees could be interpreted⁵⁴.

In light of previous considerations, it can be stated that the intention of newly inscribed decrees was not to cover or disrupt the overall reading of the main inscription. On the contrary, analysis of the phases of writing upon the pillar of Eumenes II reveals that subsequent decrees were intended to supplement the main text and that the primary dedication could add esteem to them.

THE PUBLICATION CLAUSE

Only 31 Delphic decrees bear the publication clause, of which 21 date to the 2nd century BCE (Tab. 4). Such a small number is the result of the majority of decrees being inscribed in an abbreviated form where the publication formula never appears⁵⁵. The concentration of texts with the clause of publication in the 2nd century BCE should be attributed to the Delphic epigraphic habit as in this century the formula of the Delphic full decree reached its most developed form with the largest number of additional elements⁵⁶. Decrees of the 3rd century BCE, although more numerous, were inscribed most often in an abbreviated form.

The most commonly attested phrases reporting the placement of decrees are ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος (“to inscribe the decree in the sanctuary of Apollo”) or ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ (“to inscribe the decree in the most prominent location of the sanctuary”). It is worth noting that ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος refers in fact to the entire *temenos*, not the temple, as decrees with this clause were displayed upon many buildings located within the *peribolos*⁵⁷. Occasionally, the clause points to the public officials responsible for erecting the decree (archon or *epimeletes*)⁵⁸; or it refers to sending a copy of the decree to the honorand’s

⁵³ MA 2007: 89.

⁵⁴ FEJFER 2008: 51 f.

⁵⁵ For the pattern of Delphic abbreviated decrees, see GRZESIK 2013.

⁵⁶ GRZESIK, forthcoming.

⁵⁷ *Syll*³ 604 – the polygonal wall; *FdD* I 260 – the Treasure of the Siphnians; *FdD* I 365 – the Treasure of the Thebans; *FdD* III 118 – the statue base in front of the Athenian *Stoa*; *FdD* III 147 – the *exedra* near the *aire*; *FdD* IV 47 – the monument of Aemilius Paullus.

⁵⁸ ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸ ψάφισμα τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἐνάρχους ἐν τῷ [ι]ερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος (e.g. *Syll*³ 604); ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸ ψά[φισμα τόδε τοὺς ἐπιμελητάς τῶ]ν Σωτηρίων Ἀνδρομένη, Φιλοκράτη καὶ ἀναθέμεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν τῷ [ι] ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τ]όπῳ (*FdD* IV 61).

hometown⁵⁹. Three texts of Delphic decrees reveal the exact placement of inscription, that is the Treasury of the Athenians⁶⁰; the base of the Rhodian dedication⁶¹; and the base of a statue of Prusias II onto which the decree for Nicomedes III, the king of Bithynia, was erected⁶².

Tab. 4. Delphic decrees with the publication clause

4 th century BCE	0	
3 rd century BCE	1 + 1 (3 rd / 2 nd centuries BCE)	<i>FdD</i> IV 153; I 308
2 nd century BCE	21	<i>SGDI</i> 2662; <i>Syll</i> ³ 604; 689; <i>Klio</i> XVIII 1923, 278, 207; 279, 207a; 286, 213; <i>FdD</i> I 260; 365; II 89; 92; III 118; 120; 125; 147; 241; 242; 383; IV 52; 65; 161; 171
1 st century BCE	5	<i>Syll</i> ³ 737; <i>FdD</i> III 384; IV 56; 57; 77
Imperial period	2	<i>FdD</i> IV 47; 59
Undated	1	<i>FdD</i> III 142
Total	31	

THE DECREES OF THE AMPHICTYONY AND OTHER COMMUNITIES AT DELPHI

Discussion so far has centred on the placements of Delphic decrees; in this last section I shall address the inscribed media of choice of foreigners at Delphi and the Amphictyonic League to see how the Delphic publishing habit corresponded to the practices of other communities attested at Delphi. The League of the Amphictyony produced *c.* 110 decrees that have come down to us in the form of stone inscriptions⁶³. The ratio of the texts engraved on stelai to those displayed upon building walls is about equal (49% to 51%). It is therefore the first factor that distinguishes the Delphic publishing culture from the Amphictyonic

⁵⁹ ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸ ψάφισμα ἐν τε τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον· ἀπ[ο]στείλαι δὲ καὶ ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν τῶν Ὑπαταίων ἀντίγραφον τοῦ ψα[φί]σματος ὅ[πως εἰ]δῶντι τὰ δεδογμένα τᾶ πόλει (e.g. *FdD* I 260).

⁶⁰ [ἀνα]γράφαι δὲ καὶ τὸ[ν γραμμ]ατέα τὰν μὲν προξενίαν ἐν τῷ βουλευίῳ κα[τ] τὸν νόμ[ον], τὸ [δὲ ψάφισμ]α ἐν τὸν τοῖχον τοῦ οἴκ[ου τοῦ] Ἀθηναίων (*FdD* II 89).

⁶¹ ἀναγράφαι τὰμ μὲν προξενίαν ἐν τὸ βουλευίον κα[τ]ὰ τὸν νόμον, τὸ δὲ ψ[άφισμα] ἐν τὰν βάσιν τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἄρματος τοῦ ἀνατεθέντος τῷ θεῷ [ὑπὸ] τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Ροδίων (*FdD* III 383).

⁶² [ἀν]αγρ[ά]ψαι δὲ τὸ ψάφισμα τοὺς ἄρχοντα[ς τοῦ] ἐν[άρχους] ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τόπῳ ἐπ[ὶ τ]ὰν βά[σιν τ]οῦ πάπ<π>ου αὐτῶν Προυσί[α] (*FdD* IV 77).

⁶³ Most of which appear in the fourth volume of *Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes: Documents Amphictioniques* (CID).

habit, as the surfaces of buildings were the predominant medium upon which the Delphians carved their state decrees (79,5% to 20,5%). This disproportion can be explained by the fact that the *polis* of Delphi produced almost ten times more decrees than the Amphictyony. If we compare the numbers of texts published by both on free-standing stelai, then the Delphians still displayed more decrees (156) than the Amphictyony (51). Consequently, due to the small number of Amphictyonic stelai involved, the League could alternate between this medium and building walls as places to display honours, thus avoiding overcrowding the *temenos*, particularly in the crucial 3rd century BCE.

The League of the Amphictyony engraved its decrees upon the same buildings as the Delphians; the polygonal wall was the find-spot of the bulk of Amphictyonic documents⁶⁴, several were found on treasuries belonging to the Athenians⁶⁵, Cnidians⁶⁶, Thebans⁶⁷, as well as on the hemicycle of the kings of Argos⁶⁸. It is the publication habit of the Aetolians that stands out among others and due to that it deserves closer analysis. Firstly, it must be acknowledged that the League of the Aetolians was never the legal administrator of the Delphic territory. However, after repulsing the Gallic invasion of Delphi in 279 BCE, the Aetolians managed to become the dominant power within the Amphictyony by gaining the votes of the conquered central Greek *poleis*. They reorganised the Soteria festival, entrusting its organisation to the Aetolian *agonothetai*, and they took control over the *epimeletai* of the sanctuary⁶⁹. Gaining control over Delphi's main festivals, the sanctuary's officials, and the Amphictyonic council was just the beginning of what would become total domination over Delphic territory⁷⁰. Between 279 BCE and 190 BCE 53% of all images raised at Delphi were granted by the League of the Aetolians. No other community has ever found itself in a position to impose its control over foreign public land and create its own zone of influence to the extent the Aetolians did at Delphi⁷¹.

This domination is also visible in Aetolian decrees set up at Delphi. Table 5 indicates that among 18 foreign decrees (whose primary setting is known) located within the territory of Delphi, seven were voted by the League of the Aetolians between 259–183/2 BCE.

⁶⁴ CID IV 23; 43–44; 58–60; *Syll*³ 444A–E.

⁶⁵ CID IV 127 and 134.

⁶⁶ CID IV 26.

⁶⁷ CID IV 70–72.

⁶⁸ CID IV 4–15.

⁶⁹ Κατασταθείς ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν. E.g. *FdD* I 451, *FdD* IV 175; *SGDI* 2672. SIFAKIS 1967: 64; SÁNCHEZ 2001: 306–309.

⁷⁰ SCHOLTEN 2000: 30–95.

⁷¹ GRZESIK 2019: 208–210.

Tab. 5. The location of decrees of other communities at Delphi

NO.	GRANTING AUTHORITY	DATE (BCE)	LOCATION	ATTESTATION
1.	Aetolian League	259–255	<i>exedra</i> near the <i>aire</i>	<i>FdD</i> III 144
2.	Aetolian League	225	polygonal wall	<i>Syll³</i> 479
3.	Aetolian League	early 2 nd cent.	Treasure of the Thebans	<i>FdD</i> I 535
4.	Aetolian League	early 2 nd cent.	Treasure of the Athenians	<i>FdD</i> II 90
5.	Aetolian League	205/4–203/2	Treasure of the Athenians	<i>FdD</i> II 134a
6.	Aetolian League	194–171	on the wall in the sanctuary	<i>BCH</i> V 1881, 404, 14
7.	Aetolian League	183/2	pillar of Eumenes	<i>FdD</i> III 240
8.	Tegea	324	stela	<i>Syll³</i> 306
9.	Erythrai in Ionia	260	stela	<i>Syll³</i> 412
10.	Erythrai in Ionia	260	stela	<i>Syll³</i> 413
11.	Chios	247	stela	<i>FdD</i> III 214
12.	Chios	246	stela	<i>FdD</i> III 215
13.	Chaleion	218/217	<i>exedra</i> near the <i>aire</i>	<i>FdD</i> III 145
14.	Lilaia	208	monument of the Lilaiaians (?)	<i>FdD</i> IV 132
15.	Lilaia	208	monument of the Lilaiaians (?)	<i>FdD</i> IV 133
16.	Lilaia	208	monument of the Lilaiaians (?)	<i>FdD</i> IV 134
17.	Lilaia	208	monument of the Lilaiaians (?)	<i>FdD</i> IV 135
18.	Daulis in Phocis	90–85	monument of Aemilius Paullus	<i>FdD</i> IV 59

All seven decrees were engraved upon the surfaces of constructions that were initially used by the Delphians and the Amphietyons to display their honorary documents. Other *poleis* whose honorific activity is attested at Delphi selected stelai (five examples) or their own monuments at Delphi to publish their decrees (four examples). The citizens of Daulis and Chaleion engraved decrees upon the base of the monument of Aemilius Paullus and on the *exedra* near the *aire*, most probably because they were not in possession of their own monumental offerings at Delphi. The publication habit of the Aetolians at Delphi reveals another aspect of the Aetolian domination over Delphic land; to express its power, the League adopted the Delphic publishing style and it eternalised its decrees on Delphic monuments. The way the Aetolians presented their decrees in Thermos differs

from the process used at Delphi, as at Thermos the League placed their decrees almost exclusively on stelai⁷².

CONCLUSION

The over-crowdedness of the *temenos*, the availability of appropriate monumental building surfaces, and the economic factors are certainly plausible explanations for the widespread publication of Delphic decrees on building walls. The foregoing discussion demonstrates that the Delphians along with the Amphictyons and, to some extent, the Aetolians, exploited the available material to its maximum. In the Roman period the walls of the so far unused Treasury of the Siphnians were covered with inscriptions, as was the prominent east side of the pillar of Eumenes II. WILDING reveals that in Oropos, for instance, the citizens carved their proxeny decrees onto honorific statue bases, but not every base was inscribed, and certain bases bore only one epigraphic decree⁷³.

It seems, however, that the Delphic manner of using building walls had one huge disadvantage – i.e. the inscriptions were visually inaccessible. Decrees published at Delphi were organised in a compact fashion; many of them were inscribed on the upper parts of high monuments, or on the back of statue bases or pillars, unavailable to the eyes of the passing crowd. These types of inscriptions could not compete for the attention of visitors against the monuments and votive offerings. Nonetheless, keeping in line with MA's suggestion that it was not only the location that mattered, but also the proper neighbourhood, one may conclude that the prestige of the monument upon which the decrees were engraved could add its own measure of prestige⁷⁴. It is plausible to suggest that a decree displayed on the wall of a famous monument stood a better chance of being seen (and read) than a single stela set up somewhere along the Sacred Way, overshadowed by the forest of other dedications. This suggestion opens a new research perspective regarding the aspect of visibility of inscriptions located within the public space.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BCH *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.

Choix A. JACQUEMIN, D. MULLIEZ, G. ROUGEMONT (eds.), *Choix d'inscriptions de Delphes, traduites et commentées*, Athènes 2012.

⁷² *IG IX* 1² 1–50.

⁷³ WILDING 2015: 68, n. 70.

⁷⁴ MA 2007: 89.

- CID* *Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes.*
CIG *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.*
FdD *Fouilles de Delphes, Tome III; Épigraphie.*
Guide J.-F. BOMMELAER, D. LAROCHE (eds.), *Guide de Delphes. Le site*, 2nd edn., Athènes 2015.
IG *Inscriptiones Graecae.*
SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*
SGDI *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.*
Syll³ W. DITTENBERGER (ed.), *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn.

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SYMMETRY AND VERBAL PARALLELISMS IN LYCOPHRON'S *ALEXANDRA**

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ABSTRACT: This article presents a survey of the symmetrical use and repetition of words in the *Alexandra*. There are about 200 *dis legomena* in the poem. They can be divided into two groups: words appearing in the first and the second part of the poem (i.e. before and after line 737, which constitutes its middle point), and those used twice in the same part. Parallels of the first group form a kind of ring structure that both serves the function of a framework and places an emphasis on the central part of the poem, i.e. the so called *Odyssey* and the Siren episode in particular. In turn, doublets of the second group exert an influence on the rhythmisation of the *Alexandra*, enhancing its euphony.

Scholars have noticed that *Alexandra*, a poem of 1474 lines, has a very clear structure¹. Its framework consists of the introduction (1–30) and the conclusion (1461–1474) where the messenger speaks in his own words. Between these two parts there are numerous symmetries, forming a ring composition². According to André HURST and Antje KOLDE, the parallels are numerous, given that the relevant sections of the text are short³:

1: λέξω	1467: ἀγγέλλων
1: νητρεκῶς	1471: ἐτητύμως
1: ἰστορεῖς	1470 f.: πάντα φράζειν [...] ὥτρυνας
6: φοιβάξεν	1468: φοιβαστρίας

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¹ ZIEGLER 1927: 2329; HURST, KOLDE 2008: 320 f.; HORNBLLOWER 2015: 49–51, 301.

² Compare it with the fairly abundant literature on Vergil's *Bucolics*. Some scholars adopt a very precise symmetrical structure, seen both in the whole collection and in the individual pieces: see VAN SICKLE 2004: 20–37, where the entire discussion on the structure and symmetry of the *Bucolics*, which began in the 1940s, was reviewed. Moreover, WILKINSON (1969: 327 f.) observed that in Verg. *Georg.* IV 457–522 and in Catullus' 68 A there is a "chiastic pattern" which was probably a feature of Hellenistic poetry; see also TRAILL 1988. On the symmetry in Moschus' *Europa*, see SCHMIEL 1981. On the circular composition of Theocritus' *Id.* 26, see CUSSET 2001: 18–27.

³ HURST, KOLDE 2008: 320 f.

7: Σφιγγὸς κελαινῆς	1465: Φίκιον τέρας
9: κἀναπεμπάζων	1470: κἀναπεμπάζειν
15: δρομεύς	1471: τρόχιν
28: βακχεῖον στόμα	1464: Μιμαλλών

Two of them (φοιβάζεν/φοιβαστρίας) are rare words made from the same root and two are the same verbs (κἀναπεμπάζων/κἀναπεμπάζειν), the identity of which is underlined by the contraction used. There are almost two hundred similar repetitions in the *Alexandra*, as I will demonstrate later in this article. I will also try to prove that their function is to enhance both the rhythm of the poem and its symmetrical arrangement, which places an emphasis on its central part. However, parallels that appear in the *Alexandra* are hidden so as to avoid both artificiality and monotony. In other words, the *dis legomena* that constitute its ‘seams’ are not obvious, like those in the wonderful ball of Eros in Apollonius’ *Argonautica* (III 137–139). Incidentally, the same very rare word for seams (ῥαφαί: Ap. Rhod. III 139) was used by Lycophron in the *Alexandra* to ‘sew’ his own poem with an invisible stitch, because in addition to the other words duplicated in the poem, this one also appears twice (381; 1102)⁴.

The symmetry in the *Alexandra*’s structure is strengthened in other ways as well. The central part consists of the longest episode in the description of the *nostoi*, regarding the return of Odysseus (648–819)⁵, which surrounds line 737, the central part of the poem⁶. This placing and the extensive length of the passage stress its importance. The very centre, however, presents the story of the suicide of the three Sirens, Parthenope, Ligeia and Leucosia (712–737), singers representing poetry. Scholars do not say exactly why the episode presenting their death is significant. Meanwhile, it is reflected in the image of the Sphinx⁷, a dangerous singer who looks like the Sirens⁸, who is twice mentioned, in the introduction and at the end, and who met with a similar fate to that of the Sirens⁹. Thus, the deceptive singers assume crucial central and frame positions in the poem, probably because they were an allegory of poetry proposed by Lycophron, which was to resemble them, be alluring and at the same time to lead readers astray. The Siren and the Sphinx, identified with the type of poetry practiced by the poet, are also very close to Alexandra/Cassandra herself, as she was twice

⁴ The invisibility of the ‘seams’ in the form of repeating the words can be seen in the conclusion regarding the number of repetitions in the *Alexandra* made by PICKERING (1999: 84): “one is left with the strong impression that there is a deliberate avoidance of repetition”.

⁵ On the episode, see SCHADE 1999; HURST 2002: 115–127.

⁶ ZIEGLER 1927: 2316–2381; HORNBLLOWER 2015: 49–51, 301.

⁷ HURST, KOLDE 2008: XXVII.

⁸ Soph. *OT* 130.

⁹ Apollod. III 5, 8.

compared to the Sphinx (7; 1465), and her prophecy to the song of the Siren (1463). Moreover, after her death, Cassandra receives her own cult tomb in Italy (1126–1140), as do Parthenope, Ligeia and Leucosia (712–733). Following this lead, I would venture the claim that the poem *Alexandra* itself becomes a form of poetics created by its author, which, apart from the enigmatic character of the Sphinx and the captivating singing characteristic of the Sirens, is also determined by the hybridity seen in the complex and not fully defined form of the poem¹⁰.

The symmetry of the *Alexandra* is emphasised by pairs of episodes placed in the poem. The author either refers twice to the same mythical story or duplicates the motifs. For example, he twice describes the scene of extracting a spring from below ground with the stamp of a foot: in the first part this is done by Achilles on the Trojan beach (247) and in the second part by Hermes in Egypt (835). Other parallel depictions are: Theseus obtaining his father's weapon from under a stone (494 f. and 1322 f.); the killing of Scylla (44 f. and 650 f.); and Heracles kidnapping Geryon's cattle (47 and 697). Other motifs that appear twice in the poem are: Hera's breast (40 and 1328); the figure of Athena turning her gaze away from a hideous act (361–364 and 984–992); the fall of Telephus, whose legs got tangled in the twigs of the chaste berry (213 and 1247), etc. In the last case, Lycophron uses the *variatio* technique, replacing the phrase ἵχνος ἐμπλέξας λύγοις, mentioned in the first part of the poem, with γυῖα συνδήσας λύγοις¹¹. The duplication of motifs probably originates from Homer's epics, which contain similarly constructed characters and scenes from episodes about the Laestrygonians and Cyclops, Kirke and Calypso, Melanthios and Melantho, as well as Poseidon and Helios¹² taking revenge on Odysseus. However, mirror reflections can also be found in Greek tragedy, where scenes and images are often doubled¹³. The oral style of Homer's poetry was largely based on repetitiveness, the function of which was, among other things, to isolate and merge larger and smaller wholes within a poem (e.g. by means of a ring structure). Similar literary treatment can be observed elsewhere in Alexandrian poetry. For example, Moschus' *Europa* is based on symmetry obtained by means of thematic as well as verbal repetition that places emphasis on the central part of the poem¹⁴. Apollonius of Rhodes builds one of the symmetries that make up the structure of the *Argonautica* following the model of the symmetrical pair of deities in the *Odyssey*, Helios and Poseidon, plotting to take Odysseus's life. Pelias, son of Poseidon, sends Jason on a sea voyage (I 5–17), while Aeëtes, son of Helios,

¹⁰ See e.g. FUSILLO 1984; DURBEC 2011; SISTAKOU 2016: 168–192.

¹¹ HORNBLOWER 2015: 171.

¹² FENIK 1974: 174–180. On the repetition of scenes and names in Homer, see e.g. ZIELIŃSKI 2014: 39, 76, 213.

¹³ TAPLIN 2003: 91–103.

¹⁴ SCHMIEL 1981.

sends the hero to fight the fire-breathing bulls, the works of Hephaestus's hands (III 401–417). In this way, the two descendants of the gods, who command water and fire respectively, send the inconvenient guest to a certain death in the elements over which they have control. Another type of repetition in epic poems is the duplication of rare words that appear symmetrically both in the first and second parts of the poem, creating a kind of frame, and in pairs in the first or second half of the poem. A similar procedure was used for example by Callimachus in his *Hymns*, the structure of which is also based on symmetry¹⁵. The poet's intention is also detectable at the verbal level: certain hymns are joined in pairs by the use of the same expressions. They are not ordinary, accidentally repeated words, but words that are rare or of uncertain meaning, which have been the subject of discussion since antiquity. They include: *πρύλιν*, or the term for 'armed dance' (1, 52; 3, 240); a rare adjective: *σιωπηλός* 'silent', used in two poems in a similar context (2, 12; 4, 302); an interesting adjective *διερός* (1, 24; 2, 23) which in Homer's case means 'fast' and in later poetry 'moist'; *ἄεμμα* 'bow' (2, 33; 3, 10), a rare word previously used by Philitas in his *Demeter* elegy (*SH* frg. 673 = frg. 5 *LIGHTFOOT*)¹⁶; the term *περισκεπής* 'covering' or 'covered', coined by Callimachus and used by him with both of those meanings (1, 11; 4, 23); an epithet *θυμήρης* 'suiting the heart' (4, 29), *hapax legomenon* in Homer (*Od.* X 362), assuming in the *Hymn to Demeter* the more frequent form *θυμαρής* (6, 55), probably because the variant with the *alpha* makes it similar to the Doric dialect in which the hymn was written; *μελαμψήφιν* 'about black stones' (3, 101; 4, 76), another adjective created by Callimachus; a rare noun *προμολή* 'vestibule; foot of a mountain' (3, 99; 3, 142), employed four times by Apollonius (I 260; 1174; III 215; IV 1160); and *βρέτας*, 'a wooden image of a god' (3, 238; 248) that, NB, appears twice also in the *Alexandra* (948; 1135). Moreover, there is a very unusual feminine form *Υψηίς* (2, 92; 3, 208). Repetitions, or rather pairs of words, concern not only specific, rare words, but also refer to ordinary words or phrases and motifs¹⁷. In turn, the 'rhythmic' nature of the *Hymns* is enhanced by the anaphorae used by Callimachus, which are found in large numbers in the *Hymn to Zeus* and the *Hymn to Demeter*¹⁸.

Lycophron seems to use many more repetitions than Callimachus, and they are not only of rare words. Sometimes, however, the poet, using the *variatio* principle, creates repetitions from the same root, but in different grammatical forms.

¹⁵ ŻYBERT 2016: 97 f.

¹⁶ WILLIAMS 1978: 40.

¹⁷ UKLEJA 2005: 63–71, 96–107.

¹⁸ ŻYBERT 2016: 95.

In the *Alexandra*, most of the doubled words (about 60%) come from drama, mainly tragedy¹⁹. The author of the poem also shows interest in rare words found in Homer (e.g. πτέρνα; see *Alex.* 442; 500). He also reworked Homeric vocabulary, for instance in the case of the noun ἀλφή 'produce', 'gain' (549; 1394). It was first used by Lycophron, in both cases in regard to girls: the two Leucippides and Mestra. The daughters of Leucippus were kidnapped by the Dioscuri, so their father did not receive the customary dowry. On the other hand, Mestra, sold as a girl, returns to her father, Erysichthon-Aethon, in the form of an animal that she can transform into, so that her parent has a steady income allowing him to satisfy his constant hunger. This is an example of a reversed analogy, liked by the Alexandrian poets, and also a proof of the intentional use of the same word twice. Homer, on the other hand, uses the adjective ἀλφεσίβοιος 'bringing in oxen' only once (*Il.* XVIII 593); the adjective defines maids who are eligible to be married and are popular among boys, which is proved by the cows and bulls given to their fathers by suitors in the hope of receiving the hand of the girl in marriage. So Lycophron probably separated an element from the term, logically meaning 'gain', and used it in the poem, but keeping in mind that it denotes the profits that the maid generates for her father. However, while in the first case we are dealing with the 'classical' meaning of the word, in the second case – due to the uniqueness of Mestra and her ability to metamorphose – with a rather unusual meaning, because the material benefits are not a dowry paid for by suitors, but a price for a girl sold for erotic purposes (*Σ Alex.* 1393; *Ant. Lib.* 17, 5).

Moreover, many words used by Lycophron are also used by other Hellenistic poets, especially Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius, who enter into an intertextual dialogue, showing off their own inventiveness to their colleagues in various ways. Sometimes it is just that an unusual word, as in the case of the Homeric γλήνη 'eye' (*Alex.* 362; 988), used, apart from Lycophron, by Apollonius, Hermesianax, Aratus and Nicander, is clearly favoured by many Hellenistic poets who use it in various meanings. Homer employs it once to mean an ornamental pattern (*Il.* XXIV 192 about ornaments in the sleeping quarters), and this is then imitated by Apollonius of Rhodes (*IV* 427 f. about patterns on the garment given to Jason by Hypsipyle). Aratus, on the other hand, was the first in the Hellenistic era to use it to describe stars, the decorations of the sky (318)²⁰. It is used again in the sense of 'eyes' by Apollonius (*II* 255; *IV* 1093) and Hermesianax (frg. 1 LIGHTFOOT), using the variant γλήν, which is underlined by Herodian, to whom we owe this fragment (Herodian, *On the Exceptional Creation of Words*, *GG* III 2, p. 922, 20), followed by Nicander (*Ther.* 227 f. about a viper's eyes). Lycophron uses the word for the eyes of the

¹⁹ For tragic vocabulary in the *Alexandra* and generally its dramatic character, see FUSILLO 1984; CUSSET 2002/2003; SENS 2010; DURBEC 2011; SISTAKOU 2016: 168–192.

²⁰ KIDD 1997: 301 f.

statue of Athena, which she turns to the ceiling in reaction to the abhorrent act of Ajax (362), and again in reference to Athena who closes her eyes when she sees the Achaeans murdering the Ionians (988). Therefore, the poet emphasises the repetition of the motif by doubling the word. Callimachus also referred to the story of the rape of Cassandra and the massacre of the Ionian people in the city of Siris (*Aet.* frg. 33; 35 f. HARDER). However, it is difficult to say what kind of intertextual dialogue Lycophron entered into with him, since the fragment of Callimachus survives only in a paraphrased form. Another example of such a special predilection is the adjective ὄμπνιος ‘grain-related’ (*Alex.* 621; 1264), listed by Philitas in Ἄτακτοι λόγοι (frg. 46 LIGHTFOOT = Σ Ap. Rhod. IV 989), then used by Callimachus (*Aet.* frg. 1, 10 HARDER; *Hec.* frg. 111; 144 HOLLIS) and Apollonius (IV 989)²¹.

Sometimes their *aemulatio* consisted in the use of a different, metaphorical meaning of a rare word. For example μόσσυν (*Alex.* 433; 1432) was used not in the sense of the ‘tower of wood’ which was the home of the Mossynoikoi, people living on the Black Sea coast (Xen. *An.* V 4, 26; see Ap. Rhod. II 381b), but figuratively, as ‘fortified walls’, or ‘palisade’ (cf. Callim. *Aet.* frg. 43, 68 HARDER). The double noun λάμπουρις ‘with a fire tail’, ‘she-fox’ (344; 1393) inspires Callimachus and Lycophron to create new words. Both poets play with the second -ουρις element, ‘pertaining to the tail’, Callimachus forming from it the word μάλουρις ‘with a white tail’ (see Hesych. μ 207 s.v. μάλουρος), meaning a domestic animal of the feminine gender that eats mice and is therefore a cat or a weasel (*Hymn* 6, 110), while Lycophron retained the second element, but employed a first element which has an opposite meaning, in line with the Alexandrian *oppositio in imitando* principle. This is φαίουρος ‘with a grey tail’, referring to Hecuba being turned into a bitch, here called Maera (334), incidentally only 11 lines before λάμπουρις. Maera was the name of a faithful bitch belonging to Erigone, daughter of Icarius, who helped her owner find the body of her murdered father (Apollod. III 14, 7). The word ‘dark complexion’ from the adjective φαίός ‘dark, grey’, and the noun οὐρά ‘tail’ sounds disturbing and gloomy because the word φαίός was used to describe mourning robes (Polyb. XXX 4, 5; Dion. Hal. *Ant.* V 17), as well as having a sharp, unpleasant sound (Arist. *Top.* 106b, 7). This description of the animal predicts Hecuba joining a pack of terrifying hounds, companions to goddess Hecate, as suggested later in the poem (1176). Thus, Lycophron entered into a deep intertextual dialogue with Callimachus, which consisted in adopting the same way of creating names, and not a literal word. Through contrast (dark–white) and reversed analogy (bitch ~ she-cat/weasel), he also emphasised the difference in the mood of his own piece, which has a consistently tragic timbre, and the comedic tone of the *Hymn to*

²¹ Discussed by HOLLIS 2007: 281.

*Demeter*²². The use of the name Maera also indicates an inspiration drawn from Callimachus' poem (*Aet.* frg. 75, 35 HARDER), who in turn used the name for Sirius, otherwise known as the 'Dog Star'²³.

A similar word-forming and competitive game can be seen in the example of the words ἀλίβρωτος/ἀλιβρώς (*Alex.* 443; 760) 'eaten by the sea', both of which are *hapax* words in Lycophron. By creating them, the poet enters into a dialogue with Apollonius, who probably invented the word ἀλίβροχος 'washed away by the sea', which appears only once in his epic (II 731). At other times, the dialogue is about inventing a different but equally rare word used in a similar context. For example ἀσκέρα (*Alex.* 855; 1322) 'a winter shoe with fur lining', previously only found in Hipponax (frg. 18; 19), probably refers to Callimachus' ἀρπίς (*Hec.* frg. 9 HOLLIS), found in a fragment quoted by Tzetzes in the scholia to the *Alexandra* (494, 13b). The situation is similar in the case of the noun στύπος (*Alex.* 553; 1110) 'a trunk, log', a very rare word also used by Apollonius (I 1117, 1197; IV 1401; 1428). It is possible that Apollonius and Lycophron took up the challenge of finding an even more rare expression than the one used by Callimachus, namely σάνις, but having the same meaning (*Aet.* frg. 100, 2; 100a, 6–7 HARDER), or that it was Callimachus who surpassed both poets. Finally, Lycophron uses a rare Homeric adjective λαιψηρός (245; 531) 'light-footed, swift, nimble' (about Achilles' legs) to compete with Callimachus in finding unusual terms for the agility of the legs of heroes. Callimachus, writing about Theseus' knee, described it with an equally rare word ἀήσυρος (*Hec.* frg. 24 HOLLIS).

Another example of Lycophron playing with words used by Alexandrian poets is ὀλκαῖος (216; 1072) 'drawn along, towed'. In Apollonius' *Argonautica* we find κήτεος ὀλκαίη (IV 1614), where ὀλκαίη means 'tail', and in this case the tail of the sea deity, Triton. Lycophron refers to Apollonius, creating an image of a moving string of misfortunes. As Carl von HOLZINGER²⁴ and HURST and KOLDE²⁵ pointed out, in line 206 the author plays a game with the double meaning of the form ὀλκαίων, which may come from either ὀλκαία 'snake tail' or ὀλκαῖον 'a stern-post'. Using this ambiguity, he creates overlapping images of the fleet of Paris and the sea serpent, evoking an atmosphere of anxiety caused by the associations with sea monsters, especially the Laocoön serpent. At the same time, he connects it with the cause of the annihilation of Troy, i.e. Paris' expedition. Charles McNELIS and Alexander SENS²⁶ see this as an example

²² On the comedy character of Callimachus' hymn, see MCKAY 1962: 63–65, 71, 134.

²³ Arat. 327; see KIDD 1997: 306.

²⁴ HOLZINGER 1895: 201.

²⁵ HURST, KOLDE 2008: 132 f.

²⁶ McNELIS, SENS 2016: 18.

of blending, a term originating in cognitivism, and add that πάλαι ‘long ago’ mentioned in the passage refers to past transgressions that will result in the demolition of the city.

Duplicate words were also used by Lycophron for purposes other than an intertextual dialogue with other Hellenistic poets. He sometimes employs the repetitions of words in two episodes that refer to similar mythological events. For example, the rare word ὄλυνθος (428; 980) ‘fruit of wild fig’, appears twice in the passages concerning the rivalry between two seers, Mopsus and Calchas (426–430; 979–981)²⁷, thus highlighting the parallel nature of the two episodes. Sometimes both the placing and meaning of doublets emphasises their framing character. For example, identical or similar rare words are used in the two descriptions of Cassandra’s stone prison, that is in the initial (349–351) and final (1462; 1469) parts of the poem; the adjective λαΐνου (350; 1469), and the accompanying nouns denoting the princess’ tower: στέγην/τυκίσμασιν (349; 1469). In the same pair of passages, Lycophron doubles the image of Cassandra’s stone retreat by the repetition of a rare word εἰρκτή ‘prison’ (351; 1462). This creates in the readers’ imagination a picture of two stone towers that are a traditional element of a wall²⁸, a picture which symbolises a kind of framework marking the beginning of the poem’s most important part relating to the *nostoi* of heroes (365–1225), as well as its ending.

Sometimes Lycophron thickens the rhythm of the *Alexandra*, not only placing pairs of words close to each other, but also to other pairs with the same etymology so as to form pairs of doublets. This is the case with ἀπάρχομαι (1188; 1409) ‘to begin sacrifices’, ‘to sacrifice first fruits’, and ἀπαρχή (1193; 1450) ‘first fruits’. A relatively closely placed pair of the same nouns interweaves with a closely placed previous pair of verbs to which they are etymologically linked. This is probably a conscious attempt by Lycophron to strengthen the rhythm of the piece. The poet uses a similar device by placing two pairs: γαμφηλαί (94; 266) ‘maw’, ‘jaw’, ‘mouth’, and γαμφαί (152; 358) ‘curved fangs, beak, claws’, in close proximity to each other; additionally, two appearances of the verb ἐπιρροιζέω (217; 585) ‘to shriek, squawk’, are juxtaposed with the frame located forms derived from the verb ροιζέω (1325; 1426) that appear in the second part of the poem. Both have the same form (ροιζουμένων), and are in the same metrical position, i.e. at the end of the line, which further enhances the impression of a deliberate rhythmisation of the poem. Moreover, Lycophron uses a word as a kind of bridge to create further connections between pairs of rare words. For example, the verb ἀλθαίνω (582; 1122) ‘to heal’, found elsewhere, is extended to the form ἀλθαινέσκω (1395) which is connected to another double

²⁷ On the differences and similarities in both episodes, see HORNBLOWER 2015: 365.

²⁸ For example, πύργος means ‘tower’ in the singular, but ‘defence walls, city walls’ in the plural.

noun βούπεινα (581; 1395), already placed in proximity to the verb ἀλθαίνω (581 f.)²⁹. All these devices create a network of connections between scenes and words, concealed but perceptible, which brings together the seemingly chaotic monologue of Cassandra, who is captured by her prophetic frenzy, into a finely structured whole.

Moreover, it seems that the words from the first group of doublets, due to their distance from each other, usually perform the function of a framework, the aim of which was to make the poem coherent and compact, while the second group has a stronger influence on its rhythmisation. Thus, the duplicated words in the *Alexandra* not only create and at the same time emphasise its proportionality, but also strengthen its euphony, alongside numerous onomatopoeias, assonances, alliterations and rhymes characteristic of this poem³⁰. The concentric arrangement of *dis legomena* of the first group may also, just as in Moschus' *Europa*³¹, place an emphasis on the central part of the poem, i.e. the *Odyssey* and the Siren episode in particular.

Finally, the repetition of words by Lycophron can sometimes be used by modern editors to determine their meaning. For example, in the case of the verb ἄρδω (983; 995), its first use in the *Alexandra* (983) undoubtedly means 'I irrigate'; however, its second occurrence in the form of ἄρσονται (995), not found in the preserved texts, was interpreted differently. According to some commentators, it is derived from αἶρω/ἄείρω, in Eolian form (ἄρσω 'to win', in the middle voice) or ἀραρίσκω ('to furnish')³². Nevertheless, in general, as Simon HORNBLLOWER concludes, "The sense must be 'shall arrive at', 'take control of', however it is extracted from these words"³³. Perhaps, still, this is a *futurum medii* form from the ἄρδω (mentioned above), because, firstly, there is a parallel between lines 983 and 995, consisting in the use of a combination containing the word κλήρος, the first of which certainly refers to irrigation (983: ἄρδων βαθεῖαν Χωνίας παγκληρίαν ~ 995: Ἀμαζόνος σύγκληρον ἄρσονται πέδον). Secondly, both lines are close together, which makes the rhythm much clearer here than elsewhere. Thirdly, Timocles, a representative of Middle Attic Comedy (frg. 17, 5 KASSEL–AUSTIN), similarly juxtaposed this verb with the noun πεδῖον, while Lycophron was keen to use vocabulary that originated in drama. Thus the duplication of words characteristic to the *Alexandra* may indicate that the Greek colonisers referred to in the passage 993–1010 did not so much conquer lands, but rather irrigated them, so making them fertile, and consequently, in symbolic

²⁹ See HORNBLLOWER 2015: 484.

³⁰ HURST, KOLDE 2008: XLI; KALOSPYROS 2009: 217 f.

³¹ SCHMIEL 1981: 266.

³² See HORNBLLOWER 2015: 370; HOLZINGER 1895: 312; however HURST, KOLDE (2008: 58) do not discuss it in their commentary, but translate the verb as 'annexeront'.

³³ HORNBLLOWER 2015: 370.

terms, subjugated. This thesis may be reinforced by the presentation of Greek colonisation (also in Italy, by the way) in a similar way in the poem, namely by means of an agricultural image which refers to ploughing the fields (1071 f.). Otherwise, the double occurrence of words that characterises the *Alexandra* may confirm a modern critic's intuition concerning emendation. For example, the verb ῥαιβόω 'to curve, bend' found in line 563, used for the first time by Lycophron, may confirm SHEER's conjecture to replace the adjectival form in line 262³⁴. This was accepted by HORNBLOWER³⁵, but not by HURST and KOLDE³⁶.

Below is a list of words, in alphabetical order, which were used twice in the *Alexandra*: for the first time in the first (up to line 737), for the second time in the second part of the poem (after line 737):

1. **ἀγκάλη (461; 930)** 'bent arm'; previously found often in Euripides (*Alc.* 351; *Cyc.* 142; *Andr.* 747, etc.), also used by Aeschylus (*Supp.* 481; *PV* 1019; *Ag.* 723, etc.) and in comedy: Aristophanes (*Ran.* 704), Menander (*Sicyon.* 7), Nausicrates (fig. 1, 3 KASSEL–AUSTIN), Timocles (fig. 7, 4 KASSEL–AUSTIN), in *CAF* (fig. 1243–1248 KOCK), and also by Xenophon (once, *Cyr.* VII 5, 50), Plato (*Leg.* 787C, 4, etc.) and Herodotus (VI 61, etc.). In the Hellenistic period it was used by Herodas (5, 71).
2. **ἄκραιφνής (151; 1288)** 'pure, unmixed, untouched'; previously used in tragedy (Soph. *OC* 1147; Eur. *Hec.* 537; *Alc.* 1052) and comedy (Ar. fig. 34 KASSEL–AUSTIN) and found in prose only twice, in Thucydides (I 19, 1; 52, 2).
3. **ἀλάστωρ (529; 1318)** 'avenging spirit/deity'; a term often used in tragedy (Aesch. *Pers.* 354; *Ag.* 1501; Soph. *OC* 788; *Trach.* 1092; 1235; Eur. *El.* 979; *HF* 1234; *Tro.* 941; *Phoen.* 1556) and comedy (Men. *Pk.* 986, etc.; Nicocharis fig. 23 KASSEL–AUSTIN).
4. **ἄλγος (408; 1087)** 'pain, suffering'; a relatively common word that occurs in both Homer (*Il.* I 2, etc.) and tragedy (Aesch. *Eum.* 183; Soph. *OT* 62; Eur. *Supp.* 807, etc.). Then used e.g. by Apollonius (I 297).
5. **ἄλθαίνω (582; 1122)** 'I heal'; a very rare verb, used also by Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 56a, 8 = Σ *Alex.* 1120).
6. **ἀλιβρωτος / ἀλιβρώς (443; 760)** 'swallowed by the sea'; first used by Lycophron.
7. **ἀλφή (549; 1394)** 'produce, gain'; first used by Lycophron, in both cases in regard to girls: Leucippides and Mestra.
8. **ἄναγνος (162; 1224)** 'unclean, defiled'; an adjective previously used by tragic authors (Aesch. *Ag.* 220; *Ch.* 994; Soph. *OT* 823; Eur. *Hipp.* 1448, etc.), but also by orators and Xenophon (*An.* I 6, 4).

³⁴ SHEER 1881: 25.

³⁵ HORNBLOWER 2015: 179.

³⁶ HURST, KOLDE 2008: 17.

9. **ἀναπεμπάζομαι (9; 1470)** 'think over', 'ponder over', 'calculate'; a rare word previously used only by Plato (*Leg.* 724B; in the sense of 'count again': *Lys.* 222 E). Placing both forms in the same metric position and the same contracted form (κἀναπεμπάζων/κἀναπεμπάζειν) stresses their framework character.
10. **ἀνατεί (283; 1172)** 'without harm', 'with impunity'; previously used by Thucydides (VIII 67, 2), Plato (*Leg.* 871E), but also by tragic authors (Aesch. *Eum.* 59; 709; Eur. *Med.* 1357) and Aristophanes (*Eq.* 1020).
11. **ἄρδις (63; 914)** 'the point of an arrow'; previously used by Herodotus (I 215; IV 81); in Lycophron in the sense of 'an arrow', then in Callimachus (*Aet.* frg. 70 HARDER) and Dosiadas (*Ara* 18)³⁷.
12. **ἀρνεύω (465; 1103)** 'to tumble, dive'; a verb related to the noun ἀρνευτήρ 'acrobat', used only by Lycophron.
13. **αὐδάζομαι (360; 892)** 'to shout, speak, advertise, call'; a rare verb – a variant of the more frequent αὐδάω – used previously by Hesiod (frg. 372, 2) and Herodotus (II 55; 57; V 51); then it began to be used by Hellenistic poets: Callimachus (*Aet.* frg. 75, 21 HARDER), Euphorion (frg. 51, 3 LIGHTFOOT), and Nicander (*Ther.* 464).
14. **ἄγλαινος (635; 763)** 'without cloak, with no mantle'; a very rare word, previously found in Simonides (frg. 167, 3) and then Callimachus (*Hymn.* 3, 115).
15. **βούκερως (730; 1407)** 'with bull horns'; a rare adjective, previously found in a fragment of Sophocles (959, 2 RADT) where, as in the *Alexandra*, it describes a river, since river deities were depicted in Greece as bulls or men with bull's horns (see Ael. *VH* II 33). Moreover, it was used by Aeschylus (*PV* 588) and Herodotus (II 41).
16. **βούπεινα (581; 1395)** 'ravenous hunger'; previously found in Callimachus (*Aet.* frg. 24, 11 HARDER).
17. **βραβεύς / βραβεία (129; 1154)** 'judge, arbitrator' and 'office of the judge', especially in regard to sports; and 'chief, leader'; rare words, first used by tragic authors (Aesch. *Pers.* 302; *Ag.* 230; Soph. *El.* 690; 709; Eur. *Med.* 274; *Or.* 1650; *Phoen.* 450; *Hel.* 703).
18. **βῶλος (485; 1380)** 'clod of earth'; a word that appears once in Homer (*Od.* XVIII 374), then is used by Sophocles (*Aj.* 1286) and Euripides (frg. 783 KANNICHT; *Or.* 984) as well as Herodotus and Xenophon. Hellenistic poets who used it include Aratus (7), Apollonius (IV 1736), Nicander (*Ther.* 174; frg. 74) and Moschus (*Megara* 37).
19. **γατόμος (268; 1396)** 'cleaving the ground'; a rare word, first used by Aeschylus (frg. 196, 3 RADT), then by Apollonius (II 1005).

³⁷ See KWAPISZ 2013: 69, 175; on this word, see also CUSSET 2002/2003: 148 f.; FRAZEL 2018.

20. **γέννα (644; 1446)** ‘descent, origin’; a poetic word, a variant of γένος, previously found primarily in tragedies (Aesch. *Ag.* 760; Soph. frg. 278, 1 RADT; Eur. *Tro.* 731, etc.).
21. **γεύομαι (383; 1431)** ‘to taste, experience’; a verb previously used by Homer (*Od.* XVII 413, etc.), Thucydides (II 70) and Plato (*Resp.* 559D), but also by Aeschylus (frg. 243 RADT), Sophocles (*Trach.* 1101, etc.), Euripides (*Cyc.* 559, etc.), Aristophanes (*Lys.* 1064, etc.), Anaxippus (frg. 1, 27 KASSEL–AUSTIN), and Antiphanes (frg. 21, 21 KASSEL–AUSTIN).
22. **γλήνη (362; 988)** ‘pupil (in the eye)’, also ‘doll’; it seems to be one of the most popular Homeric words among Hellenistic poets (Apollonius, Hermesianax, Aratus and Nicander, as well as Lycophron; see the text above). It occurred three times in *Il.* (XIV 494, etc.) and once in *Od.* (IX 390) and was also used by Sophocles (*OT* 1277).
23. **γρῶνος (631; 1280)** ‘hollow, cavernous’; also ‘hollow vessel’, ‘kneading-trough’ (Leonidas, *Anth. Pal.* VII 736); the word is an example of the sophisticated vocabulary used by Lycophron (*Σ Alex.* 1471).
24. **γυρός (390; 1314)** ‘round, curved’ (about rocks and a yoke); the word was previously used by Homer (once) in reference to the shoulders of Eurybates (*Od.* XIX 246)³⁸.
25. **δαιτρεύω (160; 1315)**; a Homeric word (*Od.* XV 323; *Il.* XI 705; 688) where it means ‘to distribute, carve’³⁹. See also Ap. Rhod. I 1176.
26. **δάπτω (259; 1106)** ‘to devour’; a Homeric word (*Il.* XIII 831, etc.), also used in tragedy (Aesch. *Supp.* 70; Eur. *Med.* 1189) and comedy (Ar. frg. 425 KASSEL–AUSTIN) and by Pindar (*Nem.* 8, 23). Authors of the Hellenistic era who used this term include Callimachus (frg. 523, 1 PFEIFFER) and Apollonius (IV 666).
27. **διασφάξ (317; 1062)** ‘ravine, cleft’; found earlier in Herodotus (II 158; III 117; VII 199; 216).
28. **δράκαινα (674; 1114)** ‘she-dragon’; a relatively rare feminine form derived from the word δράκων, which had previously appeared in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (300), but was also used by Aeschylus (*Eum.* 128), Euripides (*IT* 286; *Ba.* 1358), and comedy authors: Aristophanes (frg. 808 KASSEL–AUSTIN), Anaxilas (frg. 22, 3 KASSEL–AUSTIN), Mnesimachos (frg. 4, 42 KASSEL–AUSTIN), and perhaps also Menander (see *Σ Ap. Rhod.* II 705, 11g) and Callimachus (*Aet.* frg. 88 HARDER).
29. **δρομεύς (15; 789)** ‘a runner, sprinter’; a word previously used in tragedy (Eur. *El.* 824) and comedy (Ar. *Vesp.* 1206; Eup. frg. 102 KASSEL–AUSTIN) and by Plato (373E, 4, etc.).

³⁸ See RENGAKOS 1994: 116.

³⁹ See RENGAKOS 1994: 116.

30. **δυσάων (314; 1076)** 'most miserable'; a rare word, previously used only in tragedy (Eur. *Supp.* 960; *Hel.* 213; Soph. *OC* 152).
31. **ἔδωλιον / ἔδωλον (296; 1320)**; a technical term for 'raised quarter-deck', 'semi-deck'; mainly used by tragic authors (Soph. *Aj.* 1277; *El.* 1392; frg. 566, 1 RADT; Eur. *Cyc.* 238; *Hel.* 1571; frg. 223, 88 KANNICHT) and Aristophanes (frg. 1, 2 KASSEL–AUSTIN). Also used by Herodotus (II 24) and (Pseudo-)Aristotle (*Mech.* 851a, 40; 851b, 5).
32. **εἶρκτή (351; 1462)** 'prison; women's apartments'; a word used mainly in prose (Hdt. IV 146, etc.; Thuc. I 131; Xen. *Cyr.* III 1, 19; *Mem.* II 1, 5), but also by Euripides (*Bacch.* 497; 549).
33. **ἐπάκτιος (118; 1405)** 'on the strand, coastal, shore'; earlier used only by tragic authors (Soph. *Trach.* 1151; *Aj.* 413; frg. 549 RADT; Eur. frg. 670, 2 KANNICHT; *Andr.* 853), then often used by Apollonius (I 359; 403; II 178; 657; 689).
34. **ἑρμυός (681; 1061)** 'murky, obscure'; an epic word previously found in Homer (*Il.* XX 51; *Od.* XXIV 106, etc.) and Hesiod (*Theog.* 744, etc.), but also used by tragic authors (Aesch. *Ag.* 1390; Soph. *Aj.* 376; Eur. *Herac.* 218, etc.) and in lyric poetry (Ibyc. frg. 1). Hellenistic poets who used this adjective include Apollonius (I 219; III 864, etc.).
35. **ἑρμυός (78; 829)** 'fortified'; previously found in Thucydides (V 65) and Xenophon (*An.* V 7, 31, etc.), but also used by Euripides (*Hel.* 68; *El.* 446; frg. 10, 87; frg. 48, 93 KANNICHT) and Aristophanes (*Thesm.* 871). Hellenistic poets who used this expression include Apollonius (II 514), Callimachus (*Hymn.* 4, 23), Nicander (*Ther.* 217) and Parthenius (*Narr. am.* 7, 2).
36. **ἐτήτυμος (620; 1471)** 'true'; a reduplicated poetic form of the adjective ἔτυμος, previously used by Homer (*Od.* XXIII 62; *Il.* XXII 438, etc.) and Hesiod (*Op.* 10), then by tragic authors (Aesch. *Pers.* 737; *Ch.* 948; *Ag.* 167; 477; 682; 1296; *Eum.* 488; Soph. *Phoen.* 1290; *Trach.* 1064; Eur. *Or.* 1667; *IT* 1085; *El.* 1452) and Aristophanes (*Pax* 119). Alexandrian poets who used this word include Apollonius (I 142; II 1137; III 358; 402; IV 74; 835; 975; 1603), Theocritus (12, 37) and Callimachus (frg. 617, 1 PFEIFFER).
37. **ἡρίον (444; 1208)** 'tomb'; a word appearing once in Homer (*Il.* XXIII 126), then used by Erinna (*Anth. Pal.* VII 710) and many Hellenistic poets: Apollonius (I 1165; II 658), Theocritus (1, 13; 16, 75), Callimachus (*Aet.* frg. 54, 7 HARDER; *Hec.* frg. 79 HOLLIS), Leonidas of Tarentum (*Anth. Pal.* VII 440), Asclepiades of Samos (*Anth. Pal.* VII 500) and Nicander (frg. 108).
38. **θέσφατος (572; 1456)** 'spoken by a god; decreed', but Lycophron uses τὰ θέσφατα as 'oracles'. It was used in that meaning and form by Homer (*Il.* V 64; *Od.* XI 151; 297) and in a Homeric Hymn (*Hymn. Hom. Mart.* 472), then often by Aeschylus (*Pers.* 740, etc), Sophocles (*OT* 907, etc.), and especially Euripides (*IT* 1498, etc.). Hellenistic poets who used this word include Apollonius (II 186; 196; 234; 315; 341).

39. **κάρβανος (605; 1387)** ‘barbarian’; a rare term previously used by Aeschylus (*Supp.* 914; *Ag.* 1061, NB in the words of Clytemnestra addressed to Cassandra) and Sophocles (frg. 269a, 54 RADT).
40. **κάσσα / κασωρίς (131; 1385)** ‘a whore’; first used by Lycophron, who also created the verb form: κασωρεύουσα (line 772); Callimachus uses a synonym κατακάσσα for the first time as well to describe Scylla, the daughter of Nisus (*Hec.* frg. 90, 1 HOLLIS).
41. **καταιβάτης (382; 1370)** ‘descending in thunder and lightning’; a frequent epithet of Zeus (Clearch. frg. 48, 15 KASSEL–AUSTIN and inscriptions, e.g. from Thera: *IG* XII 3, 1360), as in Lycophron (1370). Earlier found in tragedy (Aesch. *PV* 361; Eur. *Bacch.* 1361) and comedy (Ar. *Pax* 42). These two terms are a pair with καταιβάτις, a feminine form used twice by Lycophron (91; 497).
42. **κέπφος (76; 836)** ‘stormy petrel’; mentioned by Aristotle and Theophrastus, as well as Aristophanes (*Pax* 1066; *Plu.* 912); also used by Callimachus (*Iamb.* 1, 6; frg. 191 PFEIFFER) and Aratus (916) as a sign of good weather, and by Nicander (*Alex.* 166).
43. **κηρύλος (387; 750)** ‘a halcyon’; a word found in archaic poetry (Alc. frg. 26, 2; Archil. frg. 141), then used by Aristophanes in the form of κειρύλος (Ar. *Av.* 300), and by Aristotle (*HA* 593b, 12). Lycophron uses both words in a similar context, calling Ajax and Odysseus by the bird’s name because they both dived into the sea, just as halcyons do.
44. **κλώψ (658; 1303)** ‘thief’; previously found in Euripides (*Cyc.* 223; *Alc.* 766; *Hel.* 553, etc.) and used by Herodotus (I 41, 8, etc.) as well as Xenophon (*An.* IV 6, 17, etc.). Apollonius used the very rare adjective κλωπήιος (III 1197).
45. **κορσωτός / κροσσωτός (291; 1102)** ‘tasselled, fringed’; variants, but with the same meaning; both words were first used by Lycophron.
46. **κραντήρ / κρίαντης (305; 833)** ‘the one who completes’; derived from κραίνω and used e.g. about time (305), but also about wisdom teeth which must grow (Arist. *HA* 501b, 25); also, again in Lycophron, about the tusks of a wild boar (833). The word used in the *Alexandra* in two forms and two meanings appears again in Nicander (*Ther.* 447: κραντήρος), but the form of κρίαντης occurs only in Lycophron.
47. **κρεανόμος (203; 762)** ‘one who distributes flesh’; both instances in the *Alexandra* in the context of Kronos (the altar of Kronos and the island of Kronos). The first meaning of the noun is the ‘sacrificial meat minister’ (Eur. *Cyc.* 245; the word’s first attestation).
48. **κρότος (278; 1453)** ‘rattle, noise’; earlier found, among others, in Euripides (*Heracl.* 783; *Tro.* 546), Aristophanes (*Lys.* 1318; *Ran.* 157), and Menander (*Sam.* 735), but also used by Aristotle (*HA* 627a, 16).
49. **κρωσσός (369; 1365)** ‘bucket, jug’; a rare word used by tragedians (Aesch. frg. 96 RADT; Soph. *OC* 478; Eur. *Ion* 1179; *Cyc.* 89). It then became popular

- with Hellenistic poets (Theoc. 13, 46; Mosch. 4, 34; Nic. *Alex.* 502); it was also used by Erinna, whom they respected (*Anth. Pal.* VII 710).
50. **λάϊνος (349; 1469)** 'of stone or marble'; a Homeric word (*Il.* IX 404; *Od.* VIII 80, etc.), also often used by playwrights, especially Euripides (frg. 125, 3 KANNICHT; *El.* 328; 1057; *Herc.* 979; 1037; 1096; 1332; *Tro.* 5; 1141; *Ion* 207; *Hel.* 962; *IA* 774), but also Sophocles (*OC* 1596); then by Alexandrian poets (Ap. Rhod. I 668; Theoc. 7, 149; 23, 20).
 51. **λάμπουρις (344; 1393)** 'a she-fox'; a word once found in Aeschylus (frg. 433 RADT), then its variant of λάμπουρος as the name of a dog meaning 'with a white tail' appeared in Theocritus (8, 65) and in the so-called *Epyllium Diomedis*, a fragment of an anonymous epyllion, probably from the Hellenistic era (*Coll. Alex.* p. 73, 13 POWELL).
 52. **λατρεύς / λάτρις (393; 1420)** 'a hired servant, maid'; a rare word whose first variant appears only in Lycophron, while the second is found earlier, used by Theognis (302; 486), Pindar (*Ol.* 10, 28) and tragedians (Eur. *Supp.* 639; *Tro.* 70; 450 [NB about Cassandra], etc.). Then used e.g. by Callimachus (*Aet.* frg. 80, 7 HARDER; *Hec.* frg. 94 HOLLIS).
 53. **λαφύστιος (215; 791)** 'gluttonous' and 'devoured'; as an ordinary adjective the word first appears in Lycophron; earlier Herodotus testifies that it was the title of Zeus used by the Minyan people, while in the *Alexandra* the female followers of Dionysus are described as 'Laphystian women'.
 54. **λέβης (36; 1315)** 'a kettle, cauldron'; a noun previously found in Homer (*Il.* XXI 362, etc.), Herodotus (IV 61, etc.) and Thucydides (IV 100), but also attested in tragedy (Aesch. *Ag.* 444; Soph. *Trach.* 556; Eur. *Cyc.* 392; *El.* 802, etc.) and comedy: Menander (*Dysc.* 914), Anaxandrides (frg. 1, 10), Antiphanes (frg. 25, 3, etc.), Diocles (frg. 1, 1), Epicharmus (frg. 79, 2). The Alexandrian poets who used this word include Apollonius (III 757) and Callimachus (*Hymn* 4, 145; 286).
 55. **λέπας (420; 1045)** 'bare rock'; a rare word used by tragedians (Aesch. *Ag.* 283; 293; Eur. *Andr.* 295; *Heracl.* 121; *Hel.* 1443; *Phoen.* 24; *Bacch.* 677; 751; 1045; *Rh.* 287; 92, etc.). Also found in Simonides (frg. 114, 1) and Thucydides (VII 78); then in Nicander (*Ther.* 634).
 56. **λόγχη (253; 1358)** 'spear-head; lance'; previously found in tragedy (Soph. *Trach.* 856; Eur. *Bacch.* 304; *IA* 658; *Or.* 712, etc.) and comedy (Ar. *Vesp.* 1119, etc.) and used by Herodotus (IV 94, etc.) as well as Xenophon (*An.* V 4, 12, etc.); then found in *Batrachomyomachia* 129 and elsewhere.
 57. **λυμεών (38; 781)** 'destroyer'; previously found in Euripides (frg. 260 KANNICHT; *Hipp.* 1068), Sophocles (*Aj.* 573) and Isocrates (*Paneg.* 80). A participle that over time became a noun.
 58. **μαιμάω (529; 1171)** 'to be very eager'; a poetic word, in Homer found only in the *Iliad* (V 670, etc.), also used by tragedians (Soph. *Aj.* 50); then, among others, by Apollonius (I 1270; III 1351, etc.), Theocritus (25, 253) and Nicander (*Ther.* 470).

59. **μάσταξ (687; 1453)** ‘a mouth; morsel’; a rare word found in Lycophron with the second meaning. Previously used by Homer (*Od.* IV 287; XXIII 76) and Alcman (frg. 144), but also found in Sophocles (frg. 716, 1 RADT). The first meaning however is found in Callimachus (*Iamb.* 4, 75), and Theocritus (14, 39).
60. **μεταίχμιος (443; 1435)** ‘between two armies’; a word previously used by Euripides (*Ph.* 1361; 1240; *Heracl.* 830) as well as Herodotus (VI 77; VI 112; VIII 140).
61. **μῆχαρ / μῆχος (568; 1459)** ‘means, remedy’; a relatively rare word in two variants, the first of which was used before Lycophron by Aeschylus (*Supp.* 394; 594; *PV* 606; *Ag.* 199), the second is Homeric (*Il.* II 342; *Od.* XII 392, etc.), also used by Euripides (*Andr.* 536) and Herodotus (II 181; IV 151), and among the Alexandrian poets by Theocritus (2, 96) and Apollonius (II 444; IV 85).
62. **μόσσυν (433; 1432)**; not in the sense ‘house; tower of wood’, like the dwellings of the Mossynoikoi people (Xen. *An.* V 4, see Ap. Rhod. II 381b), but as ‘fortified walls, palisade’.
63. **ναύλοχος (290; 768)** ‘affording a safe anchorage’, ‘haven’; a Homeric word (*Od.* IV 486; X 141), but also used by tragic authors (Eur. *Hec.* 1015; Soph. *Trach.* 633; *Aj.* 460).
64. **νημερτής (223; 1051)** ‘unerring, infallible’; a word previously used by Hesiod (*Theog.* 235, etc.) and Homer (*Od.* IV 349, etc.), then in Apollonius (I 797; 1023; II 959, etc.). In tragedy, always used in the form ναμερτής (Aesch. *Pers.* 246, etc.).
65. **ὀδάξ (544; 1005)** ‘by biting with the teeth; lip biting’; a Homeric word (*Il.* II 418; XI 749; *Od.* I 38, etc.), later used in tragedy (Eur. *Phoen.* 1423) and comedy (Ar. *Vesp.* 164; 943). It was also used by Apollonius (III 1393). Callimachus and Apollonius use the verb form ὀδακτάζω (Callim. *Hymn* 4, 322; Ap. Rhod. IV 1608), which one of them (Callimachus?) most probably coined after the Homeric ὀδάξ.
66. **ὀλκαῖος (216; 1072)** ‘drawn along, towed’; in Apollonius: κήτεος ὀλκαίη (IV 1614), where ὀλκαίη meant ‘tail’, and in this case the sea deity, Triton.
67. **ὄλυνθος (428; 980)** ‘fruit of the wild fig’; a rare word, previously found in Hesiod (frg. 161); as well as in Theophrastus (*CP* V 1, 8) and in comedy (*CAF* 766, 2 KOCK).
68. **ὁμαίμων (337; 1442)** ‘of the same blood’; often used by tragedians (Aesch. *Supp.* 225; *Tro.* 1147; Eur. *Supp.* 1035, etc.) and Herodotus (V 49).
69. **ὁμευνίς / ὁμευνήτης (372; 1199)** ‘she-spouse; he-spouse’; the first word is a *hapax*, a variant of ὁμευνέτις, originating from the second word. Both ὁμευνήτης and ὁμευνέτις were words used in tragedy (Soph. *Aj.* 501; Eur. *Med.* 953; *Ion* 894).
70. **ῥμπνιος (621; 1264)** ‘nourishing; related to corn’; used by Philitas in Ἄτακτοι λόγοι (frg. 46 LIGHTFOOT = Σ Ap. Rhod. IV 989), then by Callimachus

- (ὄμπνια Θεσμοφόρος: *Aet.* frg. 1, 10 HARDER; ὄμπνιον ἔργον: *Hec.* frg. 111 HOLLIS; ὄμπνιον ὕδωρ: *Hec.* frg. 144 HOLLIS) and Apollonius (στάχυν ὄμπνιον: IV 989); in Lycophron ὄμπνιον στάχυν (621) and ὄμπνιαν κτῆσιν (1264). As can be seen, in the *Alexandra* 'related to corn' turns into 'lush, rich, affluent'. The scholiast adds that some Cyrenaics use this term to describe rich and successful people, but that it is better to translate it as 'life-giving' because it derives from ἔμπνοον.
71. ὀργυιόομαι (26; 1077) 'to have the arms extended'; a verb derived from ὀργυια ('the length of the outstretched arms'), in participle forms as ὠργυιωμένους ('with outstretched sails': 26) and ὠργυιωμένη ('with outstretched arms': 1077); used for the first time by Lycophron.
 72. ὀτρύνω (471; 1471) 'to stir up; encourage'; a word often used by Homer (*Il.* XIV 24, etc.), but also by, among others, tragedians (Aesch. *Sept.* 726; Soph. *Aj.* 60; Eur. *Alc.* 755, etc.), and then by e.g. Apollonius (I 328).
 73. παλίμπους (126; 893) 'returning'; a rare word, previously only found in tragedy (*TrGrF* frg. 279u1 KANNICHT-SNELL), and then in Meleager (*Anth. Pal.* V 163).
 74. πέμπελος (682; 826) 'aged, old'; the first known use was by Lycophron. In addition, the use of the expression by the poet means entering into an intertextual dialogue with the first lines of the *Hekale* by Callimachus⁴⁰.
 75. πλειών (201; 1039); a rare word meaning 'a year' in the first example, and 'full time' in the second; found earlier in Hesiod (*Op.* 617), and then Callimachus (*Hymn* 1, 89).
 76. πλόκος (336; 915) 'curl, lock of hair' and 'wreath'; in Lycophron 'lock' (336), but also 'bowstring' (915). Tragedy used it with the meaning 'a lock of hair' (Aesch. *Cho.* 197; Soph. *Aj.* 1179; Eur. *El.* 527; *Ion* 1266, etc.), then it occurs in Apollonius (IV 30) and elsewhere. Callimachus used the variant πλόκαμος (*Aet.* frg. 110, 62 HARDER).
 77. πρηνής (242; 1442) 'with the face downwards'; an expression previously found in Homer (*Il.* V 58, etc.), in tragedy (Eur. *Rhes.* 797, etc.), then in Apollonius (I 939, etc.).
 78. πρωτόλεια (298; 1228) 'first spoils in war'; first used by Euripides (*Or.* 382).
 79. πτήσσω (280; 1443) 'to frighten, alarm, cower in fear'; found once in Homer (*Il.* XIV 40), and then used by several of the tragedians (Aesch. *PV* 174; Soph. frg. 314, 158 RADT; Eur. *Bacch.* 1035, etc.) and by Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 1490, etc.), and then Apollonius (III 571).
 80. ραιβός (238; 917) 'crooked, bent'; first used by Lycophron, then by Nicander (*Ther.* 799). Symmetrical with the equally rare, twice-used verb ραιβόω.

⁴⁰ HOLLIS 2007: 284.

81. **ῥαφή (381; 1102)**; used only once by Homer (*Od.* XXII 186) in the sense of ‘garment seam’, then by Lycophron. Used by many others in the sense of ‘suture’, ‘stitching’, e.g. Euripides (*Supp.* 503; *Phoen.* 1159). Aeschylus uses ῥαφεύς (*Ag.* 1604), also attested in Plato, but especially in Aristotle and medical writers: Hippocrates, Galen, etc. Apollonius was one of the Hellenistic poets who used this word as well (III 139).
82. **ῥήτρα (470; 1037)**; first meaning: ‘verbal agreement’, ‘treaty’ and ‘the laws’ (used once by Homer: *Od.* XIV 393); used in the meaning of ‘speech’, first by Lycophron (in the plural), then by Nicander (*Alex.* 132). Callimachus uses it in the sense of ‘agreement’ (*Aet.* frg. 85). It is also found in *SH* 937, 35 and in Euphorion (frg. 26, col. II 8 LIGHTFOOT).
83. **ῥιπή (294; 970)** ‘impetus, momentum, gust, blast, impact’; Lycophron used it to describe dense smoke and fire; a Homeric word (*Il.* XII 462; XV 171; XVI 589; XIX 358; XXI 12; *Od.* VIII 192), also used by Hesiod (*Theog.* 681; 849) and tragedians (Aesch. *PV* 126; 1089; Soph. *Ant.* 137). Hellenistic poets using it include Apollonius (I 1016; II 935).
84. **σαρούμενος / ἐνσαρούμενος (389; 753)** ‘to be swept away’; both forms of the verb σαρώω occur for the first time in Lycophron. It comes from the word σάρον ‘broomstick’, rarely used in literature, which is however to be found in a fragment of Ion of Chios (9 SNELL) and in the meaning of ‘sweep clean, garbage’ in Callimachus (*Hymn* 4, 225).
85. **σκηπτός (383; 1371)** ‘thunderbolt, lighting’; a rarer word to describe κεραυνός. Before Lycophron, used mainly by dramatists (Aesch. *Pers.* 715; Soph. *Ant.* 418; Eur. *Andr.* 1046; *Rhes.* 374; Men. *Sam.* 556), but also by (Pseudo-)Aristotle (*Mund.* 395a, 28), Demosthenes (*De cor.* 194, 1), and Xenophon (*An.* III 1, 11).
86. **σποδός (179; 1158)** ‘wood-ashes’; previously found in Homer (*Od.* IX 375, etc.), but above all in tragedy, where it refers to sacrificial ashes or ashes from the funeral pyre (Aesch. *Ag.* 435; Soph. *OT* 21; *Ant.* 1007; Eur. *Supp.* 827, etc.). Among the Hellenistic poets, it was used by Theocritus (*Id.* 2, 25; 11, 51; 24, 88).
87. **στερφόπεπλος / στέρφος (652; 1347)** ‘animal skin; clad in hide’. A word probably invented by the Hellenistic poets or coined out of compounds, because out of the preserved texts the shorter form is found in Apollonius (IV 1348), Leonidas of Tarentum (*Anth. Pal.* VI 298), and Nicander of Colophon, who uses the variant ἔρφος (*Alex.* 248; *Ther.* 376); according to Σ Nic. *Alex.* 248, the word is Ionic; according to Σ Ap. Rhod. IV 1347, it also means κεράμνιον (‘clay pitcher, vessel’).
88. **στύπος (553; 1110)** ‘stem, stump’; a very rare word, preserved in Apollonius (I 1117; 1197; IV 1401; 1428), probably later used by Lycophron. Then, in addition to dictionaries and scholia, it is only used by the author of the *Argonautica Orphica* (924).

89. **συνφύρω (293; 934)** 'to mix, knead', but also 'disfigure, mess up, demolish'. Both meanings are present in Lycophron. Euripides was the first to use this compound (*Med.* 1199), then it was used by Plato (*Phlb.* 15E, etc.). Among the Hellenistic poets, it was used by Theocritus (*Id.* 22, 111) and Nicander (*Ther.* 954).
90. **τέγω (718; 885)** 'to moisten'; a word frequently used by Euripides (*Cyc.* 326; *Med.* 922; *Hipp.* 128; 854; *Supp.* 21; *IT* 404; *Hel.* 456; 1189; *IA* 496; 1433, etc.), but also by Aeschylus (*PV* 1008), Sophocles (*Trach.* 848; *Ant.* 831), and Aristophanes (*Lys.* 550; *Ran.* 1311, etc.). Alexandrian poets who used this word include Apollonius (*I* 555; *IV* 707).
91. **τητάομαι (117; 1141)** 'to be deprived of'; previously used by Hesiod (*Op.* 408), but most often by tragedians (*Soph. El.* 265; *Ph.* 383; *OC* 1200; *Eur. Hel* 274; *Heracl.* 24; *Hec.* 324, etc.).
92. **τιθήνη / τιτηνός (138; 1398)** 'nurse; nursing', about the land; the word *τιθήνη* previously appeared in Homer (*Il.* XXII 503) and in the *Homeric Hymns* (e.g. *Hymn* 6, 227), but also in Sophocles (*Philoct.* 703; *OT* 680) and was used by Euripides (*Hec.* 281), Pindar (*Pyth.* I 20) and Philoxenus in the *Cyclops or Galatea* (frg. 2, 69). The Hellenistic poets who used this word include Callimachus (*Aet.* frg. 26, 14 HARDER), Hermesianax (frg. 3, 69 LIGHTFOOT), and Simmias (3, 15 KWAPISZ). The adjective *τιτηνός* was probably formed for the first time by Euripides (*IA* 1230) and then used by Lycophron.
93. **τράμπις (97; 1299)**; first used by Lycophron as the name of a non-Greek ship. Later Nicander used it in the meaning of 'a type of barge towed by a rope' (*Ther.* 268).
94. **τράφηξ (641; 1001)** 'baker's board, table' (641) and 'spear' (1001). Perhaps Lycophron, using two meanings of this word, was playing a game with a famous frg. 2 of Archilochus in which the word *δόρυ* may indicate both a ship's deck and a spear⁴¹. This intuition is reinforced by the fact that both passages are about a feast. Before that, *τράφηξ* appeared only in Timaeus, a fragment of which is found in *Σ Alex.* 633 (*FGrH* 566 F 66).
95. **φόβος (685; 1403)** 'fear'; a common word.
96. **φρύκτωρος / φρυκτωρία (345; 1096)** 'beacon; fire signalling'; words first used by tragedians (Aesch. *Ag.* 33; 490; 590; *Soph.* frg. 432, 6 RADT; *Eur. Rhes.* 55), and Aristophanes (*Av.* 1161) as well as Thucydides (*III* 22, 8; *VIII* 102, 1).
97. **χαμευνάς (319; 848)**; a rare word with two meanings: the first, similarly to the related *χαμαιτύπη*, means 'prostitute, whore', with an etymologically justified pejorative colour: '(lying) on the ground' (*χαμαί*). The second, literal meaning is 'terrestrial', referring to the hideout of Menelaus, who was

⁴¹ For a discussion on the interpretation of this fragment by Archilochus, see KOMORNICKA 1988.

hiding to attack Proteus. In the Hellenistic period, it was used by Lycophron and by Nicander (*Ther.* 23).

98. **χάρμα (563; 1271)** ‘source of joy’; the word is relatively often used in epic (*Il.* XVII 636, etc.), elegy (Thgn. I 693) and tragedy, especially by Euripides (*Hel.* 321; *Ph.* 1503; *Heracl.* 637, etc.), but also by Aeschylus (*Hel.* 266, etc.) and Sophocles (frg. 636; 754, 3 RADT). Alexandrian poets who used this word include Apollonius (III 257; 724; IV 936).
99. **χύτλον (701; 1099)** ‘stream, running water’ and ‘bath water’; a word popular with Hellenistic poets (Ap. Rhod. I 1075; II 926 f.; IV 708; Callim. *Hec.* frg. 60 HOLLIS; frg. 540 PFEIFFER; Euph. frg. 11, 7 LIGHTFOOT). It was perhaps used earlier by a tragic author of unknown name and date (frg. 276 KANNICHT–SNELL as χυτλός).
100. **χωστός (698; 1064)** ‘made by earth’; earlier only found in Euripides (*Rhes.* 414).
101. **ψυδρός (235; 1219)** ‘lying, untrue’; previously only seen in Theognis (I 122).

Words used twice in the same part of the poem:

1. **ἀγκύλος (262; 344)** ‘crooked’, ‘wily’ and ‘crafty’; a rare Homeric word, usually used to describe a bow (*Il.* V 209; VI 39; 322; *Od.* XXI 264); later found in Sophocles (*OT* 204), Euripides (*Or.* 1477; *IT* 1408) and Aristophanes (*Eq.* 205). It was clearly liked by Alexandrian poets (Ap. Rhod. II 1043; III 157; Theocr. 22, 47; Callim. *Aet.* frg. 43, 42 HARDER; frg. 646 PFEIFFER). Only used figuratively (about Sinon’s twisted mind) by Lycophron.
2. **ἄγραυλος (893; 990)** ‘dwelling in the field’; previously used by Homer (*Il.* XVIII 162, etc.) and Hesiod (*Theog.* 26), but also by Aeschylus (frg. 25e, 8 RADT, etc.), Sophocles (*Ant.* 349; *El.* 342, etc.), Euripides (*Ion* 882; *Bacch.* 1188) and then by e.g. Apollonius (IV 317, etc.) and Nicander (*Ther.* 473).
3. **αἰαῖ (31; 307)**; a cry of despair, created by doubling the more frequent αἶ (whether it should be treated as two exclamations αἶ αἶ or as a single word, see Tzetzes Σ *Alex.* 31; HORNBLOWER 2015: 127 f.). Very often used by Euripides (*Med.* 1008; *Hipp.* 208; *Andr.* 829, etc.) and just as often by Sophocles (*Trach.* 1081; *OC* 1734; *El.* 1404, etc.); also by Aeschylus (*Supp.* 866; *Pers.* 257; *Sept.* 787, etc.) and Aristophanes (*Ach.* 1083, etc.). Hellenistic poets who used the word include Theocritus (2, 55; 4, 40; 7, 121), Callimachus (*Aet.* frg. 64, 13; 95, 4 HARDER; *Iamb.* frg. 193, 37 PFEIFFER), Leonidas of Tarentum (*Anth. Pal.* VII 662, 5) and Bion (*Epith. Adon.* 28).
4. **αἰνόλεκτρος (820; 1354)** ‘fatally wedded’ (about Menelaos), ‘with a frightful bed’ (about Echidna’s bed in the literal sense); a word previously used only by Aeschylus (*Ag.* 713) who, like Lycophron, used the language of marriage for the adulterous relationship between Paris and Helen. Undoubtedly then, the later poet enters into an intertextual dialogue with the tragedian, transferring the morally stigmatising term of adultery into a marriage devoid of love.

5. αἰόλος (4; 671) 'shimmy' and 'changeful'; a word with the first meaning used by Callimachus (*Hymn* 3, 91) and tragedians (Aesch. *Sept.* 494; Soph. *Trach.* 11;) The second meaning is found in tragedy (Eur. *Ion* 499), in Aristophanes (*Ran.* 248) and Theocritus (16, 44).
6. ἀμφιβληστρον (1101; 1375) 'anything thrown round; net'; the word is taken from Aeschylus' *Oresteia* (*Ag.* 1382; *Ch.* 492)⁴², where it was used to describe the cloak thrown by Clytemnestra onto Agamemnon's head just before he was given the deadly blow. Lycophron uses it in a similar context, in passages concerning Agamemnon and Orestes, both of whom invaded Asia Minor⁴³. In this sense it can also be found in tragedians (e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 1052; Eur. *Hel.* 1079). It often means a 'net' in comic writers (Antiphanes frg. 192, 1; Epilycus frg. 1; Strattis frg. 76; Men. frg. 28 KASSEL–AUSTIN).
7. ἀνάστατος (770; 1215) 'ruined'; a mainly prose word, previously found in Herodotus (I 155, etc.), Thucydides (VIII 24, etc.) and Isocrates (4, 108, etc.), but also used by Sophocles (*Trach.* 39, etc.) and Euripides (*Andr.* 1249).
8. ἀντίπορθμος (1071; 1368) 'on opposite sides of the straits'; a rare word, earlier found in Euripides (*Ion* 1585; frg. 515, 2 KANNICHT).
9. ἀπαρχή (1193; 1450) 'first fruits'; earlier found in tragedy (Soph. *Trach.* 183; Eur. *Andr.* 150; *Ion* 402; *Or.* 96, etc.), Herodotus (I 92) and Thucydides (III 58). Then used by e.g. Callimachus (*Hymn* 4, 278).
10. ἀπάρχομαι (1188; 1409) 'to begin the sacrifice with; offer the first fruits' (1188), and 'accept first fruits' (1409, see Pl. *Leg.* 767 C)⁴⁴. Earlier found in Homer (*Il.* XIX 254; *Od.* XIV 422, etc.), followed by Euripides (*El.* 91) and Herodotus (IV 188, etc.). It was also used by comic writers (Ar. *Ach.* 244; *Pax* 1056; Anaxandr. frg. 39, 11 KASSEL–AUSTIN). Alexandrian poets who used this word included Callimachus (*Hymn* 4, 299), and Theocritus (*Id.* 7, 33; 17, 109).
11. ἄρδω (983; 995) 'to irrigate'; in this sense, it was previously used among others by Aeschylus (*Pers.* 487; 806, etc.), Herodotus (II 14), Timocles (frg. 17, 5 KASSEL–AUSTIN), and Aristotle (*Gen. cor.* 335a, 14).
12. ἄρπακτήρ / ἄρπακτήριος (147; 157) 'kidnapper, robber; thievish'; the first variant appears in Homer (*Il.* XXIV 262), then only in late epic poetry. Lycophron puts a rare noun and adjective from the same root close together, probably in order to rhythmise the text on the one hand and to avoid literal repetition on the other. In the Hellenistic era it was used by Leonidas of Tarentum (*Anth. Pal.* XVI 190). Callimachus used a gloss ἄρπακτής.
13. ἀσκέρα (855; 1322) 'winter shoe with fur lining', previously used by Hipponax (frg. 18, 19), then by Herondas (2, 32).

⁴² KOLDE 2009: 48–55; HORNBLOWER 2015: 392.

⁴³ HORNBLOWER 2015: 393.

⁴⁴ HORNBLOWER 2015: 487.

14. **ἀτραπός (123; 697)** ‘short cut, path’; in Homer always ἀτραπός (*Il.* XVII 743, etc). It was used in prose by Herodotus (VII 215, etc.), Thucydides (IV 129, 4, etc.), Plato (*Phae.* 66B, 4), but also by Aristophanes (*Nub.* 76, etc.) and Pindar (*Pae.* 52k5). In the Hellenistic period it was employed by epic poets (Ap. Rhod. I 546; Nic. *Ther.* 160, etc.), including Philitas, who used it in the *Hermes* (frg. 10 LIGHTFOOT).
15. **αὐθόμαιμος (168; 222)** ‘related by blood’; previously found in Sophocles (*OC* 335).
16. **ἄφλαστον (26; 295)** ‘curved poop deck of a ship’; a word that appears once in Homer (*Il.* XV 717), then is used by Herodotus (VI 114), and among the Alexandrian poets by Apollonius (I 1089; II 601; III 543).
17. **βαλβίς (13; 287)** ‘rope drawn across the race-course at the starting and finishing-point’ and hence ‘goal’; previously found in Euripides (*Med.* 1245; *HF* 867) and Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 548; *Eq.* 1159), then used by, among others, Apollonius (III 1272).
18. **βασσάρα (771; 1393)**; according to Σ *Alex.* 771 the word means ‘she-fox’, ‘bacchante’, but in this case ‘prostitute’. In turn, Hesychius adds another meaning ‘dress of the Thracian bacchantes’ and says that βάσσαρος means ‘fox’ in the dialect of Cyrene (Hesych. β 336 s.v. βάσσαρος). Lycophron was probably inspired to use this word by Aeschylus, who wrote a tragedy called Βασσάραι or Βασσαρίδες (frg. 23–25 RADT).
19. **βρέτας (948; 1135)** ‘a wooden image of a god’, more often ξόανον; previously used by playwrights: Aesch. *Eum.* 80; 259; *Supp.* 429; 463; *Sept.* 95; 97; 185, etc.; Eur. *Alc.* 974, etc.; Ar. *Eq.* 31, but also by Nossis (*Anth. Pal.* IX 332) and among the Alexandrians by Apollonius (I 1119). Callimachus uses it twice in the space of ten lines (*Hymn* 3, 238 and 248 and in iambs (*Iamb.* 6, 29, frg. 196, 29 PFEIFFER).
20. **γαμφαί (152; 358)** ‘curved fangs, beak, claws’ (Σ *Alex.* 348). It appears for the first time in Lycophron, then in lexicographers; it is a variant of the rare word γαμφηλαί: ‘maw’, also found twice in Lycophron: 94 (as a proper noun) and 266.
21. **γαμφηλαί (94; 266)** ‘maw, jaw, mouth’; previously found in Homer (*Il.* XVI 489; 194), also used by tragedians: Aeschylus (*PV* 355) and Euripides (*Ion* 159; 1495). Also found in Aristophanes (*Eq.* 198) and then Apollonius (II 188).
22. **δαψιλής (779; 957)** ‘ample, wide, abundant’; a prose word (Hdt. II 121, etc.; Arist. *Gen. an.* 774b, 26), but also used by Alexandrian poets (Theocr. 7, 145; Callim. *Hymn* 4, 125; Herod. 7, 84).
23. **δείκηλον (1179; 1259)** ‘representation, image, reflection, figure, form, spectre’; a word earlier found only once in Herodotus with the meaning of ‘representation’ (II 171), then used twice in the Lycophronic sense (‘statue, image’) by Apollonius (I 746: ‘figure’; IV 1672: ‘spectre’) and by Euphorion (frg. 19a, 26 LIGHTFOOT) and Eratosthenes (*SH* frg. 397a, 3).

24. **διαρραίω (1007; 1097)** 'to destroy, dash in pieces'; a Homeric word (*Il.* II 473, etc.), later relatively rarely used, e.g. by Aeschylus (*PV* 236) and Apollonius (III 236).
25. **ἐπιδόρπιος (607; 661)** 'for use after dinner'; the word seen for the first time in Theocritus (13, 36)⁴⁵ and Lycophron. Then most often in Nicander (*Alex.* 21: ἐ. τεῦχος about the stomach). The Homeric word ποτιδόρπιον (*Od.* IX 234; 249) was picked up by Apollonius (I 1209).
26. **ἐπιρροιζέω (217; 585)** 'to squawk, shriek', previously found in Aeschylus (*Eum.* 424), then used by Theophrastus (*Sign.* frg. 16), meaning the sound of a raven announcing rain. Aratus used the form ἐπιρροιβδέω (969).
27. **εὔστοχος (528; 640)** 'well-aimed'; previously used by tragedians (Eur. frg. 321, 2; 613 KANNICHT; *HF* 195; *Hel.* 76; *Ph.* 140) and comic writers (Ephippus, frg. 14, 1; Adespot. frg. 879 KASSEL–AUSTIN) as well as in prose by Xenophon (*Cyr.* I 4, 8; *Eq.* 12, 13).
28. **ἵκρια (378; 751)** 'half-deck' or 'part of a mast' (Σ Ap. Rhod. I 566). A Homeric word (*Il.* XV 676; *Od.* XII 414, etc.), used by Apollonius (I 566).
29. **ἴκτης / ἰκέτις (763; 1164)** 'one who comes to seek aid/protection'; a contracted form of the masculine form ἰκέτης, first used by Lycophron, probably not *metri causa*, since there was already a form ἴκτηρ of the same metric value, found in the iambic trimeters of tragedy (Aesch. *Supp.* 479; Soph. *OT* 143; Eur. *Cyc.* 371; *Heracl.* 101). Lycophron deliberately creates a new form, and uses the feminine form, rare for this noun, previously used in tragedy (Aesch. *Supp.* 350; 428; Soph. *OT* 920; Eur. *Andr.* 115; 859; *Hec.* 145; *HF* 715; *Ion* 1119; 1256; *Hel.* 60; 894; 1238; *Phoen.* 1569; *IA* 992, etc.), as well as by Herodotus and Alcman. It was also used by Apollonius (IV 743).
30. **κάλχη / καλχαίνω (864; 1457)**; a rare noun and verb that mean: 'purple' and 'to dye something purple' (Lycophron also uses it in a strange sense: 'to desire'). The noun was first used by Lycophron, and then among others by Nicander (*Ther.* 641). The verb, in the sense of 'be unquiet, excited' like the sea turning purple (cf. πορφύρω) and 'ponder', is found earlier only in tragedy (Soph. *Ant.* 20; Eur. *Heracl.* 40).
31. **καρatóμος / κατατομέω (187; 313)** 'beheading', 'to behead'; rare words from the same root, previously used in tragedy (Soph. *El.* 52; Eur. *Alc.* 1118; *Tro.* 564; *Rhes.* 586; 606).
32. **καταιβάτις (91; 497)**; a rare feminine form derived from καταιβάτης, in both cases used by Lycophron in the context of the κατάβασις, the descent to the Underworld (about the path itself and about Laodice, who entered the land of the dead while still alive). In the meaning of the path to the hereafter, the word was only used once by Apollonius (II 353), but in III 160

⁴⁵ HUNTER 1999: 176.

- and by Sosiphanes, a member of the Alexandrian Pleiad (*Meleager*, frg. 1, 2 KOTLIŃSKA-TOMA), in the sense of the way from the sky down to the earth.
33. **καταξάινω (300; 561)** here: ‘to tear in pieces’; a rare verb previously used in tragedy: Soph. *Aj.* 728; Eur. *Ion* 1267; *Phoen.* 1145; *Supp.* 503; *HF* 285.
 34. **καταρρακτήρ (169; 539)** ‘down-swooping’; about a bird of prey, hawk or falcon, a word for Paris or Hector. Used only by Lycophron.
 35. **κάχερουσία (411; 695)** ‘Acheronian’; a relatively rare adjective form from the name of the river Acheron, previously found in Euripides (*Herac.* 838). On the other hand, a contraction in the feminine gender, found only in Lycophron, appears earlier in the masculine form in Aeschylus (κάχερουσίους: *Ag.* 1160). Callimachus, moreover, uses the form Ἀχερόντειος (*Hec.* frg. 99 HOLLIS), while Apollonius uses Ἀχεροντιάς (II 354).
 36. **κειμήλιον (884; 1264)** ‘treasure’; a Homeric word (*Il.* XXIII 618; *Od.* I 312, etc.), also used by Euripides (*El.* 438; *Herac.* 591, etc.) and Herodotus, and then by Theocritus (21, 55).
 37. **κηκασμός (545; 692)** ‘an insult’; a very rare word, found for the first time in Lycophron, as well as the related verb κηκάζω (1386). Callimachus, on the other hand, uses the adjective κηκάς ‘abusive’ (frg. 656 PFEIFFER, NB a passage recorded by Tzetzes in *Σ Alex.* 545), which probably points to a dialogue between the two poets.
 38. **κίων (281; 711)** ‘column, pillar’; a Homeric word (*Od.* VIII 66; XIX 38, etc.), also found in Pindar (*Pyth.* 1, 19, etc.), but also used by Aeschylus (*PV* 349), Sophocles (*Aj.* 240), Euripides (*Herac.* 973; 977; 1006), Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 105), Crates (frg. 17, 3 KASSEL–AUSTIN) and Cratinus (frg. 506 KASSEL–AUSTIN). Hellenistic poets who used this word include Apollonius (III 216) and Nicander (*Ther.* 246).
 39. **κλόνος (944; 1439)** ‘battle-rout’; a Homeric word (*Il.* V 167, etc.), also used among others by Aeschylus (*Pers.* 98; *Ag.* 404), Euripides (*Ion* 206) and Aristophanes (*Nub.* 387).
 40. **κόγχος (790; 1105)** ‘shell’ and ‘skull’; Lycophron uses it in both meanings, the latter being the poet’s invention. Earlier the word was used by Aeschylus (frg. 34, 1 RADT) and comic writers: Epicharmus (frg. 84 KASSEL–AUSTIN) and Aristonymus (frg. 1 KASSEL–AUSTIN); also by Callimachus (*Ep.* 5, 1) and others.
 41. **κόπις (763; 1464)** ‘prater, liar, wrangler’; a rare word, previously used once by Euripides (*Hec.* 132) in the preserved texts; according to the scholia to Euripides *ad loc.* also in Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 132, 3) who quoted Heraclitus (frg. 81).
 42. **κόρη (507; 711)** ‘temple’; a Homeric word (*Il.* IV 502; V 584; XIII 576), used by Aeschylus (*Cho.* 282) and Pherecrates (frg. 165, 1 KASSEL–AUSTIN), then picked up by the Alexandrian poets (Theocr. 14, 34; Callim. *Hymn* 3, 78; Herod. 7, 71; Nic. *Ther.* 750; 905, etc.).

43. **κύφella (1402; 1426)** 'hollows of the ears' and 'clouds of arrows'; first used by Aeschylus (*Supp.* 793), then by Callimachus (*Aet.* frg. 20 HARDER: about darkness on the sea).
44. **λάβρος (475; 724)** 'fierce, furious, violent' (of rivers or the sea); a Homeric word (*Il.* II 148; *Od.* XV 293, etc.), but also found in Aeschylus (*Pers.* 101), Sophocles (*Aj.* 147) and Euripides (*Supp.* 860; *HF* 253; 861; *Or.* 697). Also used by Pindar, Aristotle, Theophrastus and Timotheus. Alexandrian poets who often used this word include Apollonius (I 541; 1359; II 173; 594; III 343; 1327; IV 944; 1243).
45. **λαιψηρός (245; 531)** 'light-footed, swift, nimble'; here about Achilles' legs. Earlier found in Homer (*Il.* XIV 17; XV 269; XV 620; XX 204, etc.), the word is frequent in Euripides (frg. 1032 KANNICHT; *Alc.* 494; *Hec.* 1039; *El.* 549; *Ion* 717; *Hel.* 555). Apollonius also used it, but usually of winds (I 926; IV 241; 758; 849; 886).
46. **λείψανον (54; 662)** 'remnant, traces, remains'; previously found in Sophocles (*El.* 1113), Euripides (frg. 554; *Tro.* 716; *Med.* 1387; *Andr.* 774) and Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 1066), as well as Plato (*Criti.* 110B, 7; 111A, 3), Theophrastus (*De igne* frg. 42) and Aratus (360).
47. **ληκτήριος (966; 1391)** 'farthest bounds of', about an island or land; first used by Lycophron.
48. **λιπαίνω (886; 1408)** 'enrich; make fat' (e.g. about rivers) and 'anoint'; a word used by Euripides (*Bacch.* 575; *Hec.* 454) and Anaxilas (frg. 18, 1 KASSEL-AUSTIN), then, among others, by Nicander (*Ther.* 97). Callimachus, on the other hand, uses the phrase λιπαραι ρεῖτε 'go on streaming, bringing fertility' about the Argive springs (frg. 66, 9 HARDER); the verb also appears in Euphorion (frg. 11, 9 LIGHTFOOT).
49. **λούω (446; 730)** 'wash, bathe'; a contraction of λοέω; the form was preferred by, among others, Sophocles (*Ant.* 901) and Aristophanes (*Lys.* 19; *Nu.* 837), but also used by Theocritus (5, 146) and Callimachus (*Hymn* 4, 95). In the *Alexandra*, both examples appear in the same context of graves washed by water and blood respectively.
50. **μαραίνω (1127; 1231)** 'to die away; to wither'; Lycophron uses it twice in a similar context, about the fame of Cassandra and Troy, which will not be plunged into darkness. Earlier found in Homer (*Il.* IX 212) and tragedians (Aesch. *Eum.* 139, etc.; Soph. *Aj.* 713; *OT* 1260; Eur. *Alc.* 203; 236). Hellenistic poets who used this verb include Aratus (814; 862; 1000), Theocritus (23, 28) and Bion (*Epitaph. Adon.* 76).
51. **μύκλος (771; 816)**; from the word meaning 'fold' or 'a callous fold at the neck of an ass' (Hesychius, *EM* s.v.) comes the meaning 'ass', followed by 'lewd, dissolute, randy' (816 about an ass, which is NB described by the rare word κάνθων; and 771 about the suitors). For asses as randy animals, see Pindar, *Pyth.* 10, 36.

52. **νύμφευμα (935; 1136)** ‘marriage, espousal’; a word used at least ten times by Euripides (*Andr.* 20; 193; 987, etc), but also by Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 55, 5). As Christophe CUSSET observes, Lycophron uses it in the same position and form, in the first case to describe a model marriage of Admetus, and in the second case to present Amazons, who are resistant to conjugal union⁴⁶.
53. **ὄρμος (737; 1274)** ‘roadstead, anchorage’; the word is used in this sense by Homer (*Il.* I 435, etc.) and Herodotus (VII 193), as well as in tragedy (Aesch. *Supp.* 765; *Ag.* 665; Soph. *OT* 196; Eur. *IA* 1496, etc.). Alexandrian poets who used this word include Apollonius (IV1345; 1640).
54. **ὄρχηστής (249; 493)** ‘dancer’; in both cases the word appears in a similar, unusual context of war; a Homeric word (*Il.* XVI 617; XXIV 261), then found in Epicharmus (frg. 277, 9 KASSEL–AUSTIN).
55. **ὄχθηρός (1030; 1361)** ‘hilly, steep’; first used by Lycophron, then by Euphorion (frg. 159 LIGHTFOOT).
56. **ὀχμάζω (41; 625)** ‘to grip fast’; the verb was previously found in Aeschylus (*PV* 5; 618) and Euripides (*Cyc.* 484; *El.* 817; *Or.* 265); then used once by Apollonius (II 743).
57. **παλιμπόρευτος (180; 628)** ‘going back’; previously found in Timotheus (*Pers.* 186) and in the form παλίμπορος (*Pers.* 174).
58. **πάλος (1154; 1267)** ‘lot’; a word rarer than κλῆρος; earlier found in Sappho (frg. 33, 2), but primarily used by tragedians (Aesch. *Pers.* 779; *Sept.* 276; *Ag.* 333; Eur. *Tro.* 263; *Ion* 416, etc.). Then used by Alexandrian poets, Apollonius (II 55) and Callimachus (*Hymn* 1, 61; 66; *Aet.* frg. 119, 3 HARDER).
59. **παραιολίζω (1094; 1380)** ‘to trick’; used twice, only in the *Alexandra*; this word was most probably coined by Lycophron based on the model of αἰολίζω (see Soph. frg. 912 RADT) and relating to αἰόλον στόμα (4)⁴⁷.
60. **πέρθω (1002; 1211)** ‘to destroy’; a Homeric word (*Il.* XXI 584, etc.), also used by Aeschylus (*Sept.* 325), Sophocles (*Philoct.* 612), Euripides (*Hipp.* 543; *Andr.* 971) and Pindar (*Pyth.* 3, 50, etc.); later found in Apollonius (I 800; II 131).
61. **πλᾶτις (821; 1294)** ‘wife’; a very rare word, previously only used by Aeschylus (frg. 497b, 2 RADT) and Aristophanes (*Ar. Ach.* 132).
62. **ποδηγέτης (220; 385)** ‘guide’; used for the first time by Lycophron; a noun originating from the verb ποδηγετέω ‘to guide’. Lycophron also creates a derivative ποδηγία (846).
63. **ποινή (1152; 1335)** ‘price paid, recompense, fine’; previously used by Homer (*Il.* XVII 207, etc.), Hesiod (*Op.* 755, etc.) and Herodotus (II 134), as well as by tragic authors (Aesch. *Eum.* 543; Eur. *IT* 446, etc.). Hellenistic poets who used this word include Apollonius (III 338) and Phanocles (frg. 1, 27).

⁴⁶ CUSSET 2002/2003: 143.

⁴⁷ HORNBLLOWER 2015: 391.

64. **πρηών (769; 1069)** 'foreland, headland'; an epic form of *πρῶν*, previously only used by (Ps.-)Hesiod (*Sc.* 437); it was also used by Callimachus (*Hymn* 3, 52) and Nicander (*Ther.* 218; *Alex.* 104).
65. **πτέρνα (442; 500)** 'the under part of the heel' or 'heel'; used once by Homer (*Il.* XX 397) and Aeschylus (*Aesch. Cho.* 209). It is also found in Aristotle (*HA* 494b, 7), then, for example, in Herodas in the meaning of 'sole' (7, 21).
66. **πτόρθος (965; 1097)** 'shoot, sapling, young branch'; used by Homer (*Od.* VI 128), then frequently by Euripides (*Al.* 172; *Hec.* 20; *Ion* 103, etc.) as well as by Aristophanes (*Pl.* 544) and Eupolis (frg. 13, 2 KASSEL-AUSTIN). It was also used by Apollonius (III 1215).
67. **πύρνον (482; 639)**; Homer uses it as 'wheaten bread' (*Od.* XV 312, XVII 12; 362). Then used by Timaeus, who is quoted in the scholia to the *Alexandra* (*FGrH* 566 F 66, 5). Lycophron, in turn, uses it in the sense of food (about bread from acorns and the poor food of the inhabitants of the Balearic Islands).
68. **ραιβόω (262; 563)** 'to make crooked, bend'; a rare verb used for the first time by Lycophron.
69. **ραίνω (1004; 1185)** 'to sprinkle, besprinkle'; previously used by Homer (*Il.* XI 282) and Pindar (*Pyth.* 8, 57; *Isthm.* 6, 21), but also by comic writers (*Ar. Ran.* 1441; *Pherecr.* frg. 53; *Xenarch.* frg. 7, 7 KASSEL-AUSTIN). Hellenistic poets who used this verb include Apollonius (IV 158) and Bion (*Epitaph. Adon.* 77).
70. **ρηγμίν (192; 412)** 'at the sea's edge, coast'; a Homeric word (*Il.* XX 229; *Od.* II 214, etc.), also found in Pindar (*Nem.* 5, 13) and Euripides (*IT* 253); then in Apollonius (I 1004; II 348; 532; IV 251; 1575; 1576).
71. **ροιζέω (1325; 1426)** 'to hiss, whirr through the air, whistle'; used by Hesiod (*Theog.* 835); then by Apollonius (IV 129).
72. **σίντης / σίνις (386; 539)** 'a spoiler; thief' (about Nauplios and Paris). Lycophron most likely used the word *σίνις* because it was a gloss (*Arist. Rh.* 1406a, 8), probably also used by Aeschylus (*Ag.* 718), Antimachus of Colophon (frg. 3, 2 = Σ *Soph. OC* 378), Anyte of Tegea (*Anth. Pal.* VII 202) and Callimachus (*Hymn* 2, 92); *σίντης*, on the other hand, is a Homeric word (*Il.* XI 481; XVI 353; XX 165).
73. **σκύφος (163; 660)** 'a cup, can, wooden pail', especially used by peasants (*Od.* XIV 112); a word in the neuter gender previously also used by Euripides (*Cyc.* 390; 411; frg. 146 KANNICHT; etc.), but also by comic authors: Epigenes, Epicharmus, Alexis, Archippos and the mime writer Sophron (*Epicharm.* frg. 72; *Epig.* frg. 3; *Alex.* frg. 135; *Archipp.* frg. 7; *Sophr.* frg. 14 KASSEL-AUSTIN). It was also used by Theocritus (1, 143) as well as by epigrammatists, including Leonidas of Tarentum (*Anth. Pal.* VI 334).
74. **σπίλος (188; 374)** 'a torn, steep rock'; a variant of the more frequent version of *σπιλάς*, also found in the *Alexandra* (1081). Previously used by Ion of Chios in the *Omphale* (frg. 19, 1 = Hesychius s.v. *σπίλον*) and by (Pseudo-)Aristotle (*Mund.* 392b, 30).

75. **στροβίλος (89; 506)** ‘a round ball; ball of an egg shell’; previously the word was used, apart from Theophrastus, also by Ion of Chios, frg. 38, 4; in other meanings, e.g. Plato Comicus (frg. 254, 1 KASSEL–AUSTIN) and Menander (*Sam.* 555, etc.).
76. **στρόμβος (250; 585)** ‘a round object’; used by Lycophron in the sense of a ‘trumpet-shell’ and a ‘spindle’; used once by Homer (*Il.* XIV 413), then by Aeschylus (‘hurricane’, *PV* 1084). In the second sense, it was also used by Theocritus (9, 25). Nicander, on the other hand, uses it with the meaning of cones (*Ther.* 884) or sea snails (*Alex.* 393; frg. 83, 2).
77. **τεθμός (859; 1173)**; a rare variant of θεσμός ‘ordinance, rule, custom’; earlier used by Pindar (*Ol.* 6, 69; 7, 88; 13, 40, etc.), and then by Callimachus (*Aet.* frg. 100; 167 HARDER; *Iamb.* 13, 43; frg. 203, 43 PFEIFFER).
78. **τέραμνον (350; 361)** ‘chamber, ceiling’; a word frequently used by Euripides, but always in the plural and only in choral passages (*Al.* 457; *Hipp.* 418; 532; 767; *Tro.* 1296; *Phoen.* 333; *Or.* 1371). It also appeared in an anonymous lyrical poem (*PGM* 119, 1, 13). In the Hellenistic era it was used by Maiistas in the *Delian Aretalogy of Sarapis* (*IG* XI 4, 1299).
79. **τόρμα (262; 487)** with two meanings: ‘wheel-rut’ and ‘socket’ or ‘joint’ (e.g. ‘eye orbit’ or ‘groin’); a very rare noun first used by Lycophron.
80. **τρήρων (87; 423)** ‘timorous’; a word used by Homer and Aristophanes (*Av.* 575) and then Apollonius (II 534; III 541) and Moero (frg. 1, 9), usually in combination with pigeons: πέλειαι (*Columba livia domestica* = περιστεραι). Lycophron uses τρήρων as a proper name (like in Moero: frg. 1, 3). Note that in another comedy by Aristophanes (*Pax* 1067) τρήρων in the meaning of ‘timorous’ appears in combination with κέπφος, which in turn was used by Lycophron in line 76. This is the only combination of this type found in the preserved Greek texts, so perhaps Lycophron, who placed both words at a distance of nine lines, had in mind this passage from Aristophanes.
81. **τρόπις (747; 1025)** ‘ship’s keel’ or ‘ship’; a Homeric word (*Od.* V 130, etc.), but also used by Sophocles (frg. 143, 2 RADT), Aristophanes (*Vesp.* 30), and Epicharmus (frg. 85, 395 KASSEL–AUSTIN). Alexandrian poets who used this noun include Apollonius (I 388; 533; II 585).
82. **υπέικω (778; 1412)** ‘to withdraw, yield’; a verb often used by Homer (*Il.* XVI 305, etc.), tragic authors (Aesch. *Ag.* 1362; Soph. *Ant.* 716; Eur. *IA* 140, etc.) and historians (Hdt. VI 160; Thuc. I 127, 3; Xen. *Cyr.* VIII 7, 10, etc.). Then it was used by e. g. Apollonius (II 23; IV 408; 1676).
83. **φαληριάω (188; 491)** ‘to be patched with white; to whiten’, e.g. about sea rocks crested with white foam. This is a rare Homeric word (*Il.* XIII 799)⁴⁸, then found in Posidippus in a context similar to that of Lycophron (188): *Anthologiae Graecae Appendix* 79, 3.

⁴⁸ RENGAKOS 1994: 121.

84. **φάλλη (84; 394)** 'a whale'; a rare form of **φάλλαινα / φάλαινα**, which Lycophron uses to describe a sea monster (841). The **φάλλη** variant was used only by Lycophron and Hesychius, perhaps due to another rare meaning of the word **φάλλη** 'sailing/wandering soul' (Hesychius φ 119 s.v. **φάλλη**), which would fit into the general gloomy tone of the poem, while at the same time intensifying it.
85. **χιλός (578; 677)** 'green fodder for cattle; hay'; a purely prose word⁴⁹, previously used by Herodotus (IV 140) and Xenophon (Cyr. VI 3; 5, etc.). Then found in Nicander (*Ther.* 569).
86. **ψάμμος (1014; 1156)** 'sand'; a variant of **ψάμαθος**. Found once in Homer (*Od.* XII 243) and then often used by Herodotus (IV 181, etc.).
87. **ψευδήριον (1048; 1181)** 'cenotaph'; first used by Lycophron.

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⁴⁹ SCHADE 1999: 83; HORNBLLOWER 2015: 252.

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AN EPIGRAM ABOUT LYCOPHRON'S *ALEXANDRA* (*ANTH. PAL.* IX 191)¹

by

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ABSTRACT: This article discusses an anonymous epigram whose subject is Lycophron's *Alexandra*, and which improves on other such 'literary' epigrams by the extent to which it plays with its subject's recondite language and manner. It displays awareness of other Hellenistic poems also. Suggested date: late Hellenistic/early Imperial, the time of Crinagoras.

1. Introduction.
 2. The Lycophron epigram, including commentary.
 3. Previous treatments and interpretations; the epigram misunderstood.
 4. The epigram as a pastiche of the *Alexandra*.
 5. Intertexts with other Hellenistic poems.
 6. A literary appreciation of the epigram.
 7. The date.
 8. Conclusion.
- Appendix: Other epigrams in *Anth. Pal.* which may allude to the *Alexandra*.

1. INTRODUCTION

That the *Alexandra* of Lycophron, the 'dark poem'², was read and exploited, although never actually named or cited, by some of the greatest Augustan poets

¹ We make grateful acknowledgment to Alan GRIFFITHS for his valuable contributions. We thank Philomen PROBERT for advice about a problem of the accentuation of a hapax compound word in line 4 (see p. 219), and Chris PELLING for comments on the same line. Jan KWAPISZ kindly showed us a forthcoming (now published) article, cited in our Appendix. Adam DEGLER explained to us some intricacies of numismatics. Finally, the thorough and knowledgeable comments of the journal's two referees have greatly assisted us, see esp. n. 12; and we much appreciate the help and encouragement provided at all stages by the journal's editor Jakub PIŁOŃ.

² σκοτεινὸν ποίημα: Suda λ 827 ADLER, cf. already Statius (below, n. 7). The adjective conveys the double sense of 'obscure' (the title page of the Aldine *editio princeps* of 1513 has *obscurum poema*) and 'sinister, gloomy'. For the darkness theme in the *Alexandra*, see SISTAKOU 2012: 131–190. A favourite word of Lycophron, from line 7 onwards, is κελαινός, which means both 'dark' as a colour word and also 'sinister': HORNBLOWER 2015: 1, n. 4. – The date of the *Alexandra* (3rd or 2nd cent. BC?) is disputed. The question is not vitally important for the purposes of this article, so we leave it open.

– Virgil, Ovid³, perhaps Propertius – is generally accepted⁴. But if we leave aside entries in Stephanus of Byzantium traceable to early grammarians⁵, and in similar compilations or in scholia⁶, specific ancient references to the poem in surviving authors are extremely rare. There are only: a couple of words in Statius⁷; a passing mention in the *Lexiphanes* of Lucian (25), cf. BERRA 2009: 276–279; a mention of ἡ Λυκόφρονος Ἀλέξανδρα by Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–216 AD) in a short list of difficult and allusive literary texts⁸; and another mention in a similar list in the *Oneirokritika* of Artemidorus – a work whose date is, like that of the *Alexandra* itself, uncertain, but which was probably composed in two stages between the late second and early third centuries AD⁹. Theon in the first century BC is known to have written a commentary on the poem, but it does not survive.

There is, however, an additional literary text, an anonymous six-line Greek epigram about the poem in the *Palatine Anthology*: IX 191, possibly written to accompany an edition of the *Alexandra* which might have been a gift¹⁰. We give text, trans-

³ Ov. *Ibis* 529 f. does have a story about the death of Lycophron: “utque cothornatum cecidisse Lycophrona narrant/ haereat in fibris fixa sagitta tuis”; cf. SUSEMIHL 1891: II 74 and n. 32. But this (see *TrGF* I 100 T7) is usually and rightly referred to Lycophron of Chalkis the tragedian, who may or may not be identical with the author of the *Alexandra*. See ZIEGLER 1927: 2319 and n. **.

⁴ See JOSIFOVIC 1968: 922–925, and other modern references at HORNBLOWER 2015: 97, n. 286, and cf. ZIEGLER 1927: 2350–2353. For Propertius see IV 1, A 87 f. with HORNBLOWER 2015: 438 on *Alex.* 1229.

⁵ The original of Stephanus of Byzantium’s *Ethnica*, as opposed to the epitome which is all that survives, made frequent and explicit use of Lycophron’s *Alexandra* (e.g. for the first entry of all, Ἀβαί, α no. 1 BILLERBECK). The *Ethnica* was compiled in the 5th cent. AD, but drew on earlier grammarians such as Oros, and through him Herennius Philon of Byblos (1st or 2nd cent. AD). See FRASER 2009: 298–302.

⁶ These, including those in Steph. Byz., were collected by SCHEER (1881–1908: I, XXVIII–XXXII, ‘Testimonia’; cf. ZIEGLER 1927: 2352). SCHEER did not explain his criteria for inclusion, but worked through the poem line by line, and evidently confined himself to expressions specifically traceable to such lines. So he did not include general allusions to the poem like those in Artemidorus, Lucian, or the Lycophron epigram.

⁷ *Silvae* V 3, 157, the earliest known description of Lycophron – obviously the author of the *Alexandra* – as a ‘dark’ poet: “latebrasque Lycophronis atri”. This and other general testimonia are collected in the preface to POTTER 1702 (pages not numbered), but some of these refer to the tragic poet of Chalkis (see above n. 3) and are not discussed here.

⁸ *Strom.* V 8, 50, 3. The others are Heraclitus of Ephesus the presocratic philosopher, Pherecydes, Euphorion, and Callimachus. See ZIEGLER 1927: 2343 and 2351.

⁹ IV 63, 3: “there are many recondite and out-of-the-way legends to be found in the *Alexandra* of Lycophron, the *Discourses* of Heraclides of Pontus, the *Elegies* of Parthenius, and in many other authors”. See HAMMOND, THONEMANN 2019: 203 (tr.) and XVI (date of treatise).

¹⁰ “Das Ep. stand im Buch”: BECKBY III 780 (comm. on IX 191), cf. 779 on *Anth. Pal.* IX 185, listing other epigrams which might have been written for the same purpose. This idea is accepted by NEBLING 1997: 92 and MAZZOLDI 2001: 266; cf. below n. 17. Gift: cf. YPSILANTI 2018: 137. (Compare A.E. HOUSMAN’s poem “Here are the skies, the planets seven/ and all the starry train:/ Content you with the mimic heaven,/ and on the earth remain...”, written on the flyleaf of the copy of his edition of *Manilius*

lation, and commentary in section 2 below. The epigram has often been overlooked (see n. 17), and we will argue that one crucial detail has been badly misunderstood by two of the few modern authorities who have considered it. The Lycophron epigram – as we will call it – may be late Hellenistic (we return to this at the end), and whether or not this relatively early date is correct, the epigram is an interesting addition to the small total of ancient references to the *Alexandra*. It is (as we also hope to show) a clever and interesting literary production in its own right, and it is the only epigram in the *Anthology* to deal explicitly with the *Alexandra*, although an argument can be made for indirect allusions in other epigrams. (Directness is hardly to be expected. Even the Lycophron epigram avoids actual naming of either poet or poem, but this is – like much else in the epigram – entirely in the spirit of the *Alexandra*, which usually and notoriously prefers teasing periphrasis to actual naming of individuals or places¹¹.) And indeed, there are a number of other possibly *Alexandra*-related epigrams in the *Anthology*. We list and discuss these in the Appendix, but do not claim to exhaustiveness or certainty.

2. THE LYCOPHRON EPIGRAM

For the transmitted title ('lemma'), see below. Here is the Lycophron epigram, as printed by BECKBY, except that in line 3 we have doubled the sigma of Κασσάνδρη, as is obviously necessary for metrical reasons. For a full *app. crit.* see STADTMÜLLER.

οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἡμετέροισι πολυγνάμπτοις λαβυρίνθοις
 ῥηιδίως προμόλοις ἐς φάος, αἶ κε τύχῃς·
 τοίους γὰρ Πριαμὶς Κασσάνδρη φοίβασε μύθους,
 ἄγγελος οὗς βασιλεῖ ἔφρασε λοξοτρόχῃς.
 5 εἰ δέ σε φίλατο Καλλιόπη, λάβε μ' ἐς χέρας· εἰ δὲ
 νῆς ἔφυς Μουσέων, χερσὶ βάρος φορέεις.

In our much-twisting labyrinths
 you will not easily come to the light, if you can manage it at all.
 For such are the tales which Priam's daughter Cassandra uttered,
 and which the *emissary*, the messenger of crooked utterances, reported
 to the king.
 If Calliope loves you, take me into your hands; but if
 you are ignorant of the Muses, you are carrying a heavy load in your hands.

Book 1 which he gave to Walter Headlam: HOUSMAN 1956: 220). On epigrams about authors, written to accompany manuscript copies of the author in question, see generally DEMOEN 2019.

¹¹ Contrast the otherwise similar anonymous epigram about another hard writer, Thucydides (*Anth. Pal.* IX 583, quoted below). This – taking its cue from the historian himself, IV 104, 4 – gives the historian's name and patronymic in the fourth and final line. An epigram about Heraclitus of Ephesos, yet another difficult author, begins 'Ἡράκλειτος ἐγὼ, "I am Heraclitus" (*Anth. Pal.* VII 128). So too in IX 540 (see Appendix) Heraclitus is named early in the first line.

Title ('lemma'): the *Palatine Anthology* lemmatist gives the epigram the following title:

Εἰς τὴν βίβλον | Λυκόφρονος,
τὴν καλουμένην | Ἀλέξανδραν

But the *Planudean Anthology* has only ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου Λυκόφρονος. (See STADTMÜLLER's text and *app. crit.*). Such titles of epigrams are however not ancient and are not the work of the original author, so they do not affect the point made above (p. 217): the epigram does not name either the author or the poem which are its subject.

Metre: the epigram contains several metrical infelicities, if judged by Callimachean standards¹². (i) The poem has only one 'feminine' hexameter caesura (line 1) out of three; for this term see WEST 1982: 195, cf. 153 for Callimachus. This is a low proportion. (ii) Line 3 violates 'Naeke's law', which prohibits a word-break after a spondaic fourth foot (WEST 1982: 154 f.). This is only partially mitigated by the need to accommodate the personal name. (iii) The hiatus at the diaeresis of the pentameter line 4 can and perhaps should be got rid of by emendation; see Commentary. (iv) Line 5 lacks a third-foot caesura. This feature is vanishingly rare in epigram: see the table at FANTUZZI and SENS (2006: 116), showing that a third-foot caesura is missing in between 1.23% and 1.96% in the corpora they examine, namely *CEG* vol. II, BERNAND 1969 and *SGO*. (v) Also in line 5, εἰ δὲ at the end of the line is highly anomalous, mitigated only slightly by its resumption of the opening εἰ δέ.

Commentary (see also section 4)

Line 1: With the compound word πολυγνάμπτοις cf. γνάμψει at Lycoph. *Alex.* 1247 (and for γναμπτός in Callimachus see section 4). Compound words are a persistent feature of the *Alexandra*, cf. on line 4 below. The specific word λαβύρινθος is Callimachean not Lycophronic (see again below, section 4), but the basic idea of the *Alexandra* as a labyrinth is clearly derived from lines 9–12 of the poem itself, where the guard addresses King Priam: κἀναπεμπάζων φρενὶ/ πυκνῇ διοίχνει δυσφάτους αἰνιγμάτων/ οἶμας τυλίσσων, ἥπερ εὐμαθὴς τρίβος/ ὀρθῇ κελεύθῳ τὰν σκοτῶ ποδηγετεῖ, "turn it over in your shrewd brain,/ and pursue and unravel the dark/ paths of her riddles, where a clear track/ leads by a straight road through the things in darkness".

Line 2: With ἐς φάος μολεῖν cf. Eur. *Alc.* 1076 and *HF* 524. αἶ κε τύχης is difficult and has been variously emended (e.g. REISKE, cited by STADTMÜLLER, offered ὅς με θίγης, "you who may touch/handle me"). GRIFFITHS boldly and attractively suggests to us ἐκ σκοτίας, "out of the darkness", which would be highly suitable for an epigram about the 'dark poem'. (Cf. perhaps Eur. *HF*

¹² We have here benefitted greatly from the comments of the two referees.

1222 ἐς φάος νεκρῶν πάρα, or, from the newly discovered Hellenistic poem by Hyssaldomos inscribed at Carian Mylasa, φῶς μὲν ἐξ σκότους ἔτευ[ξας or ἔτευξεν, “You [the divine ‘lord’] made light out of darkness...”: MAREK, ZINGG 2018: 3, line 22.) Be that as it may, the idea of ‘darkness’ is certainly implied by ‘coming to the light’.

Line 3: on the unusual formation Πριαμῖς see below, section 5, p. 232 f. The *Alexandra* sometimes uses φοιβάζω to mean ‘prophesy’, sometimes ‘purify’. For fuller discussion, see section 4.

Line 4: this is the most problematic line because of the hapax word λοξοτρόχῖς, whose translation and interpretation affect the sense of the line as a whole; this is discussed in full below, section 3.

For the – anomalous – accentuation of the word as paroxytone, see CHANDLER 1881: 202, § 717, treating it under compound adjectives of the third declension, but commenting (note 3): “The extreme difficulty of distinguishing substantives from adjectives must serve as some apology for the vagueness of the rule above given; the following real or apparent exceptions to it may be worth noting: λοξοτρόχῖς, *Anth. Pal.* 9.191...” etc. The ‘rule’ is that stated on the same page at § 713, whereby such compounds “with a consonant for their characteristic retract the accent when their second factor consists of more than one syllable”. That is, the expected accent would presumably have been proparoxytone, λοξότροχῖς.

For the hiatus at the diaeresis of a pentameter, see WEST 1982: 158, who gives the following examples from elegiac and epigram: “Call. (?) fr. 506, 668 (?), Agamestor *S[uppl.] H[ell.]* 14.4 (?), Anon. *A[nth.] P[al.]* 12.130.4, *GVI* 1138.1, 1261.4, 1417.2, 1710.2”. The hiatus here could and probably should be avoided if read or emend to πέφραδε, cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* XIV 500. This possibility, suggested to us by GRIFFITHS, seems to have been envisaged by STADTMÜLLER, who however did not mention the hiatus problem specifically, and said he would not claim (“non contenderim”) to be able to see traces of the letter π. GOW and PAGE (*GP*: XL f.) list (at p. XLI) epigrams in the *Garland of Philip* where an apparent hiatus at the diaeresis of the pentameter can be avoided by simple emendation. Cf. also PAGE 1978: 76 (on *Anth. Pal.* V 18 = Rufinus no. V), line 4. Crinagoras was markedly tolerant of hiatus, but even he avoided it at the diaeresis of pentameters: see YPSILANTI 2018: 23 f., cf. 202.

Lines 5–6: these two lines are closely similar¹³ to the first couplet of *Anth. Pal.* IX 583 (anonymous, about the historian Thucydides)¹⁴:

¹³ There are however small but significant differences between the two epigrams. See below on βάρος at line 6 and above n. 11 for the naming (or not) of the epigram’s subject.

¹⁴ For the history of its transmission (it was probably written for a manuscript of Thucydides) see CAMERON 1993: 105 f. and DEMOEN 2019: 81.

ὦ φίλος, εἰ σοφὸς εἶ, λάβε μ' ἐς χέρας· εἰ δέ γε πάμπαν
 νῆις ἔφυς Μουσέων, ῥίψον, ἃ μὴ νοεῖς.
 εἰμὶ γὰρ οὐ πάντεσσι βατός, παῦροι δ' ἀγάσαντο
 Θουκυδίδην Ὀλόρου, Κεκροπίδην τὸ γένος.

Friend, if you are a learned man, take me into your hands. But if you are altogether
 ignorant of the Muses, throw away what you do not understand.
 For I am not to be approached by everyone: but the few admire
 Thucydides son of Olorus, of the Cecropid race (i.e. an Athenian).

For such near-copying of details in epigrams on similar or identical themes see generally GUTZWILLER 1998: 227–236, and 241–245 for a particular good example: the imitations by later epigrammatists of a poem by Leonidas of Tarentum (*Anth. Pal.* VI 13, *HE* 2249–2254, no. XLVI) about three brothers who made a dedication to Pan.

Calliope was the Muse of epic poetry. Did the epigrammatist think of the *Alexandra* as an epic? But the naming of a single Muse (the chief Muse in some traditions)¹⁵ may be just a way of avoiding an infelicitous double mention of the Muses. With these references to Muses, STADTMÜLLER compared the anonymous epigram *Anth. Pal.* VII 128, where the pre-Socratic Heraclitus (another ‘dark’ author) is imagined as warning that his labours have not been undertaken for the benefit of the ‘un-Mused’, ἄμουσοι.

Line 6: βάρος φορέεις is a joke. The literal sense (the *Alexandra* will be a heavy load for the un-Mused to carry) co-exists with the metaphorical: βαρύς means ‘grievous, severe, oppressive’, and the noun is similarly ambiguous. This idea is absent from the otherwise similar Thucydides epigram (above), which admittedly begins by saying “take me into your hands”...“throw me away”, but then uses the metaphor of ‘unapproachable’, οὐ...βατός, without saying that Thucydides is heavy. The difference is significant: βαρύς is a favourite word of Lycophron, always in the metaphorical sense *gravis*, *molestus* (CIANI 1975: 45 f., listing eight uses *de rebus* and one *de personis*.) The noun βάρος occurs once, also metaphorically: line 477, κακῆς ὠδίνος...βάρος, “heavy weight of dire woes”. So this too may be a clever allusion to the *Alexandra*, especially since the line refers to Heracles, whose vast bulk might suggest that this too was a sort of joke by Lycophron. Since both epigrams mix their metaphors (the Lycophron one starts with the idea of travel and access – ‘labyrinth’, ‘coming to the light’ – and then speaks of weight) the difference cannot be used to determine which imitated which, as might have been possible if the one was more thematically coherent (and therefore earlier?) than the other¹⁶.

For βάρος as a Callimachean intertext, see section 5.

¹⁵ Hes. *Th.* 79 f., with MOJSIK 2011: 64.

¹⁶ DEMOEN (2019: 82) rightly says it is “impossible to account for the interdependence of the two anonymous poems”, *scil.* the Thucydides and Lycophron epigrams.

3. PREVIOUS TREATMENTS AND INTERPRETATIONS; THE EPIGRAM MISUNDERSTOOD

This epigram has been somewhat neglected¹⁷, certainly by comparison with its immediate neighbour in Book IX of the *Anthology*, about the poetess Erinna (no. 190). That epigram was given full treatment by PAGE in his last and posthumous book, where he dated it to the late Hellenistic or early Imperial period, on grounds which seem to have been purely aesthetic and subjective¹⁸; and others since then have noticed the Erinna epigram¹⁹. If we could be sure that the juxtaposition was a clue to date and authorship, we might suppose that the Lycophron epigram was also late Hellenistic. But the two-line hexameter epigram for Nonnus (no. 198) is not far away in the book, and that cannot be earlier than the fifth century AD. (On the structure of Book IX see further below.) So further arguments will be needed, and we will suggest later that they can be found in the style of the Lycophron epigram.

The most remarkable single feature of *Anth. Pal.* IX 191 is the neologism *λοξοτρόχῳ* at line 4, and this, we contend, has been and continues to be²⁰ widely misunderstood as referring to Cassandra. In particular it is the subject of a multiply faulty²¹ entry in LSJ (not corrected in the *Supplement*)²². The messenger of that

¹⁷ It is not in *FGE*, nor mentioned by ZIEGLER 1927, JOSIFOVIC 1968, CAMERON 1993 or GUTZWILLER 1998. It features in two modern books about Cassandra: NEBLING 1997: 93, and MAZZOLDI 2001 (266 and n. 508, cf. above n. 10). Both of the latter note the epigram's lexical debt to the *Alexandra*, but NEBLING does not think that it adopted the poem's "komplizierten Stil". In fact the style of the *Alexandra* is not very complicated: the difficulties lie elsewhere. Other citations or quotations, with short or no discussion: SCHADE 1999: 33 and nn. 125 f.; BERRA 2009: 299; ROUGIER-BLANC 2009: 540; CUSSET, PRIoux 2009b: 647. On the mistaken view of line 4 adopted in LÓIO 2014 and in the (brief) discussion of DEMOEN 2019 see below n. 20. The former does however discuss the epigram's relation to Philitas, see below n. 42.

¹⁸ *FGE* 1214–1221, Anon. no. XXXVIII. For the date see p. 346 on line 8: "The text is uncertain, but if the poem is of Hellenistic or early Imperial date..." (the author is unlikely to have committed certain solecisms). Cf. also p. 344 on 1212–1213, anon. no. XXXVII, fictitious epitaph for Euripides, one of nine epigrams on this subject (in *Anth. Pal.* Book VII): "there is no clue to the date: the type is particularly common in the Hellenistic and early Imperial periods". By contrast, PAGE felt able to say of his Anon. no. XXXIX (1222–1227, also for Erinna, *Anth. Pal.* VII 12) that it "is beautifully phrased, and may confidently be assigned to a Hellenistic author of the period 250–150 BC".

¹⁹ GUTZWILLER 1998: 77.

²⁰ The error is perpetuated in the two most recent treatments of the epigram known to us, LÓIO 2014: 388 and DEMOEN 2019: 82 (and see below n. 22 for MONTANARI 2015). By contrast, JACOBS two centuries ago seems to have got it right in every way (comm. on his no. DLXIV): "λοξοτρόχῳ est λοξῶν ἐπῶν τρόχῳ i.e. ἄγγελος".

²¹ A handwritten copy of the epigram, with comments in Latin, was circulated by the late P.M. FRASER as a handout at his two-term series of Oxford graduate classes on Lycophron in 1981. On line 4 he commented *inepte* LSJ⁹, but did not elaborate. Nor did he so in the classes themselves, unless S. H.'s lecture notes of nearly 40 years ago are deficient.

²² MONTANARI's new dictionary of ancient Greek (MONTANARI 2015: 1252, col. 1) also takes the word to refer to Cassandra, and glosses it as 'ambiguous, obscure', which ignores the second

line is not Cassandra herself, but the guard, who has been instructed by her father Priam to listen to what she says and report back. His short introductory and concluding speeches (lines 1–29, 1461–1476) enclose his report of her enormous prophecy (30–1460). PATON translated lines 4–5 as follows:

so ill to read is the prophetic message that Cassandra tells here to the king in crooked speech.

But this is incorrect: Cassandra is no messenger and does not directly tell the king anything. The entry in LSJ runs as follows²³:

λοξοτρόχης, ἴδος, ἡ, *oblique-running*, of Lycophron's Cassandra, AP IX 191; cf. λόξος 3. [which says: "of language, *indirect, ambiguous*, esp. of oracles, Lyc. 14, 1467..." etc.].

There is a certain internal inconsistency here: the addition of ἡ implies that the word is classified a noun, but in that case we would have expected 'oblique runner', not 'oblique-running', which is an adjectival expression. The word is surely an adjective: see further below, section 4 (and above p. 219 for CHANDLER's categorisation of the word as an adjective, although we have seen that in connexion with such compounds he remarks on the "extreme difficulty of distinguishing substantives from adjectives"). The second half – see again section 4 – is formed from a noun.

The mistaken view that the line refers to Cassandra (surely impossible to make if one reflects for a moment on the poem's structure) was probably caused by the assumption that λοξοτρόχης must be feminine. But the ending in -ις does not necessarily impose this. For masculine adjectives in -ις cf. e.g. ἴδρις, two-termination, neuter ἴδρι, gen. ἴδριος. Another adjective in -ις which can be masculine is νῆις, and this occurs in the *Alexandra* itself at line 6 (and in *Anth. Pal.* IX 583, see above, and *Call. Aet.* I 2, see below). The usual genitive is νήιδος, but Callimachus has the accusative νῆιν at *Aet.* I 1, 33, which would imply a genitive νήιος. If you had pressed the epigrammatist for the new word's genitive, he (or possibly she) would have been forced to choose between λοξοτρόχιδος or λοξοτρόχιος, but probably gave this hypothetical detail no thought. (On the genitive, see n. 22 for MONTANARI.) The aim was to construct a pseudo-Lycophronic nonce-word, and to this aspect we now turn.

half of the compound. The word is accented proparoxytone without explanation, and the genitive (see text below) is confidently stated to be -ιδος.

²³ As GRIFFITHS suggests to us.

4. THE EPIGRAM AS A PASTICHE OF THE *ALEXANDRA*

Poems, poets, and authors in general, were a favourite theme of epigrams in the *Anthology*²⁴. Homer²⁵ and Sappho were specially popular²⁶: of the lyric poets, Sappho features in 23 poems, but Alcaeus of Lesbos (as opposed to the later epigrammatist from Messene) in only two, and even Pindar in only fifteen; the much less famous Erinna scores well at ten. Sometimes several poets are summarily treated in the same epigram, as in *Anth. Pal.* IX 184 and 571, both on the nine lyric poets, including Sappho, Alcaeus and Pindar (this means that Alcaeus has no epigram devoted to himself alone). For an epigram about nine named women poets see *Anth. Pal.* IX 26, *GP* 175–184, Antipater of Thessalonica no. XIX. The limiting case of such collective treatment is the long *Garland* of Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* IV 1 (*HE* 3926–3983, Meleager I). For the most part these epigrams are boring eulogies with conventional praise-epithets, but some make sophisticated literary points, like Dioscorides in his two epigrams about satyr plays (*Anth. Pal.* VII 37 and 707 = *HE* 1597–1616, nos. XXII and XXIII, with NERVEGNA 2019). Sometimes they draw on biographical traditions; an example is the epitaph on Euripides ascribed to Thucydides or Timotheos, which has him dying in Macedon (*Anth. Pal.* VII 45, *FGE* 1052–1055; cf. VII 51, *GP* 11–16, Adaios no. III: “it was not dogs that killed you, Euripides”, etc.)²⁷.

The Lycophron epigram does something different and much less usual: it draws extensively on, imitates, and plays with, the vocabulary and other features of the *Alexandra* itself, the poem which the epigram brilliantly imagines as addressing the reader and issuing a humorous warning about its own difficulty. Convincing parallels in the *Anthology* to this sort of sophisticated intertextual treatment are few. As noted already, the closest parallel to the closing couplet of the Lycophron epigram is the opening couplet of the epigram for Thucydides, *Anth. Pal.* IX 583. This opening, and the gist of the four-line poem as a whole, imply that his *Histories* were – like the *Alexandra* – hard going, and not suitable for ignorant beginners. But the epigrammatist, whether he or she is the same as the author of IX 191 or another, makes no attempt to say what exactly made

²⁴ GABATHULER 1937 (who does not, however, discuss anonymous epigrams, except for the quasi-funerary epigram for Philicus which is now *Suppl. Hell.* no. 980); BING 1988b (on Theocritus); DEMOEN 2019.

²⁵ In the Homer category, a special prize for ingenuity goes to *Anth. Pal.* IX 385, by Stephanos Grammatikos: twenty-four acrostic hexameters, each summarising a book of the *Iliad*; the letters of the alphabet (i.e. Greek numerals) form part of the metre of the lines, thus Ἀλφα λιτάς Χρύσου, λοιμὸν στρατοῦ, ἔχθος ἀνάκτων, etc. The one for Book IX ends rather than begins with the relevant letter/number: Ἐξεσίη δ' Ἀχιλλῆος ἀπειθέος ἐστὶν ἰῶτα.

²⁶ On Sappho see *HE* p. 42.

²⁷ Another example: IX 308, *GP* 1725–1730, Bianor no. XV, Arion and the dolphin, drawing on *Hdt.* I 23 f. Similar epigrams allude to biographical traditions about Pindar, Ibycus and others.

Thucydides a difficult author, or to capture the quirks of his manner by stylistic imitation. (One can imagine, for example, an allusion to the special complexity of the speeches in the *History*, or a giveaway use of the λόγῳ/ἔργῳ distinction, or a gesture at Thucydides' fondness for abstract words in -σις.) Much the same is true of the various poems about Pindar. To be sure, Antipater of Sidon's four-line epigram on him (*Anth. Pal.* VII 34, *HE* 282–285, Antipater no. XVIII) has some unusual vocabulary in lines 1–2, τὸν εὐαγέων βαρὺν ὕμνων/ χαλκευτάν “the deep(-voiced) bronze-smith of well-rounded hymns”. But the words themselves are not specifically Pindaric; only the hyperbaton (ABAB) might be a hint at a favourite feature of Pindar's style. A Theocritan epigram (Gow 1950: no. XIX) purports to indicate the tomb of Hipponax and is composed in his characteristic metre of scazons, but it is otherwise unremarkable and in any case does not pretend to be actually spoken by a poem. An epigram on Hesiod ascribed to Asclepiades reworks the poet's encounter with the Muses on Helicon, and some of the structure of the episode, but for the most part “the vocabulary of the Hesiodic original is avoided”²⁸. Theodoridas (*Anth. Pal.* XIII 21 = *HE* 3562–3569, no. XV) derides the dithyrambic poet Mnasalces by adopting “flamboyantly dithyrambic diction”²⁹. Some epigrams written in disparagement of Callimachus ridicule his peculiarities: see below p. 233 f. (and one of them, the two-line epigram *Anth. Pal.* XI 275 by Apollonius Molon, pokes fun in line 2 at the title of the *Aetia*). By contrast, Crinagoras' fine epigram about the *Hecale* of Callimachus is much more favourable than these, and is perhaps the closest parallel to the Lycophron epigram, because of the ways in which it adopts and adapts Callimachean phraseology and mannerisms. It may also (see n. 76) imply at one point that the *Hecale* itself is imagined as singing, although this is not certain or agreed³⁰.

²⁸ *Anth. Pal.* IX 64; *HE* 1018–1825 ‘Asclepiades’ no. XLV (as also in SENS), but perhaps by Archias; quotation in the text from SENS 2011: 314. But this epigram is not straightforwardly about Hesiod because it also has an intertextual relationship to Callimachus, who is not its ostensible subject. Similarly *Anth. Pal.* IX 25, about Aratus (*HE* 2573–2578, Leonidas of Tarentum no. C1) has been thought to be an imitation of Callimachus (*Anth. Pal.* IX. 507, *HE* 1297–1300 no. LVI, on the relation between Aratus and Hesiod, cf. DEMOEN 2019: 68), but GOW and PAGE are skeptical.

²⁹ We are indebted for this striking example to one of our referees, whose formulation we quote. The same referee reminds us of the relevance of the *technopaignia*, virtuoso poems whose shape on the page represents the shape of the object celebrated: KWAPISZ 2013. On the Lycophronic language of the ‘Altar’ of Dosiadas (*Anth. Pal.* XV 26) see HOLLIS 2007: 282 f. The style of the Theocritan ‘Syrinx’ (*Anth. Pal.* XV 21, Gow 1950: 256) also resembles that of Lycophron.

³⁰ *Anth. Pal.* IX 545, *GP* 1823–1828, no. XI. See esp. the opening Καλλιμάχου τὸ τορευτὸν ἔπος, “this well-chiselled poem of Callimachus”, and line 3, Ἑκάλης τε φιλοξέينوιο καλιήν, “Hecale's hospitable hut”: the last two words echo Call. frg. 263 PF. line 3 = HOLLIS test. 4 and frg. 80, 4. See YPSILANTI 2018: 136–144, and cf. CAIRNS 2016: 178. Crinagoras imitates Pindar at *Anth. Pal.* VI 350 (*GP* 1835–1840, no. XIII), celebrating Olympic victories, and XVI (*Anth. Plan.*) 273 (*GP* 2070–2077, no. LI), for a doctor: YPSILANTI 2018: 154, 491 f. Elsewhere, Crinagoras uses

Little of this, except the *Hecale* epigram of Crinagoras, amounts to anything like systematic imitation, or parodic evocation of style and content. By contrast, the first two couplets of the Lycophron epigram are ingenious and effective in their persistent evocation of Lycophron's arcane vocabulary; the epigram's characterisation of the *Alexandra*'s labyrinthine obscurity is neatly achieved; and its refusal to disclose the names of either poet or poem at any point are an ingenious and appropriate touch.

The rest of this section resumes some of the discussions in section 2 and 4. It will concentrate on two important words in particular.

(i) We have seen that the LSJ entry 'λοξοτρόχης' is not reliable. Its translation 'crooked runner' is also incorrect. The key to the meaning of the word is to be found in the guard's speech at the end (not beginning) of the poem, especially at 1471. At 1467 he describes her speech (μῦθον, 1468) as 'crooked' (λοξόν) and then at 1471 he calls himself a 'messenger', τρόχης; for the meaning of this noun cf. (with LSJ) Aesch. *PV* 941. λοξοτρόχης, then, means 'messenger of crooked i.e. ambiguous, riddling things', i.e. he has reported Cassandra's speech. The epigrammatist has cleverly constructed a quasi-Lycophronic compound out of two Lycophronic words used in close proximity to each other.

A parallel is needed for this sort of adjective-noun compound. The best examples are words in ψευδ-: ψευδάγγελος, ψευδοκῆρυξ, ψευδόμαντις (all found in poetry), where the meaning is not 'false messenger/herald/prophet' in the sense of 'pretending to be a messenger [etc.] when you are not really one', but 'messenger [etc.] of false things'. (But a prophet of false things would perhaps be a false prophet as well.)

The interpretation apparently favoured by BECKBY and by SOURY, the translator of the Budé edition of Book IX, is slightly different. It correctly sees that the messenger is (not Cassandra but) the guard, but makes him (not Cassandra) the speaker of crooked words. BECKBY's version is as always an ingenious German verse equivalent of the original metre, and this versification precludes total fidelity: "Dunkel bleibt ja der Spruch der Priamostochter Kassandra,/ den der Bote mit viel Umschweif dem König erzählt". Similarly SOURY: "...et qu'un messenger rapporte au roi en un obscur langage". To be sure, WILAMOWITZ noticed long ago³¹ that the guard speaks in the same difficult language of Cassandra. It is, then, possible that the epigram is here deliberately ambiguous as between the diction of Cassandra and of the guard himself, and this ambiguity too (cf. above on the refusal to name poem or poet) would be a Lycophronic feature.

(ii) φοιβάζω (line 3 of the epigram) is used four times in the *Alexandra*, but with two meanings: 'prophesy' (line 6) and 'purify' (731, 875, 1166): see

suitable vocabulary from Homer and Theocritus: *Anth. Pal.* VII 741, 636, nos. XXI, XLIV with YPSILANTI 2018: 222–34 and 441–449.

³¹ WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF 1924: II 147, n. 2.

MAZZOLDI 2001: 265–266 and n. 508. Moreover, an adjective φοῖβος is employed when describing water (1009). It seems that the verb φοιβάζω had not been used before the Hellenistic period, when it appeared in works of Alexandrian poets: Callimachus (*Hymn* 5, 11), Theocritus (17, 134), and Apollonius Rhodius (II 302), always in the latter sense. But we find θέσφατα φοιβάζω for ‘prophesy’ in a Hellenistic Sibylline oracle preserved by Phlegon of Tralles (*FGrHist* 257 F 37 §V line 2; 6, 1 [5, 2] STRAMAGLIA); and Polybius (XXIX 21, 7) uses the compound verb ἀποφοιβάζω with the same meaning: for both these see MRAS 1906: 39. Lycophron apparently wanted to exploit the less obvious meaning ‘prophesy’, since the mainstream Alexandrian poets used it solely in the sense ‘purify’. Thus the author of the *Alexandra* played with it, having created other and related words which referred to the art of prophecy: φοιβόληπτος (1460): ‘possessed by Phoebus’ (the word coined after *hapax* φοιβόλαμπτος: Hdt. IV 13, 1)³², and a *hapax* φοιβάστρια: ‘prophetess’. In his commentary on line 731, Tzetzes explained that φοιβάζων derives from the name of Apollo Φοῖβος, because: ὁ καθαρὸς λέγεται ἥλιος ὁ μὴ ὦν ὀμιχλώδης, ἀλλ’ ὅλος λαμπρὸς καὶ ἄμεμπτος: “they say the Sun is pure for it is not misty but wholly bright and perfect”. Thus both meanings point to Apollo³³. However, the words of Alexandra/Cassandra are far from being as clear as the Sun, so there might be a further implication. Phoebus, another name for the god of poetry, mentioned by Tzetzes, was the name preferred by Alexandrian poets; for instance, in the partly programmatic *Hymn to Apollo* it is used more times (17) than the name ‘Apollo’ itself (15); in the invocation to the *Argonautica* Apollonius addresses Phoebus as the origin of his inspiration (I 1); while Theocritus uses the god’s name in *Idyll* 7, 101 which also has a programmatic character. Latin poets who were under the influence of Alexandrian poetics³⁴ seem to favour it too. Catullus employed it in his *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis* (64, 299), a poem with numerous references to the *Argonautica* of Apollonius³⁵, Horace declares that Phoebus made him a lyric poet (*Carm.* IV 15, 1 ff.), Propertius and Ovid employed it in programmatic poems where they refer to the Callimachean poetics (Prop. II 34, 61; III 1, 7; III 3, 13; IV 1, 3; Ov. *Am.* I 1, 11; 16)³⁶, Tibullus used it five times in one of his elegies (II 5, 1; 17; 65; 106; 121) which has a Callimachean structure³⁷ and programmatic content³⁸ while in *Eclogue* 3 (62) Vergil declares that Phoebus loves him,

³² WEST 2009: 81.

³³ HORNBLOWER 2015: 121.

³⁴ The bibliography is abundant; see for instance HUTCHINSON 1988: 277–354 and 360 f.; HOLLIS 1992; HUNTER 2006; ACOSTA-HUGHES 2009: 236–251; KEITH 2011, etc.

³⁵ DEBROHUN 2007.

³⁶ On Propertius’ and Ovid’s programmatic poems see MORGAN 1977: 6–26.

³⁷ BULLOCH 1973: 82 f.

³⁸ BURKOWSKI 2016.

and mentions the god's name four times (v. 11, 29, 66, 82) in *Eclogue* 6, which has a programmatic proem containing an allusion to Callimachus' programmatic *Aetia* prologue³⁹. Our conclusions are not based solely on statistics which a hostile critic might dismiss as untrustworthy because of the incompleteness of surviving Hellenistic literature. In the first place, Ovid used the name 'Phoebus' about 130 times in his oeuvre, while Apollo appears there only 33 times, while Virgil in the *Eclogues*, undoubtedly inspired by Theocritus' *Idylls*⁴⁰, employed it 11 times, in contrast to the only one usage of the god's most familiar name. In the second place, our arguments are not purely statistical, but take account of the context in which poets used the name 'Phoebus', i.e. both Alexandrian poetics and poetry in general.

Moreover, all the above-mentioned Hellenistic usages of φοιβάζω in the 'purify' sense refer to cleaning or washing with water. The image of crystal-clear water carried to Demeter from a holy fountain appears in Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (110–112) as a metaphor of perfect poetry, contrasted with the Assyrian river which carries many impurities (108 f.)⁴¹. Therefore the verb φοιβάζω signifies a poetic and prophetic inspiration, coming from Apollo, as well as purity, demanded by Alexandrian poetics. That seems to be the reason why Lycophron gave the verb a new meaning and used it at the very beginning of his poem: apart from inspiration coming from the patron god of prophecy, he wanted to emphasise the new quality of the *Alexandra*, composed accordingly to new Callimachean principles. The poet's intentions were probably deciphered by the anonymous author of the Lycophron epigram, and used for a similar purpose.

Other Lycophronic details have been noted in the commentary at section 2, and for the epigram's Lycophronic refusal to name poem or poet see nn. 11 and 13.

5. INTERTEXTS WITH OTHER HELLENISTIC POEMS

The epigram, although short, is densely laden with allusions to Hellenistic poetry. Its web of associations evokes works of three authors in particular: Philitas' *Light Verse* (Παίγνια), Callimachus' *Aetia*, *Hymn to Delos*, and above all – as we have already seen in section 4 – Lycophron's *Alexandra*.

The author refers to the first of these authors in the most subtle way, on the basis of its structure, sound and sense.

οὐ μέ τις ἐξ ὀρέων ἀποφώλιος ἀγροιώτης
αἰρήσει κλήθρην, αἰρόμενος μακέλην
ἀλλ' ἐπέων εἰδὼς κόσμον καὶ πολλὰ μογίσσας
μύθων παντοίων οἶμον ἐπιστάμενος.

³⁹ CLAUSEN 1994: 174 f.

⁴⁰ GARSON 1971.

⁴¹ See WORMAN (2015: 215 f.), who briefly discusses the meaning of the metaphor.

No lumbering (uneducated?) rustic shall hold me,
 a wooden tablet (alder tree), (already) holding a hoe;
 but one who knows the marshalling of words, who toils,
 who knows the pathways of all forms of speech.
 (tr. LIGHTFOOT, adapted)
 (Philetas [*sic*] frg. 10 POWELL; 12 SBARDELLA; 25 SPANOUDAKIS; 8 LIGHTFOOT)

The parallels are by no means obvious – no words are repeated literally – but nonetheless the structure and composition of the Lycophron epigram displays many similarities to the Philitas poem⁴². Both epigrams begin with the same negative words, followed by two short words: οὐ μέ τις ~ οὐκ ἄν ἐν.

Another element those two poems have in common is the *persona loquens*, marked by pronouns μέ ~ ἡμετέροισι (see also below, section 6). In both of them its identity is a kind of a riddle. In Philitas' poem it is probably a writing-tablet (κλήθρη, literally an alder tree), while at a metaphorical level it signifies his refined poetry; but the meaning of the word is still under discussion. We agree with those scholars⁴³ who think that the alder tree is, in the first place, a metonymy for a writing-tablet. This interpretation is especially convincing, given that Philitas used a similar riddling metonymy in another of his short poems, where a fawn (νεβρός) stands for a flute made from its tibia:

γηρύσαιτο δὲ νεβρός ἀπὸ ψυχὴν ὀλέσασσα,
 ὀξεῖης κάκτου τύμμα φυλαξαμένη.

Let the voice of the fawn be heard that has lost its life,
 One that had fled the cactus' sharp sting.
 (Philitas frg. 15 LIGHTFOOT)

There is an analogy between a writing tablet and a flute: they belong to the realm of culture, but at the same time are made from a tree and an animal, both connected with nature. Moreover, they have their specific 'voice': music and words. It is possible then that Philitas repeated the same technique of a riddle, hiding the solution in the disguise of the original 'donors', an alder and a young female deer.

There are further grounds for finding this interpretation persuasive. Callimachus in his *Against the Telchines* (which is programmatic, like Philitas' *Light Verse*) mentions a δέλτος, probably underlining the transition from oral to written poetry (*Aet.* frg. 1, 21 PF. and HARDER); the same poet uses a metonymy φήγιος ὄζος, which stands for a club, offered to Heracles, in an epigram where a *persona loquens* is an oaken branch itself (*Anth. Pal.* VI 351 = Call. *Ep.* 34 PF., 1151–1152 HE); both examples may indicate that Callimachus, who certainly

⁴² See LÓIO (2014: 387–390), who also compares both poems.

⁴³ After HEINRICH 1794: 50 f. and KUCHENMÜLLER 1928: 61–63; most recently LÓIO 2014: 389 f.

knew Philitas' works, interpreted the κλήθρη as a writing-tablet⁴⁴. Furthermore, Theocritus in the programmatic *Idyll* 1 (27–56) presents another wooden object that can be easily taken in the hands, a two-handled cup which is an emblem of Theocritus' poetry embodying his poetic manifesto⁴⁵. The poet probably uses the image of a cup as a representation of his poetics, because he wants to point out his debt to Philitas' poetry⁴⁶. Perhaps, then, like Callimachus, Theocritus also understood κλήθρη as a handy object and a condensed summary of Philitas' poetic principles at the same time. The cup (Theoc. *Id.* 1, 27), like writing tablets (Herodas 3, 14 f.; *Anth. Pal.* IV 1, 10), is covered with sweet wax, the product of bees, and this evokes another covering, namely honey, representing poetry (Paus. IX 23, 2; Theoc. 7, 80–82).

As we have seen (p. 217 and n. 11), in the anonymous Lycophron epigram, readers at first do not know which poem and poet are being talked about: they are supposed to guess it from the third and fourth verses: τοίους γὰρ Πριαμὶς Κασσάνδρῃ φοίβασε μύθους, / ἄγγελος οὗς βασιλεῖ ἔφρασε λοξοτρόχῃς. In the context of the following lines, where a 'burden' is mentioned, the words of Priam's daughter also become more substantial and can be regarded as the *Alexandra* itself, as well as a scroll or more generally, a book with the text of the poem. However, the author deliberately plays with the literal and metaphorical meaning of 'words' and 'burden', and through this literary handling he or she also plays with Philitas' *Light Verse*, where the poet creates an image of an uneducated highlander, who "shall not hold me, a wooden tablet, (already) holding a hoe": οὐ μὲ τις ἐξ ὀρέων ἀποφώλιος ἀγροιώτης / αἰρήσει κλήθρην αἰρόμενος μακέλην. We believe⁴⁷ that ἐξ ὀρέων refers to ἀγροιώτης, and, generally, that αἰρόμενος μακέλην is a generic description of a hard-working but uneducated man⁴⁸. But at the same time, we understand it literally: because he is holding a hoe in his both hands, it is impossible for him to take up a writing-tablet⁴⁹.

Thus the reader is supposed to think, on the literal level, that the peasant cannot possibly take the writing-tablet in his hands: they are already full because they are holding a hoe. On the metaphorical level, though, the meaning is that no

⁴⁴ For a summary of the discussion see SPANOUDAKIS 2002: 318–321; DANIELEWICZ 2018: 101–104.

⁴⁵ CAIRNS 1984: 95–105.

⁴⁶ HERNANDEZ OÑATE 2019: 122 f.

⁴⁷ With SPANOUDAKIS 2002: 322 f. On the other hand, DANIELEWICZ (2018: 105), following the interpretation of CERRI (2005: 133–139), who claims that κλήθρη is both the alder tree and at the same time a Homeric gloss, regards the elder tree as a *persona loquens*, but also tries to render the ambiguity of ἐξ ὀρέων, referring to both highlander and tree.

⁴⁸ SPANOUDAKIS 2002: 324.

⁴⁹ For yet another interpretation see LIGHTFOOT's tr.: "no lumbering rustic snatching up a hoe shall bear me from the mountain – me, an alder tree".

uneducated person could understand⁵⁰, enjoy and appreciate the poetry (and poetics) of Philitas. Conversely, in the Lycophron epigram lines 5–6 the author develops the image of an object held in the hands, and makes it both the *Alexandra* and the physical book of it at the same time. Whether it is to be either light or heavy, depends here on the love of Muses (we return to this Callimachean echo later), but in the Philitas epigram it depends on knowledge of “the marshalling of words” (ἐπέων εἰδῶς κόσμον) and “the pathways of all forms of speech”⁵¹ (μύθων παντοίων οἶμον), acquired by means of hard work (πολλὰ μογήσας). Thus the anonymous author, although bearing in mind the *Light Verse*, swerves from the path of hard work towards inspiration provided by the goddesses of poetry. On the structural and semantic level, though, he or she uses the repetition χέρας .../ ... χερσὶ, which echoes the doubled αἰρήσει .../ αἰρόμενος, the latter implicitly suggesting taking something in hand(s). Again the anonymous poem resonates with the Philitas’ *Light Verse*, so that the reader, through the hypotext, could easily combine the imagery of both epigrams and, having evoked the figure of an uneducated rustic, conclude that if the *Alexandra* is a burden for anybody, perhaps they would rather hold a hoe instead of the book.

We turn to Callimachus and πολυγνάμπτους λαβυρίνθους. At line 1 of the Lycophron epigram there is a direct allusion to Callimachus’ *Hymn to Delos* (4, 311): γναμπτὸν ἔδος σκολιοῦ λαβυρίνθου, “the coiled habitation of the crooked labyrinth”⁵². The hymn is important for the understanding of Callimachean poetics. It was observed by BING, and then by SLINGS, that Delos is a metaphor for the new Alexandrian poetics, while the whole poem constitutes its partial allegory. The *tertium comparationis* are the qualities of the island, which is small, or rather slender, pure and song-loving, free from war, and innovative, all of which features characterise the poetry of Callimachus as well. It follows that his poetry is also superior to all others, because it was on Delos, and only there, that Apollo was born⁵³.

On the other hand, MINEUR remarks that the phrase γναμπτὸν ἔδος σκολιοῦ λαβυρίνθου is unusual, because γναμπτός and σκολιός mean the same thing. He adds that γναμπτός is probably intended to mean ‘circular’, since the labyrinth is sometimes represented in this way⁵⁴. BING in turn observed that the circular motion is a recurrent motif in the *Hymn to Delos*⁵⁵. Around the island fly swans (250 f.), the yearly processions from every corner of the world dance there (287–299),

⁵⁰ SPANOUDAKIS (2002: 323) claims the verb αἰρήσει means here ‘understand, comprehend in full depth’.

⁵¹ Tr. LIGHTFOOT.

⁵² JACOBS, comm. no. DLXIV.

⁵³ BING 1988a: 94 f.; SLINGS 2004: 279–297.

⁵⁴ MINEUR 1984: 241.

⁵⁵ BING 1988a: 125–128.

just like the Cyclades themselves, which dance around it (300 f.) and, in the mythical past, the Athenian chorus led by Theseus around the Cretan statue of Aphrodite taken to Delos (312 f.); eventually sailors visiting the island who go around the altar of Apollo (321). BING concludes that the motif is adapted from the notion of the circle as the most perfect shape and a symbol of eternity. Consequently, in Callimachus' conception the poetry is a medium which brings eternal perfect motion to the world and transforms it. SLINGS completes that interpretation with evidence taken from the text of the hymn (312 f.), where the chorus dances to the tune of a cithara. He says that since in Athens circular choruses danced to the music of *aulos*, Callimachus implicitly claims that his poetry, represented by Delos, "plays the tune and therefore sets the standards of all other poetry"⁵⁶.

We can add that the image of a labyrinth which is placed at the end of the passage (310–315), and thus becomes a kind of its visual recapitulation, has, for example, on Cretan coins from the early Hellenistic period, a square and circular form with a single pathway that loops back and forth to create seven circuits⁵⁷. Callimachus could have seen them, since in Alexandria there lived, among others, Cretan mercenaries, who together with Gauls seem to predominate in this category during the 3rd cent. BC⁵⁸; furthermore, he devoted four epigrams to people coming from Crete⁵⁹. Having come to the end of this section, readers are supposed to remember a passage in the same text which bears similarities with that describing the dance and the maze (249–254 and 300–315): in both of them two Lydian rivers, Pactolus (250) and Xanthus (305) are mentioned; there are also some verbal echoes: ἐκυκλώσαντο (250) and κύκλον ἐποίησαντο (301) / κύκλιον ὠρχήσαντο (313). In the former Apollo is born, and his sacred birds, swans, fly around the island, singing seven songs, which was held to explain why he attached seven strings to his lyre. The number seven was associated with Apollo, who was born on the seventh day of the month⁶⁰. It is possible that the proximity of the images of the labyrinth and a dance of the Athenian youths around the altar implies that its choreography imitated the winding paths of the Cretan maze. Since Delos represents the new Alexandrian poetics, the mention of a labyrinth seems to be more than just another visualisation of the choral dance. It also symbolises the intricacy of a type of poetry that not everyone is able to follow. On the other hand, coin representations of a labyrinth actually have a very regular shape. That also could be a hint for the reader that the poetry

⁵⁶ SLINGS 2004: 291.

⁵⁷ WROTH 1886: XVI; 23; fig. VI AR; COOK 1914: 477, fig. 343; SNG 368–370, 373–385, 395–398.

⁵⁸ FRASER 1972: I 70 and 89.

⁵⁹ Ep. XI PF., *Anth. Pal.* VII 447, HE XXXV; ep. XXII PF., *Anth. Pal.* VII 518, HE XXXVI; ep. XXXIV PF., *Anth. Pal.* VI 351, HE XXII; ep. LXII PF., *Anth. Pal.* VI 121, HE LXI.

⁶⁰ Hes. *Op.* 770 f.

of both Callimachus and Lycophron may seem complicated, but in fact have regular structures, while its concentric form of seven paths points to its perfection, due to Apollo's patronage. The anonymous author of the Lycophron epigram ingeniously used in his poem allegoric images of Callimachus' poetics (Delos as its representation, concentric dances pointing at its pivotal position and most of all, a labyrinth implying its high complexity), blended with those presented in Philitas' *Light Verse*, i.e. hard work leading to the knowledge of the pathways of all myths (and all forms of speech at the same time). There the use of the word οἶμος in both its meanings of 'path' and 'song' (first attestation: Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 247 f.) was deliberate, since poetry is the epigram's main theme. Callimachus also made use of the latter meaning twice: Φοίβου δὲ λύρης εὖ εἰδότης οἶμους, "those who know well the song's paths of the lyre" (Call. *Hymn* 1, 78) and Δήλω νῦν οἶμης ἀποδάσσομαι, "I will now give Delos her share of song" (Call. *Hymn* 4, 9). The first of these apparently refers to Philitas' poem (οἶμον ἐπιστάμενος ~ εὖ εἰδότης οἶμους), while the second appears in the *Hymn to Delos*, whose meta-poetic character has already been pointed out. The paths of all myths may recall the coiling and winding ways of the labyrinth, especially since their knowledge is hard-fought. These associations were incorporated into the epigram, enclosing Hellenistic poetics in two words as in a nutshell.

Furthermore, in the middle distich of the Lycophron epigram the poet uses an Alexandrian technique of word formation. The feminine form Πριαμῖς, meant as a patronymic⁶¹, is not attested before this. Thus he probably coined the word, presumably emulating Callimachean Ὑψηῖς, i.e. Cyrene⁶² (another female beloved of Apollo, albeit more fortunate than Cassandra), since like Πριαμῖς, it is a very rare word. Apparently Callimachus experimented with feminine forms, for in the *Aetia* he applied Εὐξαντίδος (gen. from Εὐξαντής) as a name of the family⁶³. Moreover, that particular example was given by the author of the *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis Artem Grammaticam* as an exception, while a regular feminine patronymic derived from Euxantios was Εὐξαντιάς⁶⁴. Alexandrian poets liked discovering new possibilities of feminine forms, especially Callimachus, who created a patronymic Λυκαονίη for Callisto (Call. *Hymn* 1, 41) and, more interestingly, metronymic Νωνακρίνη⁶⁵ and Δηωίνη⁶⁶, probably at the same time introducing into poetry metronyms, which were not used by Homer⁶⁷. He

⁶¹ In Eur. *Hel.* 1158 Πριαμίδος refers to the land, γᾶς, of Priam.

⁶² Call. *Hymn* II 92; III 208; then used also twice by Nonnus (*Dion.* IX 306; XXIX 185).

⁶³ Call. *Aet.* frg. 67, 7 PF.; frg. 67, 7 HARDER; see Bacchyl. 2, 8: Εὐξαντίδα νᾶσον.

⁶⁴ HILGARD 1901: 222.

⁶⁵ *Suppl. Hell.* 251, 15; Call. frg. 17, 9 HARDER; Call. *Hecale* frg. 325 PF., 140 HOLLIS.

⁶⁶ Call. *Hekale* frg. 302 PF., 103 HOLLIS; see also *Suppl. Hell.* 927, 5; for other examples of the Alexandrian patronymic/matronymic -ίνη see HOLLIS 2009: 292.

⁶⁷ UHLIG 1883: 26.

also played with feminine endings of the names of animals, creating a *hapax* μάλουρις⁶⁸. Thus the form Πριαμῖς, probably coined by the anonymous author, proves his or her creativity not only in using exact Callimachus' expressions, but also his technique of word formation.

Finally, in the last couplet there is another direct reference to Callimachus' poetry, this time to an openly programmatic passage *Against the Telchines*. As we have already mentioned, the anonymous author abandons the way of hard work, proposed by Philitas, for divine inspiration, saying: εἰ δὲ σε φίλατο Καλλιόπη, λάβε μ' ἐς χέρας· εἰ δὲ / νῆις ἔφυς Μουσέων, χερσὶ βάρος φορέεις. That is a re-working of the second verse of the introduction to the *Aetia*: νῆιδες οἱ Μούσης οὐκ ἐγένοντο φίλοι⁶⁹. The noun βάρος in the Lycophron epigram (line 6) has Callimachean connotations, since in the same *Against the Telchines* fragment it is a metaphor for old age rejected by the poet who chooses to be a cicada (i.e. a poet following the principles of the new poetics) instead⁷⁰. In the Callimachus hypotext those who are represented as "ignorant of the Muse and not born as her friend"⁷¹ are the Telchines, identified with the critics of Callimachus' poetry. Thus the anonymous author uses the metaphor of an old-fashioned, envious, malicious, and destructive 'outgroup' with a certain pretence of being artists themselves⁷² to characterise uneducated readers of the *Alexandra*. The same group of people are defined as those not loved by the Muses. The Callimachean motif of the goddesses' favours must quickly have become popular, since Leonidas of Tarentum reworked it and used in his own poetic epitaph⁷³. A similar transition from literary critics to readers is made in *Anth. Pal.* IX 583, referring to another very difficult but respected writer (above, p. 220). That may mean that when the Lycophron epigram was composed, the reputation of Alexandrian poetics was well-established, and became the gold standard for all educated men. On the other hand, that can also mean that it was written before or about the time of a second wave of criticism aimed at the Alexandrian poetics, which seems to have been levelled at Callimachus and his followers at about the first century BC. From that period there are three very defamatory epigrams written by one Apollonius the Grammarian (*Anth. Pal.* XI 275), presumably not Apollonius Rhodios, but Molon (1st cent. BC); Antiphanes (*Anth. Pal.* XI 322, cf. Appendix); and Philip (*Anth. Pal.* XI 321); see also Appendix for *Anth. Pal.* XI 20. All of the poems reverse the Callimachean phraseology so as to mock his poetry, while

⁶⁸ Call. *Hymn* VI 110; on the meaning see HOPKINSON 1984: 166 f.; STEPHENS 2015: 292.

⁶⁹ Call. *Aet.* frg. 1, 2 PF.; HARDER; HARDER 2012: II 16.

⁷⁰ Call. *Aet.* frg. 1, 33–36 PF.; HARDER.

⁷¹ Tr. HARDER.

⁷² HARDER 2012: II 13.

⁷³ *Anth. Pal.* VII 715, *HE* 2535–2540, Leonidas no. XCIII.

the penultimate one (Philip), among others, ridicules the use of σφιν, which appears three times in the *Alexandra*. In the same period Crinagoras, as we have seen, wrote an epigram that praises the poetry of Callimachus. He too uses the vocabulary of the older poet, but as part of a favourable treatment⁷⁴. It seems that after that time there are no epigrams, derogatory or flattering, which employ word-play or reverse the sense of the vocabulary used by Callimachus or other Alexandrian poets⁷⁵. That could be another clue that the Lycophron epigram, so densely laden with allusions to Hellenistic writers and poetics, was composed before the end of the first century BC.

6. A LITERARY APPRECIATION OF THE LYCOPHRON EPIGRAM

The Lycophron epigram purports to be spoken by the poem itself, hence ‘our’ in line 1, and ‘me’ at the end. There are parallels for this kind of conceit, most obviously and precisely in the ‘Thucydides’ epigram quoted above, section 1, where the speaking first-person singular is the *History of the Peloponnesian War*. A six-line epigram in dialogue form by Antiphilus of Byzantium makes the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* reply appropriately to the question “whose books are you?”, αἱ βίβλοι, τίνος ἐστε;⁷⁶ Such echoes should not be thought to detract from the literary merit of the poems concerned (see GUTZWILLER, cited at p. 220).

The underlying idea of an epigram imagined as spoken by its non-human and inanimate subject is frequent: perhaps the best and most famous examples are Callimachus on the nautilus shell, κόγχος ἐγώ... (1109–1120 *HE* = no. XIV), and the Lock of Berenice (frg. 110 *PF.* and *HARDER* 110–110f) is an unusually long votive epigram (so *HARDER*): it begins “Conon saw me in the sky”⁷⁷. In a Hellenistic inscribed epigram from Egyptian Memphis, a cobra, “slain by wicked hands”, asks the passer-by to “pour forth a loud voice in lament for me, the long-lived sacred cobra who went down to join the dead”⁷⁸. Not all such epigrams surrender their imaginary persona as easily as these: *GOW* and *PAGE* remark that Anyte in her epigram on the dolphin washed ashore “does not name the creature but v. 4 makes the meaning clear”⁷⁹. In the same way the Lycophron epigram demands that the reader make an effort at comprehension, and presup-

⁷⁴ *Anth. Pal.* IX 545: see above p. 224 with n. 30 for full references.

⁷⁵ See *Pollianos*, who just repeats the ideas of Callimachus (*Anth. Pal.* XI 130); *Palladas* (*Anth. Pal.* IX 175).

⁷⁶ *Anth. Pal.* IX 192, *GP* 1003–1010, no. XXXVI, whence the translation. For the possibility that Callimachus’ *Hecale* is itself imagined as singing in Crinagoras’ epigram about the poem (above, n. 30), see *YPSILANTI* 2018: 142, on αἰδεῖ at line 3.

⁷⁷ Cf. also *Call.* frg. 64 *PF.* and *HARDER*: Simonides’ grave stele speaks.

⁷⁸ *BERNAND* 1969: no. 102.

⁷⁹ *Anth. Pal.* VII 215, *HE* 708–713, Anyte no. XII. Quotation in the text from p. 97.

poses a high level of erudition: just like the *Alexandra* itself. Finally, if Philitas, frg. 8 LIGHTFOOT refers to a wooden tablet⁸⁰, it is inscribed with the epigram, so the epigram speaks, just as the *Alexandra* speaks in the Lycophron epigram.

The Lycophron epigram is a poem about another poem. It may be said that this does not amount to much of a claim to distinctiveness or literary merit: after all, we have seen (section 4) that dozens of poems in Books VII and IX of the *Anthology* are about earlier poems and poets. But their quality varies, as does the extent to which they seek to reproduce or stylistically enact the manner or subject-matter of the poets whom they celebrate; that is, the extent to which they function as meta-poems, paratexts, or 'palimpsests'. It was argued above (section 4 again), that the Lycophron epigram is unusual and remarkable in the degree to which this enactment is carried out. It is, we claim, a particularly fine example of a certain type of three-way intertextual exercise, in which the epigrammatist, the more or less learned reader of the epigram, and the author of the original literary work, all have a role to play. 'Exercise' is admittedly not a perfect word for this activity. But 'game' is too trivialising a noun, although there is surely humour at work in the treatment of an almost unrelentingly serious⁸¹ 1474-line poem in a light-hearted six-line epigram (for the epigram as humorous see especially section 2 above on βάρος at line 6). Compare perhaps Wendy Cope's parodic poem *Waste Land Limericks*, which begins "In April one seldom feels cheerful" and then reduces the whole notoriously difficult poem to five witty and colloquial stanzas, ending "I hope you'll make sense of the notes"⁸². The Lycophron epigram is not, to be sure, an actual summary of the original poem, so that this analogy is imperfect. But the ludic quality is shared between them.

7. DATE

Finally, we return to the date of the Lycophron epigram. It must be candidly admitted that there is no secure way of dating it, but if we were to follow PAGE's aesthetic criterion, as applied to the Erinna epigram in Book VII (above n. 18), the Lycophron epigram would have a claim to an early date. It is not exactly "beautifully phrased", perhaps, but it is elegantly constructed, ingenious in its central conceit, and shows impressive mastery of Hellenistic poetry in general and of the *Alexandra* in particular. (See the close of section 5 for a particular argument to this effect.) But this is also true of some of the epigrams of the time of Nonnus.

⁸⁰ Cf. the riddling *Anth. Pal.* XIV 60 for another wooden tablet.

⁸¹ Other possible candidates for jokes in the *Alexandra* are (i) the βάρος of Heracles at line 477 (see section 2 on line 6 of the epigram), and perhaps (ii) the mention of chilblains at line 1290. There may also be humour at (iii) lines 35–37 (Heracles again, in the stomach of the monster).

⁸² COPE 1986: 20 f.

More precise and less subjective arguments may be demanded. If it could be shown to have been included in Meleager's *Garland*, it would follow that it must be later than the early first century BC, and inclusion in Philip's would make it not later than the time of Nero. That the epigram is anonymous does not by itself mean it could not have been anthologised by either Meleager or Philip: see the fifty-seven poems *HE* 3646–3907, or the four poems *GP* 3494–3517⁸³. But⁸⁴ the Lycophron epigram is not in a sequence which can be attributed to either of those two early anthologists. There is a long run of Meleagran epigrams in Book VII (the whole of Book VIII, poems by Gregory of Nazianzus, can be ignored for the present purpose), and a further handful in the early stretches of book IX; then there is a long Philippan sequence at IX 215–312⁸⁵. But there is no telling where the Byzantine anthologist Maximus Planudes found what is now *Anth. Pal.* IX 191 and its immediate neighbours (see p. 221 above for the Nonnus epigram, IX 198, which must be much later than Philip). GRIFFITHS suggests to us that Planudes arranged the material in his Book I (*Anth. Pal.* Book IX) sequentially: 28 epideictic epigrams, made up of 6 about Homer⁸⁶, 7 about lyric poets, mostly Sappho-related⁸⁷, 7 on dramatic poets including IX 191 on Lycophron⁸⁸, and 8 about the Muses⁸⁹. This is elegant and convincing, but does not solve the dating problem.

8. CONCLUSION

If the above suggestions are correct, the Lycophron epigram belongs to a familiar or in its day fashionable⁹⁰ type of epigram about difficult authors (“do not attempt this author unless you are learned!”). But we have suggested that it improves on other members of this sub-category, and indeed on the whole large category of epigrams about poems and poets, by the virtuoso extent to which it plays with the language and themes of the poem which it treats. We hope to have

⁸³ We take this opportunity to note that GOW and PAGE were wrong to treat *GP* 3502–3509, anon. no. II (*Anth. Pal.* VII 699), as a “curse on the Icarian sea”. It is a curse on the *island of Icaria*, west of Samos, as correctly seen by BECKBY (“O Ikaria, Eiland...”), and by HANINK 2016: 136 f. The mythical boy Icarus is imagined as having fallen into the Icarian sea near the island, and then been washed up on its shore.

⁸⁴ We are particularly indebted to GRIFFITHS for help on this topic.

⁸⁵ See the Introductions to *HE* and *GP*.

⁸⁶ 24, 97, 192, 448, 575, 455 (all nos. here and in the next three nn. are from *Anth. Pal.* Book IX, except for XI 275 (see n. 89)).

⁸⁷ 26, 66, 184, 571, 189, 506, 190.

⁸⁸ 191, 185, 186, 187, 92 (problematic), 565, 566.

⁸⁹ 504, 505, 545; XI 275; 160, 161, 198, 344.

⁹⁰ The precise chronological relationship of the Lycophron epigram to VII 128 (on Heraclitus) and IX 583 (on Thucydides) is impossible to establish; cf. above n. 16.

shown that it displays sophisticated awareness not only of the *Alexandra* but of several other Hellenistic poems. We cannot date the epigram with confidence, but we tentatively opt for a date in the late Hellenistic or early Imperial periods: it was argued (p. 224 with n. 30) that the Augustan epigrammatist Crinagoras wrote at least one comparably imitative epigram, and this might encourage belief in an approximately similar date for *Anth. Pal.* IX 191, the Lycophron epigram. Finally, we hope to have shown (section 1), that although specific ancient citations or mentions by name of Lycophron's *Alexandra* or its author are rare, nevertheless some of the epigrammatists may provide evidence for the poem's reception in antiquity. *Anth. Pal.* IX 191, the main subject of the present article, is the most obvious and sustained treatment, but there are hints in other epigrams also.

APPENDIX: OTHER EPIGRAMS IN *ANTH. PAL.* WHICH MAY ALLUDE TO THE *ALEXANDRA*

The epigrams in this appendix are arranged according to their numbering in the *Anthology*; at the end, we discuss a strange epigram, preserved only on an inscription, which has been claimed as an intertext with the *Alexandra*.

- In III 3 (one of the late epigrams from a temple at Cyzicus), Phoenix is blinded by his father for sexual misconduct, a detail absent from Hom. *Il.* IX, but given by Lycoph. 422. It was, however, known to Euripides (fr. 816 *TrGF*, cf. Ar. *Ach.* 421) and Menander (*Sam.* 498–500).

- V 19 (PAGE 1978 no. VI) is a poem by the erotic epigrammatist Rufinus. It was thought by ZIEGLER to echo the *Alexandra* via Horace, but the feature he identified at Rufinus lines 5 f. was an *adynaton* ('impossibility') of a well-established type which goes back to Archilochus and Herodotus⁹¹.

- V 54, Dioscorides (*HE* 1497–1502 no. VII) gives helpful advice on how to have sex with a pregnant woman (turn her over). The reference at 1502 to 'boy-sex', ἀρσενόπαιδα Κύπριν, might be relevant to the similarly-formed θηλύπαις at Lycoph. 851, on HOLFORD-STREVENS' plausible interpretation of the word, according to which Theseus buggered the juvenile Helen of Sparta. HOLFORD-STREVENS (2000: 609 f., n. 21) duly cites the Dioscorides epigram.

- VII 12, an epigram written in honour of Erinna, skilfully uses both Lycophron's vocabulary and his manner of word formation. It is an anonymous poem of six verses, which contrasts the brevity of the poetess' life with her work that will never perish. In the fourth line there is a hapax compound word λινόκλωστος ('spinning flax'), coined, it seems, after Lycophron's two words:

⁹¹ ZIEGLER 1927: 2350 (where for "V 18" read "V 19"), comparing Lycoph. *Alex.* 83 f. and Hor. *Epod.* 16, 34. But PAGE 1978: 78 was right to call this a mere "variation on a common theme". Cf. Archil. 122 WEST² lines 709 and Hdt. V 92α, 1.

λινεργῆς κλῶσις (716), but also imitating his fondness for inventive compounds. Both these terms refer to Moira, Fate, which took away the lives of young female singers: Sirens and a poetess. The word κλῶσις is very rare and is a variant for the almost equally rare κλῶσμα (HORNBLOWER 2015: 293). Such ‘realistic’ detail agrees with the Alexandrian poetics that, among others, employed genre scenes and realistic details to enhance the vividness of the imagery. Alluding to Lycophron’s unusual expression, the anonymous author of the Erinna epigram identifies her with the Siren who, according to the author of the *Alexandra*, will obtain posthumous cult and fame (Lycoph. 719–737). That recalls Erinna’s fame, which she enjoyed after death.

- In VII 564 (anonymous) line 1 – Priam’s daughter Laodice swallowed up by the γαῖα χανοῦσα, ‘gaping earth’, a rarely attested story – may recall Lycoph. 316 f., ἡ τοκάς κόνις/ χανοῦσα, “the gaping earth which bore her”; see STADTMÜLLER on the epigram. Quintus of Smyrna XIII 543–550 also has the story but is less verbally close, and if the Maximus of the epigram is datable to the 160s AD (CICHORIUS 1922: 374 f. and BECKBY), Quintus in the next century is too late to be an influence.

- IX 77 (GP 699–704, Antipater of Thessalonica no. CXI) shows that sometimes a poorly-attested mythical theme is shared by the *Alexandra* and an epigram in the *Anthology*. Lycophron (line 86 and elsewhere) alludes to the myth that Hecuba dreamed that she would give birth to a torch or firebrand, γρυνός, who turned out to be Paris, who would bring destruction on Troy. Paris and Trojan fire are connected in lines 3 f. GOW and PAGE do not mention the firebrand. The firebrand was known to the mythographers Apollodorus (III 12, 5) and Hyginus (91), but is not in Homer, nor – as far as the surviving evidence allows us to say – in the pseudo-Homeric *Kypria* (part of the Epic Cycle)⁹². An extremely fragmentary Paian of Pindar (8A, B5 RUTHERFORD) mentioned Hecuba’s dream of fire, but apparently not the firebrand specifically⁹³. The firebrand did, however, feature in Euripides’ *Troades* (line 922), and at the beginning of now fragmentary plays by both Sophocles and Euripides, so both Lycophron and Antipater could have got it from a tragedian. But the possibility of a direct borrowing by the epigrammatist cannot be totally ruled out.

- IX 289 (Bassus) is about Nauplius and his beacons. It contains words (not very common) that appear also in the poem: χοιράς, τυφλός, δνοφερός (in the *Alexandra*: δνόφος).

⁹² HOLZINGER (1895: 179) remarked: “Der Stoff [the firebrand theme] fällt in den Bereich der Kyprien”. HORNBLOWER (2015: 142) was much too confident (Apollod. III 12, 5 “derived from the *Kypria*”).

⁹³ RUTHERFORD (2001: 236), calling it a ‘torch’; he is probably right, but so few letters survive that it is not absolutely certain that Pindar did not mention it at some point in the poem, whose interpretation is very difficult, quite apart from its fragmentary state.

• IX 304 (GP 2604–2607, Parmenion no. X) is one of several epigrams in the *Anthology* which mention or feature Xerxes. It calls him ναύτην ἡπείρου, πεζοπόρον πελάγους “sailor on land, foot-marcher on sea”. This paradox recalls Lycophron’s ingenious reworking of Herodotus on Xerxes’ invasion: 1414 f., τῷ θάλασσα μὲν βατή/ πεζῷ ποτ’ ἔσται, γῇ δὲ ναυσθλωθήσεται, he “will walk on foot/ over the sea, and will sail over the land”.

• IX 342 (GP 2608–2611, Parmenion no. XI, 1st cent BC), is a programmatic epigram where an allusion to Callimachus can also be detected (2608: πολυστιχίην ‘of many lines’, cf. Callim. *Aet.* frg. 1,9 PF.; HARDER: [ὀλ]ιγόστιχος, ‘of few lines’) uses the imagery of a sprint on the stadium which is better than “long distance running”: δολιχὸς δρόμος (2610). Parmenion may refer here to the meta-poetic passage from the *Alexandra* (13–15) where the guard compares himself to a runner with wings (πτηνὸς δρομεύς) who starts the race on the stadium (the place is defined by the use of athletic vocabulary: βαλβίδα/ νύσσαν, ‘starting rope’, ‘starting-post’). By means of the metaphor Lycophron – a real *persona loquens* in the poem – underlines the brevity of the presentation of mythical material in his work.

• IX 540 on Heraclitus says that the path of his book is difficult and all is mist and darkness, σκότος, perhaps evokes that other dark author Lycophron.

• XI 20 (GP 185–190, Antipater of Thessalonica no. XX) expresses impatience with pedantic ‘thorn-gathering’ poets who use obscure words like λοφνίδες ([torches of] vine-bark), line 1. The culprit here could be either Lycoph. (48) or Callimachus (fr. 755 PF.), if that incomplete hexameter is rightly assigned to him. (PFEIFFER accepted this attribution, but DE STEFANI and MAGNELLI 2009: 593 and n. 1 are less sure.)

• XI 63 (Macedonius) line 6 calls the Giants ‘Canastraeans’, after the name of the tip of the Pallene peninsula in Chalcidice. This very rare designation recalls Lycoph. 526, where it is used to suggest the giant physique of Hector.

• In XI 322 line 5, σκότος may again (see on IX 540) be suggestive of the darkness theme in Lycophron; cf. above, n. 2. This epigram is GP 771–776, Antiphanes no. IX, “On pedants of Callimachus’ school”, where GOW and PAGE just say that the word is “the opposite of a ray of light to children at school”. However the mention of little children might also point to Lycophron as the cause of their sufferings since he was, according to Statius (see above, n. 7), an author recommended for them. Perhaps his works were also on Greek school reading lists in the time of Antiphanes, who lived a couple of decades earlier. ῥιζώρυχα (‘root-grubbing’) at line 1 is strictly a hapax word, but the verb is used by Plutarch (*Mor.* 473A). The epigram is similar to *Anth. Pal.* XI 321 = GP 3033–3040, Philip no. LX, “On pedants” (they have the same first word, γραμματικοί/ων).

• XI 347 (GP 3041–3046, Philip no. LXI, “On pedants”) sneers at learned γραμματικοί who inquire “who was the father of Proteus?” (line 4). GOW and PAGE say “this was a very hard question”, but they go on to cite Lycoph. 125

and the scholia on 115 and 124 for Proteus as son of Poseidon. So this could well be an ingenious concealed reference to the *Alexandra*. The anecdotes in Suetonius about the emperor Tiberius posing riddles to *grammatici* on the lines of “who was Hecuba’s mother, what song the Sirens sang, or what name Achilles assumed among women?”⁹⁴ suggest that the *Alexandra* would have been much to the emperor’s taste. As riddles go, “who was the mother of Hecuba?” obviously resembles “who was the father of Proteus?”⁹⁵ Philip’s *Garland* dates from soon after that period (time of Nero), so XI 347 might be Tiberian in date.

• XIV 4, 4 f. mentions the sanctuary of Taraxippos, which may echo Lycoph. 42 f., see KWAPISZ 2020. But a recently published fragment of Callimachus shows that he too mentioned this strange hero; see the note on the Lycoph. passage at HORNBLOWER 2015: 132.

* * *

We conclude this Appendix with an epigram not in the *Anthology*. Epigrams known only from inscriptions are usually simple in thought and vocabulary, so may not seem a promising place to look for Lycophronic language. But DE STEFANI (2018: 153 f.) suggests that *GVI* 722, to which he devotes pp. 151–155, is a pastiche of the *Alexandra*. It is a strange twelve-line choliambic epigram from the 2nd cent. AD in honour of Amaspos, a prince of the Black Sea region (Iberia), and found at Rome. DE STEFANI is particularly struck by ἴνις at line 1, because Lycoph. 570 is the only other place where it occurs in a trimeter. Otherwise he lists a number of epic but allegedly non-tragic words in the inscribed poem which also occur in Lycoph. (namely τρχύω, ὕσμίνη, δῆιος, λύθρον, ἐλαιόθηλος cf. εὔθηλος at Lycoph. 1328, νᾶμα, κνώδων). But not all these are non-tragic, e.g. for λύθρον see *TrGF* vol. 2 adespota no. 235. ‘Pastiche’ seems too strong a word to characterise a mild preference for epic-Lycophronic words over tragic ones, even if that preference could be definitely proved.

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⁹⁴ *Tib.* 70, 3: “nam et grammaticos, quod genus hominum praecipue, ut diximus, appetebat, eius modi fere quaestionibus experiebatur: quae mater Hecubae, quod Achilli nomen inter uirgines fuisset, quid Sirenes cantare sint solitae”.

⁹⁵ Cf. STEWART 1977 on the Lycophronic motifs on the Tiberian sculptures at Sperlonghi.

ABBREVIATIONS

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 CEG P. HANSEN, *Carmina epigraphica Graeca*, vols. I–II, Berlin, 1983–1989.
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C. CORNELIUS GALLUS FOROIULIENSIS RECONSIDERED

by

ADAM ŁUKASZEWICZ

ABSTRACT: Gaius Cornelius Gallus was not only an outstanding poet of the Augustan period, but also a military commander and the first prefect of Egypt. This paper contains a discussion of an alternative interpretation of the Forum Iulium or Forum Iulii, considered as possibly referring not to the poet's place of birth but to his foundation of a town bearing that name. In this context the author discusses the obliterated inscription of Cornelius Gallus on the Vatican obelisk which mentions a *forum Iulium*. The location of this *forum Iulium* is the subject of the author's further discussion. On the basis of some evidence, it seems probable that the Vatican obelisk originally stood not in a forum in Alexandria as usually presumed but in neighbouring Nicopolis. The writer demonstrates that Nicopolis was otherwise called Iuliopolis and assumes that the original Latin name of that new Roman military settlement near Alexandria could have been Forum Iulium. Cornelius Gallus, who in his inscription claims to be the builder of a *forum Iulium* in his capacity as *praefectus fabrum Caesaris*, seems to have carried out building works at Nicopolis.

It is common knowledge that Gaius Cornelius Gallus was an outstanding poet of the Augustan period, although only scraps are left from his abundant writings. His military career and his service as the first prefect of Egypt are only known from concise mentions in works by ancient authors and from his own inscription found in the temple of Philae in southern Egypt¹.

THE PLACE OF BIRTH OF GALLUS

The person and fate of Caius Cornelius Gallus are subject to numerous misunderstandings. A much disputed problem concerning the enigmatic character that was Gallus is his place of birth.

¹ I. Philae 128 = OGIS II 657; F. HOFFMANN, M. MINAS-NERPPEL, S. PFEIFFER, *Die dreisprachige Stele des C. Cornelius Gallus*, Berlin–New York 2009; for information on the military rank of Gallus in an obliterated inscription from the Vatican obelisk, see below. For a general discussion of life and activities of Cornelius Gallus, see J.P. BOUCHER, *Caius Cornelius Gallus*, Paris 1966; G.E. MANZONI, *Foroiuliensis poeta. Vita e poesia di Cornelio Gallo*, Milano 1995; cf. D. FAORO, *Sull'origo e sugli esordi politici di Cornelio Gallo*, *Forum Iulii XXXI* 2007, pp. 29–40.

Jerome says: “Cornelius Gallus Foroiuliensis poeta”². That is the only mention of what is presumed to be the birth-place of Gallus. The adjective *Foroiuliensis* may indeed suggest that Gallus was born in Forum Iulium or Forum Iulii.

The discussion of the identity of that town is concentrated on the possible choice between Fréjus in the Narbonnensis and Forum Iulii Iriensium (today Voghera)³. Another possibility which was considered is the *municipium* called now Cividale del Friuli⁴. BOUCHER also indicated some other places called Forum Iulii or Forum Iulium⁵.

A reasonable remark, made (among others) by Franz BÖMER, points to the fact that such a name of a town could only originate in the Caesarian or Augustan period, and therefore had to be some time later than the birth of Gallus in 70/69 BC⁶. The date of birth makes Gallus a contemporary not only of Virgil but also with Cleopatra VII, whom he met (and took prisoner) in Egypt during the conquest of Alexandria⁷. Gallus’ date of birth is not certain. Jerome under the year 1990 (counted from Abraham), i.e. 27 BC, states: “Cornelius Gallus Foroiuliensis poeta, a quo primum Aegyptum rectam supra diximus, XLIII aetatis suae anno propria se manu interfecit”⁸. This puts the date of birth in 70 BC. Cassius Dio⁹ suggests the eighth consulate of Augustus (together with Statilius Taurus), i.e. 26 BC, as the date of Gallus’ death, which would point to 69 BC as the date of birth. BOUCHER inclines to 26 BC as the date of Gallus’ suicide.

The proposal of SYME that Gallus could be a scion of the Celtic aristocracy from the Narbonnensis seems to be a product of fantasy¹⁰. Suetonius states that Gallus was raised by Augustus to a high position *ex infima fortuna*¹¹. His information indicates that Gallus was not a member of the Roman elite by birth. However, Gallus’ education shows that he did not come from a really poor *milieu*.

² Hieron. *Chronic.* a. Abr. 1990 = Ol. 188, 2 = 27 a. Chr. (ed. R. HELM, *Eusebius’ Werke*, vol. VII: *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Berlin 1956, p. 164).

³ BOUCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 11; R. SYME, *The Origin of Cornelius Gallus*, CQ XXXII 1938, pp. 39–44, at p. 39.

⁴ SYME, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 39. Cf. MANZONI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 4.

⁵ BOUCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 6–12.

⁶ F. BÖMER, *Der Geburtsort des C. Cornelius Gallus*, Gymnasium LXXII 1965, pp. 8 f.

⁷ Plut. *Ant.* 79.

⁸ Hieron. *loc. cit.*

⁹ Cass. Dio LIII 23.

¹⁰ SYME, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 40.

¹¹ Suet. *Aug.* 66, 2.

THE VATICAN OBELISK AND THE FORUM IULIUM

Forum Iulium in connexion with Gallus re-appeared in a very surprising way. In the early 1960s, Filippo MAGI, a Vatican chief-archaeologist and museum-director, examined the surface of the obelisk which stands amidst St. Peter's square in Rome¹². The obelisk is one of those imported from Egypt during the early principate. It stands over 25 metres high¹³ and is made of red granite (apparently from Aswan). A particular feature of the obelisk is its lack of any hieroglyphic inscription. The Vatican obelisk was certainly unfinished and not intentionally left without Egyptian inscriptions. We ignore the original location and the date of execution of the monument. The uninscribed obelisk could originally have lain unfinished either in a quarry or in a temple precinct (Heliopolis?), from where the Roman authorities of the new province ordered its transportation to somewhere. From Egypt the obelisk was brought to Rome and stood in the former gardens of Agrippina, where the circus of Caligula and Nero was located¹⁴. A further statement by Pliny on obelisks reads: "ex omnibus unus omnino fractus est in molitione"¹⁵. According to MANZONI's opinion¹⁶ this information concerns the



Fig. 1: The obelisk in St. Peter's Square, Vatican. Phot. Adam Łukaszewicz ©

¹² G. RÜHLMANN, *Die Nadeln des Pharao. Ägyptische Obeliskten und ihre Schicksale*, Dresden 1972, pp. 41 f., pl. 32–35; E. JASTRĘBOWSKA, *Słoneczne obeliski w Rzymie antycznym i chrześcijańskim*, Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej LII 2004, 2, pp. 135–151 (for the Vatican obelisk, see pp. 141–144); S. SOREK, *The Emperor's Needles. Egyptian Obelisks and Rome*, Bristol 2010, pp. 59–69.

¹³ JASTRĘBOWSKA, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 141 and n. 28 with references, gives the height of 25,37 m. E. HARTMANN, *Die Gallus-Inschrift auf dem Vatikanischen Obeliskten*, Gymnasium LXXII 1965, pp. 1–8, at p. 4, mentions the height of 25,35 m. C. D'ONOFRIO, *Gli obeliscchi di Roma*, Roma 1967, p. 53, states: "il fusto dell'obelisco vaticano era (ed è) lungo m. 25,31".

¹⁴ Plin. *HN* XXXVI 74: "Tertius (*scil.* obeliscus) est Romae in Vaticano Gai et Neronis principum circo". Cf. RÜHLMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 41 and pl. 21 showing the reconstruction of the Circus Neronis with the Vatican obelisk on the *spina*.

¹⁵ Plin. *loc. cit.*

¹⁶ MANZONI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 7: "questo obelisco era l'unico che si fosse rotto nel momento della rimozione".

Vatican obelisk. However, the Vatican obelisk is apparently not broken. The broken obelisk is attributed by Pliny to “Sesosidis filius Nencoreus”, which implies the presence of an inscription, and no hieroglyphic inscription can be seen on the Vatican obelisk. It seems that we cannot positively identify the “broken obelisk”.

In later times the Vatican obelisk was not overturned and it stood upright until 1586, when it was moved by Domenico Fontana, the architect to Pope Sixtus V, to its new location from the neighbouring previous site. The transportation of the obelisk over a distance of 255 metres took four months and was an enormous and expensive technical operation¹⁷. Since 10th September 1586 the obelisk has stood in the middle of St. Peter’s square on a pedestal over 10 m high. On the pedestal there are Sixtine inscriptions in Latin. The top of the obelisk was adorned with the still extant cross. Bernini’s colonnades and the shape of the square around the obelisk date to the years 1656–1667¹⁸. In 1723 Pope Innocentius XIII (Conti) ordered the addition of four bronze eagles by Giuseppe Bertosi over Sixtine lions by Prospero Bresciani at the corners¹⁹. Above these eagles the obelisk shows a double Latin inscription:

Divo Caesari Divi Iulii f(ilio) Augusto
Ti(berio) Caesari Divi Augusti f(ilio) Augusto
sacrum²⁰.

This is a dedicatory text to Augustus and Tiberius by Gaius Caligula. However, in 1962, F. MAGI discovered traces left by pins on the granite surface in the area of Caligula’s inscription. These pins had been used for fastening the bronze letters of an earlier inscription²¹. The height of the lost letters was *c.* 15 cm²². The result of the deciphering of the text was the following:

Iussu Imp(eratoris) Caesaris Divi f(ilii)
C(aius) Cornelius Cn(aei) f(ilius) Gallus
prae(f)ectus fabr(um) Caesaris Divi f(ilii)
forum Iulium fecit²³.

¹⁷ JASTRZĘBOWSKA, *op. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 142 f.

¹⁸ Cf. n. 1 by E. HARTMANN to the text by H. VOLKMANN, *Zur Gallus-Inschrift auf dem Vatikanischen Obeliken*, Gymnasium LXXII 1965, pp. 328–330.

¹⁹ HARTMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 4; D’ONOFRIO, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 94 and 95, ill. 42.

²⁰ *CIL* VI (1) 882.

²¹ F. MAGI, *Le iscrizioni recentemente scoperte sull’obelisco Vaticano*, Studi Romani XI 1963, pp. 50–56, at pp. 53 f., pl. XI f.; IDEM, *L’obelisco di Caio Cornelio Gallo*, Capitolium XXXVIII 1963, pp. 488–494; cf. *L’Osservatore Romano* 1962, 27/28 Dec., No 296, p. 5.

²² HARTMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 1.

²³ MAGI, *op. cit.* (n. 21); HARTMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 1; D’ONOFRIO, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 51, n. 12; *I. Alex. imp.* 1 = F. KAYSER, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines (non funéraires) d’Alexandrie impériale (I^{er}–III^e siècles après J.-C.)*, Le Caire 1994; HOFFMANN, MINAS-NERPEL, PFEIFFER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 6.



Fig. 2: Caligula's inscription on the Vatican obelisk. Phot. Adam Łukaszewicz ©

There can be no doubt that the author of the inscription is the poet C. Cornelius Gallus, who was the first prefect of Egypt. He bears the somewhat surprising title of *praefectus fabrum*²⁴. Why is he not styled prefect of Egypt? Was the inscription executed before Gallus' service as prefect of the new province? The rank of *praefectus fabrum* seems intriguing, especially in view of the rather prominent role of Gallus in the conquest of Egypt. That was probably the official status of Gallus in Octavian's army during the war against Antony and Cleopatra. Another possibility is that his position as commander of engineering troops resulted from the building works which Gallus was expected to carry out immediately after the conquest, before his nomination to the new rank of the prefect of Egypt.

According to Géza ALFÖLDY, the *Forum Iulium* in the inscription was a square adjacent to the temple of Caesar in Alexandria²⁵. Today, this is the canonical interpretation of the *Forum Iulium* in the inscription, shared by HOFFMANN, MINAS-NERPEL and PFEIFFER, the authors of the monograph concerning the famous inscription of Gallus found at Philae:

²⁴ M. Cerva, *La praefectura fabrum. Un'introduzione*, in: M. CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI (ed.), *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire de la mort de César à la mort de Domitien*, Rome 2000, pp. 177–196.

²⁵ G. ALFÖLDY, *Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz in Rom. Ein historisches Monument der Antike*, Heidelberg 1990 (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 1990, 2), pp. 38–49.

Nach der Provinzwerdung Ägyptens errichtete Gallus in seiner Funktion als *prae-fectus fabrum* den heute auf dem Petersplatz in Rom stehenden Obelisk auf dem *forum Iulium*, bei dem er sich nach der einleuchtenden Interpretation Alföldys um das *temenos* des Augustusheiligtums von Alexandria handelte²⁶.

FORUM IULIUM AND NICOPOLIS

A different suggestion can be found in a book on Alexandria by Manfred CLAUSS, who sees in the *forum Iulium* the heart of Nikopolis, a Roman garrison town near Alexandria. The idea presented by CLAUSS had already appeared in an earlier publication by E. ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM²⁷. The basis of this interpretation is a bone game counter, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, representing an obelisk and a shrine, with the caption “Nikopolis” in Greek letters on the verso²⁸. This is evidence of the fact that there was an obelisk at Nikopolis (obviously the Nikopolis adjacent to Alexandria). It seems probable that the obelisk was erected in a forum near a temple.

In his work on the ancient metropolis of Egypt, Manfred CLAUSS briefly describes Nikopolis as far as the extant sources allow²⁹. The image on the recto of the game counter is thus described by CLAUSS:

Neben einem Tempel mit einer langen Treppenflucht sehen wir einen Obelisk, auf dem sogar angedeutete Hieroglyphen zu erkennen sind. In Nikopolis befand sich vermutlich das *forum Iulium*, also ein nach Augustus benannter Platz, auf dem jener Obelisk stand, der zu Beginn der Kaiserzeit, vielleicht unter Caligula, nach Rom gebracht wurde und dort unter der Bezeichnung ‘Vatikanischer Obelisk’ nach wie vor zu den Sehenswürdigkeiten der Stadt gehört³⁰.

The Gallus-inscription on the Vatican obelisk and the fact that an obelisk is shown as a symbol of Nikopolis can be connected. Nikopolis was built during the prefecture of Gallus, soon after the conquest of Egypt by Octavian, and it is very probable that the bone counter shows the Forum Iulium located in the heart of Nikopolis. The inscription on the Vatican obelisk mentions a *forum Iulium*, which was “made” (*fecit*) by C. Cornelius Gallus.

²⁶ HOFFMANN, MINAS-NERPEL, PFEIFFER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 6.

²⁷ E. ALFÖLDI-ROSENBAUM, *Alexandriaca. Studies on Roman Game Counters III*, Chiron VI 1976, pp. 213, 220 f., 234, pl. 26, ill. 62.

²⁸ M. CLAUSS, *Alexandria. Schicksale der antiken Weltstadt*, Stuttgart 2003, pp. 132 f., ill. 28. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. AS V 1033, cf. Th.M. SCHNEIDER, *Spielmarke mit Bild eines Tempels (?) und Obelisk*, in: H. BECK *et al.* (eds.), *Ägypten, Griechenland, Rom. Abwehr und Berührung*, (Katalog) Städtisches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, 26. November 2005–26. Februar 2006, Frankfurt a. Main 2005, no. 341, pp. 726 f.

²⁹ CLAUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 28), pp. 131–137.

³⁰ CLAUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 133.

Thus we have two different pieces of information: Forum Iulii or Iulium as a town, interpreted as the place of origin of Cornelius Gallus, and *forum Iulium* as a complex of buildings erected in or near Alexandria in Egypt by Cornelius Gallus. A few locations for his supposed birthplace have been proposed. On the basis of the inscription on the Vatican obelisk, the *forum Iulium* is interpreted as a *forum* in Alexandria or in Nikopolis. Anyway, the coincidence of the mention of Forum Iulii or Iulium in Jerome's *Chronicle* and in the inscription on the obelisk is indeed remarkable.

Soon after the discovery of the Gallus-inscription on the Vatican obelisk and before the revelation of the Nikopolis game counter, Franz BÖMER proposed an interesting solution of his own to the problem of the "Foroiuliensis poeta". He advanced a hypothesis that Jerome misunderstood an information which he had found in a source that connected Gallus with a *Forum Iulii* or *Iulium* and took it for the birthplace of the poet. According to BÖMER, the Forum Iulium mentioned in the inscription on the Vatican obelisk was in reality a town founded by Gallus:

Ich schlage deswegen vor: Hieronymus hat eine Überlieferung besessen, die Gallus mit einem Forum Iulii oder Forum Iulium verband. Hieronymus oder seine Quelle hat, mangels genauer Angaben, angenommen, das sei die Geburtsstadt des Dichters. In Wirklichkeit ist Forum Iulium aber die Stadt, die Gallus gegründet hat und auf unserer Inschrift nennt³¹.

BÖMER did not suggest a location for the supposed town and apparently did not think of Egypt.

It is very probable indeed that the obelisk on the Nikopolis game counter may be the "obelisk of Gallus". The only problem is the presence of incisions representing hieroglyphs, while in reality the Vatican obelisk has no hieroglyphic inscriptions³². This, however, is no major hindrance to the identity, since the image of the obelisk on the game counter is only stereotyped. It was obvious that an obelisk should have a hieroglyphic inscription. This may be the reason why the incisions on the image of the obelisk were made unnecessarily. Perhaps there were more obelisks in the Forum Iulium and only one was transported to Rome. We do not have enough data to suppose that an obelisk from Nikopolis with a hieroglyphic inscription was the "only one which was broken during the removal" according to the statement by Pliny³³. SCHNEIDER in his commentary on the game counter points to the fact that there are two other known game counters with the legend "Nikopolis" and with similar motifs, and that one of them represents an obelisk in a different setting, with an adjacent sphinx instead of a temple.

³¹ BÖMER, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 9.

³² SOREK, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 62: "The obelisk was the largest uninscribed obelisk ever to leave Egypt".

³³ Plin. *HN* XXXVI 74.

This may corroborate the idea of there having been more than one obelisk at Nikopolis. SCHNEIDER, however, rejects the possibility that the Vatican obelisk is an obelisk from Nikopolis. He states:

Das ist indes nicht nur aus chronologischen Gründen unmöglich. G. Alföldy hat deutlich gemacht, daß das auf dem Obelisken genannte Forum Iulium nur in Alexandria gelegen haben kann³⁴.

I cannot see any “chronological reasons” as an argument against the identity of Gallus’ obelisk from Nikopolis and the Vatican obelisk. The bone token from Vienna belongs to a series of similar objects with various motifs which are dated to the period between 45 BC and the reign of Nero³⁵. The Vatican obelisk has an inscription of Caligula (engraved over sixty years after Gallus), and is probably the obelisk which Caligula shipped from Egypt, according to a possible interpretation of a passage by Pliny³⁶. We do not know who (Caligula or an earlier emperor) removed the obelisk from the place where Gallus had set it up or when he did so. G. ALFÖLDY’s interpretation of the *forum Iulium* as situated in Alexandria is in actual fact hypothetical and cannot be used as positive evidence.

Cesare D’ONOFRIO, in his very long note 13 on pp. 51–53, states that the inscription of Gallus on the obelisk seems to be posterior to the inscription of Caligula and therefore is of questionable authenticity. To D’ONOFRIO, the presence of a Latin inscription on the Vatican obelisk without an accompanying Greek version, which would have been natural in Egypt, was also an argument against the authenticity of the Gallus inscription³⁷. However, D’ONOFRIO’s idea of the falsity of the Gallus inscription is not convincing.

The fact that the inscription of Gallus on the Vatican obelisk was written only in Latin may perhaps imply the existence of a parallel Greek inscription on a supposed twin obelisk. However, Nikopolis was a military town and the usage of Greek there was limited. An official inscription in Greek was not necessary in a chiefly Latin-speaking military milieu. Nevertheless, such an inscription on a lost second obelisk is not improbable. Anyway, the fact that there was an obelisk at Nikopolis is completely reliable.

If BÖMER’s suggestion is correct, some lost sources could have preserved a mention of Forum Iulium in connexion with Gallus. Eusebius and Jerome could have taken it as information about the birthplace of Gallus. This would explain the adjective *Foroiuliensis* in Jerome’s text³⁸. It is now time to follow

³⁴ SCHNEIDER, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 727.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 726.

³⁶ Plin. *HN* XXXVI 70.

³⁷ D’ONOFRIO, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 51–53.

³⁸ For an extensive discussion of Jerome’s life and works, see J.N.D. KELLY, *Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies*, London 1975.

the idea that Cornelius Gallus built a city named Forum Iulium. Where was that Forum Iulium? The only possibility is Egypt, where Gallus spent time as head of the new Roman province, and where he left his inscription on the obelisk commemorating the construction of a *forum Iulium*.

Nikopolis is a name known to everybody who is interested in Graeco-Roman Egypt³⁹. The location of the town eastwards from Alexandria, beyond the hippodrome and the suburb of Eleusis, is known. However, archaeological investigation of the area is not possible due to the present day inaccessibility of the area of the former barracks of Mustapha Pasha, on the fringe of Ramleh. The cemeteries of Nikopolis were situated in an area west from the military settlement reaching today's stations of Sidi Gaber and Sporting Club⁴⁰. The distance separating Nikopolis from Alexandria in antiquity was 20 or 30 stadia, which is approximately 3,5 to 5,5 km⁴¹. The importance of the town was due to its role as a military settlement accompanying a legionary camp. The commemorative aspect of the foundation connected with the victory of 30 BC was enhanced by the quinquennial ("pentaeteric") agon celebrated there⁴². Strabo states that Nikopolis was an important agglomeration⁴³. New structures built at Nikopolis were the reason for the neglect or abandonment of old sacred precincts in Alexandria⁴⁴. Already in Strabo's time (soon after the prefecture of Cornelius Gallus) Nikopolis possessed an amphitheatre and a stadium for the quinquennial games⁴⁵. Nikopolis near Alexandria certainly shared this privilege with another Nikopolis in Epirus (Nikopolis Actia) which was founded by Augustus in the area of the victorious battle of Actium of 31 BC⁴⁶. The name "Nikopolis" was not unusual: Pliny mentions for example a town of the same name in Armenia⁴⁷.

IULIOPOLIS

Manfred CLAUSS, in his description of the Alexandrian agglomeration, states that near Alexandria there was a suburb called Iuliopolis, which was different

³⁹ For concise information, see R.S. BAGNALL, D.W. RATHBONE, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Copts. An Archaeological and Historical Guide*, London 2004, p. 59.

⁴⁰ H. KEES, *Nicopolis* (9), *RE* XVII 1 (1936), col. 539.

⁴¹ Strabo XVII 1, 10 (cf. J. YOYOTTE, P. CHARVET, St. GOMPertz, *Strabon, Le voyage en Égypte. Un regard romain*, Paris 1997, p. 93) gives 30 stadia; Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* IV 659 only 20 stadia.

⁴² Cass. Dio LI 18, 1; cf. KEES, *op. cit.* (n. 40), col. 539.

⁴³ Strabo XVII 1, 10: ἔχουσα κατοικίαν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλεως οὐκ ἐλάττω.

⁴⁴ Strabo *loc. cit.*; cf. YOYOTTE, CHARVET, GOMPertz, *op. cit.* (n. 41), pp. 90 f.

⁴⁵ Strabo *loc. cit.*

⁴⁶ Strabo VII 7, 5 f. Cf. F. SCHÖBER, *Nikopolis* (2), *RE* XVII 1 (1936), coll. 511–518.

⁴⁷ Plin. *HN* VI 26.

from Nikopolis⁴⁸. According to CLAUSS, Iuliopolis was a port situated three kilometres from Alexandria at the western mouth of the canal of Schedia. It was “jener Hafen Alexandrias, von dem aus die Schiffe nach Süden, den Nil hinab, aufbrachen”⁴⁹. However, the location of the “Iuliopolis” to the west from Alexandria as described by CLAUSS is entirely hypothetical. We do not know much about Nikopolis either, but at least the location of the “Town of Victory” is known. Pliny the Elder states:

MM p. ab Alexandria abest oppidum Iuliopolis; inde navigant Nilo Coptum CCCVIII (millia) p., qui cursus etesiis flantibus peragitur XII diebus⁵⁰.

Similar information about a harbour from which ships departed to Upper Egypt can be found in Josephus with reference to Nikopolis⁵¹. Pliny is the only author to mention Iuliopolis in such a context. In his account there is no mention of the Egyptian Nikopolis. H. KEES concluded that Iuliopolis is only another name of Nikopolis: “so wird I. nur eine andere Bezeichnung für jene sein”⁵². The same identification can be found on a map in GRIMM’s book on Alexandria⁵³.

There are differences as to the distance from Nikopolis to Alexandria: Strabo says 30 stadia,⁵⁴ while Josephus gives 20 stadia⁵⁵. It is very probable that the difference between Strabo and Josephus in their estimates of the distance from Alexandria to Nikopolis can be explained by the growth of the town of Nikopolis and probably also of the city of Alexandria during the century separating the two narratives. In Josephus’ time the extended Nikopolis was much closer to Alexandria than in the initial stage of development of the new foundation. Pliny (also a long time after Strabo) states that the distance between Iuliopolis and Alexandria is 2 (Roman) miles⁵⁶, which is close to Josephus’ data concerning Nikopolis.

An important piece of evidence to corroborate the identity of Iuliopolis with Nikopolis comes from an Alexandrian proverb, which reads:

ἄφρωνος Ἱππαρχίων· κατὰ τοὺς προπάτορας ἡμῶν δύο κιθαρωδοὶ διάσημοι ἐγένοντο, Ἱππαρχίων καὶ Ρουφίνος. καὶ δὴ ἄγῶνος ἐνστάντος πενταετηρικῷ

⁴⁸ CLAUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 140.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁰ Plin. *HN* VI 102.

⁵¹ Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* IV 11.

⁵² H. KEES, *Iuliopolis*, *RE* X 1 (1918), col. 103.

⁵³ G. GRIMM, *Alexandria. Die erste Königsstadt der hellenistischen Welt*, Mainz a. Rhein 1998, p. 8, ill. 2.

⁵⁴ Strabo XVII 1, 10.

⁵⁵ Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* IV 659.

⁵⁶ Plin. *HN* VI 102.

ἀγομένου ἐν Ἰουλιόπολει κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ὁ Ἱππαρχίων ἀχανὴς ἔσται τῇ περὶ τὸ θέατρον ἀποσιωπήσας⁵⁷.

The voiceless Hipparchion: according to our ancestors there were two famous singers (*citharodi*), Hipparchion and Rufinus. During a traditional contest which was held every five years at Iuliopolis, Hipparchion stood with open mouth and remained silent during the whole performance.

The quinquennial agon in the Alexandrian area was held at Nikopolis⁵⁸. It is hard to imagine that another suburb of Alexandria could have held identical games. Iuliopolis must be another name for Nikopolis. Already CRUSIUS said in his commentary: “Hanc Ἰουλιόπολιν [...] eandem esse quam Νικόπολιν”⁵⁹. Both Iuliopolis in Pliny and Nikopolis in Josephus are situated at a similar distance from Alexandria⁶⁰ and both are internal Egyptian ports from which the departure of ships travelling on the Nile is recorded⁶¹. CRUSIUS concludes: “Haec tam apte congruunt, ut nomina illa ad idem oppidum pertinere nemo negare possit nisi opinione praeiudicata abreptus”⁶².

As we can see, there are sufficient arguments to prove that Nikopolis was otherwise called Iuliopolis. Iuliopolis is a Greek name. However, a Roman military settlement at that time could hardly have been officially designated only by a Greek name. What could the official Latin name have been? Forum Iulium seems to be a very convincing Latin version of Iuliopolis.

The prevalence of the name Nikopolis may be a result of the fact that the name Iuliopolis or Forum Iulium was initially associated with Cornelius Gallus, the actual builder, who soon after his first successful construction work was undoubtedly subject to a *damnatio memoriae* which perhaps also caused a modification of the official name of his foundation and of course the removal of his inscriptions⁶³.

⁵⁷ O. CRUSIUS (ed.), *Plutarchi de proverbiis Alexandrinorum libellus ineditus*, Tübingen 1887 (Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum Suppl. III), p. 13 (*proverbium* no. 24).

⁵⁸ Strabo XVII 1, 10; cf. YOYOTTE, CHARVET, GOMPERTZ, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 91, n. 118.

⁵⁹ CRUSIUS, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 59.

⁶⁰ Strabo XVII 1, 10: Νικόπολις τριάκοντα δέ εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας στάδιοι; Ioseph. *Bell. Iud.* IV 11: εἴκοσι δὲ αὕτη διέχει τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας σταδίου. Pliny (*HN* VI 102) states: “duo milia passuum ab Alexandria abest oppidum Iuliopolis”; for an explanation of the differences in distance between Strabo and the two other authors, see above.

⁶¹ Plin. *HN* VI 102 about Iuliopolis: “inde navigant Nilo Coptum CCCVIII milia passuum”; according to Ioseph. *Bell. Iud.* IV 11 Τίτος προελθὼν περὶ μέχρι Νικοπόλεως, εἴκοσι δ’ αὕτη διέχει τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας σταδίου, κακείθεν ἐπιβήσας τὴν στρατιὰν μακρῶν πλοίων ἀναπλεῖ διὰ τοῦ Νείλου κατὰ τὸν Μενδήσιον νομὸν μέχρι πόλεως Θμούεως.

⁶² CRUSIUS, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 59.

⁶³ For a recent opinion on the “presumed” *damnatio memoriae* of Gallus, see P. GAGLIARDI, *La presunta damnatio memoriae di Cornelio Gallo*, *Historia* LXVI 2017, pp. 65–82.

A question arises over the use of *fecit* in the context of the presumed construction of a town. It seems that Gallus could not use a verb like *condidit*. *Facere* in this context indicates simply the execution of some building works by a *praefectus fabrum*. Even if the town (which was neither a *municipium* nor a colony) was to be called Forum Iulium, the same designation (*forum Iulium*) could equally refer to the forum in the heart of the new agglomeration. The construction of Nikopolis was certainly not completed during the time of Gallus' activities as governor of Egypt. Thus, the inscription perhaps only reports the arrangement of the central forum. Strabo, who travelled in Egypt with the prefect Aelius Gallus shortly after the disappearance of C. Cornelius Gallus, relates the existence of new public buildings at Nikopolis which influenced the neglect of old structures in Alexandria⁶⁴. Strabo also mentions a large area belonging to the new town. That would certainly point to extensive works already accomplished under the previous prefect.

THE BOASTFUL (?) CONTENTS OF GALLUS' INSCRIPTION

It seems that at the beginning of his career as prefect of Egypt Gallus was perhaps not entirely aware of the limits of his authority. However, he was undoubtedly aware of his merit in the conquest of Egypt⁶⁵. Gallus not only carried out most of the combat against Antony and Cleopatra, but also pacified the Egyptian hinterland which had revolted against the Roman invaders, and even reached Nubia, where he attempted to establish the Roman order⁶⁶. He certainly had reasons to record his achievements in the usual form of inscriptions. At that time, the unwritten rules of political correctness of the principate had not yet been established. Gallus could feel free to commemorate his deeds.

Later Roman authors report Gallus' incorrect behaviour as prefect of Egypt. Ammianus Marcellinus wrote: "exhausit civitatem plurimis interceptis [...] furtorum arcesseretur et populatae provinciae..."⁶⁷. The statement by Cassius Dio concerning Gallus is particularly interesting: καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας ἐσέγραψε⁶⁸. It is very probable that this information confuses pyramids and obelisks. It is possible that we have here a late echo of Gallus' inscription on the obelisk from Nikopolis.

⁶⁴ Strabo XVII 1, 10.

⁶⁵ Oros. VI 19, 14 f.

⁶⁶ A. ŁUKASZEWICZ, *Cornelius Gallus and the Beginnings of Roman Policy in Nubia*, in: *Between the Cataracts. Proceedings of the 11th Conference of Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August–2 September 2006*, part 2, fasc. 2: *Session Papers*, Warsaw 2010 (Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean, Supplement Series, vol. II, part 2, fasc. 2), pp. 535–540.

⁶⁷ Amm. XVII 4, 5.

⁶⁸ Cass. Dio LIII 23, 5.

However, an effort to keep within the obvious limits of loyalty is visible both in the inscription on the Vatican obelisk and in the inscription from Philae. First of all, Gallus' inscription on the obelisk begins with the order received from Caesar. In his inscription Gallus is styled as *praefectus fabrum* of Caesar. It seems to be a statement of his actual rank and function before his nomination to the office of the prefect of Egypt. However, during the conquest of Egypt Gallus was one of the leading generals of Octavian's army. He was a distinguished leader on the battlefield and certainly not simply a commander of a body of craftsmen or engineering troops⁶⁹. The reason of his use of the title of *praefectus fabrum Caesaris* (if we can entirely trust the reading of the inscription by MAGI) could be the desire to keep a low profile by reducing his role in the construction of the Forum Iulium to the function of being a prefect of craftsmen, the position which he presumably held before his promotion to the dignity of the prefect of Egypt. We do not know the date of the inscription. Perhaps it records the initial stage of the building works, before the ultimate organisation of the new province of Egypt under an equestrian prefect. In any case, the work on the *forum Iulium*, whatever it was, could hardly have been completed in the presumably short span of time when Gallus was active in Egypt but not yet the prefect of the new province.

Although the wording of the Gallus inscription on the Vatican obelisk seems innocent, it is very probable that the text was subject to a hypercritical and malicious evaluation by the informers and consequently by Augustus himself. The affair must have left a durable impact in the memory of Roman officials in Egypt, since in later times the usage of *fecit* in the context of public building activities apparently tends to be reserved for the emperor, as in an inscription from the reign of Domitian: "Imp(erator) Caesar (name deleted) pontif(ex) maximus etc. pontem a solo fecit"⁷⁰. Only after this record of the emperor do the names of officials follow, with an obliterated name of a prefect in line 5.

Somewhat different from the inscription on the obelisk is the inscription from Philae, which may be considered boastful, although a place is reserved for Caesar⁷¹. The apogee of Gallus' flattery directed to Octavian is visible in the papyrus found at Qasr Ibrim. In the preserved lines of Gallus' poetry the author states that he would only be happy when Caesar (= Octavian) becomes a paramount part of Roman history⁷².

⁶⁹ Liv. *per.* CXXXIII; Suet. *Aug.* 21, 2; Plut. *Ant.* 79; Cass. Dio LI 21; Oros. VI 19, 14 f.

⁷⁰ I. Portes 68 (AD 90).

⁷¹ ŁUKASZEWICZ, *Cornelius Gallus...* (n. 66), a paper delivered in 2006; HOFFMANN, MINASNERPEL, PFEIFFER, *op. cit.* (n. 1).

⁷² Cornelius Gallus, *P. Qasr Ibrim*, ll. 2 f.; R.D. ANDERSON, P.J. PARSONS, R.G.M. NISBET, *Elegiacs by Gallus from Qasr Ibrim*, JRS LXIX 1979, pp. 125–155. For a commentary, see A. ŁUKASZEWICZ, *Fata mihi Caesar... Kilka uwag o Korneliuszu Gallusie*, *Wratislaviensium*

In conclusion we may suggest the following: Forum Iulium was perhaps not the birthplace of Cornelius Gallus, but was his foundation in Egypt, otherwise called Iuliopolis and commonly known as Nikopolis. This new town was not a small suburb of Alexandria, but a large urban area with splendid buildings and ornaments (including the “Vatican obelisk”), probably intended to be a future rival of Alexandria. It is no wonder that after the *damnatio memoriae* of Gallus his role in the foundation of such an agglomeration was to be forgotten. Gallus’ inscription on the “Vatican obelisk” was certainly obliterated immediately after his *damnatio*⁷³.

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Studia Classica olim Classica Wratislaviensia IV (XXXV), pp. 191–195; IDEM, *Octavian in Egypt. Propaganda and Graffiti*, in: G. BĄKOWSKA-CZERNER, J. BODZEK (eds.), *Augustus: From Republic to Empire*, Oxford 2017, pp. 100–106. This problem will be also discussed in a forthcoming paper.

⁷³ I am grateful to the Lanckoroński Foundation for a scholarship which made possible the author’s research on the subject in Rome.

THE DEGREES OF SIMILARITY IN QUINTILIAN'S
DISCUSSION OF EXEMPLA
A REAPPRAISAL*

by

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ABSTRACT: Quintilian is the first rhetorician to apply the notion of the degrees of similarity to exempla. The classification which he established, however, is vague to the point that some modern scholars consider it unhelpful. What seems to be causing the most difficulty is the alleged subcategory of *dissimile*, absent in later Greek theory and somewhat neglected by Quintilian himself. This paper is an attempt to reexamine the discussion of the degrees of similarity in the *Institutio oratoria* (V 11, 5–14) paying special attention to the ‘dissimilar’. I argue that the *dissimile* did not in fact form a separate category of exemplum. Apparently, Quintilian introduced this concept to show how a historical example should not look. From this viewpoint, his discussion at *Inst.* V 11 seems more internally consistent.

The most detailed account of exemplum in ancient rhetorical theory is arguably Quintilian’s chapter “De exemplis” (*Inst.* V 11), whose major contribution in this field was to focus on degrees of similarity, a classification which had not previously been applied to exempla (cf. n. 70). Although Quintilian provides illustrations of individual types (*simile*, *contrarium*, etc.), his discussion is often vague in that he does not clarify the relationship between the *illustrans* and *illustrandum*¹ of a given exemplum. As a consequence, modern scholars’ subdivisions based on the classification introduced at *Inst.* V 11, 5–14 vary from author to author². For that reason some find it unhelpful³, and indeed the distinctions

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¹ I use the term *illustrans* to denote “the event referred to during a speech”, resp. “the point of reference”, and *illustrandum* in the sense of “that which constitutes the case under discussion”, resp. “the designate”. A more detailed exposition of this terminology can be found in my previous article (PIERZAK 2018: 24 with n. 40).

² DEMOEN 1997: 136, n. 38.

³ Cf. e.g. PRICE 1975: 209: “His division of examples into five distinct kinds of comparisons, (*simile*, *dissimile*, etc.), is antiquity’s most complex but hardly seems worth his

Quintilian makes do not contribute strikingly to our understanding of the use of exempla in practice. I argue that such an assessment, too hasty at least when it comes to rhetorical theory, is a result of a misapprehension of certain terminology. The aim of this paper is first to determine the causes of difficulty and then, by reexamining the text, to suggest a possible solution.

INTRODUCTION

Degrees of similarity are absent from Aristotle's discussion of the παράδειγμα, but the author of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, who divides παραδείγματα into ὁμοίαι⁴ (~ *similia*) and ἐναντίαι (~ *contraria*), was already aware of the idea. He recommends the use of the former whenever a speaker's statement seems unconvincing and an argument based on probability would not apply. By comparing the matter under discussion with a similar event from the past which had the consequences we say it had, we shall render our case more credible. An opposite example, on the other hand, serves mainly as a warning for the future: if someone went to war unprepared and was defeated, then we may say that our chances of victory increase once we make the proper preparations⁵. A little more elaborated classification was developed by later Greek rhetoricians, namely Apsines and Hermogenes: (1) ἀφ' ὁμοίου (*simile*), (2) ἀπ' ἐναντίου (*contrarium*), (3) ἀπὸ μείζονος (*ex maiore ad minus*), and ἀπ' ἐλάττονος (*ex minore ad maius*), which "seems more practical" (i.e. than that of Quintilian) to K. DEMOEN⁶. It is quickly obvious, however, that their subdivisions are practically the same as Quintilian's, except that he has an additional category of dissimilar. It is precisely the exemplum *dissimile* that causes the most difficulties for students of the *Institutio oratoria*. In what follows I shall first review the current scholarly debate, and next propose my own view on this puzzling issue.

According to H. LAUSBERG, there are three main degrees (*gradus*) of similarity: (1) exemplum *simile*, which is either (a) *totum simile* or (b) *impar* (this one falls into another two subcategories: (α) *ex maiore ad minus*, (β) *ex minore ad maius*), (2) exemplum *dissimile*, and (3) exemplum *contrarium*. The second type can be dissimilar on multiple grounds (Quint. *Inst.* V 11, 13: "Dissimile pluris casus habet"⁷.

effort since his advice on when to employ each of these five types is so scanty" (emphasis added); DEMOEN 1997: 136: "The difference between *dissimile* and both *simile* and *impar* is rather vague".

⁴ *Scil.* πράξεις – matters similar or contrary (~ *illustrantia*) to those under discussion (~ *illustranda*).

⁵ See [Arist.] *Rh. Al.* 1429a, 21–27; 1429b, 37–41; 1430a, 5–7 and the discussion by PRICE 1975: 15–17, 22 f. and GAZICH 1990: 71–73.

⁶ DEMOEN 1997: 136.

⁷ For the Latin text of Quintilian I have used the edition of WINTERBOTTOM (OCT) throughout. RADERMACHER (Teubner) reads *pluris excursus habet*. I was unable to find LAUSBERG's reading (*plures*

Fit enim genere modo tempore loco ceteris..."). As regards Quintilian's example (V 11, 7: "Brutus occidit liberos prodicionem molientis, Manlius virtutem filii morte multavit"), the dissimilarity lies in the cause of death ("Die Unähnlichkeit [...] liegt in der *causa* [...] des Tötens")⁸. LAUSBERG then notes *en passant* that the dissimilarity is always only partial, and even *simile*, due to the lack of a complete correspondence, shares some common traits with *dissimile*.

B. PRICE, author of a valuable dissertation on the subject, is fully aware of the difficulties we face in trying to determine what Quintilian meant by exemplum *dissimile*: as in other instances, no definition is given, and here there is but one illustration, which complicates the matter rather than helping to solve it. For PRICE, what makes the example of Brutus and Manlius (quoted in the previous paragraph) dissimilar is the contrast between *proditio* and *virtus*, but this double sentence can hardly even be called exemplum, as we do not know which part forms the *illustrans* and which the *illustrandum*. It lacks what LAUSBERG understood by *Erstbedeutung* and Quintilian himself described as *id quod intenderis* ("a semantic intention within the context")⁹. Having compared this one to other means of argumentation *ex dissimili* in the *Institutio oratoria*, the scholar came to the conclusion that "a 'dissimile' argument is one in which there is one point of dissimilarity between *illustrans* and *illustrandum* which is not in the main verb" and, further on, he divided the *dissimilia* into (1) faulty exempla, easy to refute by the opponent, and (2) those which include a "non" proviso, i.e. "it is not the case that..."¹⁰. The latter, as with each exemplum where the point of reference and the designate do not resemble one another, is faulty as well, but it is recognised as such by the speaker¹¹. Only when this reservation (*non si*) is absent does the speaker expose himself to refutation.

Finally, R. GAZICH seems to have implicitly taken the opposite view to that of LAUSBERG, in that he perceives *dissimile* as "partially similar" ("di somiglianza

causas) in either's critical apparatus. One of the referees, however, kindly reminds me that the same reading occurs in the older LCL edition by H.E. BUTLER. The text by RUSSELL 2001: 436 (LCL), on the other hand, agrees here with that of WINTERBOTTOM.

⁸ LAUSBERG 1990: 230 f. (§ 420).

⁹ Cf. DEMOEN 1997: 127; PIERZAK 2018: 24.

¹⁰ As in Quint. *Inst.* V 11, 33: "non si, qui argentum omne legavit, videri potest signatam quoque pecuniam reliquisse, ideo etiam quod est in nominibus dari voluisse creditur". This passage had been shown to be a conflation of Cic. *Top.* 13 and 46: if a man has bequeathed all his money (*argentum*), it does not follow that he has also bequeathed what is owed him (*quod est in nominibus*). "The essence of the argument is in the difference between tangible assets [...] and debts owed" (PRICE 1975: 160). This observation, ingenious though it is, seems unnecessary in the context of exempla for two reasons: (1) Quintilian is speaking here of *similitudo*, and Cicero's examples serve to illustrate individual *loci*, and (2) these examples are not 'historical' (*res gestae*), and we do not need them to see that there is only one difference between the cases of Brutus and Manlius.

¹¹ PRICE 1975: 158–163 (the quotation on p. 158).

parziale [*scil. si tratta*]”). Its validity therefore rests upon *vicinitas*, which, alongside *simile* and *contrarium*, constitutes the third element of the exemplary spectrum. His brief analysis of the example put forward by Quintilian comes down to a statement that out of four items three coincide and one differs (1. *Brutus / Manlius*, 2. *occidit / morte multavit*, 3. *liberos / filii*, 4. *proditionem molientis / virtutem*). The two agents are of similar stature and the actions they perform are analogical, while the difference lies in their motivation. GAZICH concludes thus: “Se ne ricava che il *dissimile* è una forma di somiglianza incompleta, una vera *vicinitas*”¹².

The commentators agree that the difference between the sentences cited at *Inst.* V 11, 7 is in the agents’ motivation. More in-depth considerations however lead each of them to express conflicting views about the nature of *dissimile* as one of the subtypes of exemplum: it is either partially dissimilar / similar or faulty. But if the *illustrans* and *illustrandum* of the *simile* type of exemplum, as LAUSBERG had already pointed out, can hardly ever be wholly identical, then how is that helpful to say about *dissimile* that its main quality is a partial dissimilarity / similarity? Before we delve deeper into the issue, it seems worthwhile to take a closer look at Quintilian’s handling of the *simile* type of exemplum.

SIMILARITY AND DISSIMILARITY

Quintilian’s discussion may appear ambiguous because he combined exemplum with several related notions, such as *similitudo* and *auctoritas*. The close connection between the simile in a broader sense and the historical example is due to the fact that both are a means of comparison. Although their formal qualities differ, the functions they fulfill in a speech usually overlap. Sometimes therefore, especially when comparison in actual texts is being investigated, it might be convenient to speak of a less precise “exemplary area”¹³. Before providing specific examples, Quintilian states clearly that we ought to consider whether the cases we are about to compare match completely or only partially (V 11, 6: “Intuendum igitur est totum simile sit an ex parte”), so that we either refer to them as a whole or pick out those particulars that are useful for our purpose (“ut aut omnia ex eo sumamus aut quae utilia sunt”). An illustration of the

¹² GAZICH 1990: 123 f., n. 133. In more general studies of ancient rhetoric, Quintilian’s subdivisions are usually acknowledged without reservations, e.g. VOLKMANN 1885/1987: 233 f.; LUMPE 1966: 1230; MARTIN 1974: 121. Cf. CALBOLI-MONTEFUSCO 1979: 397 and more recently ŚNIEŻEWSKI 2014: 133 f. FRANCHET D’ESPÈREY 2010, on the other hand, focuses on the status of exemplum in relation to similar rhetorical categories. On Quintilian’s occasional departure from the classifications found in other works, see COUSIN 1935/1967: 290. It is worth noting that scholars often analysed the subsequent categories in isolation, with little attention paid to their mutual relations. This may be one of the reasons why the overall picture seems somewhat unclear.

¹³ Thus GAZICH 1990: 106–112 who is followed by URBAN 2011: 36–44.

simile follows: “iure occisus est Saturninus sicut Gracchi”. Here, the likeness is expressed in a comparative way (*sicut*)¹⁴, pointing to the exact analogy between the *illustrans* and *illustrandum*, but it takes only superficial knowledge of Roman history and rhetoric to question this statement’s soundness. Cicero indeed often evoked the Gracchi as a negative example / lesson¹⁵. Especially when paired with Saturninus, as H. VAN DER BLOM observes, “they exemplify the radical tribune”¹⁶. Nevertheless, under certain circumstances, when Cicero was addressing the people, and not the senate, he tended to portray the brothers’ political activity in a more positive light¹⁷. This is most apparent in the second speech on the agrarian law and the *Pro Rabirio perduellionis reo*. On both occasions, of course, he had to adjust his viewpoint to the audience’s expectations, but what is equally important – his opponents were tribunes of the plebs, P. Servilius Rullus and T. Labienus respectively¹⁸. By praising the *tribuni* of the past, he was able, among other things, to contrast “his adversary with the brothers in both actions and character”¹⁹. Cicero referred to the Gracchi in a flexible manner, depending on the political background and the audience of a given oration. He speaks for the first time of their death being justified towards the end of the first *Catilinarian*²⁰, and from the fifties BCE onwards they served him almost exclusively as an example of dangerous troublemakers (*seditioni*). This reflects the increasing political divisions and is not confined to this particular case, for as F. BÜCHER rightly puts it, “Der Wert und die Qualität eines *exemplum* waren nicht losgelöst und für sich (fest)stehend, sondern stets gegenwartsbezogen”²¹.

¹⁴ Cf. McCALL 1969: 194.

¹⁵ On exempla as conduits of moral teaching, see recently VAN DER BLOM 2010: 84, 105 (positive and negative exempla) and LANGLANDS 2011; 2018: *passim*; on the criteria of ethical judgement within the exemplary discourse, see ROLLER 2004: 32 f. (cf. p. 5 – an action can be either “good” or “bad”, and nn. 21 and 37 below).

¹⁶ VAN DER BLOM 2010: 107. Cf. DAVID 1998: 10, 12 f., who explains the process whereby historical personages are reduced to a set of characteristics of which they came to be considered as the embodiment, and BÜCHER 2006: 283; see on Ti. Gracchus specifically e.g.: Cic. *Planc.* 88 and *Mil.* 8.

¹⁷ Before the Catilinarian conspiracy, Cicero portrayed the Gracchi either in a positive or at least in a neutral light, e.g. *Font.* 39, *Cluent.* 151 (ROBINSON 1986: 63 f.). We need to bear in mind, however, that these passages cannot be read as exempla proper because they lack a discernible *illustrans* and *illustrandum*.

¹⁸ *MRR* II 167 f.; ALEXANDER 1990: 110 (no. 220); DAVID 1992: 264.

¹⁹ ROBINSON 1994: 76 and *passim*; cf. DAVID 1980: 79 f.; CLASSEN 1985: 359 f. Similarly STINGER 1993: 110, 113, 117; BÜCHER 2009: 103 f. On the flexibility of the Gracchi example, see also VAN DER BLOM 2010: 103–107. I will not discuss Cicero’s use of the Gracchi here in detail as many works on the subject are available, e.g. BÉRANGER 1972; GAILLARD 1975; ROBINSON 1986: 41–82, 1994; BÜCHER 2009. The recent scholarship on the subject is surveyed by SANTANGELO 2007: 488.

²⁰ Cic. *Cat.* 1, 29 with DYCK 2008: 117 *ad loc.* Cf. BÜCHER 2006: 239–242; 2009: 110 f.

²¹ BÜCHER 2009: 111. Cf. KORNHARDT 1936: 14; RAMBAUD 1953: 48; HÖLKESKAMP 1996: 304, 318; DAVID 1998: 11; BÜCHER 2006: 236, 248–250; URBAN 2011: 59–91 and the comment by

Ancient sources – above all Cicero’s orations – attest to the existence of at least two different traditions about the Gracchi²², one which was unfavourable, propagated by the *optimates*, and one which was favourable, established among the *populares*. As far as Cicero himself is concerned, that was not the case with L. Appuleius Saturninus. He seldom had anything commendable to say either about his character or his actions²³. It suffices to glance over the text of Cicero’s defence of C. Rabirius to see that he deemed the murder of Saturninus entirely justified (which, of course, matched his rhetorical goal). This speech, however, could hardly have been the source of Quintilian’s example of *simile*, for all the references to the Gracchi which occur in it (§ 12–15) are positive. From among other passages in the orations where the Gracchi and Saturninus are juxtaposed²⁴, the most likely candidate seems to be the first *Catilinarian*. In support of his view that Catiline deserves capital punishment, the speaker recalls that those who occupied high offices were not only not defiled by killing Saturninus and the Gracchi, but even enhanced their standing (*Cat.* 1, 29): “summi viri et clarissimi cives Saturnini et Gracchorum et Flacci et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam honestarunt”²⁵. If this sentence indeed underlies Quintilian’s “iure occisus est Saturninus sicut Gracchi”, it would follow that his example lacks the *illustrandum* and has two *illustrantia* instead. What he probably meant is that Cicero successfully availed himself of these exempla. To put it in other words, he mentions only *quae utilia sunt*, given that the extraordinary measures, which he was now accounting for, were taken against the Gracchi and Saturninus under different circumstances.

That said, let us now take another look at the *dissimile*: “Brutus occidit liberos proditionem molientis, Manlius virtutem filii morte multavit” which B. PRICE calls atypical precisely because “there is nothing in it to show which half is the

ROLLER 2004: 7: “An action may be evaluated positively in one ethical category, but negatively in another”. See also CHAPLIN 2015: 106 f. on the flexibility of exempla in Livy and n. 37 below.

²² See e.g. PINA POLO 2004: 158; VAN DER BLON 2010: 106. Cicero was not the only author to use the Gracchi as exemplum. Caesar, when expressing his indignation over a (so-called) *SCU* issued against him by the senate, compares his own case with those of the Gracchi and Saturninus (*Civ.* I 7, 6; for discussion cf. APPEL 2013: 259–262). They also already had a firm place in rhetorical handbooks (e.g. Cic. *Inv.* I 91; *Rhet. Her.* IV 31, 67; cf. COUSIN 1935/1967: 293).

²³ Cf. LENAGHAN 1969: 161 on Cic. *Har. resp.* 41; BÜCHER 2006: 285; KASTER 2006: 206 on Cic. *Sest.* 37. On Saturninus’ death, see recently GAUGHAN 2010: 121–124; APPEL 2013: 117–149.

²⁴ Cic. *Verr.* I 151; *Cat.* 1, 4 and 29; 4, 4; *Dom.* 82; *Har. resp.* 41, 43; *Sest.* 101, 105; *Vat.* 23; *Mil.* 14 and *Phil.* 8.13–15. In the latter two passages it is only implied that both were justly killed.

²⁵ On Cicero’s phraseology, see DYCK 2008: 117 *ad loc.* On his use of these exempla for personal motives, see ROBINSON 1986: 54; BÜCHER 2006: 241. BÜCHER 2009: 105 highlights the fact that Cicero portrays the misdeeds of the past tribunes of the plebs with moderation in order to denigrate Catiline’s character more emphatically. The circumstances under which the Gracchi were killed are summarised in STOCKTON 1979: 75–77; 195–200; APPEL 2013: 22–116, on the other hand, addresses the issues of the so-called *SCU* in the context of the brothers’ death.

illustrans, which half the *illustrandum*"²⁶. For both him and other scholars, as was observed above, the dissimilarity depends on the antithesis *virtus* – *proditio*. Taken out of context, this statement does hardly allow for any other conclusion, but in what way could such an argument prove useful to a speaker? More important, I presume, is the question of the possible source of Quintilian's illustration. This time it is not necessarily Cicero, who does not mention Manlius alongside Brutus anywhere in his extant writings. Both incidents, i.e. the execution of his sons by L. Iunius Brutus (*cos.* 509) and similar action on the part of T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus (III *cos.* 340), were used as exemplum by L. Papirius Cursor (V *cos.* 313), whose speech is recorded by Livy (VIII 34, 2 f.)²⁷: "ex altera parte [...] Manliana imperia et posthabita filii caritas publicae utilitati iactabatur: hoc etiam L. Brutum, conditorem Romanae libertatis, antea in duobus liberis fecisse". Papirius was appointed dictator in 325 BCE. During the military campaign against the Samnites, he was going to put to death his Master of the Horse, Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus (V *cos.* 295) for disobedience, but eventually was persuaded by the senate and the people to spare him²⁸. We need to bear in mind that Livy is addressing two different kinds of audience, the external one (the "readers") and the internal one (the people within the text), at the same time. The exempla, usually transmitted through the speech of a historical personage who is a character in the story, need not always have the same impact on both audiences²⁹. Papirius lay stress on the *disciplina militaris*, of which Manlius' *imperia* have become the most notorious example³⁰. He then adds that

²⁶ PRICE 1975: 159.

²⁷ Interestingly, most scholars (PRICE 1975: 159; LAUSBERG 1990: 231 [§ 420]; ŚNIEŻEWSKI 2014: 133, n. 180) quote only Liv. VIII 7 as parallel, on which see below, n. 30. For a similar line of argumentation, cf. Sen. *Con.* X 3, 8 *fin.* COUSIN 1935/1967: 291 f. holds the view that nearly all Quintilian's examples were drawn from Cicero's writings.

²⁸ CHAPLIN 2000: 108–112 (cf. 2015: 109–111) discusses this episode in detail. See esp. pp. 110 f. for the exempla of T. Manlius Torquatus and L. Iunius Brutus. More sources are listed in *MRR* I 147 f.

²⁹ CHAPLIN 2000: 50–54; 2015: 104–106; MARINCOLA 2010: 269, 287. Cf. VAN DER BLOM 2010: 79, who cautions against misapplying the notion of the internal audience (as understood by ROLLER 2004), useful in studying historiography, to the analysis of exempla in real (political) life as they occur in Cicero's works.

³⁰ The punishment which he inflicted on his son for engaging in single combat in defiance of a direct order is recounted by Livy earlier in the same book (VIII 7). The father presages that "triste exemplum sed in posterum salubre iuventuti erimus" (VIII 7, 17). On the proverbial character of the *imperia Manliana* see e.g. Gell. IX 13, 20; Cic. *Sull.* 32 with *Schol. Bob. ad loc.* (82 St.) and BERRY 1996: 202 on 32, 11; KORNHARDT 1936: 40; NISBET 1959: 73 f.; CHAPLIN 2000: 59, n. 29; LANGLANDS 2018: 292 with n. 3. Sallust (*Cat.* 52, 30) confuses not only the *praenomen* of Manlius (A. instead of T.), but also the occasion (the Gallic War of 361 BCE instead of the Latin War of 340 BCE). Cf. VRETSKA 1976: 599 f. *ad loc.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus (VIII 79, 2), who also juxtaposes Brutus and Manlius, seems to have made the same mistake (perhaps following Sallust: MCGUSHIN 1977: 266). On Manlius as an example of *disciplina militaris* in later tradition (esp.

the same applies to Brutus, whose deed, as must have been well known to his hearers, did not correspond to that of Manlius in every respect³¹. Though Papirius neatly leaves out the *causa* (*virtus* / *proditio*), which constitutes the point of disagreement in Quintilian's example, there is at least one other major discrepancy between his *illustrantia* and *illustrandum*: the precedents he puts forward concern fathers and sons, whereas in the present case – the dictator and his *magister equitum*. Q. Fabius Rullianus will have eventually learned his lesson³², but his later change of attitude reflects the “cumulative effect” of Livy's “exemplary history”. As the immediate response to Papirius' exempla shows, his argument from the past must have been unsuccessful at that very moment.

REFUTATIO AND FAULTY EXEMPLA

For Quintilian, therefore, it simply might have seemed a bad exemplum, susceptible to refutation (λύσις, *refutatio*). The awareness of such peril existed long before him: every exemplum, according to rhetorical theory, could be challenged in two ways: (1) by quoting a counter-example, which would demonstrate that the opponent's argument is not inevitable (ἀναγκάϊον)³³, or (2) by showing that the *illustrans* is either not similar to the *illustrandum* or inappropriate to the case in question³⁴. I shall focus on the latter method, since it is more relevant for the following discussion. The author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* lists bad example among possible faulty embellishments (II 46): “exemplum vitiosum est, si aut falsum est, ut reprehendatur, aut inprobum, ut non sit imitandum, aut maius aut minus, quam res postulat”. The meaning of *falsum* is ambiguous: either the *illustrans* put forth by the speaker is not parallel to the designate, and hence questionable, or the action that is referred to did not happen, and therefore can be denied³⁵. *Inprobum*, on the other hand, relates to the ethical dimension

Val. Max.) see HONSTETTER 1977: 55–63; on some scholars' attempts to view it as a ‘negative exemplum’: LANGLANDS 2018: 292–294; for more references consult MRR I 135 f.

³¹ On Brutus' execution of his sons for conspiring with the Tarquins, see e.g. Liv. II 3, 1–5, 10; Verg. *Aen.* VI 817–823 with HORSFALL 2013: 559 on line 820; Dion. Hal. *Ant.* V 8, 1–9, 2; Val. Max. V 8, 1; HALLETT 1984: 25, 156. HÖLKESKAMP 1995 = 2004: 252, n. 159 lists more references.

³² Liv. X 3, 7–8 with CHAPLIN 2000: 112.

³³ Cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1403a, 5–9.

³⁴ See DEMOEN 1997: 137. Cf. in general MARINCOLA 2010: 268. Anaximenes' view on *refutatio* was somewhat different. According to him ([Arist.] *Rh.* 1429b, 25–37), if an orator argues probabilities (κατὰ λόγον), his opponent should reply by pointing to probable matters that turned out against expectations; conversely, if one argues for an improbability (παρὰ λόγον), his opponent should demonstrate that the event referred to was just a lucky accident. For more detailed discussion, see PRICE 1975: 19–22.

³⁵ Thus PRICE 1975: 91. *Falsum* is wrongly taken exclusively in the latter sense by GAZICH (1990: 76), so it therefore cannot be reconciled with Aristotle's remark (1393a, 29–30) that παραδείγματα can be invented, and with Quintilian's *rei gestae aut ut gestae* (cf. FRANCHET

of exemplarity, pointing to its strong association with the Roman concept of *mos maiorum*³⁶. The deeds of previous generations were the subject of moral evaluation, and the Romans' collective memory was filled with both good and bad lessons, the latter of which showed what behaviour should be avoided³⁷. Finally, the third type of fault ("maius aut minus, quam res postulat") – contrary to the author's assertions – is the only one concerning matters of style: the *illustrans* needs to be adjusted to the relative importance of that which it serves to qualify³⁸. In his juvenile handbook on rhetoric, Cicero expresses the same idea while discussing *conparabilia*³⁹ (*Inv.* I 82 *init.*): "Cum autem pro conparabili aliquid inducetur, quoniam id per similitudinem maxime tractatur, in reprehendendo conveniet simile id negare esse, quod conferetur, ei, quicum conferetur". To capture the meaning of Cicero's words, it seems best to resort to modern terminology: in order to reject an argument based on comparison, which forms part of the exemplary area, one ought to deny that the *illustrans* (*id, quod conferetur*) resembles the *illustrandum* (*id, quicum conferetur*). In the third book of his *Actio secunda in Verrem* (the so-called *De frumento*), Cicero will put this instruction into practice⁴⁰, but in a somewhat reversed order. When addressing Hortensius, who spoke on behalf of Verres, he suggests that his opponent needs to put forward some historical examples to substantiate his claims, because this is what the audience expects⁴¹. Then follows a lengthy list of older and contemporary

D'ESPÈREY 2010: 75 f.). See also Cic. *Part.* 44: "Aut totum est negandum quod in argumentatione adversarius sumpserit, si fictum aut falsum esse possis docere".

³⁶ On exempla's dependence on the *mos maiorum*, cf. e.g. DAVID 1980 (esp. pp. 74, 81, 84); HÖLKESKAMP 1995 = 2004: 251; 1996: 304, 316–320; BÜCHER 2006: *passim*; VAN DER BLOM 2010: 12–17 with secondary literature quoted there. On the ancestral custom in Cicero's orations, see recently KENTY 2016.

³⁷ Cf. Cic. *Verr.* III 210: "Non fugio ne hos quidem mores, dum modo ex his ea quae probat populus Romanus exempla, non ea quae condemnat sequamur"; ROLLER 2004: 44 and *passim*; PINA POLO 2004: 168: "In der ersten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. erhielt der Begriff *mos maiorum* in der römischen Geschichtsschreibung einen konkreten Ausdruck durch die *exempla maiorum*, die sowohl in positiver als auch in negativer Form in der Geschichte des archaischen Rom angeführt werden" (emphasis added).

³⁸ DAVID 1980: 78 f. quotes the following passage as *exemplum maius quam res postulat* (Cic. *S. Rosc.* 50 f.): "etenim qui praeesse agro colendo flagitium putes [*scil.* Eruci], profecto illum Atilium, quem sua manu spargentem semen qui missi erant convenerunt, hominem turpissimum atque inhonestissimum iudicares. [...] neque ego haec eo profero quo conferenda sint cum hisce de quibus nunc quaerimus...".

³⁹ Exemplum, alongside *imago* and *conlatio*, belonged in this category (*Inv.* I 49). Cf. Quint. *Inst.* V 11, 2: "Nec vereor ne videar repugnare Ciceroni, quamquam conlationem separat ab exemplo".

⁴⁰ We need to bear in mind that the *Actio secunda* was never actually delivered, because Verres went into exile voluntarily before the proceedings were resumed. See e.g. HUMBERT 1925/1972: 204–215; NISBET 1965: 53; QUINN 1979: 23; MITCHELL 1986: 10; FANTHAM 1996: 8; NARDUCCI 1997: 170, etc.

⁴¹ Cic. *Verr.* III 209: "Tametsi quae ista sunt exempla multorum? Nam cum in causa tanta, cum in crimine maximo dici a defensore coeptum est factitatum esse aliquid, exspectant ii qui

individuals (some of whom were even present at the trial) who had like Verres governed a province, but in a completely different way⁴². As is stated more or less explicitly each time, none of them would make an appropriate *illustrans* for Hortensius. Cicero makes this point right at the beginning, after naming three “classes” of people well known to his audience: “Africanos mihi et Catones et Laelios commemorabis et eos fecisse idem dices?” Should his rival dare to mention any of them, the exemplum would be easily refuted.

A fitting illustration of how such counterargument might have looked is provided by Quintilian himself in the chapter on *refutatio* (*Inst.* V 13). When dealing with arguments based on comparison (*similia* in the broader sense), he advises searching for elements dissimilar to the matter under discussion. His handling of the exempla that might be harmful to our case echoes above all Aristotle’s views on λύσις (§ 24): “quae si vetera erunt, fabulosa dicere licebit, si indubia [~ ἀναγκαῖον], maxime quidem dissimilia”. That historical precedents should not be too remote in time was a commonplace among ancient rhetoricians⁴³. More important is the second part of the sentence: if we are not able to show that something did not happen (~ *falsum* of the *Rhet. Her.*), it will be crucial to demonstrate that it does not under any circumstances match the present situation. Considering the above, Quintilian’s example is very instructive: “si Nasica post occisum Gracchum defendatur exemplo Ahalae a quo Maelius est interfectus, Maelium regni adfectatorem fuisse, a Graccho leges modo latas esse popularis, Ahalam magistrum equitum fuisse, Nasicam privatum esse dicatur”. If, after Tiberius Gracchus was killed, the example of C. Servilius Ahala, who had slain Sp. Maelius, was cited in favour of P. Scipio Nasica, the opposing party could argue that (1) Maelius was aspiring to autocracy, while Tiberius just wanted to put forward laws in the interest of the people; (2) Ahala was Master of the Horse, while Nasica only a private citizen⁴⁴. Here, not unlike in earlier rhetorical

audiunt exempla ex vetere memoria, ex monumentis ac litteris, plena dignitatis, plena antiquitatis; haec enim plurimum solent et auctoritatis habere ad probandum et iucunditatis ad audiendum”.

⁴² Cic. *Verr.* III 209–222 discussed for instance by KORNHARDT 1936: 71; STINGER 1993: 63–66 (esp. p. 65); BÜCHER 2006: 155–157, 159 and VAN DER BLOM 2010: 73–77.

⁴³ See e.g. Aps. *Rh.* p. 373 SPENGLER: χρῆ δὲ τὰ παραδείγματα γνώριμα εἶναι καὶ σαφῆ καὶ μὴ πάνυ ἀρχαῖα μηδὲ μυθώδη. Cf. ALEWELL 1912: 32; PRICE 1975: 26 f.; DEMOEN 1997: 140, n. 53; URBAN 2011: 12 f. See also Cic. *Verr.* III 182: “Quid ego vetera repetam aut quid eorum scribarum mentionem faciam quos constat sanctissimos homines atque innocentissimos fuisse? Non me fugit, iudices, vetera exempla pro fictis fabulis iam audiri atque haberi: in his temporibus versabor miseris ac perditis” with the comments from KORNHARDT 1936: 69, 73. Elsewhere Cicero himself will count the example of C. Servilius Ahala mentioned below among the *nimis antiqua* (*Cat.* 1, 3). In practice, however, the more ancient an exemplum was, the greater authority it enjoyed (RAMBAUD 1953: 40; HÖLKESKAMP 1995 = 2004: 251 f.; cf. CHAPLIN 2015: 111).

⁴⁴ See in general VOLKMANN 1885/1987: 247. PRICE 1975: 185 allows for the possibility that Quintilian singles out dissimilarity here as a universal means of refuting exempla, recognised by

handbooks, the suggested means of countering the examples is to show that the *illustrans* and *illustrandum* are not comparable⁴⁵. The dissimilarities mentioned by the hypothetical speaker, however, are tendentious in that what later writers interpreted as Maelius' regal ambitions was in fact the distribution of grain which he undertook at his own expense⁴⁶. In older annalistic tradition, moreover, Ahala acted as a private citizen, and not as Master of the Horse appointed by a dictator⁴⁷. Even Cicero on several occasions juxtaposes Ahala and Nasica as though both of them were *privati* at the time of the crisis⁴⁸. As regards the Gracchi, their death was often thought of as a result of their craving for power⁴⁹. This exemplum was therefore not *dissimile* in itself, but by the time of Quintilian it would certainly have been open to challenge, and this is most likely what the author meant.

In the end, the effectiveness of any exemplum will always depend on the speaker's ability to select an *illustrans* adequately qualifying (or proving something about) the individual or situation to which it refers⁵⁰. Thus, a certain amount of flexibility characterises every potential exemplum, because once used by a speaker, it conveys the meaning he wishes to ascribe to it (*Ernstbedeutung*) in a given historical reality⁵¹. The case of the Gracchi discussed briefly above and the example of Ahala and Nasica may therefore serve as illustrations of a general principle. Against this background, Quintilian's notion of dissimilarity can be looked at in a new light. In Livy, L. Papirius Cursor was the speaker who tried to justify his decision to execute Q. Fabius Rullianus for disobedience by

the author of *Rhet. Her.* and Cicero; GAZICH 1990: 125 f. focuses on exemplum's close proximity to metaphor (A : B = C : D): although at first glance a proportional analogy between the two pairs can be drawn (Ahala is to Maelius as Nasica is to Tiberius), upon closer inspection the dissimilarities between the *illustrans* and *illustrandum* prevail.

⁴⁵ PRICE 1975: 292, n. 69. Similar rationale lies behind Quintilian's illustration of a false analogy. If someone advances the following argument: "si turpis dominae consuetudo cum servo, turpis domino cum ancilla", an *ex dissimilibus argumentatio* would be that "non idem est dominum cum ancilla coisse quod dominam cum servo" (*Inst.* V 11, 34 f.). Cf. MCCALL 1969: 209 f.

⁴⁶ Thus URBAN 2011: 44. Cf. RICKMAN 1980: 30 f.

⁴⁷ See Dion. Hal. *Ant.* XII 4, 2–5 = Calp. F26 *FRHist* (24 PETER / 26 CHASSIGNET) = Cinc. F4 *FRHist* (6 PETER / 8 CHASSIGNET). Cf. CORNELL 2013: 52 *ad loc.* (comm. E.H. BISHAM, T.J. CORNELL): "On this view the alternative version, that Servilius had acted as *magister equitum*, was a pro-Gracchan rejoinder".

⁴⁸ See Cic. *Cat.* 1, 3 with DYCK 2008: 70 *ad loc.*, who points out that the defenders of the Gracchi must have preferred the version in which Ahala acted as a magistrate, "in contrast to Scipio's action as a *privatus*"; *Mil.* 8, 72 with Iul. Ruf. *Fig.* 23 (*RLM*, p. 44 who mistakes *Mil.* 8 for *Cat.* 1, 3); PANITSCHKE 1989: 239 f.; STINGER 1993: 120; HÖLKESKAMP 1996: 311; BÜCHER 2006: 239.

⁴⁹ E.g. Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 19, 3 and esp. Iul. Vict. 11 (*RLM*, p. 413) = *ORF*², p. 144 f.

⁵⁰ Cf. VAN DER BLOM 2010: 116.

⁵¹ Cf. HÖLKESKAMP 1996: 312; BÜCHER 2009: 112 f.; URBAN 2011: 61: "*Exempla* as atomized, decontextualized tokens of cultural and ethical authority provide flexible tools for advancing almost any goal while nevertheless appearing to adhere to a persistent, shared moral tradition".

putting forward the examples of T. Manlius Torquatus and L. Iunius Brutus. His exemplum can be summarised, after the fashion of R. GAZICH, in the following way: 1. Brutus, Manlius / Papirius, 2. capital punishment, 3. son(s) / Master of the Horse 4. *proditio*, *virtus* / *virtus*. In addition to the difference in *causa* of the decontextualised example used by Quintilian, here the agents / objects of the action also vary (Papirius wanted to punish his Master of the Horse, his predecessors had punished their own sons / son). A diagram based on the example of *refutatio* would be analogous: 1. *Nasica* / *Ahala*, 2. *occidit* / *interfecit*, 3. *popularem* / *adfectatorem regni*, 4. *privatus* / *magister equitum*. Now, one can easily imagine a hypothetical speaker arguing against Papirius by showing that his *illustrantia* are not parallel to his *illustrandum* on two grounds: both the motive of the action (*proditio* of Brutus' sons / *virtus*) and the stature of the people involved (father – son[s] / dictator – Master of the Horse) differ. Quintilian therefore could have simply meant that the Brutus / Manlius exemplum is *dissimile* because it was open to challenge.

EXTREME DISSIMILARITY: THE EXEMPLUM *CONTRARIUM*

This ties in neatly with Quintilian's next remark on exemplum *dissimile* which "pluris casus habet. Fit enim genere modo tempore loco ceteris" (*Inst.* V 11, 13). Quintilian goes on to say that by such means Cicero undermined almost all the allegations (*praeiudicia*) made previously against Cluentius. Then, without offering an illustration of this kind of argument, he lists two examples of *contrarium*: a loose paraphrase of Cic. *Cluent.* 134 followed by a short quotation from Vergil⁵². In the *Pro Cluentio* (§ 133) Cicero argues that the censors had stigmatised the defendant with a *subscriptio* without good reasons, so their decision should not have any bearing on the trial. Next he asserts that certain exemplum from the past will help put Cluentius' case into perspective (§ 134): P. Scipio Africanus, whom all men held in high esteem, was restrained in his use of the *subscriptio* to the point that he did not stigmatise C. Licinius Sacerdos⁵³ during the *census equitum* even though he knew that Licinius had committed perjury. Cicero's conclusion is⁵⁴ that if equally lenient

⁵² *Aen.* II 540 f. On the passage see HORSFALL 2008: 409 f. *ad loc.*, who notes that "[i.e. Pyrrhus] does not live up to his father's standards of magnanimity". On the exchange of words between Priam and Pyrrhus, cf. HIGHER 1972: 116 f.; 1974: 198, 219. The contrariety of this exemplum is discussed briefly by PRICE 1975: 167.

⁵³ Little is known about this man. He might have been an ancestor of the senator (*ca* 100 BCE) C. Licinius Sacerdos (cf. WISEMAN 1971: 237 [no. 225]) who was probably the father of C. Licinius Sacerdos (*pr. urb.* 75 [MRR II 97]). The latter was later among Cicero's competitors for the consulate. See Asc. *Tog.* 82 C. = 64 St. (= Cic. *Tog.* T2.1, 2.8 CRAWFORD); Ps. Asc. 251 St.; CRAWFORD 1994: 160 f. (with n. 8).

⁵⁴ Pace CLASSEN 1985: 72: "Was durch diese Parallele erläutert, geklärt oder bewiesen werden soll, läßt er [*scil.* Cicero] allerdings mit Hilfe einer unklaren Formulierung im Dunkel".

censors had judged Cluentius' conduct, he would have never received the *nota censoria*. There are three points of dissimilarity between the *illustrans* and *illustrandum*: Cluentius was stigmatised (1) on the basis of mere hearsay (2) by censors who were incompetent (3); Sacerdos, on the other hand, was not stigmatised (1), although there was substantial evidence against him (2), and his cause was overseen by excellent censors (3)⁵⁵. From the way Quintilian introduces this exemplum ("per quae [...] Cicero praeiudicia [...] subvertit: contrario vero exemplo censoriam notam [*subvertit* is implied]") an inference can be made that *contrarium* is most effective whenever a speaker wants to prove that the opponent's claims are false. Given the flexibility and partial dissimilarity between the *illustrans* and *illustrandum* of any exemplum taken out of context, I think that Quintilian's main focus here is not on its form, but on its function.

For this reason B. PRICE's understanding of the exemplum *contrarium*⁵⁶ seems to me to rely too heavily on the formal aspects of Quintilian's illustrations. We have just seen that there could be more points of dissimilarity, and the *dissimile* itself could also involve more than one. I agree, however, that the indispensable feature of this subtype of exemplum is a clear antithesis between the actions ("main verbs") performed by the point of reference and the designate⁵⁷. The example of *contrarium* adduced at *Inst.* V 11, 7 ("Marcellus ornameta Syracusanis hostibus restituit, Verres eadem sociis abstulit"), though somewhat historically inaccurate, backs up this view. Obviously, these two clauses must have been loosely based on Cicero's narrative in his *De signis*, Book IV of the Verrine speeches. M. Claudius Marcellus (V *cos.* 208), who as proconsul captured Syracuse in 212 BCE, is described as a generous conqueror. Unlike Verres⁵⁸, who as governor of Sicily extorted works of art from Roman allies, Marcellus, although as a military commander he had the right to seize war booty, donated all the goods he had taken to the state⁵⁹. In fact, other sources are not as favourable to him⁶⁰, but Cicero's aim was to portray the general in an idealised

⁵⁵ See PRICE 1975: 166, BÜCHER 2006: 266 and cf. KIRBY 1990: 100; STINGER 1993: 89.

⁵⁶ PRICE 1975: 163: "The *exemplum* [...] *ex contrario* seem[s] to require that two points of dissimilarity or contrariety exist between *illustrans* and *illustrandum* and that one of these dissimilarities is in the main verb".

⁵⁷ This is also stressed by LAUSBERG 1990: 231 (§ 421): "dieses unterscheidet sich vom *exemplum dissimile* [...] durch die Gegensätzlichkeit mindestens der Hauptverben und damit des Gesamtinhalts der Eigenbedeutung des *exemplum* und der [...] Ernstbedeutung" (emphasis added).

⁵⁸ See esp. Cic. *Verr.* II 4; IV 115, 121 *fin.*, 123 *init.*, etc. RUSSELL 2001: 433 considers Quintilian's passage to be based specifically on IV 123.

⁵⁹ See VASALY 1993: 106 f. and cf. in general SHATZMAN 1972. A suitable overview of the case of Marcellus and the Syracusans can be found in FERRARY 1988: 573–576 and RIVES 1993.

⁶⁰ Cf. Plb. VIII 3–7, 37; Liv. XXV 23–31; Diod. Sic. XXVI 18; Plut. *Marc.* 13–21.

manner – as the exact opposite of Verres⁶¹. Quintilian even goes a step further when he ends the first sentence with *restituit* instead of *reliquit*, which would be more consistent with the text of the Verrine orations. In order to obtain the sharpest possible contrast between the two actions, some exaggeration was apparently required. It is worth noting that Cicero saw his own depiction of the two men as an instance of what the Greeks called ἀντίθετον. When discussing the prose rhythm in his dialogue *Orator* (§ 165–167), he states that a speaker is able to achieve harmony without any effort simply by juxtaposing opposites (*contraria*). This form of expression was a distinguishing feature of Gorgias' style, but Cicero also took advantage thereof on many occasions, as can be seen from the fourth book of his *accusatio* (*In Verrem* is meant here)⁶². As the *Actio secunda* was, from the viewpoint of Cicero's contemporaries, primarily a masterpiece of literary prose, it is often difficult to determine in what rhetorical context the speaker's argument was advanced. Although never actually delivered (cf. n. 40), this speech was written as though it had been revised for publication after the trial – in other words, it purports to be a record of an oral performance. A modern critic would call it “fictional orality”⁶³, but for Quintilian it must have been an extensive store of source material, just as useful as any other oration. The numerous passages in which Cicero presents Marcellus as the opposite of Verres could be therefore perceived as a means of countering an argument ascribed by the speaker to Hortensius⁶⁴, even though most scholars are convinced that the latter failed to respond to the *Actio prima*⁶⁵. Crucial to the present discussion is the fact that Quintilian himself seems to believe that Hortensius had delivered an oration *Pro Verre*⁶⁶. This enables him to reduce the *exemplum contrarium*

⁶¹ See LAZZARETTI 2006: 320 f. on *Verr.* IV 115: “Esso si basa, infatti, sulla contrapposizione fra Marcello e Verre: ad ogni affermazione relativa all'uno ne corrisponde una contraria riguardante l'altro. [...] Questa versione dei fatti data dall'oratore corrisponde all'idealizzazione della figura di Marcello [...]” (emphasis added). Cf. FERRARY 1988: 576; VAN DER BLOM 2010: 111 f.

⁶² Cic. *Orat.* 167 = *Verr.* IV 115 *fin.*: “Conferte hanc pacem cum illo bello, huius praetoris adventum cum illius imperatoris victoria, huius cohortem impuram cum illius exercitu invicto, huius libidines cum illius continentia: ab illo qui cepit conditas, ab hoc qui constitutas accepit captas dicetis Syracusas”. See also Cic. *Sull.* 32 as an example of *argumentum ex contrario* where T. Manlius Torquatus is cited as exemplum. Cf. on the subject BERRY 1996: 201 f. *ad loc.* and LANGLANDS 2018: 296 with n. 11.

⁶³ ENOS 1988: 59 f. (“literary fiction”); FUHRMANN 1990: 60 (as example of “fiktive Mündlichkeit”).

⁶⁴ His hypothetical argument could be that Verres acquired all his wealth legally (*Verr.* IV 36): “Fingitur improba defensio, praetorem omne id argentum coemisse”.

⁶⁵ See Cic. *Orat.* 129: “nobis pro familiari reo summus orator non respondit Hortensius”; Ps. Asc. *arg.* Cic. *Verr.* 205 St.; MALCOVATI 1955: 318; ROSS TAYLOR 1968: 111; KENNEDY 1972: 161.

⁶⁶ See Quint. *Inst.* X 1, 22 f. with ALEXANDER 1976 and 1990: 90. For some previous discussions on the subject, cf. MAZZARINO 1961: 99 f., n. 2.

scattered throughout the *De signis* (n. 58) to a simple antithesis which might have served to undermine one of the alleged (or hypothetical) statements made by Cicero's opponent.

From the functional point of view, which Quintilian does not cover explicitly, a speaker, when facing an opponent's argument, could handle his exempla in one of the following ways: (1) if a historical example was adduced to either compromise his client or to question his motives, his task would be to show that this exemplum is faulty, i.e. there are too many dissimilarities between the point of reference and the designate (as regards time, place and other circumstances) for it to be coherent / significant / relevant, etc.; (2) if any other potentially harmful statement was made against himself or his client, to use a contrary example would be an efficient way of counterbalancing it. This, of course, applies in reverse order to prosecution speeches: by comparing Verres with Marcellus, for instance, Cicero managed to challenge Hortensius' hypothetical claim that all the wealth amassed by the defendant was gained legally (n. 64). Seen from this perspective, therefore, the *contrarium* ranks as the outermost point of the dissimilarity spectrum, where the *illustrandum* is a complete opposite of the *illustrans*. By its very nature, such a category is more suitable for disproving something that has already been said than for proving anything.

ARGUMENTS *A FORTIORI*: THE INEQUALITY

As regards the degree of similarity between the point of reference and the designate, an exemplum can be either *simile* (the exemplum proper, or "the right one") or *dissimile* (the faulty one). The latter category was introduced to show what an example should not look like, except that in its extreme form (*contrarium*) it makes for a fitting counterargument. We have already seen from the example of the Gracchi quoted by Quintilian that the similarity itself is relative in character: the speaker needs to adjust a potential exemplum or a so-called stock example to a particular communication situation in order to avoid what might be considered a point of disagreement. Unless any difference can be detected, the exemplum will count as *totum simile* (*Inst.* V 11, 6 and 9). Nonetheless, if the speaker decides to juxtapose two occurrences which do not resemble one another exactly, but only *ex parte*, he may avail himself of what is somewhat dimly called *impar*. Quintilian recommends the use of this type especially in deliberative speeches (V 11, 10): "Ad exhortationem vero praecipue valent imparia"⁶⁷. If we want to inspire courage, the woman who killed Pyrrhus⁶⁸, the king of Epirus,

⁶⁷ Cf. COUSIN 1935/1967: 289 f.; PRICE 1975: 170, 173. On historical example in general as suited to deliberative oratory, see also FRANCHET D'ESPÈREY 2010: 68, n. 16, who quotes Arist. *Rh.* 1368a, 29; 1418 and *Rhet. Her.* III 9 in support of this view.

⁶⁸ Cf. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 34, 2–4.

would make a better point of reference than Horatius and Torquatus; if contempt for death is to be aroused, examples of Cato and Scipio will not be as forceful as that of Lucretia⁶⁹. Both of these are labelled *ex maioribus ad minora* because virtue is more common among men than among women (“Admirabilior in femina quam in viro virtus”). The other subtype of the exemplum *impar* is *ex minoribus ad maiora*⁷⁰. Quintilian, having introduced these categories, quotes an example of each, and then one of a (*totum*) *simile*, a *minus maioris* and a *maius minoris* from Cicero’s orations. The way he arranges his material suggests that the division of *simile* into three various types is to a large degree independent from his previous distinction between exemplum *simile*, *dissimile*, and *contrarium*⁷¹. What characterises the *imparia* is not dissimilarity, which could easily be challenged (cf. above), but a sort of inequality, literally. The *illustrans* and *illustrandum* may be unequal to each other with regard to the status of the agents, the nature of the actions they perform, or the circumstances under which the actions take place⁷².

In practical oratory, this inequality will manifest itself in the form of an argument *a fortiori*⁷³. The two examples with which Quintilian begins are very general in tone. The inequality is stressed explicitly in both of them: (1) “Si propter matrimonia violata urbes eversae sunt, quid fieri adultero par est?”, (2) “Tibicines, cum ab urbe discessissent, publice revocati sunt: quanto magis principes civitatis [...] ab exilio reducendi!”. The former example is obviously an allusion to Paris’ abduction of Helen and the sack of Troy, a subject firmly established in the rhetorical schools⁷⁴. The first sentence of the latter example refers to a well-known *aition* explaining the origins of the *Quinquatrus*

⁶⁹ Cf. e.g. Liv. I 58; Dion. Hal. *Ant.* IV 66 f.; Ov. *Fast.* II 787–832, etc.

⁷⁰ Quintilian is the first author known to us to apply this terminology to exempla (PRICE 1975: 167). As regards the argumentation from lesser to greater (and vice versa), ancient rhetorical theory does not seem to have developed any generally accepted phraseology. For instance, what Cicero calls *ex maiore* (= *ex minore ad maius*, and *minus maioris* in Quint.) when discussing *loci communes* (*De or.* II 172; LEEMAN *et al.* 1989: 112 *ad loc.* cite some parallel passages, mainly from the *Topica*) is represented in later Greek theory as ἀπ’ ἐλάττωτος and, conversely, his *ex minore* (= *ex maiore ad minus*, and *maius minoris* in Quint.) equals the Greek ἀπὸ μείζονος. Apparently, the point of departure for Greek rhetoricians must have been what we call the point of reference, and for Cicero accordingly the designate.

⁷¹ The preceding portion of the text (*Inst.* V 11, 5–8) concerns *simile* as opposed to *dissimile* and *contrarium*, which I have discussed above, whereas in what follows (§ 11, 9–12) the *simile* is further specified as forming either *totum simile*, *maius minoris*, or *minus maioris*.

⁷² PRICE 1975: 168.

⁷³ Cf. LEEMAN *et al.* 1989: 113 on Cic. *De or.* II 172: “ex maiore: si bona existimatio divitiis praestat et pecunia tanto opere expetitur, quanto gloria magis est expetenda!”.

⁷⁴ See Ov. *Her.* 16; 17; Sen. *Suas.* III 1–4. Cf. Quint. *Inst.* VII 2, 3 and the comment of LANGLANDS 2006: 194 on Ov. *Her.* 17, 41: “The love affair of Paris and Helen is of course an archetypal adultery tale, and we know from the start that she will end up with Paris and precipitate the Trojan War...” (emphasis added).

minusculae. Probably in the year 311 BCE the trumpeters went into exile to Tibur, because the censors Appius Claudius Caecus and C. Plautius Venox forbade them from celebrating their annual feast in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. An embassy was sent by the senate to bring them back⁷⁵. Given the impreciseness of the second clause, it is hard to tell who the designates are. In Roman republican history, however, there is no shortage of accomplished statesmen who were banished and whom Cicero thought should have been restored to their homeland, e.g. L. Opimius⁷⁶, T. Annius Milo, M. Claudius Marcellus, P. Popilius Laenas, Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus⁷⁷, etc. Quintilian could have had none or all of them in mind. Either way, the trumpeters are of a lower social status than the *principes civitatis*, so the progression from lesser to greater is sufficiently comprehensible. Similarly, there is no punishment for adultery⁷⁸ (“quid fieri adultero par est?”) that would equal the fall of Troy, caused by Paris’ love affair with Helen (*ex maiore ad minus*). These two preliminary examples serve primarily to inform the reader on how the *imparia* work in general. For the sake of clarity, Quintilian had chosen easily recognisable events and, as already noted above, expressed the inequality between the *illustrans* and *illustrandum* explicitly by saying *quid* [...] *par est* and *quanto magis* respectively.

Having expounded the nature of various subtypes of the *simile*, Quintilian goes on to provide each with an illustration from Cicero’s orations. The example of (*totum*) *simile* is Cicero’s statement from the *Pro Murena* (§ 17) that, just as the defendant proved superior to Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, he himself had won the consular elections by defeating Catiline and P. Sulpicius Galba, both of whom were also men of patrician origin. By using this analogy, the speaker wanted to show that the voters’ judgements are guided by a candidate’s personal qualities, and not their *nobilitas*⁷⁹. As E. FANTHAM observes, “Cicero’s explanation – that

⁷⁵ See Liv. IX 30, 5–10; Val. Max. II 5, 4; Ov. *Fast.* VI 651–691 with BÖMER 1958: 379–382 *ad loc.*; MRR I 160; WISEMAN 1979/2003: 87 f. Plutarch (or his source) confuses Appius Claudius Caecus with the Decemvir and wrongly associates the festival with the Ides of January instead of those of June (*Mor.* 277E; cf. SCHEID 2012: 151 *ad loc.*).

⁷⁶ Cf. Cic. *Sest.* 140: “praeclare vir de re publica meritus”; *Pis.* 95, etc.

⁷⁷ See e.g. Cic. *Red. pop.* 10: “Tribunicis superiores illi rogationibus [...] sunt restituti [...]”; cf. *Dom.* 86: “[...] cum essent optime de re publica meriti, tamen [...] cum in exsilium profugissent, rursus ab eodem populo placato sunt in suam pristinam dignitatem restituti” on Kaeso Quinctius, M. Furius Camillus and C. Servilius Ahala. On Metellus Numidicus, cf. the references quoted below, nn. 90 and 91. See also BÜCHER 2006: 249.

⁷⁸ According to Roman law, the husband had the right to kill the adulterer alone, and the father, provided that he caught his daughter and her lover in his own house or in the house of his son-in-law, was permitted to kill them both. See Ulp. *Dig.* XLVIII 5, 20–25; HOPKINS 1983: 243 f. Cf. Sen. *Con.* I 4.

⁷⁹ See ADAMIETZ 1989: 118 *ad loc.*; STINGER 1993: 134. On Cicero’s competitors, cf. Cic. *Att.* I 1, 1 = 10 SB; Asc. *Tog.* 82 C. = 64 St. with MARSHALL 1985: 281–283 *ad loc.*; [Q. Cic.] *Pet.* 7 with LASER 2001: 117 f. *ad loc.*; GELZER 1969: 67; NARDO 1970: 64–67; MITCHELL 1979: 174 f.

he excelled Catiline in status and Galba in popularity and influence – makes indirectly his unvoiced argument why Murena defeated Sulpicius Rufus”⁸⁰. From the speaker’s viewpoint, therefore, he and his client are of nearly identical status and perform nearly the same action under nearly the same circumstances⁸¹. All examples of the *imparia* that follow are taken from the *Pro Milone*. The defence of Milo, on trial for the murder of Clodius, afforded Cicero opportunities to present some of the well-known homicide cases as unequal to the one under discussion. Shortly after the exordium, Cicero singles out men who confessed to a murder, but given the circumstances they had no other choice. Among them was M. Horatius (§ 7), a man who killed his own sister, because she lamented over the death of the Curiatii, enemies of Rome. The king Tullus Hostilius had him stand trial for treason (*perduellio*) but, having appealed to the Roman people (*provocatio ad populum*), Horatius was acquitted⁸². Cicero evokes this exemplum in response to his opponents’ assertion: “Negant intueri lucem esse fas ei qui a se hominem occisum esse fateatur”. The legendary narrative enables the speaker to undermine their premise and, at the same time, to determine his case as *relatio criminis*⁸³. Cicero’s main line of argument rested on the assumption that it was Clodius who organised the ambush, thus forcing his client to defend himself⁸⁴. According to the scholiast, the cases of Milo and Horatius differed significantly in that the latter, despite having committed parricide, deserved a pardon⁸⁵. It becomes apparent that killing an assailant counts as a lesser crime than taking life of one’s own close relative.

As an example of *minus maioris*, on the other hand, Quintilian quotes the passage with which the so-called *compensatio extra causam* (§ 72) begins. Cicero,

⁸⁰ FANTHAM 2013: 110 *ad loc.* Cf. ALEXANDER 2002: 124 f.

⁸¹ See PRICE 1975: 156 f. and the remarks of ROBINSON 1986: 88: “Murena’s situation is similar. He too defeated Catiline and another patrician rival, who like Galba was worthy but lacking in *gratia*”.

⁸² For the story see e.g. Liv. I 24–26 with OGILVIE 1965: 109–117 (*ad loc.*, esp. p. 115 for more references).

⁸³ Cf. Cic. *Inv.* I 15; II 78: “Relatio criminis est, cum reus id, quod arguitur, confessus alterius se inductum peccato iure fecisse demonstrat. Ea est huiusmodi: Horatius occisis tribus Curiatiis et duobus amissis fratribus domum se victor recepit. Is animadvertit sororem suam de fratrum morte non laborantem, sponsi autem nomen appellanem identidem Curiatii cum gemitu et lamentatione. Indigne passus virginem occidit. Accusatur...”; BONNER 1949/1969: 27; LAUSBERG 1990: 99 f. (§ 179) and more recently BÜCHER 2006: 177; LANGLANDS 2018: 301. See also Val. Max. VI 3, 6; VIII 1, *absol.* 1 and for a discussion of the series of exempla in Cic. *Mil.* 7 f. STINGER 1993: 240 f.; CASAMENTO 2011: 144–146.

⁸⁴ Cf. Asc. *Mil.* 41 C. = 37 ST.: “Itaque cum insidias Milonem Clodio fecisse posuissent accusatores [...] Cicero apprehendit et contra Clodium Miloni fecisse insidias disputavit, eoque tota oratio eius spectavit”.

⁸⁵ See *Schol. Bob.* p. 63 HILDEBRANDT = 113 ST.: “Cui responsioni adhibet firmamentum [...] antiquitus Horatium quoque non caede vulgari, set de parricidio, hoc est interempta sorore confesum absolvi tamen probata aequitate meruisse”.

by means of a deft *ethopoeia*, assumes the role of the defendant and lets him speak on his own behalf⁸⁶. The recipient gets the impression that it is no longer *relatio criminis*, but rather *status qualitatis*, and the speaker now aims at justifying the murder regardless of the circumstances⁸⁷. Milo confesses to homicide. His victim, however, was not Spurius Maelius, who fell under suspicion of aiming at tyranny because he seemed to court the people too eagerly; it was a man who had committed all wickedness imaginable⁸⁸. Next to Spurius Maelius, Cicero names Tiberius Gracchus, both of whom were considered to have been justly killed⁸⁹. What they did, according to the speaker, to deserve to die (1: “qui [...] in suspicionem incidit regni appetendi”; 2: “qui conlegae magistratum per seditionem abrogavit”) is not comparable with the wide range of Clodius’ transgressions. Those at the hands of whom Maelius and Gracchus died (C. Servilius Ahala and Scipio Nasica respectively) are, like Milo, to be perceived as heroes (“quorum interfectores implerunt orbem terrarum nominis sui gloria”). The inequality, not unlike in the previous example, concerns the character of the objects of the action. The points of reference were guilty of crimes considerably less dangerous to the state than those of P. Clodius Pulcher.

It follows that whenever a speaker wanted to highlight differences between the *illustrans* and *illustrandum* “on his own initiative”, he did so by employing what Quintilian meant by *exemplum impar*, and not *dissimile*. The latter category – to stress it once again – applies to faulty exempla, except when the orator confronts an opponent whose argument based on the past seems questionable. A good example of such a rhetorical strategy is Cicero’s comparison of his own personal experience with the fate of Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (*cos.* 109)⁹⁰. Numidicus was forced to withdraw into exile after refusing to take an oath to which Saturninus had obliged all the senators in 100 BCE. About a year later he was recalled, to the

⁸⁶ More on the subject, cf. VOLKMANN 1885/1987: 490; MAY 1979; 1988: 133–140; DYCK 1998: 228; CASAMENTO 2011: 149 f.; GUARD 2013: 87 f.; RIEDL 2016: 372 with n. 13. For *ethopoeia* in general, see e.g.: LAUSBERG 1990: 407–411 (§ 820–825).

⁸⁷ “...de qua [*scil.* Clodii morte], si iam nollem ita diluere crimen, ut dilui, tamen impune Miloni palam clamare ac mentiri gloriose liceret” (Quintilian’s *exemplum* follows).

⁸⁸ Quintilian does not quote the entire passage (which continues through § 76). He assumes that his readers know their Cicero (“...et totus in Clodium locus”). The speaker refers, among other things, to the Bona Dea scandal, Clodius’ alleged sexual relationship with his sister, his role in expelling Cicero from Rome and in assigning the provinces of Macedonia and Syria to L. Calpurnius Piso and Aulus Gabinius respectively. For a more detailed discussion of this passage, see CASAMENTO 2011: 150 f.

⁸⁹ On the flexibility of the Gracchi *exemplum*, see the previous discussion. On Sp. Maelius cf. e.g. Dion. Hal. *Ant.* XII 2, 2–8; Liv. IV 15, 1: “...et Maelium iure caesum pronuntiavit... [*scil.* L. Quinctius Cincinnatus]”.

⁹⁰ Cic. *Sest.* 36–40. Another good example of *simile impar* (Cic. *Cluent.* 94) is briefly discussed by DAVID 1980: 76 f., 81. Cf. CLASSEN 1985: 64 with n. 137.

delight of his fellow countrymen⁹¹. Cicero had been “forbidden fire and water” in a similar fashion by Clodius, also a tribune of the plebs, in 58 BCE, and after his return he drew parallels between himself and Metellus a number of times⁹². In the speech *Pro Sestio*, however, his line of argumentation required him to stress the distinctions between the two “voluntary exiles”. The main points of his argument are neatly summarised by R. KASTER:

...insofar as C.’s support was more broad-based than Metellus’, he had less reason to withdraw, and more need to explain his withdrawal; insofar as Metellus’ act was a gesture of purely personal principle, made in the face of a *fait accompli* and with no consequence for the public good, it was unlike C.’s actions [...] that had preserved the well-being of all; and insofar as Metellus had a better class of opponent, he was more fortunate⁹³.

As Cicero’s immediate purpose in this part of the speech was to justify his own *discessus*, he needed to put it into some perspective. He managed to do so by downplaying the merits of the famous Numidicus, whose exile had been considered exemplary long before⁹⁴, on the one hand, and on the other, by stating that their actions took place under entirely different circumstances. Whether an exemplum counts as *ex maiore ad minus* or the other way round often depends on the point of view⁹⁵. In the present case, *minus maioris* is what the speaker probably sought to achieve: leaving one’s country for the sake of personal beliefs would seem less praiseworthy than doing so for the benefit of the state, and having to grapple with dishonourable opponents is a greater challenge than facing a respectful one (cf. n. 93). Using Quintilian’s terminology, we would define the relation between the point of reference and the designate – Metellus and Cicero respectively – as inequality, and not dissimilarity. This category (the *imparia*), like those discussed previously, might be useful in describing a given exemplum, but it has limited value for our understanding of how exempla work in general,

⁹¹ See e.g. Cic. *Red. sen.* 38, *Dom.* 87, *Planc.* 89, *Pis.* 20 with NISBET 1961: 80 *ad loc.*; Plut. *Mar.* 29; App. *Civ.* I 129–140, 149; VAN OOTEGHEM 1967: 172–176. Cf. Vell. II 45, 3.

⁹² Cf. LINTOTT 2008: 181 f.; VAN DER BLOM 2010: 181, 195–203.

⁹³ KASTER 2006: 203 on Cic. *Sest.* 37. Cicero refers to Metellus’ exile in the same vein once again in *Pis.* 20 (55 BCE), pointing out that Metellus’ opponent, C. Marius, was more honourable than the consuls of 58 BCE. Otherwise, the actions of Numidicus most often served for Cicero as his personal exemplum (cf. BÜCHER 2006: 275; VAN DER BLOM 2010: 200 f.).

⁹⁴ Cf. Cic. *Cluent.* 95 with CLASSEN 1985: 65. That the speaker’s superior attitude was just a pose becomes apparent when later in the same oration (*Sest.* 101), as VAN DER BLOM 2010: 200 rightly observes, he praises Metellus Numidicus “for renouncing his country rather than his principles”.

⁹⁵ Cf. n. 70 above and add Cic. *Top.* 23: “Ex comparatione autem omnia valent quae sunt huius modi: Quod in re maiore valet valeat in [re] minore, ut si in urbe fines non reguntur, nec aqua in urbe arceatur. Item contra: Quod in minore valet, valeat in maiore. Licet idem exemplum convertere”.

and any pair of characters, once decontextualised, can hardly be ascribed to it. We do not have to look too far for illustration: in some of his speeches, Cicero evokes the example of Metellus Numidicus in such a way that it would fit better into other categories of Quintilian's distinctions⁹⁶. In other words, the degree of similarity is always secondary to the practical capacity of any potential exemplum.

CONCLUSION: EXEMPLA AND COMMONPLACES

Finally, let me briefly consider two examples of *a fortiori* arguments in the works of Hermogenes and Apsines, Greek rhetoricians I mentioned in the "Introduction". *Ex maiore ad minus* (ἀπὸ μείζονος): one is allowed to put to death exiles should they return home; someone who flogged an exile for the said reason stands trial for unlawful vengeance (παρὰ νόμου τιμωρίας). This man can say in his defence that since he was permitted to do more (τὸ μείζον = 'to put to death'), he was also allowed to do less (τὸ ἔλαττον = 'to flog')⁹⁷. *Ex minore ad maius* (ἀπ' ἐλάττονος): kill that man, for your ancestors killed one who was guilty of lesser wrongdoings (ἐλάττω ἡδίκηκότα)⁹⁸. As can easily be seen, both examples are more general in tone as compared with those of Quintilian. That of Apsines, however, could be applied conveniently, if only hypothetically, to the *minus maioris* from Cic. *Mil.* 72, with P. Clodius as the *illustrandum* and Sp. Maelius as the *illustrans*. Given that the major discrepancy between the Greek rhetoricians and Quintilian concerns the presence or absence of *dissimile* among the degrees of similarity, their discussion appears to be more consistent based on the assumption that exemplum *dissimile* did not, in fact, form a separate category at *Inst.* V 11. Its inclusion therein in the first place could have resulted from the fact that it was, next to all the other categories (*simile*, *contrarium*, etc.), one of the well-established commonplaces (*loci*). Hermogenes, unlike Apsines, who describes these as subtypes of παραδείγματα, lists them as a form of syllogism. Cicero himself did not make any clear distinction between exempla and *loci communes* in his dialogue *De oratore* when dealing with the τόποι (II 162–177). Admittedly, his discussion of the *topoi* confines itself to those *negotio adiuncta* (e.g. *maius*, *minus*, *contrarium*, *eventus*, etc.), because his mature rhetorical treatise is rather philosophical than strictly technical in character⁹⁹, but he states

⁹⁶ E.g. in *Red. pop.* 9–11, *Dom.* 87: exemplum *contrarium*; in *Planc.* 89: *simile*.

⁹⁷ Hermog. *Stat.* 11.

⁹⁸ Aps. *Rh.* 8 (p. 374 SPENGLER). Cf. COUSIN 1935/1967: 288.

⁹⁹ See LEEMAN *et al.* 1989: 102 who divide the *topoi* into *personis attributa* (*nomen*, *natura*, *habitus*, etc.) and *negotiis attributa* (A: *continentia cum ipso negotio*, B: *in gestione negotii*, e.g. *locus*, *tempus*, etc., and C: *negotio adiuncta*). For Cic. *De or.* II 162–177 as resembling Cicero's later discussion in *Top.* 8–78 and *Part. orat.* 5–7, cf. HUBY 1989 as referred to by FANTHAM 2004: 171. See also PIERZAK 2018: 30 f.

clearly that in particular cases these categories need to be supplied with examples of the sayings and doings of other people¹⁰⁰. An example of *ex contrario* follows immediately: “si Gracchus nefarie, praeclare Opimius”¹⁰¹. By itself, this historical exemplum is awkward in that both characters it refers to were involved in the same incident, namely, one was responsible for the death of the other. I will not attempt to adjust it to Quintilian’s scheme and interpret it accordingly, as the task would be painstaking and the results could prove counterproductive. My point is that the exempla were closely interrelated with the theory of the *topoi* from early on, and this must have had some impact on Quintilian’s understanding of them¹⁰². Such a state of affairs has often caused modern readers’ confusion, and it might have influenced later rhetoricians, for instance C. Iulius Victor (4th century CE), who includes exempla under the rubric *loci circa rem*¹⁰³:

Sequuntur hi loci, qui sunt circa rem. Omne enim, quod in quaestionem venit, habet aliquid, cui comparetur, cum quo conferatur¹⁰⁴, quia est ei aliquid simile <est dissimile>¹⁰⁵, est par est contrarium, est maius est minus [...]. Similitudo est res similis ei rei, de qua quaeritur [...]. Et ducetur aut ab exemplo aut a parabola aut a fabula aut ab imagine¹⁰⁶. Ab exemplo, sicut hoc est... [the example of Dionysius and Pisistratus¹⁰⁷ follows].

Quintilian apparently mixed two different approaches to exemplum, one in which it overlaps with a more general *topos* of similarity (when it operates within the ‘exemplary area’), and one in which exemplum *simile* is opposed to *dissimile*, the ‘faulty’ exemplum. As a result, the portion of the text where he offers illustrations of each category (V 11, 9–12) seems inconsistent at first glance,

¹⁰⁰ Cic. *De or.* II 169: “atque utroque in genere et similitudinis et dissimilitudinis exempla sunt ex aliorum factis aut dictis aut eventis et fictae narrationes saepe ponendae”. Cf. Cic. *Top.* 44: “Ex eodem similitudinis loco etiam exempla sumuntur, ut Crassus in causa Curiana exemplis plurimis usus est...”; DAVID 1998: 9.

¹⁰¹ Based apparently on the speech by C. Papirius Carbo *Pro L. Opimio* of 120 BCE (fr. 11 [ORF², p. 155]). Cf. Cic. *De or.* II 106 with LEEMAN *et al.* 1989: 44–47 *ad loc.* and 110 on II 169.

¹⁰² COUSIN 1935/1967: 288 f. believes that Quintilian’s subdivisions were based on Aristotle’s detailed discussion of the *loci communes* from greater and lesser (τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον, *Rh.* 1363b).

¹⁰³ Iul. Vict. 6, 3 (*RLM*, p. 399). I quote the edition of GIOMINI and CELENTANO (Teubner 1980, pp. 37 f.). For Iulius Victor’s dependence on Quintilian, cf. e.g. VOLKMANN 1885/1987: 207 f.; COUSIN 1935/1967: 272, 288; CLARKE 1996: 140. Similar classification can be found in Mart. Cap. *Rhet.* 49 (*RLM*, p. 489).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Cic. *Inv.* I 82.

¹⁰⁵ Supplied by SPENGLER 1836: 36. Marius Plotius (*GL* VI 469 KEIL) names only four subtypes of exempla: *a minore ad maius*, *a maiore ad minus*, *a simili*, and *e contrario*.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Cic. *Inv.* I 49 *init.*: “comparabile autem est, quod in rebus diversis similem aliquam rationem continet. eius partes sunt tres: imago, conlatio, exemplum”.

¹⁰⁷ As in Quint. V 11, 8. Cf. Arist. *Rh.* 1357b; GAZICH 1990: 69 f, 104; FRANCHET D’ESPÈREY 2010: 67 f., 79; PIERZAK 2018: 19, 22 f.

because it lacks an example of the *dissimile*. In the next sentence, however, he lists its *casus*, which correspond roughly to the *loci in gestione negotii* (cf. n. 99). Perhaps this is how we should understand the problematic example of Brutus and Manlius: should our opponent evoke a questionable historical parallel, we may challenge it by relying on one of the *loci*, in this case *causa*: “Yes, but Manlius put his son to death for an entirely different reason”.

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FECERUNT CARMINA MUSAE?
(P. QAŞR IBRÎM 78-3-11, COL. I, V. 6–7)

scripsit

CONRADUS KOKOSZKIEWICZ

Papyrus P. Qaşr Ibrîm 78-3-11 (quae vulgo dicitur “Cornelii Galli”) versus aliquot Latinos exhibet, in quibus hoc etiam distichon mutilum legitur¹:

[.....]	tandem fecerunt carmina Musae,	6
	quae possem domina deicere digna mea.	7

6 haec mihi vix *suppl. P.G. Brown, Pierides Gagliardi, alii similia*

Cum viri docti illud *carmina* vulgo tamquam illius *fecerunt* obiectum directum sint interpretati, hac etiam via commentarii tendunt supplementaque; sicut ea, quae supra in apparatu produxi². Sed interpretes contextum mutilum sic reparaturi vix, ut causam suam probent, aliorum poetarum locos promere posse videntur, in quibus Musae (aliave artium litterarumque numina, ut Apollo) nec facta poetis memorasse (cf. Hom. *Il.* I 1; Hom. *Od.* I 1; Verg. *Aen.* I 8), nec carmina inspirasse (cf. e.g. Verg. *Aen.* IX 525), nec eadem dictasse (cf. Prop. IV 1b, 133), sed solae prorsus ea “fecisse” dicantur³. Nec mirum, nam carmina sane non

¹ Textus secundum hanc editionem: A.S. HOLLIS (ed. et comm.), *Fragments of Roman Poetry c. 60 BC–AD 20*, Oxford 2007, p. 224.

² P. GAGLIARDI, *Le Muse Pieridi nel papiro di Gallo*, ZPE CLXXXVII 2013, pp. 156–163. De ceteris, vide R.D. Anderson, P.J. Parsons, R.G.M. Nisbet, *Elegiacs by Gallus from Qaşr Ibrîm*, JRS LXIX 1979, pp. 125–155 (hic pp. 143–144).

³ Et in Hor. *Epist.* II 2, 92 “caelatumque novem Musis opus” (quem locum HOLLIS in p. 247 affert ad defendendam causam) ego illud *Musis* ablativum (dativumve) auctoris, videlicet quasi Horatius voluisset dicere “opus a novem Musis caelatum”, non putarem; sed modi potius ablativum credo, ex quo “opus (ab auctore) caelatum novem Musis” intellegatur, hoc est “novem artibus expolitum et adornatum”.

tam Musae quam poetae faciunt⁴ Musis adiuvantibus harumque divino instinctu atque institutione.

Sane id, quod viri docti inibi legi volunt, et olim ibidem scriptum esse et probari posse fateor, quoniam omnia in hac lacrimarum valle fieri posse videntur. Id tantum monendum restat eam viam non esse, qua hic versus unice possit reparari. Nam in lacuna illa etiam verbum delitescere potuit, cuius illud *carmina* esset obiectum.

Quare ego versum 6 aliter nunc complere velim, ita scilicet, ut denuo poetae cum Musis, non autem Musae solae, carminum reddantur auctores. Legi enim et sic potest:

[Pangere me] tandem fecerunt carmina Musae,	6
quae possem domina deicere digna mea.	7

Loco illius “pangere” etiam “scribere” reponi potuerit, quod tamen minus elegans videtur illo priore. Utique illud *carmina* nunc eius, quod supplevimus, verbi videbis esse obiectum. Et haec nunc poeta: “Musae”, inquit, “hoc tandem effecerunt, ut ego versus componerem, quos domina mea dignos appellare possem”; sive “tandem docuerunt me Musae bonos componere versus”. Quod rursus est ferme: “Tandem bonum Musae me poetam reddiderunt”; nec haec res procul abest ab eo, quod ante eadem fecerant Hesiodo (cf. Hesiod. *Theog.* 22–34).

Verbo, quod est “facio”, accusativus cum infinitivo rarissime quidem in lingua Latina gubernatur, sed confer hoc Vergilii ex *Aeneidos* secundo (Verg. *Aen.* II 538–539): “nati [...] me cernere letum/ fecisti”. Hoc vero ex Graeco, ubi ποιεῖν sic ponitur, ceu (Hom. *Od.* XXIII 258–259): σε θεοὶ ποίησαν ἰκέσθαι/ οἶκον, quod est “te dei fecerunt venisse domum”; sive “fecerunt, ut venires”.

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⁴ Confer e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 86; Prop. II 8, 11; Ov. *Ars* III 533; *Ex Pont.* IV 13, 18; Mart. II 7, 2 et sic porro.

Arnold BÄRTSCH, *Titanen, Giganten und Riesen im antiken Epos: Eine literaturtheoretische Neuinterpretation*, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2019 (Kalliope – Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Poesie 17), 465 pp., ISBN 978-3-8253-4631-7, €68.00.

This monograph of 465 densely printed pages is the revised version of a dissertation. Accordingly, the preface and the three main chapters are equipped with hundreds of detailed footnotes, overwhelmingly referring to secondary literature. The text proper covers 354 pages: the remainder consists of several appendices, a huge bibliography and some indices. The appendices offer various surveys: the first is concerned with which author mentioned what type of gigantic figure in which work (this is not given in chronological order); the second shows (real) maps, indicating the (literary) places where these figures may be located; and the final two list Quintus Smyrnaeus' comparisons. There is no summary.

The author's starting point, as he suggests it to us in the first subchapter, was the fact that a private TV channel called a boxing fight a "fight of giants". Already in antiquity, as he reminds us, a giant was not only a giant in the proper sense, i.e., a member of the mythic clan of the same name, but the word was also used in a metaphorical sense – it became half-mythic, half-real, so to speak. Aeschylus is singled out as an example (p. 8): "In der Tragödie seit Aischylos schließlich wird das Sinnpotenzial von Riesenfiguren zur Figurencharakterisierung in besonderer Weise ausgeschöpft, etc.". Aeschylus was preceded, however, by Homer, who includes a short passage on Typhon (or Typhoeus as he is also called) in a simile later imitated by Quintus Smyrnaeus (p. 12).

The treatment of the Homeric passage in question extends to several pages in the second subchapter. This is fully justified as it is the oldest simile or comparison of its kind in Greek epic. Modern parlance is used, which proves rather thought-inspiring. One hears, for example, of intradiegetic figures (p. 17), or of geopoetics and hybridity (p. 18). This sets the tone for what is to come. Cumbersome phrases and vogueish expressions prevail. A simile in Quintus, for example, is singled out as one "das eine markierte Einzeltextreferenz [...] herstellt und den aufgerufenen Referenztext als Kontrastfolie funktionalisiert" (p. 18).

The point in question is the fact that Quintus re-uses a simile from Homer, or so the author suggests. Let us have a look. Describing the sound of the attacking Greeks, Homer has: "the earth groaned under them, as it does under the anger of Zeus [...] when he lashes the ground over Typhoeus", the giant (*Iliad* II 781–783). Describing Ajax' suicide, Quintus has: "he lay stretched out in the dust like Typhon when he was blasted by Zeus' thunderbolt, and at his fall the black earth gave a great groan" (*Posthomerica* V 484–486).

According to the author, Ajax and Typhon are both closely related by Quintus, even if – as he admits – "explizite Attribute fehlen", and even if there is "ein entscheidender Unterschied [...] in den Vergleichspunkten der beiden Gleichnisse" (p. 22). Be that as it may, in the following pages (pp. 24–27) the author tries to convince us that there is a close parallel between the two similes indeed, adducing Hesiod's Titanomachy and some central passages from Sophocles' *Ajax*. Nobody would deny that textual interplay, but it makes the argument from where he started, i.e. that Ajax became a 'titanic' figure although he was not part of the Titans' mob, not necessarily more convincing.

Moreover, the author remains silent about the fact that the Homeric simile develops a metaphor used earlier (at II 95 f.), where "the earth groaned under the Achaeans as the troops tried to take their seats", as G.S. KIRK observed (*The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. I, Cambridge 1985, p. 243). Such (earlier) foreboding and (later) amplification, M.S. SILK's "anticipation of a theme" (*Interaction in*

Poetic Imagery, Cambridge 1974, pp. 155 ff.), however, is a defining element of Homer's narrative. We cannot know, of course not, what an attentive reader like Quintus made of it. In any case, it may fairly be stated that Quintus was more likely than not aware of such a process in Homer; perhaps the more so, since in Homer another simile preceding the one in question was also prepared for earlier (the fire-simile in 780 may be based on 455–458, as again G.S. KIRK suggested).

The author, however, is not much concerned with Quintus' reading of Homer. He does not intend to pursue a "Rekonstruktion einer Autorintention", as he states (p. 30), at the beginning of the introduction's third and final subchapter. One may regret that Smyranean "modest innovation within traditional parameters", his being "neither sublime nor pedestrian", as N. HOPKINSON characterises his style (*OCD*⁴ s.v. "Quintus Smyrnaeus"), is not further detailed. One would like to read more about how exactly Quintus managed to occupy the middle ground just because, as a matter of fact, Quintus was so obviously 'misreading' Homer, "so as to clear imaginative space" for himself, as H. BLOOM put it (at the opening of his *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*, first published 1973). Decidedly, the *Iliad* is a rehearsal for Quintus, in more than one sense of the word.

Instead of following this line of argument, the author enlarges on his table of contents (pp. 34–36). Chapter 2 is to analyse "unterschiedliche Aspekte riesenhafter Hybridität in diachroner Perspektive" (pp. 37–103), chapter 3 is dedicated to "topographischen und geopoetischen Interpretationen epischer Riesenfiguren" (pp. 105–184), and finally, chapter 4 treats the "Riesenvergleiche und -gleichnisse der *Posthomerica* des Quintus Smyrnaeus" (pp. 185–354). This final chapter's huge bulk of interpretative observations, however, cannot be made without silently assuming poetic intentionality. Given that perspective, the end of his monograph may contradict what the author promised at its outset.

Typhon's hybridity returns: it is not simply alluded to, but thoroughly thrashed out. It becomes a bit of a leitmotif for the three parts of the second chapter. First, on pp. 37–71, we read an interpretation of Hesiod's sixty lines on him. They are called 'medusamorphic' (p. 66) because they seem to deal with a somewhat perverted fascination with the ugly and the evil. According to the author, Plato's Socrates alludes to this 'monstrous' side of his character he wants to investigate, citing Typhon as an example (*Phaedrus* 230 A). Indeed, Plato is more than once concerned with such dichotomies as 'wild-gentle', 'disordered-orderly', or 'monstrous-divine' (on which H. YUNIS has more in his commentary, published 2011, p. 94). The author is surely right to adduce this passage as an example for his argument (in the second subchapter, pp. 71–82). Two passages from the *Meno* come to mind: in the first, Meno notoriously compares Socratic teaching to benumbing with an electric shock (by a monstrous, if not titanic, fish, 80 A); in the second, not far from the first, Socrates explains a passage from Pindar on the 'Titan in us' (81 B) that would need suitable atonement, as R.S. BLUCK elegantly put it (in his commentary, published 1961, p. 279).

Less convincing, however, is the third and final subchapter (pp. 82–103), which is marred by too much jargon. Lucian praised at length the centaur group by Zeuxis in his short text of the same title. The author, however, diagnoses some errors on the part of the narrator (p. 93). We read, for example, that "der extradiegetische Rezipient denselben falschen Weg geht, den die intradiegetischen Rezipienten [...] gehen" (p. 92) – but how can we be sure that Lucian didn't want them to do precisely that?

The relatively recent trend of 'geopoetics' dominates the third chapter. In the first subchapter (pp. 105–118), we read about the term's archaeology and the 'spatial turn' in humanities (pp. 115 f.). The second subchapter is devoted to Homer's geography (pp. 119–143). Having discussed at great length whether a precise place can be fixed for the Cyclops or the Phaeacians, or other such fantastic figures of Homer's *Odyssey*, the author states that only the *Odyssey*'s literary space preserved them (p. 142). Well, yes and no: since the Phaeacians are commonly and plausibly regarded as Homer's own inventions, one may ask where else they could have been preserved; and in the case of the Cyclops, even now, after all the accidental losses in the history of *paradosis*, we can still read Euripides' intellectualising satyr play and Theocritus' softly mocking idylls.

Again modern terms abound. One can only hope that everybody remembers well his or her GENETTE (in particular *Figures III*, Paris 1972, p. 256). The third subchapter (pp. 143–159) sketches

an interesting comparison between Homer's geography and the one developed by Apollonios Rhodios. Good maps help to follow the argument (pp. 364, 366). Finally, a fourth subchapter (pp. 160–184), and a third map (p. 368), support the author's argument of an ongoing and ever more intensified literarisation of monstrous figures, the more we move on in Greek epic poetry.

Eventually, we reach Quintus Smyrnaeus and the world of his hybrid monsters and the similes they are involved in. Like most chapters, this last one is too long (pp. 185–354). It may seem old-fashioned but, in his days, H. FRÄNKEL treated the whole world of Homer's similes on roughly 120 pages (*Die homerischen Gleichnisse*, Göttingen 1921). Summing up his first subchapter (pp. 185–215), the author suggests that the repetition of similes that describe giants would follow a certain pattern, thus bringing distant figures into an intratextual dialogue (p. 215). In the following, second subchapter (pp. 215–231) we get such a survey on how Quintus distributed his similes. The final three subchapters treat various "divine enemies and their cosmic battles" (pp. 231–268), "gigantic foes and cosmic duels" (pp. 268–303), and "deaths of giants and the end of an age". The titles sound, and the subchapters read, like a finale crescendo.

In the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*'s first edition, the similes in Quintus were called "frequently attractive". The passages in this new monograph prove that. Then, back in 1949, it was also stated, however, that in Quintus "the parts are greater than the whole", which might be said of this monograph, too. The question of what the author intended – which cannot be eschewed – is not satisfactorily answered. It remains still unresolved whether, and if to what degree, he continued the traditional and/or the avant-garde schools of Hellenistic epic. Since his topic and approach are so deliberately Homeric, one may well ask whether he was merely aiming at a substitute for poems of the Epic Cycle. Wasn't he rather thriving to become a new Homer, the man who eclipsed the others and was even praised for that? Is that the reason why his is the only long Greek mythological epic to survive from the period between Apollonios and Nonnos?

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Dimos SPATHARAS, *Emotions, Persuasion, and Public Discourse in Classical Athens*, Berlin–Boston: de Gruyter, 2019 (Ancient Emotions II, Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volume 83), X + 222 pp., ISBN 978-3-11-061803-7, €79.95.

Ancient emotions have attracted considerable scholarly interest during the last two decades or so, and as a result they are currently one of the hotly debated topics in classical studies. The book under review is a work by one of the veterans of this debate: Dimos SPATHARAS (henceforth S.) boasts an extensive publication record on the subject, and the present monograph may be seen as a culmination of his previous research on ancient emotions. As the title suggests, its scope is limited to classical Athenian culture with a particular emphasis on Attic oratory. It consists of five chapters, an Introduction and a very brief Afterword.

In the Introduction which sets the stage for the subsequent discussion S. rightly stresses the cognitive element in both ancient (Aristotle) and modern theories of emotions: reason and feelings are not mutually exclusive, but indeed complementary. The emotion of anger for instance presupposes a rational evaluation of the event or behaviour which elicits it. This sensible observation is, however, subsequently extended to cases where the orators explicitly urge their audiences to experience certain feelings (e.g. “it is fitting to be angry”, Dem. 24, 218). To my mind, this is an unwarranted extension: such instances of metaemotional discourse (very frequent among the orators) *per se* are rather unlikely to evoke the relevant feelings. You can hardly make your audience angry by simply stating that this is what they ought to feel. Overt appeals such as these can only work when they cap a narrative script which engenders the relevant emotions covertly, by manipulating the audience’s feelings through a skillful deployment of facts, stereotypes and prejudices. S. is right, however, to point out that explicit deployment of emotions may reveal its underlying script, and therefore may provide cues as to how certain feelings were manipulated in the public discourse of ancient Athens.

Gorgias’ *Encomium of Helen* and its theoretical underpinning are the subject of the first chapter. S. argues quite plausibly that the epideictic piece is informed by contemporary, intromissive ideas of vision, which take most from the natural philosophy of Democritus of Abdera. Conceived as a passive, yet tactile sense, sight is thus considered as a means of generating emotions, such as fear and desire, which are precisely the sentiments attributed to Helen upon seeing Paris. In contrast to the poetic tradition of his time, Gorgias presents the heroine as the subject (and not the object) of a longing gaze, and as a consequence, as a patient (and not the source) of the desire engendered by it.

The inquiry into the relationship between vision and emotions is continued throughout the next chapter, which is devoted to Thucydides. S. begins with the celebrated turn of phrase ‘lovers of the polis’, attributed to Pericles in the funeral speech, and explicitly linked to gazing at the displays of the city’s power that are to hand at the time. According to S., this relationship is a committed one and is based on reciprocity (the argument behind this conclusion is in need of some tidying up), and as such is opposed to the *erōs* which overcame the Athenians in 415 BC, as they decided to embark on the disastrous Sicilian campaign: the desire to see what is absent, and to (wish to) do so despite the cautionary remarks of Nicias, who visually describes the dangers of the far-away land. Thus, by appealing to sight and to the visual, Pericles’ rhetoric fosters an active and committed form of love, while Nicias, using the same means, fails to prevent the onset of a passive and volatile desire in his audience. The chapter closes with a discussion on visuality and anger, illustrated with the reaction of the Athenians to the sight of the Spartan plundering of Attica during the Archidamian war.

The next three chapters deal with forensic rhetoric. In the first of these S. takes on the emotional impact of *enargeia* (vivid, visual descriptions). A lengthy discussion on the inherent relationship of one and another, building on the conclusions from the previous chapters, is followed by

four case studies to which S. applies this theoretical framework: that of Archippus v. Teisis (Lys. F 279 CAREY), Ariston v. Conon (Dem. 54) and of Aeschines' alleged assault on an Olynthian woman (Dem. 19, 196–199), and the double supplication between Pittalacus and Timarchus (Aesch. 1, 53–62). In the first of these the focus is on Archippus' beaten body, which is rhetorically assimilated to a 'sample' (*deigma*) put on display in a public market (a recent addition to the bibliography on this fragment is M. SIMONTON, *Stability and Violence in Classical Greek Democracies and Oligarchies*, *ClAnt* XXXVI 2017, pp. 65–68). In the second, the vividness of description brings to life Conon's *hybris* in the picturesque scene of his imitation of a victorious cock (F 1213 KOCK = Luc. *Gall.* 27, however, is no longer considered a comic fragment). The rich emotive imagery employed by Demosthenes in the description of Aeschines' sympotic violence is meant to elicit both anger (towards Aeschines) and pity (towards his victim) among the judges. Finally the vividness of the double supplication scene in Aesch. 1, as S. plausibly argues, taps into the visceral feeling of disgust at Timarchus' pathic debauchery. The overarching theme of this chapter is that such vivid uses of emotional language and imagery stir the feelings of the audience by making an individual and personal case into a matter of public concern. This is a sensible thesis, although a reference to the time-honoured *tua res agitur* topos, which the ancient authors explicitly link with engendering emotions (Quint. *Inst.* IV 1, 33; H. LAUSBERG, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, Leiden 1998, p. 127), would be in order here.

Still focused on forensic oratory, the last two chapters discuss the use and abuse of envy in Athenian public discourse. First, S. takes up the traditional distinction between 'bad' and 'good' envy (*phthonos* v. *to nemesan* in Aristotle) and intelligently provides it with a larger frame of socio-economic inequality. In this model, envy is originally a label used by the elites to stigmatise the egalitarian demands of the masses. In a democratic context however it becomes the emotional underpinning of the masses' power to control overly ambitious individuals. This good envy, however, is no longer directed against perceived economic inequality *per se*, but against the antisocial behaviour which threatened the egalitarian fabric of Athenian society. This point is capped with a plausible reading of the Demosthenic character assassination of Meidias, where the latter is consistently presented as a transgressive, hubristic figure. Overall, this is an original and very interesting take on the idea of ancient Greek envy, which, unfortunately, suffers from obscure, at times almost unintelligible exposition. By way of illustration, I quote one particularly egregious example: "The uses of *phthonos* to indicate 'legitimate envy' in democratic contexts relies on a reversal of the criteria of application of the elites' projective uses of the masses' allegedly dispositional envy for the elites, i.e. their *phthonos*" (p. 128).

In the final chapter S. discusses the rhetorical strategies of self-praise, along with its dynamic relationship with envy. Since the former naturally elicits the latter, the task of the speaker is therefore to mitigate or forestall this emotion. S. finds the theoretical framework for his analysis in G.M. FOSTER's paper *The Anatomy of Envy* (Current Anthropology XIII 2, 1972, pp. 165–202), and puts it to work in a reading of the relevant passages from Greek oratory (Gorg. *Pal.*; Lys. 16, 21, 24; Isocr. 15; Aesch. 2; Dem. 18). His sensible conclusion is that in a strictly public context such specimens of self-praise are never gratuitous, but strictly depend on the context (e.g. as replies to the adversary's character-assassination), and are always embedded in a carefully crafted emphasis on the speaker's adherence to cooperative values. The one speech that stands out in this respect is Isocrates' *Antidosis*: as it was never written with an actual court case in mind, but as a pamphlet, addressed mainly to elite audiences, the speaker here is seen to indulge in much less circumspect, aggressive bragging about his excellence. The definition of *antidosis* offered by S. as "a case in which a citizen who failed to challenge an allegedly wealthier citizen to undertake a liturgy in his place was obliged to exchange his property with the latter" (p. 163) is, however, mistaken. The exchange did not occur because the challenge was neglected, but precisely as a result of it: the person who was challenged could avoid it by simply undertaking the liturgy in question.

All in all, this work is an interesting and original contribution to the study of ancient emotions. I have profited from reading it, and I am certain that other students of the Athenian orators

or ancient emotions will too. When it comes to the exposition, however, I found it very difficult to follow; in this respect it may stand on its own only against the background of very solid scholarship on ancient (and modern) emotions. For this reason I must hold back from using the stock praise of recommending it to anyone interested in Greek culture: this is not an easy read; it requires a considerable knowledge of earlier works on the subject, and even greater patience.

Some minor quibbles: the Saxon genitive is overused where other constructions would be more natural. Certain word choices may appear slightly awkward (e.g. 'locution' for 'statement' or 'opinion'; 'neo-liberalists' instead of 'neo-liberals' at p. 129). There is an occasional typo (p. 55: sights; should be: sight; p. 142: $\pi\omega\tau\epsilon\iota\tilde{\iota}$, should be: $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$) or minor slip (Ariston in Dem. 54 is not the defendant, as on p. 103; 'Timarchus and Hegesandrus', not 'Pittalacus and Hegesandrus' on p. 118; 'that betrayed' – should be: 'that he betrayed', p. 162), and the listing of items in the bibliography (both in terms of alphabetic and chronological order) is somewhat erratic.

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Karl-Joachim HÖLKESKAMP, Julia HOFFMANN-SALZ, Katharina KOSTOPOULOS, Simon LENTZSCH (eds.), *Die Grenzen des Prinzips. Die Infragestellung von Werten durch Regelverstöße in antiken Gesellschaften*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2019, 240 pp., ISBN: 978-3-515-12358-7, €50.00.

This volume comprises thirteen essays dealing more or less overtly with norms, rules and their transgressions in the communities of the ancient world. Its scope is broad, as it takes the reader from Homer to the early Roman empire. This means that it will inevitably attract only the selective attention of readers, depending on their research interests and personal inclinations. The essays are preceded by two introductions: one providing a summary of the volume, and the other – its theoretical underpinning. In the latter, Karl-Joachim HÖLKESKAMP discusses the threefold relationship between ‘principles’, ‘rules’ and ‘norms’. His approach is an essentially structural one: a rule is a concrete manifestation of a principle. Principles are general and abstract, like the principle of fairness or of the equality of opportunities, while rules organise them into particular laws and regulations. The third element, that of ‘norms’, however, not only operates at the junction of the two others, but also brings in a factor of flexibility, a contextually delimited range of tolerance for transgression. When the rule might stipulate the immediate punishment of certain offences, the norm would encourage turning a blind eye to some of them (a good example here would be the apparent leniency in the treatment of state-debtors in ancient Athens).

The first contribution by Gunnar SEELENTAG takes us to the world of the archaic epic and the emergent *poleis*. His focus is on the institutional development of the administration of justice. This he delineates through three distinct stages, each illustrated with a close reading of the relevant literary or epigraphic documents. The first is founded on voluntary arbitration, where the numerous mediators compete among themselves for a reward promised to him who gives the best judgement (i.e. most satisfactory to both sides of the conflict); this stage, according to SEELENTAG, is represented in the judicial scene described in the celebrated ekphrasis of Achilles’ shield. The second stage comes when those making judgements begin to cooperate with each other instead of competing; they can now exercise some form of pressure to have the dispute resolved through their mediation, the results of which, furthermore, need not be tailored to everyone’s liking; Hesiod’s struggle against his brother Perses and the ‘gift-eating kings’ exemplifies this shift. The third and final step is taken when the administration of justice becomes monopolised and institutionalised, as seen in an inscription from Dreros (c. 650 BC) which clearly limits the judge’s time in office and renders invalid any settlement made outside the judicial context (*Dr1* in: M. GAGARIN, P.J. PERLMAN, *The Laws of Ancient Crete: c. 650–400 BCE*, Oxford 2016). This movement from open competition to cooperation and then institutionalisation is explained by SEELENTAG through the model of the prisoner’s dilemma; the mediators (which are members of the elite) eventually find it more advantageous to settle for smaller but evenly distributed rewards from cooperation rather than the asymmetrical and uneven prizes which result from open competition. These advantages still come at a cost, but those who carry this burden are the masses, whose disputes come under the jurisdiction of the elites. This is an elegant and plausible model, and a worthy addition to the vast bibliography on the development of the administration of justice in early Greece.

Robin OSBORNE’s chapter promises a disquisition on cult practices and ‘unruly women’. Its main contention is quite original: the fact that women were allowed substantially more liberties in the religious domain than in the civic one should not be understood in terms of complementary coexistence (as it usually is), but of conflict between the principle of suppressing female activity and the customary norms of accommodating it with much less restriction in the context of cult. This conflict, as OSBORNE argues, is played out in the competitive spirit underlying women’s dedications in the sanctuaries, their showing-off in splendid adornments during processions, and their

participation in sacrificial feasts and even in symposia. Anyone hoping to read about *unruly* women, however, will have to wait until the end of the chapter: although the premise underlies most of the discussion, it is only there that it emerges into the limelight from the scandalous reports on Etruscan feasting (Theompomus, *FGrH/BNJ* 115 F 204) and the lascivious behaviour of Neaera ([Dem.] 59, 33 f.). An interesting addition to OSBORNE's argument might be the Athenian law on adulteresses (Aesch. 1, 183; cf. [Dem.] 59, 87), which banned them from sanctuaries and restricted their use of adornments.

With Winfried SCHMITZ we turn to Attic tragedy, a genre inherently linked with conflict and transgression. We are invited to look at Euripides' *Andromache*, and the amphimetric strife between the eponymous heroine and her antagonist, Hermione, which sets the stage for the plot of this play. Drawing on earlier research, SCHMITZ argues that the conflict pits the norms of the heroic world where concubines (such as Andromache is) enjoyed much more privilege and could produce legitimate offspring, against those of classical Athens, where no such possibility existed. As both principles are *per se* valid, this is where the tragic nature of this juxtaposition is seen to emerge (a reference to SCHELER is sorely missing here). The conflict itself, according to SCHMITZ, reflects the tensions in Athenian society triggered by the loosening of Pericles' (in)famous citizenship law (451 BC) at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (430 BC) – and that on the initiative of none other than Pericles himself (Plut. *Pericl.* 37, 2). This reading would seem quite attractive were it not for two significant weaknesses. First, there is no unambiguous testimony to the fact that the loosening of Pericles' citizenship law involved its complete abrogation, and not a one-time exemption; the former is indeed the theory put forward by E. CARAWAN (*Pericles the Younger and the Citizenship Law*, *CJ* CIII 2008, pp. 383–406), and one or two other scholars, but the consensus still seems to favour the latter (cf. a similar wording in Andoc. 1, 43). The second and more significant problem is the information in the scholion to *Andromache* 445 about the play being written for a performance outside Athens. Although doubts have been raised regarding the veracity of this testimony, no clear evidence to invalidate it has been produced so far. Perhaps indeed the play was first performed in Athens, despite what the scholiast tells us. But this would have to be proved beyond any reasonable doubt, as this statement is fatal to any reading based on such an intimately close relationship between the tragedy and contemporary Athenian politics. Its brief dismissal in a short footnote (n. 32) is not enough.

Athenian awards, in particular those expressed through the tangible medium of honorific sculptures, are the subject of Katharina KOSTOPOULOS' contribution. Her main point is that such honours necessarily sparked a great deal of debate among the recipients' contemporaries, as they constituted a transgression of the democratic egalitarian spirit. Even when no traces of such disagreement are left in our sources, KOSTOPOULOS insists that they must have accompanied the awarding of any such honour. This is a reasonable assumption, but it runs the risk of accommodating too much speculation, which becomes particularly awkward when such guesswork replaces a long-standing historical debate. Take the tyrannicides: the conjecture that the honours awarded to them sparked disagreement should be substantiated by at least a passing reference to the vast literature on the various 'traditions' of the liberation of Athens, and the tensions associated with them (cf. R. THOMAS, *Oral Tradition and Written Record*, Cambridge 1989, pp. 238–282). This chapter also suffers from some notable bibliographic omissions: M. HANSEN's *Public Action against Unconstitutional Proposals* (Odense 1974) is still fundamental to any discussion on honorific decrees (his *Athenian Democracy*, quoted in the essay, offers only an epitomised, though updated, version of the argument), while S. LAMBERT's recent study of Athenian decrees (*Inscribed Athenian Laws and Decrees*, Leiden 2017) also has much to offer on this particular subject. The essay also suffers from a number of minor errors (n. 45: Lycurg. fr. 8 CAREY, should be: fr. 9 CONOMIS – and it *does* mention honorific awards, only those awarded to Pericles) and misprints (n. 1: στρατηζούς, should be: στρατηγοὺς; τοιούτος, should be: τοιούτους; n. 8: ὑπομνέματα, should be: ὑπομνήματα; ἀνάκειται, should be: ἀνάκειται; n. 23: ὕμας, should be: ὕμᾱς; τᾶς εὐεργεσίας, should be: τὰς εὐεργεσίας).

Dorothea ROHDE takes on the embassy trial of Demosthenes v. Aeschines as an example of how the changing political climate determines the appreciation of certain events. The basic premise of her argument is hardly contentious (and has been frequently noted, e.g. E.M. HARRIS, *Aeschines and Athenian Politics*, Oxford 1995, pp. 115 f.): the peace of Philocrates (346 BC), at first acceptable, later, under different circumstances, came to be regarded as a shameful act of treachery. The bad odour surrounding the treaty thus allowed Demosthenes three years later (343 BC) to prosecute Aeschines – almost successfully – for ambassadorial misconduct (*parapresbeia*). ROHDE's otherwise sensible assumption is that the case and the charge of treason were entirely dependent on the political moment, and much less so on Aeschines' actual behaviour during the embassy. As a result, she sees the trial itself as a 'farce', devoid of any legal merit. In support of this heavy-handed judgement, she provides several reasons, which are, however, hardly compelling. That Demosthenes' accusation has little evidence could have been a good point, if only it were more than just an assertion and had been backed by at least a reference to the relevant scholarship. That Demosthenes has 'unreasonably' proposed the death penalty is not a plausible assessment: after all, the prosecution was based on a charge of high-treason¹. That Demosthenes uses lies and manipulation does not make his case in any way unique in the context of Athenian litigation. Nor does the observation that the prosecution stems out of personal enmity (to clarify this I might point to my own paper on vindictive prosecution from GRBS LVI 2012). Some minor problems: ROHDE contrasts the death penalty proposed by Demosthenes with other cases where punishment was at the discretion of the jury (*agōnes timētoi*); but Aeschines' trial was also an *agōn timētos*. The procedure used by Demosthenes was a *euthyna*, which he launched three years earlier along with Timarchus; the term *graphe parapresbeias* used by ROHDE (with a typo: *graphe parapresbeia*) is found in Pollux (VIII 45 f.), who states that the *euthyna* of ambassadors was peculiarly (*idiōs*) referred to in this way; the orators, however, never use this term. Some notable bibliographic omissions include HARRIS' above-mentioned book; D.M. MACDOWELL's *Demosthenes, On the False Embassy* (Oxford 2000) and P. BRUN's *Démosthène: Rhétorique, pouvoir et corruption à Athènes* (Paris 2015).

The infamous case of the Macedonian war dead, left without proper burial after the battle of Cynoscephalae (197 BC) by their defeated leader, Philip V, is the subject of Michael KAU's contribution. He rightly notes that it had no lasting effect on the political situation in Macedon or on Philip's own authority: it was used without much success as a propaganda tool by his enemies (the usurper Philip of Megalopolis, and his powerful supporter, Antioch III), and left only a minor poetic trace on the cultural life of the kingdom. Yet it was still an exceptional case and a clear violation of norms: this KAU proves by way of a somewhat pedestrian chronological overview – which makes up more than half the entire chapter – of how the Macedonians handled their war dead, from the battle of Chaeronea (338 BC) to the naval battle at Chios (201 BC). This extensive discussion may indeed provide minor corrections to earlier views on the subject (such as N.G.L. HAMMOND's suggestion in JHS CIX 1989, pp. 56–68, that it was a regular practice to bury the Macedonian war dead in full panoply with funerary sacrifices etc.). But the main point it seeks to establish – that tending to the dead was an important religious duty with a far from negligible effect on the morale of the remaining troops – gives it the air of a scholarly sledgehammer in the process of cracking a nut. A significant bibliographic omission is Kendrick PRITCHETT, who in his *Greek State at War* (vol. IV, Berkeley 1985) provides an extensive discussion of the burial – and non-burial – of the war dead, including many of the battles mentioned here (also that of Cynoscephalae).

A fascinating case of families organised on the matrilocal (and perhaps even matrifocal) principle in the – widely understood – Hellenic world of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC is the subject

¹ In HANSEN's catalogue of *eisangeliai* (*Eisangelia*, Odense 1975, pp. 69–120) which by definition dealt with cases of high treason (even if sometimes by a clear abuse of legal procedure), there is not one instance of a prosecutor proposing a penalty other than death.

of Frank DAUBNER's contribution. These highly un-Greek kinship patterns emerge from the study of manumission inscriptions from the city of Bouthrotos (now: Butrint) on the coast of the Ionian Sea, which form part of a collection recently edited by P. CABANES and F. DRINI (*Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire*. Vol. II: *Inscriptions de Bouthrotos*, Athènes 2007). The epigraphic sources, however, do not present a uniform and coherent picture. In some cases the manumission is clearly a corporate affair, with the women playing a non-negligible, and sometimes indeed leading role in the procedure. In others, it is presented as an individual matter, one presupposing individual ownership and, most likely, a more restricted role for females (in correspondence with the kinship structures more familiar to the Greek world). The former, DAUBNER argues, represent the more traditional and indigenous patterns, with a strong emphasis on collective ownership, whereas the latter betray a conscious attempt at a cultural rapprochement with the wider Hellenic world, and therefore, quite predictably, practiced chiefly by the 'cultivated' families of magistrates, priests and traders.

The remainder of the work is concerned with Roman history and culture. The unpredictability of public life in the 2nd century Roman Republic, readily embraced by members of the political class in their competition for power and success, is the subject of Andrew VAN ROSS' contribution. Still firmly set in the Republican period, the chapter by Francisco PINA POLO discusses the dynamics of tradition and innovation in political life, and demonstrates that the latter could easily become the former according to the exigencies of the circumstances. Turning to the late republic, Uwe WALTER examines the eruption of violence in this period and its underlying shift in values and principles. Simon LENTZSCH in his essay gives an overview of the two conflicting models of military leadership in the Roman republic and early empire: that of a general fighting alongside his troops, and that of a strategist planning his battles in advance. Still on the subject of military leadership, Jan TIMMER discusses at length the ideological underpinning of the debate between two of Caesar's legates, Titurius and Cotta (*Gal.* V 28 ff.), which in the end resulted in the Roman debacle at Atuatuca (54 BC). The volume closes with Julia HOFFMANN-SALZ's study of an episode recounted by Flavius Josephus (*AJ* XV 354 ff.): the anti-Herodian embassy of the Gadareans to Augustus and its lamentable consequences in the suicide of the ambassadors, who feared the wrath of the king of Judea; in this sensational account she traces echoes of Herod's economic rivalry against the neighbouring Hellenistic states.

Despite some minor quibbles pointed out above, the entire volume is a solid piece of scholarship, at times a bit uneven perhaps, but on the whole certainly rewarding. And in a period when traditional norms, rules, boundaries and transgressions have indeed become the subject of heated debate, it is all the more relevant. Not necessarily as the object of a naïve quest for solutions drawn from ancient wisdom, but as a sensible reminder that the questioning of cultural norms and traditions was always present in the European tradition, even at its beginnings.

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Gregor BITTO, Anna GINESTÍ ROSELL (eds.), *Philologie auf zweiter Stufe. Literarische Rezeptionen und Inszenierungen hellenistischer Gelehrsamkeit*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2019 (Palingenesia 115), 280 pp., ISBN 978-3-515-12357-0, €54.00.

This edited volume was published after a conference under the same title which took place at Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt in 2015. The organisers of the conference, who are also the editors of the volume, came up with the theme of “philology in the second degree”, inspired by Gérard GENETTE’s idea of “literature in the second degree”, conceptualised in his *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré* (1982). For GENETTE, a text in the second degree is one that is derived from a preexistent text through a process of transformation; by analogy, the editors introduce the concept of “philology in the second degree”, by which they understand the phenomenon in which ancient literary works, both poetic and prosaic, were inspired and informed by philological texts of the Hellenistic period, such as scholia, commentaries, *problemata*, etc.

The time span covered in the volume extends from the late Roman Republic (Cicero) to the second century CE (Fronto, Apuleius, Lucian). Of course, the influence of philological scholarship and erudition on literature is by no means something which only developed in this period – it was a trademark of Alexandrian learned literary culture, the very embodiment of which was the Hellenistic figure of the poet-critic. The phenomenon that the book investigates, then, is a two-fold reception of Hellenistic literature: the reception of its philological writings and of the figure of the philologically trained author. The first part of the introduction is dedicated to outlining the emergence and development of philological scholarship in the Hellenistic period, when readers took a great interest in ensuring the preservation of transmitted texts, both through vigorous editorial activity and through productions of all sorts of explanatory works or “auxiliary texts” in the meaning proposed by Markus DUBISCHAR. This philological activity, as the editors point out, generated a particular approach to literature and literary education: it entailed not only familiarity with the literary canon, but also with philological techniques and methods of textual analysis and interpretation. This model shaped subsequent literary production: authors were expected to be thoroughly versed in philology and could expect their readers to share their competence. As Peter VON MÖLLENDORFF observes in his paper, among the educated class there was neither a place for naïve language use nor for a naïve knowledge of literature.

The chapters collected in the volume aim at uncovering and documenting the philological inspirations behind a variety of ancient texts, most of which are Latin, though a few are Greek. They are divided in two sections: “Dichterische Rezeptionen” and “Literarische Inszenierungen”. The first part is devoted to interactions with Hellenistic philology in Latin poetry. It brings to the fore Roman endorsement of philologically-informed poetry; such poetry, as BITTO underlines in his paper, did not only come into vogue in the late Republic, but was present in Rome as far back as we can look (Livius Andronicus’ familiarity with Homeric exegesis). The five papers included in this section examine Cicero’s *Aratea* (Nunzia CIANO), Vergil’s *Georgics* (Jean-Christophe JOLIVET), Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (Joan PAGÈS), Seneca’s *Medea* (Chiara BATTISTELLA), and Statius’ *Achilleis* (Gregor BITTO). The method of examination is similar in most of the contributions: a key Greek subtext for a Latin poem (or a section of one) is evoked; deviations from the Greek model are observed; it is proposed that scholia on the Greek passage provide an explanation for the adjustments made by the Roman author (it is tacitly assumed, therefore, that scholia, even if the form in which we have them is not of Hellenistic origin, nevertheless transmit the Hellenistic philological tradition). This part of the book looks at Hellenistic philology as providing a filter through which the reception of Greek models passed, and by giving scholia a place of prominence, the authors follow in the

footsteps of scholars of the *Aeneid*, such as Robin SCHLUNK, Alessandro BARCHIESI, and Tilman SCHMIT-NEUERBURG¹.

It is along these lines that CIANO compares Cicero with Aratus, JOLIVET – the Proteus episode in Vergil with the one in Homer's *Odyssey*, BATTISTELLA – Senecan verses with Euripides' *Medea*, and BITTO – Statius' Achilles with the one in the Homeric *Iliad*. A slightly different approach is adopted by PAGÈS, as Ovid in his adaptation of the Perseus myth interacted with a variety of epic, lyric, and dramatic hypotexts. PAGÈS argues that Ovid's representation of Atlas as a shepherd is unparalleled in extant Greek poetry, but is reminiscent of a version of the myth attributed in the scholia to Lycophron and *Etymologicum Genuinum* to an early-fourth-century poet Polyidus of Selimbria; as Polyidus' texts seem to have disappeared early, it is hypothesised that Ovid knew the version from scholia rather than from reading the poet himself.

While specific cases of alluding or gesturing to Greek scholia examined by the contributors vary in their degree of persuasiveness, taken together they show Latin poets' deep knowledge of auxiliary texts on the Greek poets they emulated. While this very fact is not surprising, it is exciting to catch a glimpse of the writers' reading shelves and, at the same time, to get insight into the authors' expectations regarding their audience and its literary competence. JOLIVET's examination of the Proteus episode in the *Georgics* suggests that Vergil in his *Kontrastimitation* of Homer expected readers to see how his rewriting of the *Odyssey* had been shaped by interactions with Homeric scholarship and Homeric *problemata*. In other cases, we see critical interaction with the philological tradition – as in the case of Statius who, as BITTO shows in his contribution, while fashioning his Achilles, resisted the aesthetic and moral values underpinning the Homeric scholia.

The second part of the volume is entitled "Literarische Inszenierungen" and examines "literary stagings" of philology in Latin and Greek prose of the early empire. As the editors emphasise in the introduction, philological competence, as an indicator of status for imperial period elites, was put on display and performed in a variety of imperial prose texts. Philological expertise was exercised communally, in interaction with other members of high society; and some genres – such as *Gelehrtengespräch* – put such communal shows of scholarly and philological competence in the spotlight.

This part contains seven chapters which explore various perspectives on and uses of philology, focusing on figures as different as Vitruvius and Macrobius (Philip WEISS), Seneca the Younger (Bardo Maria GAULY), Quintilian (Thomas SCHIRREN), Plutarch (Anna GINESTÍ ROSELL), Fronto (Wytse KEULEN), Apuleius (Ute TISCHER), and Lucian (Peter VON MÖLLENDORFF). Collectively, the papers demonstrate that regardless of the variety of social backgrounds, intellectual milieus, and literary interests the writers represent, they share a familiarity with philology and make use of its tools – despite occasional expressions of disregard towards *grammatici* and *philologi*. Although Seneca, as a philosopher, every now and then deprecates philology and the philological examination of poetic texts, he does not avoid moral and allegorical interpretation of poets, as GAULY shows in his discussion of Seneca's *Letters to Lucilius*.

While the concept of the "staging" of philology recurs in the contributions included in this part of the book, in some it is given a more prominent place. GINESTÍ ROSELL's discussion of Plutarch's *Table Talk* focuses on *problema* VIII 6, in which Plutarch's interlocutors make a playful show of their expertise in etymology. As she rightly underscores, the Plutarchan passage shows how competence in philology and familiarity with its new trends – such as looking for Greek etymologies for Latin words – builds a group identity; on the other hand, the light tone of the conversation ensures that there is no hint of philological dullness and pedantry. VON MÖLLENDORFF examines

¹ R.R. SCHLUNK, *The Homeric Scholia and the Aeneid*, Ann Arbor 1974; A. BARCHIESI, *La traccia del modello: effetti omerici nella narrazione virgiliana*, Pisa 1984; T. SCHMIT-NEUERBURG, *Vergils Aeneis und die antike Homerexegese, Untersuchungen zum Einfluss ethischer und kritischer Homerrezeption auf imitatio und aemulatio Vergils*, Berlin–New York 1999.

this communal aspect from a different angle: he argues that philology is by nature a deeply agonistic discipline and that its existence relies on the possibility of dispute and disagreement. It is from this perspective that he approaches “literarisations of the agonistic philology” one finds in several texts in the Lucianic corpus. The agonistic and performative nature of philology also comes to light in TISCHER’s examination of Apuleius’ apology, where the speaker shows off his philological competence in order to create a bond with his judges and listeners – in juxtaposition to his accuser, who is exposed as an ignoramus.

Taking into account the bipartite structure of the book and the clear division between “poetic receptions” and “literary stagings” of philology, I was missing a more extended reflection on the relation between the two phenomena. The editors remark in the introduction that they are “keine isolierte Phänomene [...] sondern lassen sich als zwei miteinander in Beziehung stehende zentrale Bereiche des intellektuellen Diskurses in Dichtung und Prosa begreifen” (p. 16). A question arises whether the two modes of interaction with philology exemplified in the volume – one that entails emulative interaction with the Greek canon mediated by Hellenistic philology, and other that “stages” philological competence and presents it as activated in interaction with other members of society – are inherently tied to poetry and prose respectively, as the structure of the volume intimates.

As a collection of essays, the volume makes no claims to comprehensiveness (though a chapter on Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophists*, perhaps the best exemplification of the “staging of philology”, would be welcome), but it offers interesting insights into the afterlife of Hellenistic philology and its enduring influence. It is a stimulating read which touches on a number of larger issues: the close interconnection between modes of reading and writing; the interplay between forces integrating, transforming, and transcending received knowledge; and the relationship between literary education and social status.

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Maria YPSILANTI, *The Epigrams of Crinagoras of Mytilene: Introduction, Text, Commentary*, Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press, 2018, XI, 578 pp., ISBN 978-0-19-956582-5, £105.00.

The Hellenistic era, whose starting and ending points are in history traditionally (if not entirely accurately) marked by the deaths of two famous rulers, Alexander III of Macedonia and Cleopatra VII of Egypt, does not have such rigid dates in literature. Callimachus is widely recognised as a poet who defined new literary directions and paved the way for a group of great Hellenistic writers. At the close of the era, on the other hand, we have Crinagoras of Mytilene, who witnessed many political and social changes, traces of which are found in his works. This little-known but very interesting poet is the subject of a new full edition with commentary by Maria YPSILANTI [= M.Y.]. This book is the result of many years of scholarly research; the present volume is an expanded and revised version of her London doctoral thesis (2003).

51 epigrams ascribed to Crinagoras have survived until our times. With the exception of a few inscriptions from Mytilene, most of our information regarding this poet is gleaned from the extant works, which for obvious reasons are highly subjective source materials. However, we can be certain that he belonged to the narrow Lesbian elite, and travelled several times as an ambassador to Rome. In the capital of the nascent Empire he always maintained close contact with the family of Octavian Augustus, and hence mingled with the *crème de la crème* of Roman society. It is also interesting that these exclusive contacts allowed him to associate with the women of the *Princeps'* household. His poetic compositions testify not only to his literary artistry but also to his diplomatic talent. Unlike his contemporary or somewhat younger colleagues writing in Latin or Greek, for example Parthenius of Nicaea, Antipater of Thessalonica, Horace or Ovid, he was, it appears, first and foremost a diplomat who occasionally wrote poems, not a poet committed to the patronage of his society's powerful individuals. M.Y. groups him with other ambassador-writers from Mytilene: Theophanes (a friend of Pompey) and the rhetor Potamon. Crinagoras' epigrams, although they might be read as typical court poetry, were rather expressions of sympathy and tributes to his friends, however powerful. We also cannot pigeon-hole Crinagoras as a blind flatterer of Augustus, as evidenced by the epigrams on Philostratus and Nicias, the tyrant of Kos, both friends of Mark Antony. There is a certain pride, or even perhaps nostalgia for the past greatness of Greece and the Hellenistic kings in his works on the sad fate of Corinth, razed to the ground by the Romans, or on the wedding of Juba II of Mauretania and Cleopatra Selene, as well as on the latter's death. An interpretation of most of the epigrams is complicated by the fact that he evidently composed them for a narrow circle of his own friends, who were acquainted with their subject matter. This is one of the reasons why M.Y.'s commentary is invaluable for the modern reader, especially as the majority of the extant works refer to historical figures and events. If the selection of poems supplied in the *Greek Anthology* in any way reflects Crinagoras' poetic preferences, it shows that the poet himself specialised in works relating to his environment.

M.Y.'s work is divided into two mutually complementary parts: "Introduction" and "Text and Commentary". In her opening section, the author discusses all testimonia relating to Crinagoras together with a critical analysis of the sources while focusing on the presentation of the political and literary milieu within which the poet worked. The introduction elucidates the specific linguistic complexities and style of Crinagoras, drawing our attention to many interesting characteristic features, such as various *hapax legomena*, semantic peculiarities, Homericisms, and even the possible influence of Latin. M.Y. also does not neglect the stylistic structure of the epigrams and their brevity. She then provides a very detailed analysis of the metrical scheme, but most of her attention is focused on presenting the manuscript tradition. This excellent account of the history of textual transmission and its influence on modern reading is the key to understanding the poet's legacy. There is also a first-rate sub-section in which M.Y. demonstrates the complex chronology and

mutual relationships of the manuscripts, as well as the influence of errors made by editors across the ages on the reading of the text. This analysis assists us in understanding her selection and readings of the text later in the book. The "Introduction" concludes by presenting all the testimonia relating to the poet, both in literature and inscriptions, as well as by discussing the issue of the poems' genre. The main part of the book, titled "Text and Commentary", presents and analyses the epigrams according to the usual schema: text, *apparatus criticus*, English translation, discussion of the individual epigrams' contents and nature according to their literary associations, linguistic features, stylistic measures and construction. In most cases, where possible, M.Y. discusses the circumstances behind a given poem's origin. The proper commentary refers to individual words and phrases and the discussion of particular expressions is precise and highly detailed. The author's great erudition is made clear here, although she sometimes gives the impression of being too meticulous in wanting to show all the similarities, connections and corresponding expressions in other writers; so it is sometimes the case that the commentary appears somewhat 'wordy'. Of course, her search for possible references to Crinagoras in contemporary and later Latin poetry deserves great praise. She also argues convincingly for her textual choices and emendations (e.g. Ἰσθμικὸν ἔργον, pp. 91 f.). M.Y. demonstrates great sensitivity to Crinagoras' phonetics, appreciating his use of alliteration and repetition, his artistry and the concise and neat structure of the epigrams, in which the beginning and the end are often connected. Above all, her historical analysis and analytical methods in explaining the contents of the text deserve attention; a good example of accurate results is the identification of an occasion for which epigram *AP IX 239* (= 7) was written as the birthday of Antonia Minor (pp. 109 f.). M.Y. sometimes leaves the reader to draw his or her own conclusions by providing all the possible interpretations. The best example is her analysis – not without critical assessment – of the interpretation suggested by other scholars of the events mentioned in *AP IX 291* (= 27), namely various misfortunes experienced by the Roman army in Germania during the years 16–19 AD (pp. 280–283). Another excellent example of a well-balanced and cautious analysis is her commentary to epigram *AP VII 741* (= 21) on the death of a Roman soldier who saved the legionary eagle. The discussion of issues in the epigrams sometimes assumes the form of separate articles, which heightens the appeal of the commentary as a whole. In some places, however, we may question the author's argument, such as her assertion that "no Greek word existed in the poet's times" for a toothpick, Latin *dentiscalpium* (p. 80), which is given in the course of her discussion of epigram *AP VI 229* (= 4)¹. It is indeed an ironic twist of fate that the name for such a trivial everyday object has not survived until our times. It seems however that an item with an identical function is called ὀδοντοξέστης by Pollux (II 96 and IV 181) – because a dental scaler is nothing other than a toothpick. It is also possible that the object was called ὀδοντοξυστήρ (*Anon. Med.* 47, 15), the literal equivalent to *dentiscalpium*. But if we follow M.Y.'s proposal, it is possible that this item was actually defined much earlier as simply ὀδοντογλύφιον (see the testimonia given by M.Y. on p. 81), or ὀδοντογλυφίς, since a stick for cleaning the ears is called ὠτογλυφίς (Pl. *Com.* 162 K.–A.; *Etym. Mag.* 235, 17 s.v. γλυφίς; Poll. IV 181). Similarly, there is some lack of comprehensiveness in the discussion of epigrams thematically connected with *genethliaca*. M.Y.'s main focus is on Latin imitators and Roman traditions, with the Greek forebears being relegated to a footnote (p. 74, n. 4). At the same time, it seems important that one of the precursors for the celebration of birthdays in poetry was Callimachus himself, who commemorated not only the birthdays of Ptolemy II, but even wrote *Iamb XII* for the *amphidromia* of a little girl, the daughter of Leon². This poem as a gift for a child ought to be mentioned in the context of epigram *AP VI 227* (= 3), even if the gift and the occasion are somewhat different.

¹ See earlier for a similar assertion and further argument, A.S.F. GOW, D.L. PAGE, *The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams*, Cambridge 1968, vol. II, p. 215.

² On the *Hymn to Zeus* as a *genethliacon* for Ptolemy II Philadelphus, see J.J. CLAUSS, *Lies and Allusions: The Addressee and Date of Callimachus' "Hymn to Zeus"*, *ClAnt* V 1986, pp. 155–170.

It is of course a truism to assert that M.Y.'s work on Crinagoras in every respect exceeds the commentary by A.S.F. GOW and D.L. PAGE in *The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams*, Cambridge 1968, vol. II, pp. 210–259.

Crinagoras is a poet no doubt little known to a wider readership, but certainly worthy of study. His epigrams are miniatures in which the elite world of the new Empire is reflected as in a mirror, together with events both great and small, military disasters, and royal weddings, but also comic scenes featuring Octavian's parrot or goat. The poet is an important witness of the cultural crossover between Greece and Rome as they merged before his eyes into one political entity. None of this escapes M.Y.'s notice, thanks to which let us hope that Crinagoras' readership will grow, and not only in research seminars. It is worth bearing in mind that many authors in the *Greek Anthology* deserve similar individual study and commentary, which can nourish the hope that this commentary will set a good precedent for future research. *Vivant sequentes*.

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On the hypothesis that the *Hymn to Delos* was composed on a similar occasion, see H. MINEUR, *Callimachus, Hymn to Delos: Introduction and Commentary*, Leiden 1984, pp. 11 f.

Nicholas BANNER, *Philosophic Silence and the 'One' in Plotinus*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, ISBN 978-11-0-715462-9, £75.00.

The book consists of seven chapters (divided into two parts), an "Introduction" and a "Conclusion", as well as four Appendices (A, B, C, and D). In the "Introduction", BANNER [= B.] gives a general outline of the problems on which the book focuses as well as the proposed solutions to those problems. His main subject is philosophic silence and he proposes two types of silence in the pre-Plotinian literature: the "Cratylan silence", referring to Cratylus who, according to Aristotle (*Met.* 1010 a, 12–13), "finally decided that speech was not needful, but just moved his finger", and the negative, apophatic discourse of the philosophers and theologians. Plotinus, according to B., goes beyond that into his own, original use of silence, secrecy, esotericism and the ineffability of the first Principle, which consists in "performative pedagogic writing", a kind of spiritual exercise which aims at transforming the reader.

The first part of the book ("The Cultural Roots of Platonist Philosophic Silence") is divided into four chapters. In the first one ("De philosophorum Græcorum silentio mystico: Preliminaries"), B. defines the key terms and points out the methodological problems. He deals with such concepts as silence, esotericism, mysticism, mysteries, apophasis and the like, as well as with the difficulties which arise in the scholarly approach to them. The second chapter ("The Silent Philosopher") provides a history of the image, as mentioned in the title of the chapter, in ancient philosophy, beginning with the Presocratics.

Chapter Three ("Perennial Wisdom and Platonist Tradition") opens another dimension of the study, namely the idea of a certain "*philosophia perennis*" in antiquity. Even though this term only gained popularity in the early modern period, B. shows that already in ancient philosophy, especially in the Platonic tradition, there was a belief that there is an eternal wisdom or truth which had been revealed to mankind by great philosophers (like Pythagoras or Plato), but also by poets and prophets. B. shows how the idea developed historically and discusses the fascination of Imperial philosophers with "barbarian philosophy" (*Chaldaean Oracles*, *Corpus Hermeticum*, the Bible) and such important phenomena as the interaction of religion and philosophy or the significance of esotericism and hermeneutics in Middle Platonism.

Chapter Four ("Plotinus and 'the Ancients'") focuses on Plotinus and his understanding of the perennial tradition and its implications. B. shows how Plotinus understood the eternal wisdom transmitted by those whom he called οἱ παλαιοί or οἱ ἀρχαῖοι and what his self-concept as a philosopher working within this great tradition was. For the author of the *Enneads*, as follows from his attacks on the Sethian Gnostics (*Enn.* II 9), the great tradition, which had been betrayed by them, was simply the true, ancient tradition of the οἱ Ἕλληνες.

The second part of the book is entitled "The Transcendent Absolute, the Ineffable and Plotinian Poetics of Transcendence" and consists of three chapters, two of which are focused on the philosophy of Plotinus. Chapter Five ("The Development of the Transcendent Absolute in the Middle Platonist Milieu") is a historical survey of the idea of the Absolute in Middle Platonism, preparing the ground for the next chapter ("The Transcendent Absolute and the Ineffability of Reality in Plotinus"). Here B. gives an account of Plotinian metaphysics and epistemology, concentrating on the motifs of discursive or conceptual understanding vs. the ineffability of the divine hypostases. The last chapter ("The Poetics of Transcendence in Plotinus") deals with the text of the *Enneads* from a "performative" perspective. B. discusses the "negative methods" which he sees in Plotinus: apophasis, discursive aphaeresis and practical aphaeresis. He then deals with kataphatic modes of speaking about the One, especially, in terms of "improper speech" or various conditions that Plotinus imposes on such a kataphatic discourse. B. also introduces other literary methods employed by Plotinus, such as "(elative) indeterminacy", the "open secret" or the use of religious

tone in ascent narratives. He also shows the metaphysical implications of those writing strategies, in reference to Plotinus' monism and his understanding of the self.

In the "Conclusion" B. sums up his findings and elucidates the tension between Plotinus' silence as an expression of the elitist, hierarchical tradition of philosophy and his desire to openly share the transforming "secret" with any seriously committed reader/disciple. In the Appendices B. deals briefly with Plotinus' understanding of "Platonism", his view on the place of Aristotle within the great tradition, some points regarding the hypostases in Plotinian metaphysics and selected contemporary instances of esotericism and silence (the Tuebingen school of reading Plato through his *agrapha dogmata*, Leo STRAUSS and Jacques DERRIDA).

Nicholas BANNER's book is an excellent work, with an impressive breadth of scope. He has mastered the philosophical and literary tradition of antiquity as well as the secondary literature on the subjects he discusses. What should be praised is both his refreshing treatment of standard issues concerning Plotinian metaphysics and epistemology and his new insights into the practical/soteriological/therapeutic dimension of the *Enneads*. B. does not refer often to Pierre HADOT's concept of spiritual exercise, but his project falls clearly, even though only partially, within this area of study. His discussion of aphaeresis is interesting, even though I disagree with his division of this method into "conceptual" and "practical" types. The notion of elative indeterminacy, even though clearly inspired by Michael SELLS' work on apophasis and other forms of "unsaying"¹, is developed further in an innovative fashion and placed in the broader context of silence, esotericism, secrecy etc.

My only critical remark about the book would be that maybe its ambitious scope undermines the significance of B.'s contribution to Plotinian studies. Practically speaking, he has written a history of philosophic silence, esotericism and mystery and he spends a lot of time on the broad context and the tradition out of which Plotinus' philosophy grew. The chapters which survey the history of silence, transcendence or the perennial tradition are very informative, but not quite as innovative and thought-provoking as the last chapter on the "Poetics of Transcendence" in the *Enneads* or Chapter Four, which deals with Plotinus' view of the history of philosophy and his place in it. This is of course a matter of the author's choice and not an inherent flaw of the book, but, as a result, not all of the chapters are of equal value and sometimes B. becomes a little too digressive or repetitive. However, it does not undermine the fact that it is one of the best books on Plotinus in recent years.

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¹ M. SELLS, *Apophasis in Plotinus. A Critical Approach*, HThR LXXVIII 1985, pp. 47–65, and *Mystical Languages of Unsaying*, Chicago 1994.

IMPERIAL SLAVES AND FREEDMEN IN THE LIGHT OF EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE
FROM PROCONSULAR AFRICA: A REVIEW ARTICLE

Mohammed ABID, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux en Afrique proconsulaire sous le Haut-Empire romain. Notices prosopographiques du personnel subalterne et étude de son rôle administratif*, Tunis: Latrach Edition, 2017, 543 pp., ISBN 978-9938-924-92-3, DT 30.00 *.

While the administrative activity of *servi et liberti Augusti* and their position in the Roman bureaucracy have long been of interest to researchers, for many years the subject was only studied as a footnote to broader discussions of Roman administration, either in general or within particular provinces¹. It was only the studies undertaken by K. WACHTEL into the functions carried out by imperial slaves and freedmen in financial administration², by H. CHANTRAINE into their nomenclature, by G. BOULVERT into the administrative role of *servi et liberti Augusti* and the hierarchy of the various posts they held, and finally by P.R.C. WEAVER into the social status of members of the *familia Caesaris* and the mutually related issues of nomenclature and chronology, that changed that, leading to new research into the activity of imperial slaves and freedmen.

For obvious reasons, inscriptions, and especially epitaphs, are the main type of source material used in studies of that social group³. Particularly interesting and rich epigraphic material representing imperial slaves and freedmen comes from Proconsular Africa, and in particular from Carthage, where in the second half of the 19th century A.L. DELATTRE discovered three cemeteries (*sepulcreta familiae domus Augustae Carthaginiensis*): two in Bir-el-Zeitoun and one in Bir-el-Jebbana, containing over seven hundred tombstones of *officiales*⁴. The vast majority of finds in those cemeteries are tombstones of members of the *familia Caesaris* responsible for various administrative, technical and domestic tasks⁵. Among those, J.-M. LASSÈRE lists not only numerous servants who arranged and archived proconsuls' edicts (*adiutores a commentariis*), archivists and their assistants (*adiutores tabularii*), secretaries (*librarii*), and stenographers (*notarii*), but also more specialised *mentores agrorum*, *medici*, and *paedagogi*⁶. To a much lesser extent, the Carthaginian cemeteries

* I would like to thank the Lanckoroński Foundation for the month-long scholarship in Rome which I was awarded (September 2019).

¹ O. HIRSCHFELD, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, Berlin ²1905; A.M. DUFF, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, Oxford 1928; Regarding *Gallia Lugdunensis*, see e.g. P. WUILLEUMIER, *L'administration de la Lyonnaise sous le Haut-Empire*, Paris 1948.

² K. WACHTEL, *Freigelassene und Sklaven in der staatlichen Finanzverwaltung der römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis Diokletian*, Berlin 1966; H. CHANTRAINE, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienste der römischen Kaiser. Studien zu ihrer Nomenklatur*, Mainz 1967; G. BOULVERT *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous le Haut-Empire romain. Rôle politique et administratif*, Napoli 1970; IDEM, *Domestique et fonctionnaire sous le Haut-Empire romain: la condition de l'affranchi et de l'esclave du prince*, Paris 1974; P.R.C. WEAVER, *Familia Caesaris. A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves*, Cambridge 1972.

³ C. BRUUN, *Slaves and Freed Slaves*, in: C. BRUUN, J. EDMONDSON (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, Oxford 2015, pp. 617 f.

⁴ J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Recherches sur la chronologie des épitaphes païennes de l'Afrique*, Ant. Afr. VII 1973, pp. 25–27; IDEM, *Africa, quasi Roma: 256 av. J.-C. – 711 apr. J.-C.*, Paris 2015, p. 415.

⁵ *CIL* VIII 12593–13214 and 24686–24861.

⁶ LASSÈRE, *Africa...* (n. 4), p. 416.

also provide epitaphs of soldiers of the urban cohorts stationed in Carthage⁷ and other members of the military who carried out technical tasks⁸.

The first short commentary on the then newly discovered Carthaginian inscriptions and the administrative role of the African *officiales* was authored by Th. MOMMSEN himself⁹, and after that the subject matter lay all but untouched until the 1970s¹⁰. It was only in 1978 that D.A. NICHOLS wrote an unpublished dissertation in which he analysed the *officiales* from the Carthaginian cemeteries and the other *servi et liberti Augusti* active in *Africa Proconsularis*¹¹. Several decades later the same problem was investigated – independently, in that the author did not draw on NICHOLS's findings – by M. ABID of the University of Manouba, a specialist on Latin inscriptions in Roman North Africa. Published in 2017, M. ABID's monograph is based on his doctoral dissertation, which he defended successfully in 2010. Interestingly, the two works complement each other. NICHOLS analysed the organisation of Proconsular Africa and imperial domains in general terms, his catalogue including not only *servi et liberti Augusti*, but also the equestrian procurators active in that province and attested in inscriptions from all over the Roman Empire, as well as others. Meanwhile, M. ABID, drawing on more recently published epigraphic material¹², focused primarily on comprehensively analysing an enormous number of imperial slaves and freedmen (over five hundred in total), confirmed solely by inscriptions from *Africa Proconsularis*.

M. ABID had two main objectives in his monograph: to draw up a prosopographic list of imperial slaves and freedmen attested in epigraphic material from Proconsular Africa, and to describe the various administrative roles they carried out under the principate or, more precisely, from the reign of the Flavians, when the administration of imperial domains began to take shape, until the administrative reforms and the creation of two new provinces (Byzacena and Tripolitania) under Diocletian. The geographical scope of his work, equivalent to the territory of Proconsular Africa during the principate, was defined as extending from Leptis Magna in the East to Calama in the West. M. ABID's monograph is essentially divided into three parts; the first is a prosopographic catalogue of imperial slaves and freedmen holding diverse administrative and domestic functions, while the second is an epigraphic catalogue containing mostly Latin epitaphs mentioning *servi et liberti Augusti* from Proconsular Africa, who, as Abid writes, “had no connection to administrative or domestic tasks” (p. 157). The third part deals with the aforementioned administrative role played in Proconsular Africa by the group of officials under investigation.

For obvious reasons, M. ABID's analyses are based on a wealth of epigraphic material. The 205 Latin inscriptions providing the administrative titles of 190 members of the *familia Caesaris* come from 28 cities, towns and hamlets of Proconsular Africa. A large majority of those (125 inscriptions)

⁷ The *cohors XIII urbana* probably made its way to Carthage at the beginning of Vespasian's reign, after the crisis of 68–69, although the earliest confirmation of its presence in *Africa Proconsularis* only comes from 11 June 79. See W. ECK, A. PANGERL, *Das früheste Zeugnis für die Stationierung des Cohors XIII Urbana in Africa: 11. Juni 79 n. Chr.*, ZPE CXCIX 2016, pp. 176–183. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries, *cohors I (Flavia)* was stationed in Carthage; see C. RICCI, *In Custodiam Urbis: Notes on the Cohortes Urbanae (1968–2010)*, Historia LX 2011, pp. 494–496, 502–503; Y. LE BOHEC, *Histoire de l'Afrique Romaine: 146 avant J.-C.–439 après J.-C.*, Paris 2005, p. 98.

⁸ CIL VIII 12590–12592 and 24681–24685. See LASSÈRE, *Africa...* (n. 4), pp. 415 f.

⁹ Th. MOMMSEN, *Observationes Epigraphicae XXXIV. Officialium et militum Romanorum sepulchreta duo Carthaginiensia*, Ephemeris Epigraphica V 1884, pp. 105–120.

¹⁰ Cf. LASSÈRE, *Recherches...* (n. 4), pp. 25–27.

¹¹ D.A. NICHOLS, *The Imperial Slaves and Freedmen of Africa Proconsularis from Augustus to the Severi*, PhD diss., University of Cincinnati 1978.

¹² E.g. Z. BENZINA BEN ABDALLAH, L. LADJIMI-SEBAÏ, *Catalogue des inscriptions latines païennes inédites du Musée du Bardo*, Rome 2011.

are from Carthage, while 26 others come from Simitthus (modern Chemtou). Of the inscriptions which can be classified unambiguously, as many as 144 are epitaphs, with 23 being *cursus* inscriptions, another 23 dedications to gods, and 7, dedications to emperors (p. 17 f.). According to the author, a clear majority of the inscriptions with *servi et liberti Augusti* that can be dated (88 of them) come from the 3rd century; 71 are from the 2nd, and 27 from the 1st (p. 18). However, it ought to be noted that dating inscriptions (especially epitaphs) is often difficult and uncertain (of which the author is fully aware: see pp. 158 f.), and M. ABID's broad definition of a chronological category as "the 3rd century" can arouse certain doubts, as after 235 CE the number of Latin inscriptions falls abruptly throughout the Roman Empire¹³. Perhaps, therefore, regarding to the activity of *servi et liberti Augusti* in Proconsular Africa, considering several criteria for dating epitaphs, primarily freedmen's nomenclature, it would be better to define the reign of the Severi as a temporal category¹⁴.

The author further divided the imperial officials attested in inscriptions from *Africa Proconsularis* into ten separate categories: (1) the *officiales* responsible for preparing letters, for archives and accounts (63 cases, including *a commentariis, librarii, notarii, and tabularii*); (2) household servants (32 cases, including *aeditui, architecti, calculatores, cubicularii, fabri, medici, nomenclatores, paedagogi, pedisequi, praecones, ministratores, structores, a iumentis or supra iumenta, and vestiarii*); (3) officials responsible for the imperial post (32 cases, including *cursores and tabellarii*); (4) financial officials (21 cases, including *actores, arcarii, custodes, dispensatores, and vilici*); (5) *procuratores* (19 cases¹⁵); (6) *agrimensores, mensores*, and their assistants (7 cases); (7) staff of the *III publicae Africae* (6 cases); (8) *rationales* responsible for the quarries of Numidian marble (5 cases); (9) *saluarii* (2 cases); and (10) *adiutores a cognitionibus* (1 case). That classification is perfectly acceptable; it also seems justified to put all the freedman *procuratores*, as M. ABID did, in the same category regardless of their different duties (such as *procurator regionis* or *III publicorum Africae*), considering the fact that theirs was the highest rank in the administrative hierarchy. The author's construction of individual biographical notes is as unobjectionable as the classification of functions held. Each biographical note covers: the official's function; the place where the inscription was found; a description of the inscription and a basic edition; the text of the inscription and its translation; the date of the inscription; and finally a commentary (plus onomastic remarks). Within each of the ten categories, the biographical notes come in chronological order; further on, they are listed alphabetically by the *gentilicia* of freedmen and *nomina simplicia* of slaves.

M. ABID's epigraphic catalogue presenting first imperial freedmen, and then imperial slaves, whose administrative function is not known, is a considerable achievement. It covers 327 people (the vast majority of whom were *servi Augusti*) known from 301 inscriptions from *Africa Proconsularis*. With five exceptions, the inscriptions involved are all sepulchral (p. 157). Naturally, a large majority (232) of the epitaphs are from Carthage (with Theveste second with 14 inscriptions; p. 161). The epigraphic catalogue is preceded by a discussion of the structure of *épitaphes païennes*, and finally, the author lists some statistics concerning the people featured in the epitaphs – 161 male slaves, 86 female slaves, 27 freedmen, 17 freedwomen, 11 male *vernae*, 6 female *vernae*, and 18 persons of unknown status (pp. 158 f.). Lastly, the author discusses the criteria for dating epitaphs, realising how

¹³ WEAVER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 2: "...its development can be studied in detail over a long period extending from the time of Augustus to the early third century, when the epigraphical evidence ceases". See also S. MROZEK, *À propos de la répartition chronologique des inscriptions latines dans le Haut-Empire*, *Epigraphica* XXXV 1973, pp. 113–118; IDEM, *À propos de la répartition chronologique des inscriptions latines dans le Haut-Empire*, *Epigraphica* L 1988, pp. 61–64.

¹⁴ See LASSÈRE, *Recherches...* (n. 4), pp. 54, 122 f.

¹⁵ In this part of his work (pp. 112–133), M. ABID lists 19 *procuratores*, among whom he also counts M. Ulpius Menophoon (*ILAfr* 440), an *adiutor* of two procurators, while in part three (pp. 340 f.), he already enumerates 20 procurators, omitting that imperial freedman, who in fact never held a procuratorship.

difficult and how risky a task it is. Drawing on the criteria adopted by LASSÈRE in his study of epitaphs from Carthaginian cemeteries¹⁶, M. ABID lists two fundamental criteria for establishing the date: the differences and abbreviations encountered in the nomenclature of imperial slaves and freedmen, and the differences and abbreviations found in the formula to the Departed Spirits, *Dis Manibus* (or its absence)¹⁷. As a result, M. ABID distinguishes four essential periods: (1), the first half of the 1st century CE (no invocation of the departed spirits); (2), the second half of the 1st century CE (invocation written out in full); (3), the 2nd–3rd centuries CE (invocation variously abbreviated); and (4), the 3rd century CE (the invocation abbreviated as *DMS*). The individual notes in the epigraphic catalogue cover the name of the freedman or slave (usually listed as the founder or the deceased person to whom the epitaph was dedicated), the dead person's age (if it is known), the place where the inscription was found, the type of monument that bore it, an edition of the inscription, its text with a translation, and onomastic remarks (with a separate historical commentary in some cases).

The basic criterion for including imperial freedmen and slaves in the epigraphic catalogue was that, in the author's opinion, they did not have any administrative or domestic duties (p. 157), that is, M. ABID assumed that an inscription containing no administrative title or function is evidence enough in that regard. While this approach let him simply pick out a large group of *servi et liberti Augusti*, it may have been too simple. Of course, many African imperial slaves and freedmen may have had no office or function assigned to them, but it is very likely that in some cases (naturally excluding women and children), their duties and titles were simply deliberately omitted from the inscriptions, for example to save space or emphasise some other information about the dead person¹⁸. For instance, the well-to-do freedman of Augustus and the mausoleum-founder, C. Iulius Aug. l. Felix Accavonis f(ilius)¹⁹, who held no title or whose title did not make it into the inscription, was probably responsible for the organisation of imperial domains in Proconsular Africa as the principate began²⁰; it is also likely that the anonymous group of dedicants referred to as *liberti et familia Caesaris* (*Caesarum*), attested in inscriptions from Hippo Regius and Lepti Minus²¹, had a connection to administering imperial estates in two major districts²². Furthermore there are reasons to believe Chrysanthus, the *dispensator Augusti* and founder of an Aïn el-Gueliane epitaph, preferred to stress the name of Domitian as the manumitting emperor and the type of death of the imperial freedman T. Flavius Venustus (who died at 80 *sine cruciatu* (or *cruciare*), an expression unconfirmed in other inscriptions) than the financial function Venustus had held, which also had some relation to administering imperial domains (that of *dispensator* or maybe *procurator*²³, not featured in the inscription)²⁴.

¹⁶ LASSÈRE, *Recherches...* (n. 4), pp. 16–19.

¹⁷ L. CHIOFFI, *Death and Burial*, in: BRUUN, EDMONDSON (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 637.

¹⁸ Cf. NICHOLS, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 148.

¹⁹ *AE* 1979, 656.

²⁰ A. BESCHAOUCH, *Éléments celtiques dans la population du pays de Carthage*, CRAI CXXIII 1979, 3, pp. 397 f.

²¹ *ILAlg* I 3992; *ILPB* 96.

²² Cf. M. CHRISTOL, *Du notable local à l'administrateur impérial, la carrière de T(itus) Flavius Macer: Aspects de la vie institutionnelle de la province d'Afrique au début du II^e siècle apr. J.-C.*, in: IDEM, *Regards sur l'Afrique romaine*, Paris 2005, p. 108.

²³ H. ABID, *Aïn El Gueliane: le centre d'un domaine impérial aux environs de Mvstis?*, in: N. BOUKHCHIM, J. BEN NASR (eds.), *Peuplement, territoire et culture matérielle dans l'espace méditerranéen: actes du cinquième colloque international, Kairouan 15, 16 et 17 avril 2014*, Tunis 2016, pp. 99–114.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 101; cf. *AE* 2016, 1912: *Dis Manibus./ T(ito) Flavio Venusto./ Domitiani Aug(usti)/ līb(erto) vixit annis/ LXXX, sine cruciat[u]./ Chrysanthus Aug(usti)/ disp(ensator), amico bene/*

In part three, which deals with the administrative activities of the group of African *officiales* being studied, M. ABID preceded the discussion proper with a chapter analysing the onomastics of the *servi et liberti Augusti* attested in inscriptions from *Africa Proconsularis*, “allogènes ou autochtones?” (p. 283) and a chapter on the religious activity of the African members of the *familia Caesaris*. With LASSÈRE’s classic discussion of the origins of the inhabitants of the African provinces²⁵, in which he investigated diverse information contained in epitaphs (such as their *origo* or *domus*) as his starting point, the author offers a broader overview of studies into African onomastics (e.g. by H.-G. PFLAUM, H. THYLANDER, or M. EUZENNAT). Of course, M. ABID lists examples of both Greek and Oriental names (*nomina* and *cognomina*) among the officials in question, but, in agreement with LASSÈRE, he is rightly reluctant to see names (Greek or Oriental) as unambiguously pointing to ethnicity or geographic origins, even though, as he emphasises, not all authors agree. For example, for the 2nd century, he enumerates 29 imperial slaves with names of Greek origin (28.7% of the total, a 9 percent increase in comparison to the 1st century), whereas for the 3rd century, when Latin names were more common among slaves, he lists 32 slaves with Greek names (18.2%, with a 10.5 percent drop from the 2nd century; pp. 295–299). Apparently, like M. KHANOUSSI and L. MAURIN in their study on Thugga epitaphs, in which they identified 59 Greek names in 1617 epitaphs²⁶, the author favours the hypothesis according to which giving Greek *cognomina* to *servi et liberti Augusti* may have been due to a process of Hellenisation or even acculturation (p. 286, n. 30; p. 301) rather than reflective of their ethnic background or geographical origin. Arranging the onomastic material according to three criteria – chronology, gender and legal status (with the *nomina* of slaves, *nomina* of *vernae* and the *duo* and *tria nomina* of freedmen done separately) allowed M. ABID to observe certain regularities on the level of families, making schematisation (in the sense of exclusively Latin or exclusively Greek names in both parents and children) impossible: parents with Latin names gave their children Greek (or non-Latin) names, and conversely – parents with Greek (or non-Latin) names gave their children Latin names. Thus, as the author rightly concluded, it would be difficult to demonstrate any direct relationship between the onomastics of *servi et liberti Augusti* and their ethnicity. In the next chapter, based on the dedications made by imperial slaves and freedmen, M. ABID investigates their euergetic activity and their heterogeneous involvement in religious life, taking into account the imperial cult, Roman provincial cults, the cult of Serapis and the cult of the Genius.

The thoroughly prepared third and final part of M. ABID’s book, dealing with the administrative role of the 190 *officiales* (139 imperial slaves, including 21 *vernae*, and 51 imperial freedmen) attested in the material from Proconsular Africa, has been divided into seven chapters on: (1) officials responsible for the emperor’s property (from *actores*, *custodes*, and *dispensatores*, through *saltuarii* to the highest-ranking *procuratores*); (2) officials whose duties involved clerical administration and accountancy (*a commentariis*, *librarii*, *notarii*, and *tabularii* with their *adiutores*); (3) officials involved with court offices (*adiutores a cognitionibus*); (4) those involved with the imperial post (*cursores* and *tabellarii*); (5) measurement and topography specialists (*agrimensores*, *chorographi*, and *mensores*); (6) household officials of the *familia Caesaris* (e.g. *cubicularii*, *medici*, *nomenclatores*, *paedagogi*, and *ministratores*); and (7) centres of imperial administration in Proconsular Africa, including the five major administrative centres (Carthage, Theveste, Hippo Regius, Leptis Magna, and Calama) and fifteen towns (such as Simitthus or Capsa) where imperial *officiales* were

merenti fecit. The reading of *sine cruciatu* (AE), instead of *sine cruciare*, is more correct linguistically, although it cannot be confirmed on the basis of an analysis of the find alone.

²⁵ J.-M. LASSÈRE, *Ubique populus. Peuplement et mouvement de population dans l’Afrique romaine de la chute de Carthage à la fin de la dynastie des Sévères (146 a.C.–235 p.C.)*, Paris 1977, pp. 386–405, 413–437.

²⁶ M. KHANOUSSI, L. MAURIN, *Mourir à Dougga: Recueil des inscriptions funéraires*, Bordeaux–Tunis 2002, pp. 673, 709 f.

active. In this part of his work, M. ABID steps outside the methodological framework of a researcher of Roman epigraphy by looking into the duties and powers of the several categories of officials, among other issues. Showing considerable erudition, he analyses not only inscriptions (including some from outside of Proconsular Africa), but also diverse narrative and juridical sources. A vast majority of the imperial officials investigated by the author were active in the administrative centre in Carthage, or more precisely in the office buildings in Byrsa surrounding what was probably the forum²⁷. Many were also involved with territorial administration, which was related not only to the decentralisation of imperial domains (*fundi, saltus, praedia*) in Proconsular Africa begun under Trajan – their administrative centres were located in Carthage, Hippo Regius, Theveste, Hadrumentum, and later in Lepti Minus too – but also with the location of specific resources, especially Numidian marble (*giallo antico*, a yellow-orange-pink stone), produced in the mines at Simitthus, which were under the protection of the *legio III Augusta*²⁸ and probably had nearby a tripartite work camp with a penitentiary centre (*ergastulum*)²⁹. Lower ranking imperial officials were active in various branches of administration to do with imperial property (such as estates or quarries of Numidian marble) and taxes (such as *portorium* or *III publica Africae*). The scope of their duties, discussed by M. ABID in detail, varied. On the one hand, *dispensatores* carried out specialised accountancy tasks, not only on the imperial estates in the *regiones* or at quarries, but also managing the finances of the *legio III Augusta*; on the other, imperial slaves and freedmen acted as engineers/architects (*architecti*), cooks (*ministratores* and *structores*) and accountants (*custodes horreorum*). The author convincingly demonstrated that the latter cannot be simply referred to as ‘guardians’, since, unlike *aeditui*, they probably carried out financial tasks (“chargé de contrôler la sortie des denrées”, p. 326).

As mentioned above, procuratorships were the highest rank of administrative posts held in *Africa Proconsularis* by *liberti Augusti*. Imperial freedmen had various titles attested in epigraphic material, such as *procurator regionis*, *procurator dioecesis*, *procurator IIII publicorum Africae*, *procurator telonei maritimi*, and *procurator marmorum Numidicorum*. In his discussion, M. ABID often draws on the class-based hierarchy of freedman procuratorships introduced by BOULVERT, e.g. when he claims that the *procuratores regionum*, who supervised districts in the imperial domain, belonged, like the procurators responsible for *saltus*, to “classe F”, whose members received a yearly salary of 60 thousand sesterces (p. 345). However, it should be noted that BOULVERT’s classification, which attempts to categorise those procuratorships in a manner similar to PFLAUM’s classification of equestrian careers, is not fully convincing and has been criticised – the amount of money paid to *procuratores regionum* is purely speculative³⁰. While certain regularities can be observed in the careers and promotions of *equites* and senators, reading them into offices held by imperial slaves and freedmen is risky.

M. ABID was right to express doubts regarding the view, present in literature, that freedmen with a single title of *procurator* or *procurator Augusti* (with the exact remit unspecified) ought to be identified with *procuratores saltuum*³¹, merely claiming that those mysterious *procuratores* were

²⁷ L. LADJIMI-SEBAÏ, *La colline de Byrsa à l’époque romaine. Étude épigraphique et état de la question*, Karthago XXVI 2005, pp. 285–287.

²⁸ M. KHANOUSSI, *Les activités “civiles” de l’armée en Tunisie à l’époque romaine*, Revue Tunisienne d’Histoire Militaire I 2008, p. 36.

²⁹ A.M. HIRT, *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World. Organizational Aspects 27 BC–AD 235*, Oxford 2010, p. 25.

³⁰ G. BURTON, *Slaves, Freedmen and Monarchy*, JRS LXVII 1977, pp. 163 f. Cf. WEAVER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 268–276.

³¹ Cf. M. LE GLAY’s amended reading of the inscription CIL VIII 2439 and his reconstruction of the office held by the imperial freedman T. Flavius Extricatus (the *procurator* in the inscription

involved with imperial domains (p. 348). The existence of *procuratores saltuum* responsible for individual domains in Proconsular Africa is uncertain, and the six mysterious *procuratores Augusti* mentioned by the author were most likely *procuratores regionum*, the lowest-ranking of the procurators involved in imperial possessions in Proconsular Africa³². While M. ABID's detailed analysis of the work done by the several groups of *officiales* is a significant achievement, so is the description of the administrative centres of Proconsular Africa, complete with the clerical offices (such as the *tabularium* and *commentarium* in Carthage).

Although only listing and describing the duties and powers of those imperial servants of the *familia Caesaris* attested in the epigraphic material from *Africa Proconsularis*, and so limiting the source base in territorial terms, does have its methodological justification (as well as making M. ABID's extensive work shorter), in some cases the picture it paints of the *servi et liberti Augusti* active in the province (including the statistics), is incomplete. The 20 freedman procurators listed by M. ABID (pp. 340 f.) fail to include two freedman procurators active in Proconsular Africa, M. Ulpus Probus and Tyrrhenus, both with the title *procurator regionis Thevestinae*, because the inscriptions presenting their careers come either from Ostia (CIL XIV 176) and from Rome (CIL VI 790). Moreover, M. ABID only lists those *procuratores marmorum Numidicorum* who are attested in inscriptions from Simitthus (pp. 344–346), omitting the imperial freedman Iulianus who held the function in 172, confirmed in a dated label inscription on a *giallo antico* block from Rome (ILS 8719)³³. Only one freedman *procurator tractus Carthaginiensis*, a certain Bassus, is attested (in a funerary inscription from Rome dated to the second half of the 2nd century; CIL VI 8608). This confirms the theory about the unequal social standing within pairs of *procuratores tractus* in Carthage (one of them being an *eques* and another a freedman). A more complete, more reliable description of that particular group of officials in that province, which was of great importance to Rome, can only be obtained by using and analysing epigraphic material from all over *Imperium Romanum* rather than just Proconsular Africa.

In summary, the critical remarks expressed in this review article in no way detract from M. ABID's impressive achievement. It is worth noting that his work is based on an enormous amount of source material – the number of Latin inscriptions from *Africa Proconsularis* mentioning *servi et liberti Augusti* is huge and still growing³⁴. M. ABID's meticulous analyses and the conclusions he reaches are often innovative, and his excellent epigraphic skills are commendable. His book should certainly be obligatory for anyone interested in the history of Roman administration.

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must have been a *procurator saltus*): M. LE GLAY, *Les Flaviens et l'Afrique*, MEFRA LXXX 1968, p. 229.

³² See K. KLODZIŃSKI, *New procuratores regionis Thuggensis?*, ZPE CCXIII 2020, pp. 305–312. See also J. KOLENDO, *La hiérarchie des procureurs dans l'inscription d'Aïn-el-Djemala (C.I.L., VIII, 25943)*, REL XLVI 1968, pp. 319–329.

³³ C. DUBOIS, *Étude sur l'administration et l'exploitation des carrières (marbres, porphyre, granit, etc.) dans le monde romain*, Paris 1908, p. 43, no. 110; M. KHANOUSSE, *Les officiales marmorum Numidicorum*, L'Africa Romana XII 1998, pp. 1007 f., no. 19; HIRT, *op. cit.* (n. 29), pp. 117 f.

³⁴ In 2014 and 2016, inscriptions from Mustis and its rural landscape were published, mentioning new imperial slave and freedman whose titles were *dispensator Augusti* and *procurator Augusti*. See M. CHAOUALI, *Épigraphie inédite de Mustis sur l'administration des domaines impériaux en Afrique du Nord au début du II^e siècle apr. J.-C.*, CCGG XXV 2014, pp. 81–88; H. ABID, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 99–114.

JĘZYKI KLASYCZNE I KULTURA ANTYCZNA
W ZREFORMOWANYM LICEUM OGÓLNOKSZTAŁCĄCYM1. PODSTAWY PRAWNE REFORMY¹

Zgodnie z założeniami i harmonogramem reformy polskiej oświaty od 1 września 2019 r. zmiany strukturalno-programowe wprowadzone zostały do szkół ponadpodstawowych, określanych w prawie oświatowym jako trzeci etap edukacyjny. Jedną z zasadniczych zmian, wpływających na sytuację nauczania języków klasycznych i kultury antycznej, jest wprowadzenie nowego modelu kształcenia ogólnego w postaci 4-letniego liceum ogólnokształcącego. Wśród najważniejszych aktów prawnych regulujących system szkolny i wprowadzających reformę, obok dotychczasowych: Ustawy o systemie oświaty² i Karty Nauczyciela³, wymienić należy trzy nowe ustawy: ustawę Prawo Oświatowe z 14 grudnia 2016 r.⁴, Ustawę z dnia 27 października 2017 r. o finansowaniu zadań oświatowych⁵, Ustawę z dnia 27 października 2017 r. o Ogólnopolskiej sieci edukacyjnej⁶, a także rozporządzenia Ministra Edukacji Narodowej w sprawie podstawy programowej kształcenia ogólnego⁷ i ramowych planów nauczania⁸.

¹ Stan na dzień 1 września 2019.

² Obwieszczenie Marszałka Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 5 lipca 2018 r. w sprawie ogłoszenia jednolitego tekstu Ustawy o systemie oświaty (Dziennik Ustaw, 2018 r., poz. 1457).

³ Ustawa z dnia 26 stycznia 1982 r. Karta Nauczyciela, tekst ujednolicony (Dziennik Ustaw, 2019 r., poz. 2215).

⁴ Ustawa z dnia 14 grudnia 2016 r. Prawo oświatowe. (Dziennik Ustaw, 2019 r., poz. 1148, 1078, 1287, 1680, 1681, 1818, 2197 i 2248).

⁵ Ustawa z dnia 27 października 2017 r. o finansowaniu zadań oświatowych (Dziennik Ustaw, 2017 r., poz. 2203).

⁶ Ustawa z dnia 27 października 2017 r. o Ogólnopolskiej Sieci Edukacyjnej (Dziennik Ustaw, 2017 r., poz. 2184).

⁷ Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 30 stycznia 2018 r. w sprawie podstawy programowej kształcenia ogólnego dla liceum ogólnokształcącego, technikum oraz branżowej szkoły II stopnia (Dziennik Ustaw, 2018 r., poz. 467).

⁸ Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 3 kwietnia 2019 r. w sprawie ramowych planów nauczania dla publicznych szkół (Dziennik Ustaw, 2019 r., poz. 639).

Z punktu widzenia kształcenia klasycznego najistotniejsze są jednak przepisy określające ramowe plany nauczania i wprowadzające zmienioną podstawę programową.

2. ZAŁOŻENIA ORGANIZACYJNE ZREFORMOWANEGO LICEUM OGÓLNOKSZTAŁCĄCEGO

W zreformowanym liceum ogólnokształcącym zachowana została zasada furkacji programowej, oparta na obligatoryjnej systemowo realizacji przez uczniów przedmiotów rozszerzonych, przy czym liczba tych rozszerzeń ograniczona została do maksymalnie trzech. Istotną zmianą jest także odejście od ramowych planów nauczania, określających minimalną liczbę godzin poszczególnych przedmiotów w cyklu kształcenia definiowanym dla etapów edukacyjnych, na rzecz ujęcia ramowych planów nauczania w cyklach rocznych z określonym ściśle tygodniowym wymiarem godzinowym poszczególnych zajęć edukacyjnych. Rozwiązanie to przywraca więc trzy zasady organizacji programowej liceum ogólnokształcącego, które ma być szkołą 4-letnią i 4-klasową w układzie jednorocznym; jednolitą strukturalnie, ale zróżnicowaną programowo oraz zachowującą pełną drożność pionową i poziomą systemu kształcenia. Przedmioty szkolne i zajęcia edukacyjne podzielone zostały na trzy grupy, z których pierwsza obejmuje przedmioty realizowane wyłącznie na poziomie podstawowym (plastyka, muzyka, edukacja dla bezpieczeństwa, podstawy przedsiębiorczości, wychowanie fizyczne, wychowanie do życia w rodzinie, religia/etyka), przedmioty realizowane wyłącznie na poziomie rozszerzonym (historia sztuki, historia muzyki) oraz przedmioty realizowane na poziomie podstawowym lub rozszerzonym (język polski, języki nowożytnie, matematyka, języki mniejszości narodowej lub etnicznej oraz język regionalny – język kaszubski, historia, wiedza o społeczeństwie, geografia, biologia, chemia, filozofia, fizyka, informatyka). Język łaciński i kultura antyczna pierwotnie zaliczony został do grupy przedmiotów realizowanych wyłącznie na poziomie rozszerzonym, co było zachowaniem dotychczasowej sytuacji, jednak w rozporządzeniu z 3 kwietnia 2019 r. w sprawie ramowych planów nauczania przedmiot język łaciński i kultura antyczna zaliczony został do grupy przedmiotów, spośród których, zgodnie z decyzją dyrektora szkoły, uczniowie realizują jeden w wymiarze 1h tygodniowo w klasie pierwszej. Tym samym uległ zmianie status przedmiotu język łaciński i kultura antyczna, który od roku szkolnego 2020/2021 będzie mógł być realizowany na poziomie podstawowym i rozszerzonym.

W przypadku przedmiotów realizowanych na poziomie rozszerzonym określony został obligatoryjny wymiar godzinowy, przy czym przedmiotom: język polski, wiedza o społeczeństwie, historia muzyki, historia sztuki, filozofia, język łaciński i kultura antyczna przypisano 8h w cyklu, a językom obcym nowożytnym, historii, geografii, biologii, chemii, fizyce, matematyce, informatyce – 6h. Łącznie zaś na realizację przedmiotów rozszerzonych przeznaczono 22h

w cyklu. Osobną kategorię stanowią przedmioty uzupełniające w wymiarze co najmniej 2h oraz 3h do dyspozycji dyrektora, które przeznaczone mogą być na zajęcia rozwijające zainteresowania uczniów. Ponadto dyrektor szkoły może wystąpić z wnioskiem do organu prowadzącego szkołę o dodatkowe 2h dla każdego oddziału.

3. JĘZYKI KLASYCZNE W ZREFORMOWANYM LICEUM⁹

Biorąc pod uwagę przytoczone powyżej założenia organizacyjne liceum ogólnokształcącego, wskazać możemy kilka możliwości realizacji zajęć z języków klasycznych. Pierwszym rozwiązaniem jest język łaciński i kultura antyczna jako jeden z trzech przedmiotów realizowanych na poziomie rozszerzonym, zgodnie z obowiązującą podstawą programową w wymiarze 8h w cyklu kształcenia, przy czym przedmiot ten może rozpoczynać się w klasie 1, 2 lub 3, a wymiar godzinowy w poszczególnych latach nauki nie jest narzucony, chociaż w komentarzu do podstawy programowej zaleca się 4- lub 3-letni cykl nauczania i równomierne rozłożenie godzin¹⁰. Druga możliwość to język łaciński i kultura antyczna jako jeden z przedmiotów do wyboru w klasie pierwszej (obok plastyki, muzyki i filozofii), nauczany w wymiarze 1h w cyklu, przy czym z powodu braku podstawy programowej dla takiego zakresu, rozwiązanie to możliwe będzie do wprowadzenia najwcześniej od roku szkolnego 2020/2021. Decyzja o wyborze realizowanego przez uczniów przedmiotu należy do kompetencji dyrektora szkoły i powinna uwzględniać możliwości organizacyjne i stan zatrudnienia w danej placówce. Rozwiązanie to budzi wiele wątpliwości i obaw, jednak należy zwrócić uwagę, że jego główną i zasadniczą zaletą jest fakt, że ma ono charakter systemowy, a nauczanie języka łacińskiego może być kontynuowane w innej formie i nie musi się ograniczać wyłącznie do określonego w przepisach wymiaru 1h.

Innym rozwiązaniem, nieujęty w podstawie programowej, ale wynikającym z rozporządzenia o ramowych planach nauczania, jest wprowadzenie zajęć z języków klasycznych jako przedmiotów uzupełniających. Jest to kontynuacja stosowanego w 3-letnim liceum rozwiązania, w którym język łaciński (ale także grecki) może być nauczany jako przedmiot uzupełniający, dla którego nie została zdefiniowana podstawa programowa. W takim przypadku zajęcia realizowane są w oparciu o indywidualny, autorski program nauczania, przygotowany przez nauczyciela, a sam przedmiot nie może być nazwany „język łaciński i kultura antyczna”. W zreformowanym licem 4-letnim możliwe jest wprowadzenie przedmiotu uzupełniającego jako kontynuacji przedmiotu język łaciński i kultura

⁹ Stan na dzień 1 września 2019.

¹⁰ Zob. A. Klęczar, J. Ryba, W. Kozak, *Vademecum nauczyciela. Wdrażanie podstawy programowej w szkole ponadpodstawowej: język łaciński i kultura antyczna* (Warszawa: Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji): 25.

antyczna, realizowanego w klasie pierwszej w wymiarze 1h, lub jako odrębnego przedmiotu w przypadku wyboru przez dyrektora plastyki, muzyki lub filozofii. Wymogiem formalnym jest tutaj jednak taki dobór przedmiotów rozszerzonych, żeby ich łączny wymiar godzinowy był mniejszy niż 22h w cyklu kształcenia. Kolejna możliwość to języki klasyczne jako zajęcia rozwijające zainteresowania uczniów. Podobnie jak w poprzednim przypadku przedmiotu uzupełniającego, zajęcia te mogą być kontynuacją lub odrębnym przedmiotem, realizowanym w oparciu o program autorski i bez podstawy programowej. Wymiar godzinowy ustalany jest przez dyrektora i może być zwiększony po uzyskaniu zgody i dodatkowych środków finansowych z budżetu organu prowadzącego.

4. ZINDYWIDUALIZOWANE ŚCIEŻKI EDUKACYJNE

Jeszcze innym rozwiązaniem możliwym do zastosowania jest nauczanie języków klasycznych w oparciu o zindywidualizowane ścieżki edukacyjne¹¹. Rozwiązanie to obejmuje w zasadzie cztery formy: eksperyment dydaktyczny, innowację pedagogiczną, indywidualny tok nauczania oraz indywidualny program nauczania. Każda z tych form realizowana może być w pełnych zespołach klasowych, grupach międzyoddziałowych lub w indywidualnej pracy z pojedynczymi osobami. Najkorzystniejszymi z punktu widzenia nauczyciela rozwiązaniami są eksperyment dydaktyczny i innowacja pedagogiczna. W tym przypadku mogą zostać przekroczone tygodniowe limity zajęć edukacyjnych dla uczniów, co w praktyce pozwala na zwiększenie liczby godzin języka łacińskiego (także przedmiotu realizowanego jako rozszerzenie) lub wprowadzenie obok trzech innych rozszerzeń łaciny w wymiarze ustalonym przez dyrektora i zaakceptowanym przez organ prowadzący (także w wymiarze określonym w podstawie programowej, co *de facto* daje możliwość wprowadzenia czwartego rozszerzenia). Zasady wprowadzania oraz realizacji eksperymentów i innowacji określają odpowiednie przepisy prawa oświatowego¹². Jednym z wymagań jest opracowanie przez nauczyciela autorskich propozycji programowych lub metodycznych oraz nawiązanie współpracy pomiędzy szkołą i uczelnią wyższą, która sprawuje formalnie opiekę naukową i patronat nad realizowanym projektem. Rozwiązanie to wymaga więc podjęcia przez nauczyciela szeregu określonych działań organizacyjnych i opracowania dokumentacji oraz programu autorskiego, ale jednocześnie daje możliwość wprowadzenia zajęć edukacyjnych z języków klasycznych w dowolnym wymiarze.

¹¹ Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 9 sierpnia 2017 r. w sprawie warunków i trybu udzielania zezwoleń na indywidualny program lub tok nauki oraz organizacji indywidualnego programu lub toku nauki (Dziennik Ustaw, 2017 r., poz. 1569).

¹² Art. 45 Ustawy z dnia 14 grudnia 2016 r. Prawo oświatowe. (Dziennik Ustaw, 2019 r., poz. 1148, 1078, 1287, 1680, 1681, 1818, 2197 i 2248).

5. PODSTAWA PROGRAMOWA DLA PRZEDMIOTU NAUCZANEGO W ZAKRESIE ROZSZERZONYM

Zindywidualizowane ścieżki kształcenia ze względu na swoją specyfikę nie podlegają jednoznacznej klasyfikacji programowej. Inaczej jest w przypadku przedmiotu nauczanego w zakresie rozszerzonym, zgodnie z ministerialną podstawą programową¹³. Należy w tym miejscu przypomnieć, że od 2012 roku podstawa programowa kształcenia ogólnego stanowi jednocześnie standardy wymagań egzaminacyjnych. Zasada ta ma więc zastosowanie w odniesieniu do egzaminów maturalnych w tzw. nowej formule, czyli zdawanych od 2015 roku. Według wcześniejszych regulacji prawnych standardy wymagań egzaminacyjnych tworzone były w oparciu o zapisy podstawy programowej, ale nie musiały obejmować wszystkich zapisanych w niej treści kształcenia. Przy obecnym stanie prawnym zatem podstawa programowa traktowana jest przez władze oświatowe i organy nadzoru pedagogicznego jako jedyny wyznacznik standardów kształcenia, co jest szczególnie istotne w przypadku języka łacińskiego, do którego nie mają zastosowania chociażby standardy Europejskiego Systemu Opisu Kształcenia Językowego. Instytucjonalne i systemowe kształcenie klasyczne musi więc być w pełni zgodne z przywołanymi aktami prawa oświatowego, a realizacja podstawy programowej podlega kontroli i ewaluacji wewnętrznej i zewnętrznej, zgodnie z przyjętymi kierunkami polityki oświatowej.

Zgodnie z podstawą programową kształcenie ogólne tworzy programowo spójną całość i stanowi fundament wykształcenia umożliwiający zdobycie różnicowanych kwalifikacji zawodowych, a następnie ich doskonalenie lub modyfikowanie, otwierając proces uczenia się przez całe życie. Celami globalnymi kształcenia ogólnego w liceum ogólnokształcącym są:

1. traktowanie uporządkowanej, systematycznej wiedzy jako podstawy kształtowania umiejętności;
2. doskonalenie umiejętności myślowo-językowych, takich jak: czytanie ze zrozumieniem, pisanie twórcze, formułowanie pytań i problemów, posługiwanie się kryteriami, uzasadnianie, wyjaśnianie, klasyfikowanie, wnioskowanie, definiowanie, posługiwanie się przykładami itp.;
3. rozwijanie osobistych zainteresowań ucznia i integrowanie wiedzy przedmiotowej z różnych dyscyplin;
4. zdobywanie umiejętności formułowania samodzielnych i przemyślanych sądów, uzasadniania własnych i cudzych sądów w procesie dialogu;

¹³ Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 30 stycznia 2018 r. w sprawie podstawy programowej kształcenia ogólnego dla liceum ogólnokształcącego, technikum oraz branżowej szkoły II stopnia (Dziennik Ustaw, 2018 r., poz. 467).

5. łączenie zdolności krytycznego i logicznego myślenia z umiejętnościami wyobraźniowo-twórczymi;
6. rozwijanie wrażliwości społecznej, moralnej i estetycznej;
7. rozwijanie narzędzi myślowych umożliwiających uczniom obcowanie z kulturą i jej rozumienie;
8. rozwijanie u uczniów szacunku dla wiedzy, wyrabianie pasji poznawania świata i zachęcanie do praktycznego zastosowania zdobytych wiadomości¹⁴.

Z tych założeń wynika, że zasadniczą rolą przedmiotu język łaciński i kultura antyczna, zdefiniowaną w podstawie programowej, jest kształtowanie humanistycznej wrażliwości uczniów i przekazanie im wiedzy na temat języka łacińskiego i kultury starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu, jak również ich roli w rozwoju kultury i języka polskiego. Nauczanie języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej ma więc charakter propedeutyczny i nie ogranicza się wyłącznie do przekazywania wiedzy i kształtowania umiejętności kierunkowych, ale stanowi element pogłębionego kształcenia humanistycznego i przygotowuje ucznia do świadomego, samodzielnego i twórczego odbioru tradycji grecko-rzymskiego antyku oraz jego recepcji w kulturze epok późniejszych. Z założeń tych wynikają trzy główne obszary, według których określone zostały cele kształcenia: obszar kompetencji językowych, kompetencji interkulturowych oraz kompetencji społecznych. Określone w podstawie programowej cele i treści kształcenia uwzględniają kompetencje kluczowe oraz warunki optymalizacji procesu dydaktycznego, wśród których wskazano przede wszystkim na korelację treści nauczania z zakresu języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej z innymi przedmiotami humanistycznymi oraz na konieczność zapewnienia przez szkołę nowoczesnych środków dydaktycznych i sprzętu multimedialnego, pozwalającego na wykorzystywanie w czasie lekcji narzędzi technologii informacyjno-komunikacyjnych (TIK).

W podstawie programowej, jako jeden z głównych kierunków polityki oświatowej, ujęte zostały kompetencje kluczowe. **Rozumienie i tworzenie informacji** tożsame jest z odbiorem, rozumieniem, interpretowaniem i komentowaniem tekstu łacińskiego oraz tworzeniem zgodnego z polską normą językową przekładu z języka łacińskiego na polski. **Wielojęzyczność** rozumiana jest przede wszystkim jako aspekt formalno-kształcący języka łacińskiego. Zakłada się, że poprzez kształcenie klasyczne uczeń rozumie rolę i znaczenie łaciny dla rozwoju języków nowożytnych, zna łacińskie źródłosłowy terminologii naukowej i fachowej w języku polskim i językach nowożytnych oraz wykorzystuje znajomość leksyki łacińskiej przy nauce słownictwa nowożytnego. **Kompetencje cyfrowe** to wykorzystanie narzędzi technologii informacyjno-komunikacyjnych

¹⁴ Zob. A. Klęczar, J. Ryba, W. Kozak, *Vademecum nauczyciela. Wdrażanie podstawy programowej w szkole ponadpodstawowej: język łaciński i kultura antyczna* (Warszawa: Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji): 9.

w procesie uczenia się, wyszukiwanie informacji przy pomocy technologii cyfrowych oraz wykorzystywanie narzędzi multimedialnych w tworzeniu przekładu. Kształtowanie **kompetencji obywatelskich** polega na nauczaniu łacińskiej terminologii odnoszącej się do sfery politycznej i społecznej oraz lekturze tekstów oryginalnych związanych z koncepcjami obywatelstwa i państwowości w starożytności. **Kompetencje osobiste, społeczne i w zakresie uczenia się** to świadomość powszechnej obecności dziedzictwa antyku, w tym języka łacińskiego, w kulturze epok późniejszych oraz świadomość potrzeby ciągłego uczenia się dzięki zrozumieniu związków i relacji między różnymi sferami kultury i tradycji antycznej. Ponadto uczeń w trakcie procesu dydaktycznego nabywa umiejętności samodzielnego i autonomicznego pogłębiania własnej wiedzy i rozwijania umiejętności. Wreszcie należy wspomnieć **kompetencje w zakresie świadomości i ekspansji kulturalnej**, rozumiane jako świadomość powszechnej obecności dziedzictwa antyku (w tym dziedzictwa językowego) w kulturze epok późniejszych, dostrzeganie jego wkładu w kształtowanie kultury polskiej, wyrabianie szacunku dla dziedzictwa kulturowego Europy, wykorzystanie znajomości języka łacińskiego do dbałości o kulturę języka w polszczyźnie oraz lektura tekstów oryginalnych wchodzących w skład kanonu kulturowego dziedzictwa Europy.

Podstawą procesu dydaktycznego w zakresie kompetencji językowych jest tekst łaciński, w formie preparowanej i oryginalnej. Także podstawą wymagań egzaminacyjnych jest umiejętność przekładu tekstu na język polski, z wykorzystaniem słownika łacińsko-polskiego. W przeciwieństwie do języków nowożytnych nie istnieje żadna jednolita i uniwersalna klasyfikacja określająca poziomy zaawansowania znajomości języka łacińskiego. Stąd w podstawie programowej określony został kanon tekstów, o zbliżonym poziomie trudności, autorów reprezentatywnych dla prozy łacińskiej. Kanon tekstów został dobrany także w taki sposób, aby możliwe było łączenie w codziennej praktyce szkolnej treści językowych i kulturowych. Teksty dotyczą istotnych zagadnień z zakresu kultury antycznej, a jednocześnie same są jej elementem. W nauczaniu zaleca się więc stosować szeroki repertuar różnorodnych ćwiczeń integrujących wiedzę i umiejętności w zakresie kompetencji językowych i interkulturowych, w tym przede wszystkim ćwiczenia translacyjne. Ze względu na ograniczony cykl nauczania przedmiotu w podstawie programowej dopuszcza się zastosowanie w procesie egzaminacyjnym tekstu preparowanego, opartego na oryginalnym, z zachowaniem cech autentyczności tekstu w jego strukturze gramatycznej, składniowej i leksykalnej.

Skuteczność i efektywność procesu dydaktycznego uzależniona jest między innymi od planowania i struktury lekcji, a w przypadku języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej ważne jest umiejętne łączenie informacji językowych i kulturowych. Podstawa programowa zakłada, że znajomość języka ma być narzędziem do poznawania kultury, a przez to nie może dochodzić w realizacji treści

kształcenia do oddzielenia i traktowania osobno materiału językowego i kulturowego. Ćwiczenia językowe powinny być podporządkowane treściom kulturowym tak, aby uczniowie, nawet rozwiązując zadania gramatyczne, utrwalali omówione wcześniej lub poznawali nowe zagadnienia z zakresu kultury starożytnych Greków i Rzymian.

6. PODSUMOWANIE

W ujęciu typologicznym w nauczaniu języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej możliwe są do zastosowania trzy metodologie dydaktyczne: unilateralna metodologia selektywna, multilateralna metodologia integratywna oraz oparta na pluralizmie, dyferentyzmie i eklektyzmie metodologia selektywno-integratywna, a także różne podejścia: pośrednie – dedukcyjne, bezpośrednie czy też komunikacyjne indukcyjne oraz eklektyczne podejście dedukcyjno-indukcyjne. Metody nauczania natomiast z definicji są wtórne wobec metodologii dydaktycznej oraz podejścia i stanowią jedynie ich praktyczną realizację. Należy podkreślić, że podstawa programowa w żaden sposób nie definiuje metodologii i nie narzuca konieczności stosowania w procesie dydaktycznym żadnych konkretnych metod. Decyzje o zastosowaniu odpowiedniej strategii dydaktycznej i wszelkie działania związane z planowaniem, realizacją i ewaluacją nauczania przedmiotu są elementem autonomii nauczyciela, co oznacza, że ocenie i kontroli podlegają realizacja treści i osiągnięcie celów kształcenia, a nie przyjęta przez nauczyciela struktura metodyczna procesu dydaktycznego. W komentarzu do podstawy programowej zaleca się jednak stosowanie nauczania hybrydowego. Model ten bazuje na zakorzenionych w kształceniu klasycznym tradycyjnych metodach pośrednich, które ukierunkowane są na bierną znajomość języka, kształtowanie sprawności receptywnych i umiejętności przekładu tekstu łacińskiego na język polski, ale uwzględnia także stosowanie elementów metod bezpośrednich i nowoczesne narzędzia technologii informacyjno-komunikacyjnych.

Wprowadzana reforma strukturalno-programowa budzi wiele kontrowersji i skrajnych emocji. Taka atmosfera, podsycana politycznymi sporami, z pewnością nie sprzyja racjonalizacji proponowanych rozwiązań. W przypadku języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej podstawa programowa nie wprowadza żadnych rewolucyjnych zmian. Doprecyzowanie treści kształcenia z zakresu kultury antycznej, powrót do kanonu tekstów, przy jednoczesnej nieznacznej redukcji zagadnień gramatycznych oraz dopuszczenie możliwości stosowania w procesie egzaminacyjnym tekstów autentycznych (czyli opartych na oryginalnych, ale o uproszczonej strukturze gramatyczno-leksykalnej) to próba dostosowania celów i treści nauczania do warunków organizacyjnych procesu dydaktycznego. Czas pokaże, czy proponowane rozwiązania sprawdzą się w realiach zreformowanego liceum ogólnokształcącego. Z punktu widzenia

systemowego i instytucjonalnego kształcenia klasycznego najistotniejszym aspektem jest utrzymanie statusu języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej jako przedmiotu maturalnego.

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SPRAWOZDANIE Z DZIAŁALNOŚCI ZARZĄDU GŁÓWNEGO POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO ZA OKRES OD 16 WRZEŚNIA 2017 DO 12 WRZEŚNIA 2019

I. Członkowie PTF

Towarzystwo liczy 477 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym z naszego grona odeszły:

- Prof. dr hab. Anna Maria Komornicka (ur. 27 września 1920, zm. 17 grudnia 2018, Oddział Łódzki)
- Prof. dr hab. Wanda Popiak (ur. 11 lipca 1927, zm. 11 marca 2019, Oddział Warszawski)
- Dr Danuta Łowicka (ur. 12 października 1941, zm. 25 maja 2019, Oddział Wrocławski)

II. Zarząd Główny

W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Główny działał w następującym składzie: Prezes Zarządu Głównego – dr Katarzyna Ochman; Wiceprezesi Zarządu Głównego – dr hab. prof. UW r Gościwit Malinowski, dr hab. prof. UMK Przemysław Nehring, dr hab. prof. UJ Hubert Wolanin; Skarbnik Zarządu Głównego – dr Joanna Porucznik; Sekretarz Zarządu Głównego – mgr Ewa Nowak; Członkowie Zarządu Głównego – dr hab. Barbara Bibik, dr Małgorzata Cieśluk, dr Edyta Gryksa, dr hab. Monika Miazek-Męczyńska, dr Damian Pierzak, dr Jacek Pokrzywnicki, dr hab. Monika Szczot, dr hab. Joanna Usakiewicz; Przewodniczący Komisji Nagród i Wyróżnień – prof. dr hab. Marian Szarmach; Redaktor naczelny „Eos” – dr hab. prof. UW r Jakub Pigoń; Przewodnicząca Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego – dr hab. prof. KUL Agnieszka Dziuba (do 25 maja 2019), dr Rafał Toczko (od 25 maja 2019); Przewodniczący Oddziałów Terenowych – dr Tomasz Mojsik (Białystok), dr hab. prof. UG Tatiana Krynicka (Gdańsk), dr hab. Anna Kucz (Katowice, do 19 czerwca 2018), dr hab. Jan Kucharski (Katowice, od 19 czerwca 2018), dr Aleksandra Klęczar (Kraków), dr Agata Łuka (Lublin), dr Joanna Rybowska (Łódź), prof. dr hab. Joanna Rostropowicz (Opole), dr hab. prof. UAM Magdalena Stuligrosz (Poznań), dr Małgorzata Cieśluk (Szczecin, do 15 listopada 2017), dr Agnieszka Borysowska (Szczecin, od 15 listopada 2017), dr Jan Kwapisz (Warszawa), dr Mariusz Plago (Wrocław).

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyły się cztery posiedzenia Zarządu Głównego: 6 czerwca 2018 w Warszawie, 1 grudnia 2018 w Poznaniu, 25 maja 2018 w Warszawie i 11 września 2018 w Szczecinie.

III. Projekty badawcze

W okresie sprawozdawczym zakończono realizację i przedstawiono do rozliczenia dwa projekty badawcze NCN: „Procesy kreowania tożsamości kulturowej w antycznym północnym Czarnomorzu. Polis grecka a tereny wiejskie” (dr Joanna Porucznik, Wrocław) oraz „Zoo Ptolemeusza. Zwierzęta w Egipcie hellenistycznym” (dr Maja Miziur-Moździoch, Wrocław).

IV. Działalność wydawnicza

W okresie sprawozdawczym ukazały się trzy zeszyty *Eos*: 2017/1–2 i 2018/1. Zeszyt 2018/2 jest obecnie w korekcie, a zeszyt 2019/1 – w opracowaniu redakcyjnym.

25 września 2019 Redakcja złożyła wniosek o włączenie *Eos* do międzynarodowej bazy SCOPUS. 13 listopada 2018, po wielu miesiącach ewaluacji, wniosek został rozpatrzony pozytywnie. Czasopismo będzie indeksowane w bazie począwszy od rocznika 2018 (z możliwością stopniowego dodawania częściej wydanych roczników).

Projekt publikacji *Eos* uzyskał dofinansowanie ze środków MNiSW DUN: 25 080,00 zł w roku 2018 i 40 150,00 zł w roku 2019. Ministerstwo poinformowało, że strumień finansowania DUN nie będzie kontynuowany w roku 2020. 13 listopada 2018 Redakcja złożyła wniosek o dofinansowanie w konkursie „Wsparcie dla czasopism naukowych” (tzw. „Czasopisma 500+”), wniosek ten nie był jednak procedowany przez MNiSW ze względu na to, że wydana tego samego dnia decyzja o rozpoczęciu indeksowania *Eos* w bazie SCOPUS wyłącza nasze czasopismo z grupy periodyków uprawnionych do ubiegania się o wsparcie w ramach tego konkursu. W podobnej sytuacji jest wiele wiodących polskich czasopism z różnych dyscyplin; Zarząd Główny PTF pozostaje w kontakcie z instytucjami wydającymi te czasopisma w związku z planowaną petycją do MNiSW w tej sprawie.

31 lipca 2019 MNiSW opublikowało zaktualizowaną listę czasopism naukowych, zgodnie z którą za artykuł naukowy opublikowany w *Eos* autor może uzyskać nie, jak dotąd, 13, ale aż 70 punktów.

V. Olimpiada Języka Łacińskiego

W roku szkolnym 2017/2018 odbyła się XXXVI Olimpiada Języka Łacińskiego. W etapie szkolnym wzięło udział 341 uczniów z całej Polski. Do części centralnej zakwalifikowało się 40 osób, spośród których wyłoniono 12 laureatów. Zwycięzcami XXXVI Olimpiady zostali *ex aequo* p. Olga Burzyńska z Krakowa i p. Damian Chodakowski z Torunia.

Sześcioro laureatów reprezentowało Polskę na XXXVIII międzynarodowym konkursie łaciny cycerońskiej *Certamen Ciceronianum Arpinas* 11–14 maja 2018. Byli to: p. Cezary Jasiński, p. Klementyna Michalska, p. Piotr Wolski, p. Sylwia Gajda, p. Bartłomiej Dziedzic oraz p. Franciszek Pawłowski. Opiekunem grupy był, podobnie jak w latach ubiegłych, p. dr Janusz Ryba. Tłumaczenie i komentarz urywka *De officiis* Cycerona autorstwa p. Bartłomieja Dziedzica otrzymało wyróżnienie.

W roku szkolnym 2018/2019 odbyła się XXXVII Olimpiada Języka Łacińskiego. W etapie szkolnym wzięło udział 366 uczniów z całej Polski. Do części centralnej zakwalifikowało się 40 osób, spośród których wyłoniono 14 laureatów. Zwycięzcą XXXVI Olimpiady został p. Jakub Łukasik z Będzina.

Sześcioro laureatów reprezentowało Polskę na XXXIX międzynarodowym konkursie łaciny cycerońskiej *Certamen Ciceronianum Arpinas* 10–12 maja 2019. Byli to: p. Franciszek Fafiński, p. Marcin Gawliński, p. Joanna Jeż, p. Elżbieta Kaczorowska, p. Jakub Łukasik, p. Patryk Skinderowicz. Opiekunem grupy była p. dr Katarzyna Ochman.

W związku z dobiegającą końca kadencją Komitetu Głównego OJŁ Zarząd Główny PTF podczas posiedzenia 25 maja 2019 przyjął kandydaturę pana doktora Rafała Toczki na stanowisko przewodniczącego Komitetu, a także zatwierdził Komitet Główny OJŁ w dotychczasowym składzie na kadencję 2019–2023. Jednocześnie Zarząd wyraził zgodę na to, aby na czas roku szkolnego 2019/2020 pan doktor Toczko wyłączył się z prac Komitetu, aby jego uczniowie mogli bez przeszkód wziąć udział w konkursie. Osobą pełniącą obowiązki przewodniczącej w roku szkolnym 2019/2020 pozostaje pani dr hab. prof. KUL Agnieszka Dziuba. Podczas posiedzenia 11 września 2019 Zarząd Główny przyjął kandydaturę pani mgr Magdaleny Awianowicz na stanowisko kierownika organizacyjnego OJŁ.

VI. Łacina w szkole

8 listopada 2017 i 17 lipca 2018 odbyły się kolejne posiedzenia sejmowej Komisji Edukacji, Nauki i Młodzieży, podczas których podejmowany był temat nauczania języka łacińskiego w szkołach i na uczelniach. W posiedzeniach wzięli udział przedstawiciele MEN i MNiSW, a także prezes ZG PTF dr Katarzyna Ochman i członek ZG dr hab. Bartosz Awianowicz. Podczas posiedzeń podejmowano starania o przekonanie przedstawicieli ministerstw o kluczowej roli języka łacińskiego w edukacji.

3 kwietnia 2019 ukazało się nowe rozporządzenie MEN w sprawie ramowych planów nauczania, zgodnie z którym od września 2020 do liceów ma powrócić możliwość wyboru języka łacińskiego w zakresie podstawowym w wymiarze jednej godziny tygodniowo przez jeden rok. Przemiot „Język łaciński i kultura antyczna” w zakresie podstawowym będzie jednym z czterech przedmiotów do wyboru obok filozofii, muzyki i plastyki.

VII. Cykl konferencji „Optimi magistri”

W związku z rosnącym zainteresowaniem dydaktyką języków klasycznych, w roku 2018 Zarząd Główny PTF zorganizował cykl czterech ogólnopolskich konferencji poświęconych dydaktyce języków klasycznych pod wspólnym tytułem „Optimi magistri”. Spotkania odbyły się 10 lutego 2018 (Poznań), 19 maja 2018 (Wrocław), 6 października 2018 (Wrocław) i 15 grudnia 2018 (Poznań).

Zrealizowano nagrania filmowe wszystkich wygłoszonych prelekcji, dyskusji i innego rodzaju wystąpień (łącznie 29 filmów), z którymi można zapoznać się na kanale PTF na YouTube.

Bogactwo i różnorodność programu konferencji przekroczyły pierwotne zamierzenia organizatorów. Zamiast planowanych ośmiu prelekcji odbyło się ich aż osiemnaście, w tym jedna w języku starogreckim i trzy w języku łacińskim.

Również zasięg oddziaływania przedsięwzięcia okazał się być znacznie większy niż to początkowo przewidywano. Materiały konferencyjne uzyskały łącznie ok. 3700 wyświetleń w serwisie YouTube i ok. 20 000 wyświetleń w serwisie Facebook. Konferencje były zaplanowane jako „lokalne z elementami międzynarodowymi”, jednak obecność prelegentów występujących w języku łacińskim oraz starogreckim (!) spowodowała falę zainteresowania wydarzeniem na całym świecie: statystyki YouTube wykazują setki odbiorców nie tylko z wielu krajów europejskich, ale także ze Stanów Zjednoczonych i Ameryki Południowej.

Zorganizowanie cyklu konferencji „Optimi magistri” było możliwe w takiej formie dzięki dofinansowaniu uzyskanemu z MNiSW w ramach projektu DUN w kwocie 7 000,00 zł.

VIII. Promocja i popularyzacja

Profil PTF w portalu Facebook jest obserwowany przez ponad 1100 osób. Ponadto założono kanał PTF w serwisie YouTube, na którym zamieszczane są nagrania wystąpień konferencyjnych.

W marcu 2018 nieformalna Wrocławska Grupa Miłośników Języka Łacińskiego i Kultury Antycznej *Sodales Latinitatis* przy wsparciu Zarządu Głównego PTF złożyła w konkursie „Dolnośląskie Małe Granty” wniosek o finansowanie serii warsztatów promujących język łaciński i poszerzanie wiedzy o antyku wśród młodzieży ze szkół średnich. Wniosek nie uzyskał dofinansowania.

W okresie sprawozdawczym zorganizowano dwie kolejne edycje letniej szkoły języka łacińskiego i greckiego (*Schola Aestiva Latinitatis Vivae Posnaniensis*), która odbywa się co roku w Instytucie Filologii Klasycznej UAM dzięki staraniom członków Poznańskiego i Wrocławskiego Oddziału PTF. Warsztaty z roku na rok stają się coraz poważniejszym przedsięwzięciem logistycznym (ok. 70 uczestników w roku 2018 i ok. 130 w 2019), co wymaga pracy administracyjnej

członków Zarządu Głównego oraz księgowości PTF, a także angażowania nauczycieli łaciny i greki zarówno z innych ośrodków w Polsce, jak i z zagranicy. Warsztaty są okazją do nauki języków klasycznych metodami charakterystycznymi dla języków nowożytnych nie tylko podczas lekcji, ale także w warunkach nieformalnych. Dają możliwość spotkania i nawiązywania przyjaźni w międzynarodowym gronie pasjonatów filologii, a dla młodych nauczycieli stanowią poligon do eksperymentowania z niestandardowymi technikami dydaktycznymi.

IX. Pozyskiwanie finansowania

We wrześniu 2018 Zarząd Główny złożył w ramach konkursu DUN wniosek o dofinansowanie projektu pt. „Rozpoznanie i uporządkowanie zasobów księgozbioru Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego gromadzonego w dwunastu Oddziałach Terenowych od roku 1893 do 2018”. Wniosek został pozostawiony bez rozpatrzenia ze względu na to, że Biblioteka Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego nie jest biblioteką naukową w rozumieniu art. 21 ustawy o bibliotekach. W związku z tym Zarząd rozważył zasadność podjęcia działań mających na celu wpisanie rozproszonej „Biblioteki PTF” do wykazu bibliotek naukowych MKiDN.

Ze środków DUN dofinansowano CVII Zjazd PTF w Katowicach; projekt został sprawozdany i pomyślnie rozliczony. Zarząd złożył także bardzo podobny wniosek o dofinansowanie CVIII Zjazdu w Szczecinie, który jednak spotkał się z decyzją odmowną.

W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Główny podpisał z Kuratorium Oświaty w Warszawie porozumienie dotyczące zwrotu kosztów organizacji przez Oddział Warszawski PTF dwóch kolejnych edycji Konkursu Kultury Klasycznej. Kontynuowano także pobieranie wynagrodzenia z tytułu opłat reprograficznych od Stowarzyszenia Wydawców „ReproPol”.

X. Planowane przedsięwzięcia

W związku z nieoficjalnym zapytaniem ze strony Zarządu *Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques* dotyczącym możliwości organizacji FIEC International Congress 2025 przez PTF, Zarząd Główny podczas posiedzenia 11 września 2018 wyraził wolę podjęcia się tego zadania i ustalił, że odpowiednim miejscem dla organizacji kongresu będzie ośrodek wrocławski. Członkowie Zarządu poparli także kandydaturę pani dr Agnieszki Kotlińskiej-Tomy na stanowisko przyszłego kierownika Komitetu Organizacyjnego z ramienia PTF¹.

¹ 4 grudnia 2019 Zarząd FIEC podjął oficjalną decyzję o powierzeniu Polskiemu Towarzystwu Filologicznemu organizacji kongresu we Wrocławiu.

Zarząd Główny przyjął z radością propozycję Oddziału Poznańskiego dotyczącą organizacji CIX Zjazdu Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego. Zjazd odbędzie się 16–18 września 2021 w Poznaniu i będzie, jak zwykle, połączony z konferencją naukową.

*Prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF
dr Katarzyna Ochman*

SPRAWOZDANIA Z DZIAŁALNOŚCI ODDZIAŁÓW
TERENOWYCH POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA
FILOLOGICZNEGO ZA OKRES OD 16 WRZEŚNIA 2017
DO 12 WRZEŚNIA 2019

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU GDAŃSKIEGO

W okresie, który obejmuje sprawozdanie, wybrany został nowy Zarząd Oddziału Gdańskiego w składzie: przewodnicząca – dr hab. Tatiana Krynicka, prof. UG; wiceprzewodnicząca – dr Maria Otto; skarbnik – mgr Aleksandra Hołomej; sekretarz – dr Jacek Pokrzywnicki.

Obecnie Oddział Gdański PTF zrzesza 28 członków zwyczajnych, w tym 3 seniorów (po 70 roku życia). Członkowie Oddziału Gdańskiego skupiają się na przewidzianych w Statucie Towarzystwa działaniach popularyzatorskich; uczestniczą również w animacji lokalnego życia naukowego, organizując i przygotowując wykłady z antyku grecko-rzymskiego i jego recepcji w kulturze epok późniejszych.

Do kasy Zarządu Głównego Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego Oddział Gdański przekazał 475 złotych (za rok 2018). Składki uiściło 19 członków na 23 wpłacających (składek nie pobieramy od członków emerytowanych).

Z okazji Roku Owidiańskiego Oddział Gdański PTF dofinansował zakup nagród na Trójmiejski Konkurs Wiedzy o Owidiuszu (19 marca 2018, Gdańskie Liceum Autonomiczne, ul. Osiek 11/12 Gdańsk).

Oddział współfinansował również nagrody II edycji Konkursu Literackiego dla młodzieży licealnej (konkurs organizowała Katedra Filologii Klasycznej UG; wyniki ogłoszono 15 kwietnia 2018; rozdanie nagród miało miejsce w PAN Bibliotece Gdańskiej).

23 i 24 marca 2018 odbyła się także gra miejska „Śladami Owidiusza w Gdańsku”, którą Oddział Gdański organizował wspólnie z Katedrą Filologii Klasycznej UG, Muzeum Narodowym w Gdańsku oraz Muzeum Gdańska (dawniej: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Gdańska).

Ponadto ze środków Oddziału Gdańskiego PTF współfinansowano zakup materiałów dydaktycznych na prowadzone przez pracowników Katedry Filologii Klasycznej zajęcia z kultury antycznej w Szkole Podstawowej nr XVII w Gdyni (23 kwietnia 2018).

Od trzech lat intensyfikacji podlega współpraca ze szkołami prowadzącymi zajęcia z języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej. Działania te mają na celu popularyzację wiedzy o kulturze śródziemnomorskiej Grecji i Rzymu wśród uczniów w różnym wieku (starsze dzieci i młodzież). Od roku szkolnego 2017/2018 w programie uczestniczą dwa gdańskie licea ogólnokształcące (nr I, XIX) i jedna szkoła podstawowa w Gdyni (nr XVII).

W poprzednim CVII Zjeździe Walnym PTF w Katowicach wziął udział dr Jacek Pokrzywnicki, który w ramach posiedzenia sprawozdawczo-wyborczego delegatów PTF został wybrany członkiem Zarządu Głównego PTF na kadencję 2017–2021, a ponadto wystąpił jako prelegent w ramach organizowanej w trakcie Zjazdu konferencji naukowej *Antyczne techniki perswazyjne* (referat pt. *Michaela Hanowa wykłady 'De arte disputandi' z perspektywy słuchacza – Konstantina Ernsta Groddecka*).

W okresie sprawozdawczym Oddział Gdański PTF wspólnie z Katedrą Filologii Klasycznej UG miał przyjemność gościć dziewięciu prelegentów:

1. Dr hab. Karol ZIELIŃSKI, *Druga pieśń Demodoka jako początek „Odysei”* (29 I 2018).
2. Dr. Małgorzata CZŁONKOWSKA-NAUMIUK
Spotkanie 1: godz. 12.00, prelekcja pt. *Jak ginęły Pompeje*;
Spotkanie 2: godz. 16.30, prelekcja pt. *Przeciwko stereotypom: Pompeje oskijskie* (27 II 2018).
3. Dr hab. Idaliana KACZOR, prof. nadzwyczajna (UŁ), *Jak się wypełni kalendarz rzymski, będę wam śpiewał – mit i religia w „Fasti”* (21 III 2018).
4. Prof. dr hab. Tadeusz ALEKSANDROWICZ (UŚ), *Via Appia w kulturze antycznej i epokach późniejszych* (18 IV 2018).
5. Prof. dr hab. Ireneusz MIKOŁAJCZYK (UMK), *Wybuchowa historia, czyli ocalona encyklopedia* (22 V 2018).
6. Prof. dr hab. Marian SZARMACH (UMK), *Aristajnetos – ostatni sofista grecki* (21 IX 2018).
7. Dr Wojciech KOPEK, *Referre – fingere – imago. Na marginesie rozważań o strukturze świata przedstawionego wybranych utworów Kwintusa Horacjusza Flakka* (28 III 2019).
8. Dr hab. Tatiana KRYNICKA, prof. UG, *„Benedictio lucernae ante altare” Izidora z Sewilli: wyśpiewując światło Wielkiej Nocy* (15 IV 2019).
9. Zbigniew BRZOSTOWSKI, *Greckie echa w propagandowej ikonografii III Rzeszy Niemieckiej – płaskorzeźby z Budowa koło Złocienca autorstwa Willega Mellerera* (27 V 2019).

Przewodnicząca Oddziału Gdańskiego PTF
dr hab. Tatiana Krynicka, prof. UG

Sekretarz Oddziału Gdańskiego PTF
dr Jacek Pokrzywnicki

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU LUBELSKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym Oddział liczył 44 członków (w tym 10 pracowników emerytowanych).

W skład zarządu Oddziału wchodziły następujące osoby: dr Agata Łuka – przewodnicząca; mgr Alicja Narecka – zastępca przewodniczącej; dr Małgorzata Siwicka – skarbnik; dr Natalia Turkiewicz – sekretarz; dr Helena Błazińska – członek Zarządu ds. kontaktów z nauczycielami; dr Henryk Kowalski – członek Zarządu. W skład Komisji Rewizyjnej wchodził: dr hab. Jolanta G. Malinowska – przewodnicząca; dr hab. Krzysztof Narecki, prof. KUL, dr Marian Babiński – członkowie Komisji.

12 czerwca 2019 podczas posiedzenia sprawozdawczego Zarządu, dokonano podsumowania dwuletniej działalności Oddziału. W okresie sprawozdawczym Oddział Lubelski PTF prowadził działalność statutową w następujących formach:

I. Posiedzenia Zarządu i Członków Oddziału połączone z odczytami naukowymi:

1. Dr hab. Magdalena CHARZYŃSKA-WÓJCIK, *Głosy zza głosy, czyli czego się (nie) dowiemy o średnioangielskim Psalterzu z XIV w.* (29 XI 2017).
2. Dr hab. Piotr KOCHANIEK, prof. KUL, *Scythia quadrata Herodota* (6 XII 2017).
3. Dr hab. Andrzej BUDZISZ, prof. KUL, „*Opowieść o dziecięcej krucjacie*” *Flipa Drostego – tłumacza droga przez mękę* (23 I 2018).
4. Jolanta WASILEWSKA, „*Chora*” książka (20 II 2018).
5. Ks. Karol ADAMCZEWSKI, *Ptaki w świecie biblijnym. Kilka obserwacji egzegetyczno-ornitologicznych* (19 III 2018).
6. Dr Daniel PRÓCHNIAK, *Ereruk. Z kościoła na manowce* (17 X 2018).
7. Dr Natalia TURKIEWICZ, „*Forma mundi ita demonstratur...*”. *Wizja świata według Izydora z Sewilli* (27 XI 2018).
8. Dr Stanisław MAJDAŃSKI, *Rationis est ordinare, sive tractatulus de methodo* (17 I 2019).
9. Dr Agata ŁUKA, *Muchy w nosie. Kilka uwag o (braku) realizacji samogłosek nosowych w polszczyźnie współczesnej* (27 II 2019).
10. Dr Marian BABIŃSKI, *Sowa (ateńska) o ośmiorniczkach, czyli tere-fere kuku o frykasach* (15 V 2019).
11. Dr Daniel PRÓCHNIAK, *Aquincum, czyli nad pięknym rzymskim Dunajem* (12 VI 2019).

II. Patronat nad Olimpiadą Języka Łacińskiego

Koło zorganizowało I i II etap Olimpiady w województwie lubelskim i czuwało nad ich przebiegiem, podobnie jak III etapu, który po raz kolejny odbył się w Lublinie.

III. Współpraca z nauczycielami języka łacińskiego, z wykładowcami innych uniwersytetów i szkół wyższych oraz działalność popularyzatorska:

Dr Helena Błazińska pozostaje w stałym kontakcie z władzami Kuratorium Oświaty oraz nauczycielami języka łacińskiego na terenie województwa lubelskiego, nawiązując współpracę i planując wspólne projekty popularyzatorskie.

Rokrocznie, we współpracy z Instytutem Filologii Klasycznej KUL oraz Studium Praktycznej Nauki Języków Obcych, członkowie Koła prowadzili wykłady i różnorakie zajęcia dotyczące kultury antycznej i promujące nauczanie języków klasycznych w ramach Lubelskiego Festiwalu Nauki, przygotowali również prezentacje na festiwalowy piknik naukowy, z roku na rok cieszący się coraz większym zainteresowaniem mieszkańców Lublina. Lektorzy języka łacińskiego pracujący w Studium Praktycznej nauki Języków Obcych co roku organizowali Wielki Konkurs języka łacińskiego dla studentów KUL.

Przewodnicząca Koła, dr Agata Łuka prowadziła otwarte warsztaty interpretacyjno-translatorskie. Należało do nich m. in. spotkanie pt. warsztaty interpretacji i przekładu epigramatów Marcjalisa z ksiąg *Xenia* i *Apophoreta* pt. „Fraszki o frykasach” (15 V 2019).

Działalność translatorska i edycyjna filologów klasycznych z Lublina została doceniona przez Kapitułę Nagrody Stowarzyszenia Wydawców Katolickich FENIKS. W 2018 roku nagrodę w kategorii edytorstwo otrzymała „Biblia pierwszego Kościoła” w tłumaczeniu ks. Remigiusza Popowskiego SDB (Oficyna Wydawnicza Vocatio). Nagrodę w kategorii tłumacz otrzymały „Dzieła I: Święte obrzędy Kościoła”, „Dzieła II: Porządek antyfonarza, inne pisma o świętych obrzędach, reguły życia duchownych i mniszek” Amalariusza z Metz w przekładzie zbiorowym pod redakcją ks. Tadeusza Gaci (Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL). Wśród laureatów w kategorii „Tłumacz” w 2019 znalazły się dwie książki przygotowane w Instytucie Filologii Klasycznej KUL (obecnie: Instytut Studiów Klasycznych i Orientalnych KUL) przez aktualnych i emerytowanych pracowników i członków Lubelskiego Koła PTF. W kategorii „Tłumacz” nagrodę FENIKS przyznano publikacjom: Eurypides, „Tragedie. Tom I. Alkestis, Medea, Dzieci Heraklesa, Hipolit, Hekabe, Błagalnice, Andromacha, Oszały Herakles, Trojanki” i „Tragedie. Tom II. Elektra, Ifigenia w kraju Taurów, Ijon, Helena, Fenicjanki, Orestes, Bachantki, Ifigenia w Aulidzie, Rezos” w przekładzie Roberta R. Chodkowskiego (Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL); wyróżnienie otrzymała publikacja: Wenancjusz Fortunat, „Poezje. Wybór” w przekładzie ks. Tadeusza Gaci (Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL).

Sekretarz Oddziału Lubelskiego PTF
Natalia Turkiewicz

SPRAWOZDANIE Z DZIAŁALNOŚCI ODDZIAŁU ŁÓDZKIEGO

Oddział Łódzki PTF liczy 34 członków. Honorowym Przewodniczącym Oddziału jest dr Józef Macjon. W skład Zarządu wchodzi: przewodnicząca

– dr Joanna Rybowska; wiceprzewodnicząca – dr Magdalena Koźluk; sekretarz – dr Marcin Cyrulski; przewodnicząca Sekcji Dydaktycznej – dr Anna Maciejewska; skarbnik – mgr Justyna Giernatowska.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 28 zebrań Oddziału Łódzkiego PTF: 22 z odczytami i prezentacjami, jedno organizacyjne, dwa walne.

Oddział Łódzki PTF był współorganizatorem międzynarodowej konferencji „Female Deities and Demons in Indo-European Culture” i jednej sesji: „Spotkanie z boskimi kobietami”.

Członkowie Koła uczestniczyli również w organizowaniu imprez naukowych, popularyzatorskich i kulturalnych odbywających się zarówno w Katedrze Filologii Klasycznej (X, XI i XII Europejski Festiwal Łaciny i Greki), jak i we współpracy z innymi jednostkami UŁ w ramach sesji naukowych (m.in. *Concilium Latinum Lodziense*), Festiwalu Nauki, Techniki i Sztuki w Łodzi, odczytów dla młodzieży szkolnej.

Podczas trzech zebrań zostały zaprezentowane wystawy członków OŁ PTF – dwie malarstwa i jedna rycin. Na czterech zebraniach odbyły się koncerty kolęd organizowane przez dr Annę Maciejewską.

W okresie sprawozdawczym zorganizowaliśmy (wraz ze Studium Języków Obcych) dwa konkursy dla uczniów szkół średnich z Łodzi i regionu: V Międzyszkolny Konkurs Języka Łacińskiego i VI Międzyszkolny Konkurs Języka Łacińskiego (obie edycje obejmujące województwa łódzkie i świętokrzyskie).

Członkowie Koła pracowali również przy organizacji i przeprowadzaniu kolejnych edycji Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego.

Od 2015 Oddział posiada własną stronę internetową, na której są prezentowane protokoły z zebrań oraz zdjęcia z organizowanych spotkań i konferencji. Stronę prowadzi dr Magdalena Koźluk.

Wykaz zebrań Koła wraz z wyszczególnieniem ich tematyki:

1. Międzynarodowa Konferencja zorganizowana przy współpracy OŁ PTF (19–21 X 2017)
2. Dr Joanna RYBOWSKA, *Semnai moirai* (19 X 2017).
3. Dr hab. Idaliana KACZOR, *Charakterystyka żeńskich postaci panteonu starożytnych Rzymian* (19 X 2017).
4. Prof. dr hab. Jadwiga CZERWIŃSKA, *Bóstwa i demony kobiece w tragedii greckiej* (21 X 2017).
5. Dr hab. prof. UŁ, Hanna ZALEWSKA-JURA, *Kirke i Rzym. Narodziny legendy* (21 X 2017).
6. Wystawa prac Michała STAHLA *Bóstwa i demony kobiece starożytnego antyku*, (21 X 2017).
7. Relacja studentów I i II roku filologii klasycznej z ich „podróży do Grecji” (30 XI 2017).
8. Dr Marcin CYRULSKI, *Michała Psellosa „O uzdrawiającej mocy kamieni”*, (11 I 2018).

9. Mgr Wojciech JAKUBCZYK, „*Metamorfozy*” Owidiusza w rycinach Hendrika Goltziusa, wystawa rycin i odczyt, Gminna Biblioteka Publiczna im. Marii Konopnickiej w Nieborowie, Al. Legionów Polskich 26 (7 IX 2018).
10. Zebranie walne (22 XI 2018).

Sekretarz Oddziału Łódzkiego PTF
dr Marcin Cyrulski

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU POZNAŃSKIEGO

I. W okresie sprawozdawczym Oddział działał pod egidą zarządu w następującym składzie: Przewodnicząca: dr hab. Magdalena Stuligrosz, prof. UAM; Wiceprzewodnicząca: dr Teodozja Wikarjak; Sekretarz: dr Aleksandra Arndt; Skarbnik: mgr Ewa Nowak; Członkowie zarządu: dr Marlena Puk.

Komisja Rewizyjna: prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartol; prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska; dr hab. Radosław Piętka.

II. Działalność naukowa i statutowa:

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się jedenaście zebrań naukowych, na których wygłoszono tyleż referatów, w tym: trzy z literatury greckiej, trzy z literatury rzymskiej, jeden z historii starożytnej, jeden z prawa starożytnego, jeden z geologii, jeden z recepcji antyku.

Autorami wygłaszanych referatów byli członkowie naszego koła (4), goście z innych ośrodków w Polsce (7) oraz z ośrodków zagranicznych (1).

Odbyły się też dwa spotkania świąteczno-noworoczne połączone z wieczorem translatorskim *Scripta Polonice reddita* (w grudniu 2017 i 2018).

III. Działalność popularyzacyjna:

– Członkowie Oddziału powołani do Okręgowej Komisji Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego: dr Teodozja Wikarjak (przewodnicząca), dr Elżbieta Zakrzewska-Gębka (sekretarz), a od września 2018 dr hab. Magdalena Stuligrosz, prof. UAM (przewodnicząca), dr Sławomira Brud (sekretarz) oraz członkowie Okręgowej Komisji Egzaminacyjnej: dr Aleksandra Arndt, dr Łukasz Berger, dr Anna Lasek przeprowadzili eliminacje I i II etapu XXXVI i XXXVII Olimpiady.

– Członkinie Oddziału: dr Justyna Zaborowska-Musiał i dr Marlena Puk pod egidą IFK UAM zorganizowały w latach 2017/18 i 2018/19 kolejne edycje Konkursu Wiedzy o Antyku dla uczniów gimnazjów i liceów województwa wielkopolskiego. W opracowanie pytań i przeprowadzenie eliminacji ustnych dla uczniów liceów zaangażowali się: prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartol, prof. dr hab. Piotr Bering, prof. dr hab. Piotr Urbański, prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska, dr hab. Maria Marcinkowska-Rosół, dr hab. Magdalena Stuligrosz, prof. UAM, dr Sławomira Brud, dr hab. Monika Miazek-Męczyńska, dr hab. Radosław Piętka, dr Teodozja Wikarjak.

– Członkowie Oddziału: dr hab. Mateusz Stróżyński, prof. UAM i dr hab. Magdalena Stuligrosz, prof. UAM koordynowali współpracę IFK ze szkołami (VI LO w Poznaniu, Gimnazjum i Liceum Ogólnokształcącym im. Matki Jadwigi Borzęckiej Zgromadzenia Sióstr Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego w Poznaniu, XVI LO w Krzesinach, LO przy Zespole Szkół w Opalenicy im. Stefana kardynała Wyszyńskiego), w ramach której pracownicy naukowcy IFK wygłosili wykłady z literatury i kultury antycznej dla uczniów. Ponadto pracownicy IFK wygłosili prelekcje i wykłady w szkołach i instytucjach kulturalnych w regionie.

– Mgr Marcin Loch z Poznańskiego Oddziału PTF zorganizował w Instytucie Filologii Klasycznej UAM dwie konferencje z cyklu *Magistri optimi* (w lutym 2018 i grudniu 2018) oraz dwie kolejne edycje Międzynarodowej Letniej Szkoły Języka Łacińskiego i Greckiego, a także prowadził otwarty kurs języka łacińskiego.

– Oddział Poznański PTF współorganizował z Instytutem Filologii Klasycznej UAM ogólnopolską konferencję *Dwa millenia z Owidiuszem* (29 XI–1 XII 2018), wieńczącą obchody *Roku Owidiusza*, oraz publiczne czytanie Owidiusza (23 III 2018) i *Dni Iliady* (21–22 III 2019), w ramach których odbyła się konferencja naukowa *Around the Iliad: topics, characters, language*, koncertowe wykonanie fragmentów oper G. F. Händla i C. Monteverdiego oraz publiczne czytanie poematu Homera.

– w roku akademickim 2017/2018 wykładowcy reprezentujący Oddział Poznański PTF przeprowadzili wykłady w ramach Akademii Antycznej w Muzeum Narodowym w Szczecinie.

IV. Działalność organizacyjna:

– w kwietniu 2019 Oddział Poznański PTF współorganizował z Instytutem Filologii Klasycznej UAM jubileusz 100-lecia filologii klasycznej UAM.

– w dniach 15–16 IX 2017 dr Łukasz Berger, dr Magdalena Karamucka, dr hab. Monika Miazek-Męczyńska, dr hab. Monika Szczot, prof. UAM, dr Teodozja Wikarjak reprezentowali Oddział na CVII Zjeździe PTF w Katowicach.

V. Obecnie Oddział liczy 54 członków; w okresie sprawozdawczym 1 osoba zapisała się do oddziału.

Referaty wygłoszone na zebraniach naukowych Poznańskiego Oddziału PTF w okresie od 17 X 2017 do 21 V 2019:

1. Dr Tomasz MOJSIK (Uniwersytet w Białymstoku), *Posejdiippos i geografia inspiracji* (17 X 2017).
2. Prof. KUL dr hab. Agnieszka DZIUBA, *Urbanitas Marka Celiusza Rufusa – ucznia Cyserona* (21 XI 2017).
3. Prof. dr hab. inż. Piotr KRZYWIEC (Instytut Nauk Geologicznych PAN w Warszawie), *Publikacje dokumentujące początki geologii i mineralogii na*

- ziemiach polskich (XVI–XVIII w.) – co o nich wiemy, a czego nie wiemy (filologiczne rozważania geologa)* (16 I 2018).
4. Prof. dr hab. Gerson SCHADE (FU Berlin/UAM), *Virgil's nonlinear narrative* (19 III 2018).
 5. Prof. dr hab. Marian SZARMACH (UMK), *Aristainetos – późny sofista* (16 IV 2018).
 6. Prof. dr hab. Piotr BERING, *Czy święci cierpieli po bohatersku?* (16 X 2018).
 7. Prof. UŚ dr hab. Tomasz SAPOTA, dr Iwona SŁOMAK (UŚ), *Polskie przekłady Seneki („Trojanki”, „Edyp”)* (20 XI 2018).
 8. Dr hab. Radosław PIĘTKA, *Komediowa „Eneida”* (15 I 2019).
 9. Prof. UAM dr hab. Paweł SAWIŃSKI, *„Damnatio memoriae”. Potępienie pamięci w antycznym Rzymie* (19 III 2019).
 10. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta WESOŁOWSKA, *Achilles płaczący: u Homera i jego następców* (16 IV 2019).
 11. Dr hab. Zuzanna BENINCASA (UW), *Rzymscy juryści wobec zagadnień związanych z polowaniem na dzikie zwierzęta: koncepcja zawłaszczenia w poglądach Trebatiusa* (21 V 2019).

*Przewodnicząca Oddziału Toruńskiego PTF
dr hab. Magdalena Stuligrosz, prof. UAM*

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU TORUŃSKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym Oddział Toruński PTF liczył 21 członków opłacających składki, które zostały przekazane do Zarządu Głównego za rok 2018 w kwocie 525 zł (21 x 25 zł). Prezesem Oddziału od 2017 roku jest dr hab. Bartosz Awianowicz, prof. UMK, wiceprezesem dr Alicja Brusewicz, zaś funkcje skarbnika i sekretarza łączyła dr Magdalena Nowak, która jednak zrezygnowała z pełnienia obydwu funkcji we wrześniu 2019 i w chwili obecnej jest na nich wakat.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbył się szereg spotkań Oddziału Toruńskiego PTF, podczas których zaproszeni goście oraz członkowie Oddziału wygłosili następujące wykłady:

1. Dr hab. Bartosz AWIANOWICZ, prof. UMK, *Monety i retoryka w starożytnej Grecji i Rzymie: historia równoległa* (20 XI 2017).
2. Dr Rafał TOCZKO, *Nowe spojrzenie na listy świętego Augustyna przeciw Donatystom* (15 XI 2018).
3. Dr hab. Alina MĄDRY, prof. UAM, *„Mowa niech będzie panią, a nie służą harmonii”. Muzyka epoki baroku w lustrze starożytnych ideałów* (10 V 2019).

Wykłady te odbywały się w salach Katedry Filologii Klasycznej w Collegium Maius UMK przy Fosie Staromiejskiej 3. Od października 2019 roku, dzięki

podpisaniu umowy pomiędzy Oddziałem a Książnicą Kopernikańską w Toruniu, wykłady będą odbywać się w głównym gmachu Książnicy przy ul. J. Słowackiego 8 w ramach cyklu „Piątków z antykiem”. Wyjście z przestrzeni uniwersyteckiej w przestrzeń znanej i licznie odwiedzanej przez mieszkańców Torunia biblioteki, znanej z organizowania różnorodnych spotkań autorskich, wystaw etc., pozwoli na dotarcie z wykładami nie tylko do pracowników, doktorantów i studentów UMK oraz zaproszonych nauczycieli liceów, lecz również do szerszego grona osób zainteresowanych antykiem.

Członkowie Oddziału Toruńskiego PTF, tworzący jednocześnie Zarząd Fundacji *Traditio Europae* (powstałej w roku 2007, objętej patronatem Zarządu Głównego PTF), są nadto organizatorami *Ligi Starożytniczej*, comiesięcznych spotkań młodzieży szkolnej, podczas których uczniowie słuchają wykładów popularyzujących antyk i jego dziedzictwo. Po każdym wykładzie wypełniają krótki test zawierający pytania dotyczące właśnie przedstawionych zagadnień. Wyniki testów są sumowane i na zakończenie każdej edycji *Ligi* zwycięzcy otrzymują nagrody książkowe. W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyły się dwie pełne edycje *Ligi Starożytniczej* (lata akademickie 2017/18 i 2018/19). Każdorazowo uczestniczyło w nich kilkuset uczniów gimnazjów i szkół ponad gimnazjalnych z województwa kujawsko-pomorskiego. Członkowie Oddziału Toruńskiego PTF nie tylko przygotowywali te spotkanie od strony technicznej, lecz także wygłaszali na nich wykłady (wykaz wykładów *Ligi Starożytniczej* wspomnianych edycjach znajduje się na stronie Fundacji *Traditio Europae* www.traditio-europae.org oraz na jej profilu Facebook).

Przewodniczący Oddziału Toruńskiego PTF
dr hab. Bartosz Awianowicz, prof. UMK

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU SZCZECIŃSKIEGO

Oddział liczy 16 członków, przewodniczącą Zarządu jest dr hab. Agnieszka Borysowska.

Działalność oddziału w okresie sprawozdawczym:

– wykład otwarty dra Kamila BIAŁEGO: „Historia rzymska Kasjusza Diona w Epitome” (13 XII 2017).

– spotkania członków oddziału, podczas których omawiane były sprawy bieżące, w tym organizacja imprez, oraz dokonywała się wspólna praca translatorska dokumentu *Descriptio Paedagogii Stetinensis* z 1576, tj. statutów pierwszej szkoły typu akademickiego w Szczecinie. Po zakończeniu tłumaczenia planowana jest publikacja tekstu źródłowego opatrzonego przekładem. (Spotkania odbyły się 17 I; 07 II; 28 II; 14 III; 18 IV; 16 V; 1 VI; 27 VI; 23 VII; 3 X; 31 X; 21 XI, 12 XII 2018 oraz 23 I; 6 II; 28 II; 22 III; 30 V; 8 VII; 11 IX 2019).

- przygotowanie i przeprowadzenie imprezy pt. „Mit-miłość-poezja. Owidiusz w Szczecinie!”, zorganizowanej w ramach międzynarodowego festiwalu łaciny i greki *Festival Européen Latin Grec* „2018 MÉTAMORPHOSES!”, adresowanej do młodzieży szkolnej (23 III 2018). Podczas trzygodzinnego spotkania można było usłyszeć fragmenty eposu w oryginale, a także w przekładzie na j. polski tłumaczy różnych epok. Pracownicy Książnicy Pomorskiej, członkowie Oddziału Szczecińskiego PTF oraz nauczyciele akademicki zajmujący się na co dzień antykiem przybliżyli ponadto w formie krótkich wykładów i prezentacji różne wątki obecne w antycznym tekście.
- przygotowanie i przeprowadzenie imprezy „Mit-miłość-poezja. Owidiusz (od lat 18) w Szczecinie!”, zorganizowanej w ramach międzynarodowego festiwalu łaciny i greki *Festival Européen Latin Grec* „2018 MÉTAMORPHOSES!”, adresowanej do osób dorosłych (23 III 2018).
- organizacja otwartej dla wszystkich zainteresowanych prelekcji dr hab. Danuty Okoń (US) pt. „Lato w Orange, Arles i Nimes, czyli o licznych i nie do końca spodziewanych spotkaniach z Oktawianem Augustem”, ilustrowanej zdjęciami dr Małgorzaty Cieśluk (US), (12 XII 2018)
- przygotowanie i przeprowadzenie dwóch edycji imprezy pt. „Międzynarodowy Dzień Czytania «Iliady» Homera”, zorganizowanej w ramach międzynarodowego festiwalu łaciny i greki *Festival Européen Latin Grec* „2019 ILIADE, ILIADES”, adresowanej w jednej wersji do młodzieży szkolnej, a drugiej – do osób dorosłych (19 III 2019)
- organizacja obrad Zarządu Głównego PTF w Książnicy Pomorskiej w Szczecinie (11 IX 2019).

*Przewodnicząca Oddziału Szczecińskiego PTF
dr hab. Agnieszka Borysowska*

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU WARSZAWSKIEGO

I. Zarząd

W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Oddziału Warszawskiego PTF działał w następującym składzie: do 31 V 2019 roku: dr Jan Kwapisz (przewodniczący), prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański (wiceprzewodniczący), dr Magdalena Zawadzka (sekretarz), dr Magdalena Popiołek (skarbnik), mgr Maria Poszepczyńska (przewodnicząca Sekcji Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku), pozostali członkowie Zarządu: prof. dr hab. Adam Łukaszewicz, dr Katarzyna Jażdżewska, dr Jan Kozłowski. Komisja Rewizyjna: mgr Ludmiła Bohdanowicz (przewodnicząca), mgr Agnieszka Stachowicz-Garstka. Po 31 V 2019 roku: dr Jan Kwapisz (przewodniczący), prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański (przewodniczący honorowy), dr Katarzyna Jażdżewska (wiceprzewodnicząca), dr Magdalena Zawadzka (wiceprzewodnicząca), mgr Jan Laskowski (sekretarz), dr Magdalena Popiołek

(skarbnik), mgr Maria Poszepczyńska (przewodnicząca Sekcji Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku), pozostali członkowie Zarządu: prof. dr hab. Adam Łukasiewicz, dr Julia Doroszevska, dr Krzysztof Łapiński, mgr Monika Mikuła. Komisja Rewizyjna: prof. Mikołaj Szymański, mgr Ludmiła Bohdanowicz, dr Anna Szymańska-Budzińska.

II. Zebrania

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 7 zebrań OW PTF. W części naukowej spotkań uczestnicy wysłuchali następujących referatów:

1. Prof. dr hab. Adam ŁUKASIEWICZ, *Podróż poety do świata starożytnego. Co Słowacki zobaczył ze szczytu piramidy Cheopsa?* (20 X 2017).
2. Dr Tomasz MOJSIK (Uniwersytet w Białymstoku), *Kim są „nimfy liberyjskie”? Komentarz do Likofrona, Aleksandra 275* (23 III 2018).
3. Prof. Myrosław TROFYMUK (Lwowski Uniwersytet Narodowy im. I. Franki), *Literatura nowolacińska XV-XIX w.: spojrzenie z perspektywy ukraińskiej* (18 V 2018).
4. Prof. dr hab. Benedetto BRAVO (IH UW), *Herodot o Scytii. Kilka uwag filologiczno-etnologicznych* (26 X 2018).
5. Dr Emilia ŻYBERT-PRUCHNICKA (Uniwersytet Wrocławski), *Symetria i podwójność w „Aleksandrze” Lykofrona* (14 XII 2018).
6. Mgr Łukasz SZYPKOWSKI, *Aulei moi. O tajemniczym aulosie słów kilka* (8 III 2019).
7. Prof. Mikołaj SZYMAŃSKI, *Recepcja Porwania Prozerpiny Klaudiana od V do XVII wieku* (31 V 2019).

III. Działalność popularyzatorska

Podobnie jak w latach ubiegłych, w bieżącym okresie sprawozdawczym Sekcja Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku kierowana przez mgr Marię Poszepczyńską organizowała Konkurs Kultury Klasycznej cieszący się niesłabnącą popularnością wśród młodzieży gimnazjalnej. W roku szkolnym 2017/2018 i 2018/2019 odbyły się odpowiednio trzynasta i czternasta edycja tego konkursu. Tradycją oddziału są też corocznie organizowane otwarte kursy łaciny i greki prowadzone przez studentów i absolwentów studiów magisterskich i doktoranckich IFK UW. W okresie sprawozdawczym funkcjonowały cztery grupy łacińskie i dwie greckie. Słuchacze mogą uczestniczyć w zajęciach na poziomie początkującym, średniozaawansowanym i zaawansowanym. Członkowie Oddziału Warszawskiego biorą ponadto aktywny udział w pracach Komitetu Okręgowego i Głównego OJŁ.

Sekretarz Warszawskiego Oddziału PTF
dr Magdalena Zawadzka

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU WROCŁAWSKIEGO

Oddział liczy 77 członków.

W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Oddziału pracował w następującym składzie: Przewodniczący – dr Mariusz Plago; Wiceprzewodnicząca – dr Magdalena Wolf; Skarbnik – dr Emilia Żybert-Pruchnicka; Sekretarz – mgr Anna Jaworska; Członkowie Zarządu: dr Barbara Szubert, dr Barbara Hartleb-Kropidło.

Członkowie Komisji Rewizyjnej: dr Katarzyna Ochman (przewodnicząca), dr hab. prof. UWr Jakub Pigoń, dr Małgorzata Wróbel.

Komisji Dydaktyki Języka Łacińskiego nie powołano.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się trzynaście posiedzeń ogólnych Wrocławskiego Oddziału PTF, w których uczestniczyło średnio dwanaście osób. Wygłoszono na nich następujące odczyty:

1. Dr Barbara HARTLEB-KROPIDŁO, *Kogo strzegły Lary Stróżujące – Lares Praestites? Owidiusz, „Kalendarz poetycki”* (5, 129–136) (25 X 2017).
2. Dr Ałła BRZOZOWSKA, „*Stephani I [...] adeversus Ioannem Basilidem [...] expeditio*” pióra Samuela Wolfa (28 XI 2017, 20 XII 2017).
3. Mgr Oskar STRUZIŁ, *Wstępne uwagi na temat opisów wizji z „Żywotu Ansgara” Rimberta w kontekście literatury wczesnośredniowiecznej* (31 I 2018).
4. Dr hab. prof. UWr Gościwit MALINOWSKI, *Wurte runoz an walhakurne Heldaz Kunimundiu – antyczne paralele runicznej inskrypcji* (21 II 2018).
5. Dr Florin LEONTE (Uniwersytet Palackiego w Ołomuńcu), *Dialogues and Debates in Late Byzantium: Ancient Models and New Trends* (14 III 2018).
6. Dr Spyridon TZOUNAKAS (Uniwersytet w Nikozji na Cyprze), *Seneca's influence on Lucan's „De bello civili”: Hecuba and Cornelia* (18 IV 2018).
7. Dr Lucie MAZALOVA (Uniwersytet Masaryka w Brnie), *Editing John Hus's Latin works* (16 V 2018).
8. Dr Maja MIZIUR-MOŹDZIOCH, *Zoo Ptolemeusza: zwierzęta w Egipcie hellenistycznym* (17 X 2018).
9. Dr hab. prof. UWr Gościwit MALINOWSKI, *O szkodliwości wydań krytycznych, czyli tożsamość króla Scytów w „Kronice” Thietmara (VII 27)* (28 XI 2018).
10. Mgr Gabriela GAJDA, *Działalność konspiracyjna polskich filologów klasycznych podczas II wojny światowej* (30 I 2019).
11. Mgr Aleksandra POPIOŁEK, *Plaut i Terencjusz w XVI-wiecznym Wrocławiu. O działaniach Ambrosiusa Moibanusa na rzecz edukacji na Śląsku* (27 III 2019).
12. O. Jan KONIOR SJ, *Jan Mikołaj Smogulewski SJ 穆尼閣 (1610–1656), misjonarz, astronom i uczony dworu cesarskiego w Chinach, prekursor dialogu międzyreligijnego. Pomiędzy nauką a wiarą* (24 IV 2019).
13. Mgr Ewa NOWAK, „*Elogia*” Alberta Inesa – kilka kwestii interpretacyjnych (5 VI 2019).

Dnia 21 III 2018 dr hab. Maria Chantry zorganizowała spotkanie z prof. dr. hab. Myroslavem Trofymiukiem, filologiem klasycznym i neolatynistą ze Lwowa, który wygłosił wykład zatytułowany *Łacińskojęzyczna literatura Ukrainy w ramach działalności Instytutu Badań Nowołacińskich we Lwowie*.

Dr Katarzyna Ochman zorganizowała konferencję metodyczną z cyklu *Optimi magistri*, której druga i trzecia edycja odbywała się w Instytucie Studiów Klasycznych, Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych UWr 19 V 2018 i 6 X 2018.

Sekretarz Wrocławskiego Oddziału PTF
mgr Anna Jaworska

SPRAWOZDANIE Z DZIAŁALNOŚCI
FUNDACJI *TRADITIO EUROPAE*
W OKRESIE OD 15 IX 2017 DO 10 IX 2019

I. Władze Fundacji

W okresie sprawozdawczym nie nastąpiły zmiany we władzach Fundacji. W skład Rady Fundacji wchodziły następujące osoby: prof. dr prof. Marian Szarmach, UMK – fundator; dr hab. Przemysław Nehring, prof. UMK – przewodniczący; dr hab. Tomasz Sapota, UŚ – wiceprzewodniczący; dr Alicja Brusewicz, UMK – sekretarz; dr Genowefa Malicka, VII LO w Toruniu; prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Korus, UJ; dr Mariusz Zagórski, UW. W skład Zarządu Fundacji wchodziły następujące osoby: dr Barbara Bibik, UMK – prezes; dr hab. Bartosz Awianowicz, UMK – wiceprezes; dr Rafał Toczko, UMK – sekretarz; mgr Wioleta Dudek – skarbnik; dr Magdalena Nowak – członek Zarządu, mgr Magdalena Awianowicz – członek Zarządu.

II. Działalność statutowa w okresie sprawozdawczym

1. We współpracy z Katedrą Filologii Klasycznej i Toruńskim Oddziałem Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego kontynuowano pierwszy z programów Fundacji: Ligę Starożytniczą. Jest to specjalny program opracowany w formie konkursu, którego celem jest popularyzacja wiedzy o kulturze antycznej, rozbudzanie i pogłębianie zainteresowań antykiem oraz kształtowanie wśród młodzieży świadomości wspólnej tradycji europejskiej. Raz w miesiącu uczniowie uczestniczą w wykładach prowadzonych przez pracowników naukowych lub doktorantów, po wykładach organizowane są testy sprawdzające wiedzę uczniów. Konkurs trwa nieprzerwanie od 2007 roku. Adresowany jest do młodzieży z województwa kujawsko-pomorskiego. Rokrocznie do udziału w Lidze Starożytniczej zgłasza się 150–250 uczniów z całego regionu (do jedenastej edycji konkursu w roku 2017/2018 zgłosiło się natomiast niemal 300 uczniów). Obecnie trwa XIII edycja konkursu. Od roku 2009 rokrocznie konkurs wspierany jest przez dotację z Urzędu Marszałkowskiego Województwa Kujawsko-Pomorskiego (w latach 2017–2019 dotacje z UM wynosiły: 3000 PLN, 4000 PLN, 3400 PLN). Również od 2009 rokrocznie konkurs obejmowany jest honorowym patronatem Kujawsko-Pomorskiego Kuratora Oświaty. Konkurs objęty został również patronatem Dziekana Wydziału Filologicznego UMK.

2. Od września 2010 prowadzimy cykliczny projekt pt. „Toruńskie warsztaty numizmatyki antycznej”. Projekt organizowany jest we współpracy z Instytutem

Archeologii UMK oraz Oddziałem Toruńskim Polskiego Towarzystwa Numizmatycznego. Patronat nad warsztatami objął Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte (Universität Wien) oraz Zarząd Główny Polskiego Towarzystwa Numizmatycznego. Kolejne edycje warsztatów organizowane są rokrocznie w miesiącach luty oraz wrzesień/październik i cieszą się one dużym powodzeniem wśród numizmatyków z całej Polski. Od 2014 roku jesienne edycje warsztatów odbywają się w Krakowie, we współpracy z Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego.

3. Od roku 2011 Fundacja przyznaje nagrodę dla najlepszego nauczyciela języka łacińskiego w Polsce. Nagroda przyznawana jest uroczyście raz na dwa lata podczas walnego zjazdu Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego. W roku 2019 tytuł *Optimus magister* otrzymał doktor Janusz Ryba z Krakowa.

4. W 2015 roku Fundacja utworzyła fundusz, z którego opłacane było nauczanie przedmiotu język łaciński i kultura antyczna dla jednej klasy liceum ogólnokształcącego w Toruniu w wymiarze 240 h, umożliwiające opanowanie podstawy programowej. W wyniku konkursu w IV LO w Toruniu od sem. letniego roku szkolnego 2015/ 2016 do listopada 2017 roku odbywały się wspomniane zajęcia.

5. W związku z nawiązaniem współpracy z Fundacją Popularyzacji Nauki im. Euklidesa, w roku 2017 Fundacja była partnerem konkursu na Mądrą Książkę Roku 2016 (finał konkursu odbył się w kwietniu 2017).

6. Od 2017 roku, rokrocznie, Fundacja włącza się w międzynarodowy festiwal organizowany przez Festival Européen Latin Grec (z Lyonu) poświęcony różnym tekstom klasycznym. W dniach 23–27 III 2018 roku w ramach projektu Międzynarodowy Dzień *Metamorfóz* Owidiusza, we współpracy z Wydziałem Filologicznym UMK, Domem Muz, Wojewódzkim Ośrodkiem Animacji Kultury, Teatrem im. Wilama Horzycy oraz Planetarium im. Władysława Dziurowskiego, przy współudziale Szkoły Podstawowej nr 11, Muzeum Etnograficznego oraz Teatru Studenckiego Status Quo, zorganizowaliśmy warsztaty mitologiczne i plastyczne dla uczniów szkoły podstawowej i dla seniorów; sondę miejską; teatralne opracowanie IV księgi eposu i wspólną lekturę tej księgi w języku polskim oraz wybranego jej fragmentu w językach: łacińskim, niemieckim, holenderskim, francuskim, czeskim, rosyjskim, włoskim, hiszpańskim, portugalskim, esperanto, bułgarskim, angielskim oraz chińskim; udział grupy przedszkolaków z przedszkola nr 5 w Toruniu w pokazie „Cudownej Podróży” w Planetarium oraz otwartą debatę pt. „Czy Szekspir był plagiatorem? Motywy antyczne w teatrze/dramacie nowożytnym i współczesnym”, w której udział wzięli: prof. dr hab. Maria Kalinowska (Artes Liberales UW), dr hab. Barbara Bibik (Katedra Filologii Klasycznej UMK), dr Jarosław Hetman (Katedra Filologii Angielskiej UMK), Paweł Paszta (dyrektor artystyczny Teatru im. W. Horzycy w Toruniu), poprowadził ją natomiast dr Rafał Toczko (Katedra Filologii Klasycznej UMK). Wydarzenie zostało wsparte przez Departament Kultury

i Dziedzictwa Narodowego Urzędu Marszałkowskiego Województwa Kujawsko-Pomorskiego (dotacja: 1500,00 PLN). W dniach 20–23 III 2019 roku w ramach projektu Międzynarodowy Dzień Iliady Homera, we współpracy z Wydziałem Filologicznym UMK, Biblioteką Uniwersytecką, Domem Muz oraz Szkołą Podstawową nr 11, zorganizowaliśmy warsztaty mitologiczne i plastyczne dla uczniów szkoły podstawowej oraz wspólną lekturę XXIV księgi eposu w językach: starogreckim, łacińskim, niemieckim, francuskim, rosyjskim, włoskim, hiszpańskim, portugalskim, esperanto, bułgarskim, angielskim, nowogreckim, chorwackim oraz kaszubskim.

7. Fundacja prowadzi działalność promocyjną na portalu Facebook: www.facebook.com/traditioeuropae i www.facebook.com/lacinawszkole.

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