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CUIUS HEREDITAS

IN SCRIPTIS AB IPSO ELABORATIS
IN DISCIPULIS DOCTRINA ET VIRTUTE AB EO FORMATIS
ATQUE IN MULTIS HOMINIBUS
QUI EIUS DOCTRINA SAPIENTIA MODESTIA HUMANITATE
TACTI SUNT

SEMPER VIVET ET FLOREBIT

CONSPECTUS MATERIAE

COMMENTATIONES

Wojciech Sowa, More Aeolic Elements in γλῶσσαι κατὰ πόλεις? 9–37
Antonio Mura, *Dubia Aristophanea*? Una spiegazione 'meccanica' per una notizia antica..... 39–48
Zbigniew Danek, Platonis εὐτυχία retractata, seu quoad humana in rebus gerendis prosperitas virtuti coniuncta sit..... 49–57
Tomasz Mojsik, Mythography of the Muses 59–77
Michal Habaj, The Suebian Retreat: Caesar's Oft-Overlooked Use of the *Suebi* in *Commentarii de bello Gallico*..... 79–87
K.F.B. Fletcher, The Separation of Pyramus and Thisbe – and of their Names (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.55–166)..... 89–96
Andrzej Wypustek, Suggestions for a New Interpretation of Two Sexual Graffiti from Pompeii: *CIL* 4.1410 and 5187..... 97–111
Miron Wolny, Actor in the Theatre of the Gods – Hannibal's Dream in Silius Italicus' *Punica* (3.163–221)..... 113–134
Boris Hogenmüller, Zwischen Verlustangst und Konsternation. Überlegungen zu Plinius' des Jüngeren „Düsternis" in den Büchern VII und VIII 135–155
Joanna Komorowska, Defining Philosophy II: The Six *horismoi* of Ammonius' Introduction to His Commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge* (*In Isag*. 6.25–9.24 B.) 157–179
Eleanor Dickey, Multilingual and Multicultural Education in Antiquity: What Can We Learn from It? 181–200
Rainer Jakobi, Philologische Kleinigkeiten zu Zwei Lateinischen Jesuitendramen aus Posen 201–224

MISCELLANEA

Danuta Okoń, Military Tribunate in the Careers of Roman Senators of the Severan Period. Part 5: Models of Careers of *tribuni laticlavii* and *tribuni angusticlavii*..... 225–229

SUMMARIA DISSERTATIONUM INAUGURALIUM

Martyna Świerk, The Society of Roman Carthage. An Epigraphic Study 230–235

CENSURAE LIBRORUM

Liquid Connections: Wine, Ritual, and Cross-Cultural Currents in Gandhāra (A Review Article): Claudia Antonetti, Bryan De Notariis, Marco Enrico (eds.), *Wine Cultures. Gandhāra and Beyond*, Venezia 2024 (Olga Kubica) 236–243
Dennis Pausch, Christoph Pieper (eds.), *The Scholia on Cicero's Speeches: Contexts and Perspectives*, Leiden–Boston 2023 (Damian Pierzak)..... 244–251
Leonardo Galli, *Scienza e meraviglia in Lucrezio. Un commento a ‚De rerum natura' 6, 703–1089*, Pisa 2024 [Testi e commenti 31] (Heiko Ullrich) 252–257
Jeffrey Murray, David Wardle (eds.), *Reading by Example: Valerius Maximus and the Historiography of Exempla*, Leiden–Boston 2022 [Historiography of Rome and Its Empire 11] (Jakub Pigoń) 258–266

COMMENTARII

Report on the 17th Congress of the *Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques* (7–11 July 2025, Wrocław, Poland) 267–274
Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego w latach 2021–2025... 275–318

Libri recepti..... 319

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

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MORE AEOLIC ELEMENTS IN ΓΛΩΣΣΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ?*

by

WOJCIECH SOWA

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the reliability of ancient lexicographical sources, using as a case study Ποῖαι γλῶσσαι κατὰ πόλεις, an anonymous work that features an ancient list of 100 forms attributed to various dialects (Urb. gr. 157; cf. Latte 1925:136–147; Bowra 1959: 43–60). The List includes four examples identified as belonging to the Aeolic (Lesbian) dialect, namely: Αἰολέων· αἰχμή – λόγχη; γοός – κλαυθμός; δῶμα – οἶκος; κεκρυφάλεος – ἀριστερόν. As argued by Sowa (2011: 172–179), these four forms cannot be interpreted as examples of Lesbian dialectal vocabulary. Since there is a theoretical possibility that the List contains forms that have been erroneously classified as belonging to the lexical systems of particular dialects, this article examines whether additional Aeolic forms may be identified among those attested in the List, but attributed to other poleis, as Bowra has previously suggested. In light of a dialectal analysis of the forms attested in γλῶσσαι, the Homeric character of the entire work appears evident. However, the fundamental question remains as to why certain dialects or regions are assigned specific sections concerning πόλεις, while others are not, and why these particular πόλεις were selected, given the fictional nature of many of the dialectal attributions.

KEYWORDS: ancient Greek lexicography, glosses, ancient Greek dialects, Lesbian dialect

Apart from the canonical forms of documentation of ancient Greek dialects, such as epigraphic documents and literary variants attached to various literary genres, grammatical and lexicographical sources seem to be interesting, though underestimated testimonies about different varieties of Greek. Ever since the Hellenistic Age, the Greek scholarly tradition has paid great attention to collecting rare words (γλῶσσαι) and notable terms (λέξεις). Glossaries and lexica have played an important role in teaching Greek and transmitting Greek literary texts and, consequently, in perpetuating the multifarious character of the language. The usefulness of ancient lexica for modern scholarship is difficult to assess, but it is nevertheless interesting to approach the Greek dialects through

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the lens of ancient lexicography. Caution is generally called for regarding the dialectal labels attributed by grammarians. The same problem arises in the case of ancient glosses, which were collected throughout antiquity and have been transmitted to us in the form of lexica (most notably that of Hesychius). This material is of great importance for the exegesis of classical texts, but the question of how far it can be considered a reliable source of dialectological data, and especially whether the glosses attest to the real state of the vernacular spoken in the various regions of Greece, remains moot. This may be a true reason why modern scholars "tend to treat these sources as mere ancillary tools and not as scholarly works in their own right, with the result that there is little interest in the reasons why certain lemmas were included in a lexicon, or in the methodology and linguistic reasoning behind certain interpretamenta" (cf. Tribulato 2019).

Among many ancient works gathering rare and obscure lexical units and labelling them according to different dialectal regions is the so-called Ποῖαι γλῶσσαι κατὰ πόλεις, an anonymous work that features an ancient list of 100 forms attributed to various dialects, preserved in manuscript form, cf. codex Urb. gr. 157 kept in the Vatican Library. The forms were quoted by Bekker in his *Anecdota Graeca* III (pp.1095–1096), without commentary, and the List has been used by writers on Greek dialects including Hoffmann, Meister, and Bechtel, but always only to supplement other sources of information about regional vocabularies. As of now, the document has not been critically edited (cf. Latte 1925: 136 with basic information about the textual tradition), though it seems that alongside the Urb. gr. 157 fol. 276v there are at least two copies preserved in Madrid (Royal Library, cod. XL and cod. XCV, cf. Iriarte 1769: 146 and 378 – today 4576 and 7211 respectively) supplemented by two mss. in Italian archives (Bibl. Laur. Plut. 58.19, f. 188r–191 copied and owned by Francesco Filelfo, and manuscripts in Venice Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana gr. X 26 (coll. 1305) fol. 202v–203v).[1] Except for short studies by Latte (1925: 136–147) and Bowra (1959: 43–60),[2] the document has not attracted the interests of scholars, and sporadically occurring references generally consider the

[1] The two copies preserved in Madrid were transcribed within the circles of disciples of the Greek humanist Konstantinos Laskaris and are parts of the codices containing various grammatical writings, including Philoponus' and Laskaris' self-prepared grammar. Two additional copies can also be found in Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (Ambr. F 14 sup. ai ff. 161v–165v.; Ambr. D 355 inferior), one more in the Vatican (Barberin. Graec. 108), as well as the example in French Sélestat (Sel. 105), being probably the oldest of the existing manuscripts. The latter four manuscripts were unknown to Latte in 1925. The fact that Selestiadensis may date back to 1000 CE underscores its enduring textual tradition, whereas other existing copies testify to its popularity among humanistic scholars. The fact that the List was copied in humanistic circles in the later 15th century already indicates the existing interest in the didactics of Greek dialects at that time, and consequently also an awareness of the fact that the Greek language appears in various forms in literary works transmitted to the Renaissance period.

[2] Cf. also Bowra 1934 with reference to the forms ascribed to the Cypriot dialect.

List as a source of reliable dialectal data (cf. e.g. Peters 1994: 210).[3] Contrary to other extant ancient sources of scientific reflection on the Greek dialects – mostly preserved in Byzantine sources such as Περὶ διαλέκτων by Gregory of Corinth, or Compendia Περὶ Αἰολίδος by Johannes Grammaticus, which treat dialects from the point of view of their phonetic discrepancies or inflexion – this document tries to ascribe certain lexical forms to particular regions of Greece.

The List, though unimpressive at first sight, raises several questions which have yet to be answered. For example, what is the List and what was the purpose of its compilation? One may also try to delve deeper into the problem of its origins and sources and ask more precisely what these may have been, whether any of these words can be credited with an ancient lineage or ascribed to a particular dialect with a relatively high degree of certainty, and finally, whether the List is a reliable source of dialectological data. There is a possibility that, even though we are dealing with clearly poetic forms which, according to Bowra, "are familiar from poetry, they are also ... current in various local vernaculars" (Bowra 1959: 45).

Contrary to the opinions formulated by Latte and Bowra, my main hypothesis would be that, judging from a dialectological point of view, the List cannot be a reliable source of data, but it contains many archaic, mostly poetic forms and therefore poetic register plays a decisive role here. Out of the 100 forms, 85 examples can be found directly in Homer, but they are also present in other poetic uses. 11 forms are occasionally used as part of poetic vocabulary other than specific epic diction. They are used in various works of archaic poetry (choral poetry, iambus, tragedy) or Hellenistic epic, and most of them are not found/used in the context of prose. Then, at least according to Latte and Bowra, three forms were corrupted in the course of the history of textual transmission, namely φύς given as Doric, the supposedly Aeolic κεκρυφάλεος (cf. however the interpretation in Sowa 2011: 173 f.), and the Aetolian οὔλας (Bowra after Latte 1959: 46).[4] It seems that from the entire collection only one enigmatic form, namely ἔστιοι with the strange meaning of νεκροί, attributed to the Arcadian city of Cleitor (cf. Κλειτορίων ἔστιοι· νεκροί),[5] does not

[3] Cf. also Rujigh 1957: 138–168, who uses the forms attested in a List as examples of the so called "Achaean" lexical layer of Greek vocabulary, especially those forms which had been ascribed to Cypriot, cf. Κυπρίων. ἀλαός· τυφλός. ἄλγος· ὀδύνη. ἄλοχος· γυνή. δέπας· ποτήριον. ἔμαρψεν· ἔλαβεν. ἠβαῖον· ολίγον. ἕζε· κάθισον. ἰός· βέλος. θής· λάτρις. ταρβεῖ· φοβεῖται. πέδιλα· ὑποδήματα. φάσγανον· ξίφος. χθών· γῆ. τόργος· γύψ. δούπησεν· ἀπέθανεν.

[4] This may actually be seen as a real form, although not necessarily to be ascribed to Aetolian (Sowa, *forthcom.*).

[5] It seems however that ἔστιοι proposed by Latte should in fact be read as ἕστιοι, as the mss. yield an obvious *spiritus lenis* sign. This observation does not change the level of difficulty in interpreting the form.

occur in literary sources. It remains questionable as to whether it should be regarded as a real testimony to the *lingua vernacula* of the area.

The forms have been grouped according to 22 geographical areas, some of which are identical to the dialect regions, while the others refer to rather small cities, which is beyond doubt interesting, cf. the group of forms attributed to Arcadia, where next to the general dialectal label "Ἀρκάδων" one can also find separately grouped forms belonging to the speech of the city of Cleitor and Phliasiai.[6] These two belong to the Arcadian area, but otherwise are not cited separately in the lexicographical works. The same situation can be seen in the case of Argos, which is represented as a dialectal region (Ἀργειῶν) next to the Argive city of Hermione, but which also offers two forms, at least according to the Compiler (cf. Ἑρμιονέων ἴθι· πορεύου; κνίσα· ἐπίπλους).

Among the material quoted, the anonymous list also features Aeolic (Lesbian) forms,[7] which as I have suggested elsewhere (Sowa 2011: 172–179) should not be treated as examples of the *lingua vernacula.* They were definitely taken from Homer and then falsely reinterpreted as Aeolic by the Compiler, cf. Αἰολέων αἰχμή· λόγχη, γοός· κλαυθμός, δῶμα· οἶκος, κεκρυφάλεος· ἀριστερόν, which is to be expected given the nature of the List and which is consistent with the prevailing importance of the poetic register as an ultimate source. However, there is a possibility that one may find Aeolic forms listed as components of the vocabulary systems of other regions. This is probably the case with the form στεῖχε, which according to the Compiler should belong to the lexicon of Acarnania (Ἀκαρνάνων στεῖχε· πορεύου), but actually seems to be treated as a specific element of Lesbian, as attested in the epigraphic sources (Sowa 2023: 122 ff.).[8] Such a possibility has already been noted by Bowra, who observes some forms

---

[6] Cf. according to the order/chronology of the List: Athens, Argos, Arcadia, Achaea, Aetolia, Acarnania, city of Ambracia, Aeolic dialect (i.e. Lesbian), city of Hermione, Thessaly, Cyprus, Boeotia, Doris, Ionia, city of Cleitor, Crete, city of Corinth, Island of Cercyra, Laconia, city of Magnesia (in Thessaly), Sicily, and city of Phleion.

[7] It seems that in the List the term Aeolic has been used to refer to the Lesbian variety (East-Aeolic, Kleinasiatisch-Äolisch) as opposed to the Thessalian and Boeotian forms, which have been introduced separately. This generally agrees with the ancient connotation of the adjective.

[8] The forms of the verb στείχω are not attested in the Acarnanian dialect belonging to the Northwest Doric group (cf. *IG* IX 1²), as the transmitted imperative does not have/show any characteristic features typical for that region. Interestingly, στείχω may be observed in the sense of πορεύομαι, ἐμβαδίζω "to go, go inside, to enter" in Lesbian documents, cf. e.g. *MYT* 04.4–6 (ca. 332 BCE; political decree) ... μ[ηδὲ στειχέτω ἐπὶ μη]δὲν τῶμ παρεχώρησαν αὔτωι οἱ ἐν τᾶι πόλι πρό[σθε ἔοντες, ἀλλὰ σ]τειχόντων ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ κτήματα οἱ παρχωρήσα[ντες αὔτωι, etc. The forms of στείχω do occur in epigraphic documents in different regions of Greece, although the examples occur exclusively in poetic texts (mostly funerary). In Lesbian inscriptions on the contrary στείχω is attested in political decrees, as well as in sacral law; while in the other dialects and inscriptions the usual prose correspondences are εἰσπορεύομαι, ἔρχομαι (cf. e.g. Megara *IG* VII 190 5.17; Cyrenaic; Ionic). For an analysis of the distribution of the forms and dialectal interpretations see Sowa 2023: 122 ff.).

which, although ascribed to different regions of Greece, yield "striking parallels" to Lesbian use. It is therefore the objective of this article to verify this statement.

ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ ΑΙΨΑ· ΤΑΧΕΩΣ

The anonymous Compiler of the List suggests that the form αἶψα, meaning "quickly, suddenly, forthwith", was in use in the Thessalian dialect, but there is no good evidence for this (cf. however Hoffmann 1893: 223 qualifying the adverb as a Thessalian gloss with reference to the *GKP* as published in Bekker 1821). The form of the adverb has been attested in Greek since the Homeric poems, where it occurs frequently (112 times, cf. also 10 times in Hesiod); cf. also Hsch. A 2207 *αἶψα· εὐθέως Α ὠκέως, ταχέως (A 303) with reference to the *Ilias*. Therefore, the form has been generally considered poetic. It is attested in the Lesbian poetic register, cf. Sappho fr. 1.13 αἶ]ψα δ' ἐξίκο[ντο· σὺ δ', ὦ μάκαιρα; and fr. 60.6, and possibly also once in Alkaios, cf. fr. 346.2. It may also have appeared in the Boeotian literary variant of Corinna, but with a different spelling: ἦψα (*BKT* V ii 36; with characteristic monophthongisation **aį̯* → [ę:], Blümel 1982: 66 f.). The adverb consistently does not appear in prose texts, with one exception being a rather late occurrence from Crete, cf. *IC* I xvii 9.3 (2nd century BCE):

> Δήμανδρον Καλάβιος Γορτύνιον ἰσ[χι-]
> [α]λγικὸν γενόμενον προσέταξε ἀπο[μο-]
> λὲν ἐς Λεβήναν ὅτι θεραπεύσειν· αἶ[ψα]
> δ' εὐθόντα ἔταμε καθ' ὕπνον χὠγιὴς ἐ[γέ-]
> νετο...

The epigraphic context notes examples of the use of this adverb, which may be found in documents in Crete, Acarnania, Phrygia, and Italy. Apart from the Cretan example, the other occurrences are poetic funerary documents and as such are stylised onto an epic dialect, cf. e.g. *IG* IX 1.2 2.313 Acarnania Thyrreion, 2nd century BCE:

> οὐδὲ γονεῦσιν ἑοῖς ἀποδοὺς χάριν· ὦ μέγας Ἄιδα,
> τόν με κατακτείναντ' αἶψα καταστορέσαις.[9]

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[9] Cf. *IG* X 2.2 382.9 f. (Macedonia Dassaretia, 2nd century CE) ἀλλά με μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσεν, ἐπεὶ τόδε μόρσιμον ἦεν / τύμβον δ' αἶψα γονῆς τεῦξαν ὀδυρόμενοι; *MAMA* X 177, 17 (Phrygia) φάος αἶψα δὲ μο⟨ῖ⟩ρα καρπαλίμως ἐδάμασσε; *IG* XIV 638.6–8 (Italia Petelia, Strongoli, 4th–3rd century BCE): δίψηι δ' εἰμὶ αὔη καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ' αἶψα / ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης; etc.

The Thessalian inscriptions do not have the adverb as such. However, it seems that it has been attested only once in a religious inscription, in a famous Dionysiac-Orphic gold tablet (lamella) from Pelinna, probably from the 4th century BCE, cf. *SEG* 37:497A (for the description and interpretation of the tablet see Bernabé–Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008: 61–94 with further literature),

νῦν ἔθανες
καὶ νῦν ἐγ-
ένου, τρισόλβ-
ιε, ἄματι τῶιδε.
εἰπεῖν Φερσεφόν-
αι ϙ᾽ ὅτι Β⟨άκ⟩χιος αὐτὸς
ἔλυσε. τα{ι}ῦρος
εἰς γάλ⟨α⟩ ἔθορες. αἶ-
ψα εἰς γ⟨ά⟩λα ἔθορες.
⟨κ⟩ριὸς εἰς γάλα ἔπεσ⟨ες⟩.
οἶνον ἔχεις εὐ-
δ⟨α⟩ιμονατιμν
καὶ ϙὺ μὲν
εἶς ὑπὸ
γῆν τε-
λέ⟨σ⟩ας ἅ-
περ ὅλ-
βιοι ἄλ-
λοι.

The text combines metrical poetic verses with non-metric prose, for example the opening of the text and the non-metrical short lines, but it is isosyllabic and clearly governed by grammatical parallelism, syntactic, semantic, and phonetic rules, cf.

νῦν ἔθανες καὶ νῦν ἐγένου, τρισόλβιε, ἄματι τῶιδε
εἰπεῖν Φερσεφόναι ϙ᾽ ὅτι Β⟨άκ⟩χιος αὐτὸς ἔλυσε
τα{ι}ῦρος εἰς γάλ⟨α⟩ ἔθορες.
αἶψα εἰς γ⟨ά⟩λα ἔθορες.
⟨κ⟩ριὸς εἰς γάλα ἔπεσ⟨ες⟩.

It seems that the text preserves traces of the inherited Indo-European strophic style of ritual, liturgical language. The strophic alternation of metrical long lines and non-metrical short lines closely resembles the liturgical pattern of Old Indic (e.g., Vedic *Aśvamedha*; for Indo-European parallels and an interpretation of the text as an example of IE inherited eschatology see Watkins 1995: 277–297). It appears, therefore, that this specific attestation cannot be used to support its alleged Thessalian dialectal origins, as the only lexeme that is not compatible with Attic-Ionic is Φερσεφόναι, which lacks Attic-Ionic raising. As noted above, the form in question, αἶψα, is poetic and was also used by Sappho, Alcaeus, and probably Corinna. However, it does not exhibit any distinctly Lesbian linguistic

features. The adverb also does not have parallels outside Greek or a convincing etymology. It is possibly derived from the adj. *αἰπύς "steep, high" – an *-u* adjective next to the *-s* stem αἶπος, αἰπύς as a backformation from *$*h_2ip$*-; αἶψα could be then a derivation of a τάχα type (Peters 1980: 84, 323; Beekes 2010: 46; cf. on the contrary Risch who, following Wackernagel, would relate the form to the adj. ἐξαίφνης with a supposed development /psn/ → /p^hn/, Risch 1974: 363 f., the same proposal can be found in Chantraine *DELG* 41; for the type of the adverbs in α ← *h_2 see Risch, *ibidem*).[10] The distribution of the form, including in its Homeric context, but also in archaic poetry by writers such as Simonides, Theognis, Solon, and Pindar, as well as its sporadic use in the Greek tragedy and Hellenistic epic (e.g. Callimachus)[11] would rather contradict the hypothesis of its Aeolic provenance. However, when considering arguments regarding the possible diffusion of the adverb – whether from Aeolic to Homeric or from Homeric to Aeolic – it is rather difficult to formulate a definitive statement that justifiably supports either direction. It is also possible that the form is simply a poetic word of obscure origin. Analysing the form according to the criteria as formulated by García Ramón, it would fall into his category 1) or 2), which means not dialectal.[12] Why the form was interpreted by the Compiler as Thessalian and was chosen as an example of dialectal use remains obscure.

ΚΛΕΙΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΑΗΤΑΙ· ΑΝΕΜΟΙ

In the group of supposedly Arcadian forms connected with the city of Cleitor,[13] one may find a form ἀήται glossed in a sense of nom. pl. "winds" ἄνεμοι. The form seems to have been falsely normalised by both Latte and Bowra who write the noun with a circumflex ἀῆται obviously following Bekker (1821: 1095) and the Homeric use, as against the oldest mss. which have only ἀήται (cf. Urb. gr. 157, Laur. Plut. 88), contrary to later copies from Madrid, which also have a circumflected "eta" ἀῆται in this place.[14]

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[10] There is a different proposal in *DGE* s.v. αἰπύς: "De *$HH^{i}3°k^{u}$-, en αἶπος, αἰπύς, αἴφνη ← *αἰπσ-νη, αἶψα; c. silabación *$HH_{i}3°k^{u}$- en ai. *yakṣati* 'apresurarse'; c. silabación *$H°H^{i}3k^{u}$- en gr. ἄφαρ, ἀφνίδιος, ἐξαπίνης"; for *yakṣati* and Vedic *YAKṢ* see *EWAiA* II 391.

[11] Call. fr. 244: αἶψα γὰρ ἦλθεν στιβήεις ἄγγαυρος, Call. *SHell.* 288.63: αἶπσα [δ]ὲ Fεργακσάμενος.

[12] "(1) a term attested in other dialects too beyond Attic (or koine): in this case, the term is not specifically dialectal, but simply Greek; (2) a term not found in other dialects, but attested in Attic (or koine), and occurring in glosses too, yet without any indication of origin. It goes without saying that the terms in (1) and (2) may not be understood as dialectal" see García Ramón 2018: 58 f.

[13] Κλείτωρ, Κλήτωρ, Lat. *Clitorium*, cf. Plinius *Nat. Hist.* 4.6.10.

[14] Both Madrid manuscripts 4576 and 7211 seem to be later copies which were produced in the late 15th century.

The form does not look Arcadian, but rather Homeric. In epic texts the noun ἀῆται (to the nominative ἀήτης) occurs meaning "blasts, flurry of wind", derived from the verb ἄημι "(of the winds) to blow, to blow (upon something)", cf. *Od*. 9.139: ἀλλ' ἐπικέλσαντας μεῖναι χρόνον, εἰς ὅ κε ναυτέων || θυμὸς ἐποτρύνῃ καὶ ἐπιπνεύσωσιν ἀῆται; nom. sg in *Il*. 14.254: ὄρσασ' ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων ἐπὶ πόντον ἀήτας, or *Od*. 4.567: ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνείοντος ἀήτας. The form has been traditionally connected with the Homeric dialect and as such it has also been used in other poetry, cf. Hes. *Op.* 621: δὴ τότε παντοίων ἀνέμων θυίουσιν ἀῆται·, including later Hellenistic epic diction A.R. 1.335: ναυτιλίης, ὅτε μοῦνον ἐπιπνεύσουσιν ἀῆται· or Callimachus (cf. quotation by Ath. 7.106.5: ναυτίλος ὃς πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεον, εἰ μὲν ἀῆται), always in the same context of blowing winds (incl. very late poetry by Nonnus 34 time), with the meaning "wind" (or "a blast, or blowing" of a wind), cf. ἀήτης ὁ ἄνεμος or ἀήτας ἀνέμου πνοάς (cf. explanation by Eust. *Comm. in Hom. Il.* 1.672.12 f.).[15]

It is not a surprise then that the noun is also found/used in Lesbian lyric, cf. Sapph. 2.10: †τῳτ..ιριννοις† ἄνθεσιν, αἰ δ' ἄηται || μέλλιχα πνέοισιν [; fr. 20.9 [ ] μεγάλαις ἀήται[ς; the same form occurs in Alkaios as well, cf. Alc. fr. 249.5: [ ]ω κατέχην ἀήταις. As is to be expected, the element is not found in the epigraphic documents from Lesbos (cf. however two examples/uses in poetic inscriptions from Asia Minor from the Christian era, cf. *Anth. Gr.* 1.92.2 Cappadocia, *IK* Prusa ad Olymp. 1029.5 Bithynia). According to Bowra, the feminine ἀήται should be treated as a genuinely Lesbian word which differs in form and gender from the Homeric ἀήτης. Bowra sees "no reason why Lesbian should not have had more than one word for 'wind'" (Bowra 1959: 57), as ἄνεμος is present in poetry as well (cf. Sapph. 47.2; 37.2; Alc. fr. 38.1; 249.11; 326.1; 319). It seems however that this claim cannot be supported since, according to the grammatical tradition, out of two forms, ἀήτης and ἀήτη, the form of the masculine should be interpreted as "wind", cf. Hsch. A 160 *ἀήτης· ἄνεμος vgA ἀρσενικῶς (cf. Hsch. A 3504 *ἐξ ἀήταο· ἐξ ἀνέμου AS) and the feminine noun should be rather interpreted as "a blast of (the) wind", cf. Hsch. A 159 *ἀήτη· πνοή. θηλυκῶς An.[16]

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[15] Cf. the entire passage: τὸ βροτοὶ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἀήτης αὐτὸς ὁ ἄνεμος, ὁ ἄλλως κυρίως τῷ ἀνέμῳ συνδυαζόμενος ἐπιθετικῶς, ὡς δηλοῖ καὶ Ἡσίοδος ἀήτας λέγων ἀνέμου ἤτοι πνοάς; cf. the further repeated statement Eust. *Comm. In Hom. Il.* 3.774.13 ff.: Ἀήτης δὲ ἀνέμου ἡ πνοή. ἔφη δὲ καὶ πρὸ τούτου ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων ἀήτας, ἡ δὲ χρῆσις πολλὴ καὶ παρὰ Ἡσιόδῳ. Ἰστέον δὲ ὡς ἐνταῦθα μὲν τὸ "δεινὸς ἀήτης" γένος ἀρσενικὸν ὑποβάλλει νοεῖν, ἐν δὲ τῷ "ἀνέμοιό τε δεινὰς ἀήτας" θηλυκῶς ἡ φράσις ἔχει; Cf. also Aristot. *Problemata*: Διὰ τί ὁ ζέφυρος εὐδιεινὸς καὶ ἥδιστος δοκεῖ εἶναι τῶν ἀνέμων, καὶ οἷον καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν τῷ Ἠλυσίῳ πεδίῳ, "ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ζεφύροιο διαπνείουσιν ἀῆται".

[16] Whether this form is a reflex of an "archaic" formation **ἀήτα in Lesbian remains obscure. Compare the transmitted opinion that, in the Lesbian dialect, one of the typical inflectional types

In this context, one may also quote a Hesychean gloss ἄυητο which has been suspected of Aeolic provenance as well (Hoffmann 1893: 232), Hsch. A 8250: ἄυητο· ἔπνεεν AS 3 sg. augmentless impf. "blew", in the lexicon, though without any indication of the dialectal provenance.

The form is neither confirmed in Lesbian inscriptions, nor in Lesbian poetry; it seems to be a Hesychean *hapax legomenon*, and in Greek, only forms from the corresponding verb ἄημι "to blow" do occur, cf. the 3 sg. present ἄησι,

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with formations in *-*ta:s* (-της) should continue with the apocope of the final consonant. This is supported by Gregory of Corinth (§ 25): Οἱ αὖτοὶ πολλάκις εἰς α ποιοῦσι τὰς εὐθείας. ὁ Ἀρχύτα γὰρ λέγουσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ Ἀρχύτης, ὁ Ὑβραγόρα ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ Ὑβραγόρας, ὡς καὶ οἱ Ἀττικοί, τὰς εἰς α κλητικὰς εἰς εὐθεῖαν μετάγοντες. This feature is also noted by Apollonius Dyscolus, who attributes it to speakers of the Thessalian (and Macedonian) dialect. According to Dyscolus, the vocative of masculine nouns in *-a:* was used in place of the nominative (cf. Περὶ συντάξεως 301). The information provided by Gregory suggests the existence of an asigmatic type in Lesbian, similar to the paradigm found in Boeotian (Thumb–Scherer 1959: 64).

In the Boeotian dialect, epigraphic documentation attests forms such as: Μογεα (*IG* VII 3467.1), πυθιονικα (*IG* VII 1888.b9 5th c. BCE), Καλλεα (*IG* VII 1889.9), Καλλια (*IG* VII 2852.1), ϙλιδα (*IG* VII 4124), Νεστιδα (*IG* VII 4209), Απολλωνιδα (*IG* VII 4231), Αθηναδα (*IG* VII 2257), Ευγιτονιδα (*IG* VII 3508). These should be referred to the forms known from the epic context, cf. εὐρυόπα, μητίετα, νεφεληγερέτα (Ζεύς), or ἵππότα (Νέστωρ), etc., which are usually interpreted as archaisms (Schwyzer 1939: 560). In the Epic dialect such forms are usually epithets of gods and heroes observed in formal usage and it seems likely that their source is ossified vocative forms (Chantraine 1933: 198 f.; Schwyzer, *ibidem*; Risch 1974: 33), although in the case of εὐρυόπα one would rather point to the accusative form from εὐρύοψ.

The aforementioned forms known from Boeotian (attested in documents practically from the beginning of written attestation) except for one example, all are forms of personal names, which occur alongside the forms of regular nominatives with *-s*. According to Rix, these examples, similarly to the Homeric forms, should be interpreted as archaisms, relics of an inherited paradigm (cf. Latin *incola*, OCS *junoša*; Rix 1992: 130), which, by analogy to the nom. sg. substantives in *-*o*, *-*o-s*, produced a new nominative form with the characteristic *-s* as a marker of masculine forms (against the *-a* of feminine). A similar claim has been also made by Bechtel with regard to the Northwestern dialects, where asigmatic endings of masculine forms may be occasionally found, see Ϙοπα (Halae), Φιλοκλεδα (Dodona), which would confirm the preservation of the remains of the inherited inflection of nom. *-a*, gen. *-as* in this region (Bechtel 1921: 268; Buck 1955: 87). This claim has been challenged by Méndez Dosuna, according to whom the analysis of the epigraphic data does not support such an assumption, and none of the examples of the alleged nom. in *-a* with gen. sg. *-as* are convincing. In fact, the aforementioned examples would have to be interpreted as spelling errors occurring during the carving of the document, or interpretive errors (Méndez Dosuna 1985: 163 f.).

If we exclude the possible influence of the Northern Greek dialects in maintaining the asigmatic forms in Boeotian, then their status remains unresolved. Formations of this kind do not occur either in Thessalian or in Lesbian, where no traces of such a paradigm may be found in the available material, and the masc. nouns in *-*a:* are always built in a sigmatic manner, i.e. according to an analogical pattern, while retaining the *-a* ending in the genitive as a result of contraction. Perhaps, then, a different interpretation should be proposed according to which the asigmatic forms of the type πυθιονικα, Καλλεα in the Boeotian dialect are a morphological innovation rather than archaisms, by analogy to the asigmatic PN in -ē, -ει (attested 25 times in Boeotian as diminutive names, cf. Bechtel 1921: 268; Blümel 1980: 233).

attested since Hesiod, cf. *Op*. 517 in the context of winds.[17] The same stem occurs in Lesbian poetry, cf. Sapph. 2.10: τωτ...ιριννοις ἄνθεσιν, αἰ δ' ἄηται, also Alc. fr. 261b.7: []...οισαν μ[ ]. ζάεισαι, which could correspond to Hesiod's διάημι (for the problem of the Lesbian ζά instead of δία see Sowa 2009: 271–294), while the second example could be in Alc. fr. 296b.1–3:

> [K]υπρογένη", ἔν σε κάλωι Δαμοανακτίδ[
> [ ].πὰρ ἐλάαις ἐροεσσα[..] καταήσσατο
> [ ]σύναις· ὡς γὰρ ὀΐ[γ]οντ" ἔαρος πύλ[αι.

The form of the verb †ἄυημι should correspond to the epic ἄημι "breathe hard, to blow of winds" (*LSJ*), which is generally accepted as going back to the IE root *$h_2\underset{\sim}{u}eh_1$- "wehen", with a pres. *$h_2\underset{\sim}{u}éh_1$-/$h_2uh_1$- (3sg. ἄησι ← */aṷe:si/ ← *$h_2\underset{\sim}{u}eh_1$-*ti*); cf. the laryngeal in Anlaut in Hitt. *ḫuwant*- "wind" (the lexicalised participle *h_2uh_1-*ent-s*), also with correspondences in Ved. *vāti*, Goth. *waian* ← *$\underset{\sim}{u}ē$-*a*- and other languages (cf. *LIV*[2] 287).

The stem occurring in the Lesbian literary dialect has been considered as containing an internal hiatus caused by the loss of ϝ (Hamm 1957: 29); the example from Alc. fr. 296b.2: καταήσσατο in an undetermined sense could be considered an aorist, cf. the attested future formation in Hsch. K 1096: καταήσεται· καταπνεύσει (cf. Thumb–Scherer 1959: 104 for the problem of the preservation of geminated /ss/ in forms of Lesbian aorists and futures).

The form ἄυητο, glossed by Hesychius, contains a trace of the inherited */$\underset{\sim}{u}$/ in the intervocalic position and stands next to other forms, such as e.g.: ἀυετῆ, ἀυήρ, ἀυιδέτου, καυαλέον, φαυόφοροι, of which φαυόφοροι and καυαλέον are accompanied by an indication of the dialectal provenance (Hoffmann 1893:

It is therefore difficult to identify a clear motivation for the rule Gregory introduced. The examples quoted in the paragraph (PN) are not attested either in literary dialect or in epigraphic documents, although the direct source for linguistic data used by Gregory remains a mystery. Perhaps the point of reference are the Homeric forms, understood as a deviation from the accepted standard. The reference to the Attic dialect in this context, where there are no examples to substantiate such a claim, is surprising, apart from the form Ακυλα (*IG* II[2] 2022.23) actually being a transliteration of the Roman cognomen *Aquila* (Threatte 1996: 71; cf. the catalogue of the forms in *-as* in Attic, cf. Threatte 1996: 67–75; according to the author, most examples date from before ca. 200 BCE). Perhaps the phonological considerations also played a role – after the disappearance of a correlation of length, the forms of the vocative (with a short /*a*/) became identical to those of archaic nominatives (with a long /*a:*/). However, there are no clear indications to confirm this hypothesis. Whether the form Ἀρχύτα may refer somehow to the person of Archytas of Tarentum, who was quoted as a model for the Doric dialect in the prologue of Gregory's work, remains unanswered (cf. Wilson 1996: 188).

[17] καί τε δι' αἶγα ἄησι τανύτριχα· πώεα δ' οὔτι, || οὕνεκ' ἐπηεταναὶ τρίχες αὐτῶν, οὐ διάησι || ἲς ἀνέμου Βορέω· τροχαλὸν δὲ γέροντα τίθησιν; or Hes. *Op*. 553: ἄλλοτε μέν θ' ὗει ποτὶ ἕσπερον, ἄλλοτ' ἄησι || πυκνὰ Θρηικίου Βορέω νέφεα κλονέοντος, also in a 3 pl. pres. in 875: ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλαι ἄεισι διασκιδνᾶσί τε νῆας. In Homer, the forms of the 3du., inf. and 3sg. impf., as well as the participle, are attested several times, cf. *Il*. 5.525–526: ζαχρειῶν ἀνέμων, οἵ τε νέφεα σκιόεντα || πνοιῇσιν λιγυρῇσι διασκιδνᾶσιν ἀέντες.

434 f.; Strunk 1957: 44). One has to remember that the Common Greek intervocalic */u̯/ disappeared without trace in the language of the Homeric poems (except when the effects of its loss are evident in forms resulting from the third compensatory lengthening, as seen, for example, in: ξεῖνος vs. ξένος and κούρη vs. κόρη) and everywhere else in Greek, except for Cypriot (in Mycenaean it is normally observed in the intervocalic position, Strunk 1957: 43; Lejeune 1972: 179 ff.; Rix 1992: 62; Egetmeyer 2010: 130 ff.). Strunk points to the fact that although such "preservation of the intervocalic */u̯/" has been generally ascribed to Aeolic, one may also find Arcado-Cypriot forms (mostly personal names) still yielding the intervocalic glide, e.g.: Arc. Φαυιδας (~ φαος), Φαυιδας Ευνοστω *IG* V 2 38 col. III 53; or Κλευαντος TitCal 194.1: επι μο(ναρχου) Κλεωνυμου του Κλευαντου (Strunk, *ibidem*). Hoffmann considers all such examples to be a result of the metrical influence, the **au̯*, **eu̯*, **ou̯* having changed into αυ, ευ, ου under the influence of the verse ictus. Hoffmann assumes here a kind of "fortification of */u̯/", the result of which could be the sequence [*au̯u̯*], [*eu̯u̯*], [*ou̯u̯*] (Hoffmann 1893: 435). This proposal seems to have been generally accepted; Strunk emphasises that it should not be treated as a special Aeolic feature in epic poetry (Strunk 1957: 46).

In his *Phonétique historique...*, Lejeune analyses a group of forms with a supposed "geminated" [*u̯u̯*] and suggests the following development: in the geminated [*u̯u̯*] sequence, the first sonant becomes the non-syllabic element of the diphthong, while the second [*u̯*] disappears. It applies to such examples in which the geminated [*u̯u̯*] is a result of a historical sound change, e.g. in the Lesbian treatment of the */su̯/ cluster: intervocalic **nasu̯os* → **nau̯u̯os* → ναῦος, as well as in composition **e-su̯ade* → **e-u̯u̯ade* → Hom. εὔαδε; it also applies to personal names (expressive gemination in hypocoristics) or sandhi, as in the Hom. αὐερύοντα ← **au̯u̯eruo:-* ← **an-u̯eruo:-* (Lejeune 1972: 182). It seems that there are also examples exhibiting an "unetymological gemination" of */u̯/, among which the gloss ἄυητο (from stem **h₂ueh₁-*) could be placed. It seems that in Aeolic, in the context /diphthong + V/, one faces a diphthong plus a transitional glide in two syllables [V*i̯.i̯*V], [V*u̯.u̯*V]; and an alleged ambisyllabic, or "geminated" [*u̯*] being a misnomer for such a sequence. The epigraphic evidence from Thessaly and Boeotia, where a special orthography with ϝ was used, could testify to such an assumption (6th–4th century BCE; Blümel 1982: 37): e.g. Thess. δικαστορευϝον *SEG* 17.287.2 (Magnesia 6th century BCE): Ανδροϙυδες Ανδροκυδης εϙρουσε εκρουσε· ϙολουρος Κολουρος δικαστορευϝον ...; ευϝεργεταν *IG* IX 2 257.5 (Thetonion, 5th century BCE): και ϝοικιαταις και χρεμασιν ασυλιαν κατελειαν κευϝεργεταν εποιεσαν κεν ταγα κεν αταγιαι ...; Boeot. Ευϝαεντεα *IG* VII 3510: Ευϝαεν[ε]τα; cf. further parallel examples for [V*i̯i̯*V]: Boeot. μαντειιαν *IG* VII 1795.2: [Ε]λικ[ων]ια[δεσσι κατα ταν μαντειιαν τω] Απολλω[νος] ...; *IG* VII 3207.2: Βοιωτοι τον τριποδα ανεθεικαν της Χαριτεσσι κατ ταμ μαντειιαν τω Απολλωνος ....

In Lesbian inscriptions such an orthography cannot be observed. Hodot cites only the example of ναυος "temple" as containing a diphthong αυ before V, and those of ευαγγελια, αναγορευοντος, δευει, and others for the preservation of ευ and one example of διακουην for ου. This last example is, however, attested late, "la conservation de diphtongues en *–u* en hiatus est donc exceptionelle, et due à des conditions lexicales ou morphologiques particulières" (Hodot 1990: 67 f.).

The problem remains open. One may ask, however, whether the possible source for the gloss could be a verse from epic poetry, for example Arat. 1.1035:

> Μηδ', ὅτε νηνεμίῃ κεν ἀράχνια λεπτὰ φέρηται
> καὶ φλόγες αἰθύσσωσι μελαινόμεναι λύχνοιο,
> ἢ πῦρ αὔηται σπουδῇ καὶ ὑπεύδια λύχνα,
> πιστεύειν χειμῶνι. Τί τοι λέγω ὅσσα πέλονται,

where the form αὔηται occurs in a metaphorical sense in the context of fire "set on fire from underneath, inflame unperceived" (*LSJ*). It is hard to decide why in Aratus a form with an intervocalic [u̯] has been used since it does not fulfil Hoffmann's metrical requirements, which would require two short syllables after αυ (Hoffmann 1893: 435):

> ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏒

> ἢ πῦρ αὔηται σπουδῇ καὶ ὑπεύδια λύχνα

It must be said, however, that the form ἄηται would be scanned as ⏑ – –, whereas the examples from Hesiod with ἄη(σι) are always ⏑ – ⏑.

It seems that in the case of a gloss ἄυητο transmitted by Hesychius, special metrical treatment could be assumed. The form is certainly not specifically dialectal; it should probably be considered poetic and not archaic. The "preservation" of Common Greek */u̯/, which in Lesbian should disappear without any material traces, is probably owing to the influence of poetic tradition, which preserved some archaisms that cannot be ascribed dialectally.

We cannot exclude *a priori* that Lesbian, at least in the literary variation, had been using the form ἀήται as an equivalent of ἄνεμοι. The question remains open as to whether one would assume here an originally inherited element and use, or whether the form should be considered literary, poetic, very probably a Homeric, and not dialectal.[18]

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[18] For the exclusively poetic status of the form see also Pl. *Cra*. 410b: ὁ οἱ γὰρ ποιηταί που τὰ πνεύματα "ἀήτας" καλοῦσιν: ἴσως οὖν λέγει, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἴποι πνευματόρρουν, "ἀητόρρουν" ὅθεν δὴ βούλεται αὐτὸν οὕτως εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀήρ.

ΚΛΕΙΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΑΥΔΗ· ΦΩΝΗ

According to the anonymous Compiler of the List, another supposedly Arcadian element connected to the ancient town of Cleitor is αὐδή with the meaning φωνή "human voice, speech", which perfectly agrees with the Homeric use, where the form denotes the human voice contrary to e.g. ὀμφή referring clearly to the voice of divine beings.[19]

The formulaic character of the noun αὐδή and its derivatives is very straightforward in Greek epic, cf. the 29 examples of acc. sg. αὐδήν, all in the final position of the verse, cf. *Il*. 4.430: τόσσον λαὸν ἔπεσθαι ἔχοντ' ἐν στήθεσιν αὐδήν, or nominative in the same position, e.g. 1.249: τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή·, the verbal derivatives are particularly numerous (338 times) both in the final and the initial position of the verse (Ruijgh 1957: 149 ff.), cf. e.g. 4.265: τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή·. The noun αὐδή as an element of the elevated, poetic level of the vocabulary also occurs in the Archaic lyric, cf. Pindar, etc.; it has been also attested once in Sappho, with reference to herself in the famous 1.6: ἀλλ]ὰ τυίδ' ἔλ[θ', αἴ ποτα κἀτέρωτα | τὰ]ς ἔμας αὔ[δας ἀίοισα πήλοι|ἔκ]λυες, πάτρο[ς δὲ δόμον λίποισα;[20] it also occurs infrequently in tragedy.[21] It is worth noting that the verb αὐδάω also occurs

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[19] Cf. the same meaning transmitted in grammatical and lexicographic tradition, e.g. Hsch. A 8234 f.: *αὔδα· λέγε φώνει (Ξ 195); αὐδάς· φωνάς; Anon. Lex. Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων (*Versio antiqua*) alpha 1077 f.: αὔδα· λέγε; αὐδή· φωνή; Lex. Segu. (Collectio verborum utilium e differentibus rhetoribus et sapientibus multis (Σb); recensio aucta e cod. Coislin. 345) A 162 f.: αὔδα: λέγε; αὐδή: φωνή; Et. gen. 1386: αὐδή· ἡ φωνὴ – φωτίζεται ⟨καὶ εἰς γνῶσιν προσέχεται καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις⟩ τὰ τοῦ νοῦ. ἢ παρὰ τὸ αὔω, τὸ φωνῶ, αὐή καὶ αὐδή (Μ' Ζ343); Et. gen. 1387: αὔδα (Ξ 195, Σ 426)· ἔστιν † αὐδέω αὐδῶ, ὁ παρατατικὸς ηὔδαον ηὔδων, ηὔδαες ηὔδας, τὸ τρίτον ηὔδαε ηὔδα, ⟨καὶ⟩ τὸ προστακτικὸν αὔδαε αὔδα. ⟨Ὅμηρος (Α 363, Π 19)⟩ ἐξαύδα, μὴ κεῦθε νόῳ (15) (f Μ' Ζ347); Photius A 3151 f.: Αὔδα· λέγε΄; Αὐδή· φωνή; cf. also scholia: in A. Scholia in *Prometheum vinctum* (scholia recentiora Thomae Magistri et Demetrii Triclinii) (e cod. Neapol. II.F.31) 948.1: ἐπαναλήψεως συνηθείᾳ κομπεῖς] μετὰ κόμπου λέγεις αὐδᾶν] λέγειν πρὸς ὧν] καὶ ἐκείνους ἐκπίπτει] ἤγουν ἐκπεσεῖται κατὰ ἀντιχρονισμόν; Scholia in Aeschylum (scholia recentiora) 948.1: αὐδᾶν] λέγειν. ὧν] ἀφ'; etc.

[20] Dion. Hal. *De compositione verborum* 23.45: ἀλλὰ τύ δελφὲ πόκα τ" ἔρωτα| τὰς ἐμὰς αὐδὰς ἀίοις· ἀπόλυ|ἔκλυες· πατρὸς δὲ δόμον λιποῖσα ... .

[21] Cf. e.g. Pi. fr. 52b.101: ταχύ]ποδα μ̣[αρ]θένοι χαλ̣-|κέᾳ] κ̣ελαδ[έον]τι γλυκὺν αὐδᾷ̣|τρόπ]ον·; Pi. fr. 52i.78: ἄτερθεν τεκέων |ἀλόχων τε μελ[ί]φ᾽ρονι αὐδ[ᾷ θυ-|μὸν ἀνακρίμναντες· επ̣ε̣[; Pi. *N*. 9.4: τὸ κ' ρατήσιππον γὰρ ἐς ἅρμ' ἀναβαίνων| ματέρι καὶ διδύμοις παίδεσσιν αὐδὰν μανύει | Πυθῶνος αἰπεινᾶς ὁμοκ' λάροις ἐπόπταις; B. 13.126: [–]οντες ὑπερφ[ία]λον [-] | [–] αὐ[δὰ]ν [Τρῶε]ς ἱππευταὶ κυανώπιδας ἐκ; cf. also tragedy E. 13x, cf. e.g. fr. 773.71: κηρύσσω δ' ὁσίαν βασιλήιον,|αἰτῶ δ' αὐδὰν |εὐτεκνίαν τε γάμοις, ὧν ἔξοδος; *Hipp*. 572 ὦ δυστάλαινα τῶν ἐμῶν παθημάτων | Χο. τίνα θροεῖς αὐδάν; τίνα βοᾶις λόγον; | ἔνεπε, τίς φοβεῖ σε φήμα, γύναι; *Hec*. 174: †δυστανοτάτας ματέρος, ἔξελθ' |ἔξελθ' οἴκων, ἄιε ματέρος αὐδάν.†| ἰὼ τέκνον [ὡς εἰδῆις οἵαν οἵαν΄; *Ba*. 576: Δι. ἰώ | κλύετ' ἐμᾶς κλύετ' αὐδᾶς,| ἰὼ βάκχαι, ἰὼ βάκχαι; S. 4x *OC*. 1630: ὁ δ' ὡς ἐπῄσθετ' ἐκ θεοῦ καλούμενος |αὐδᾷ μολεῖν οἱ γῆς ἄνακτα Θησέα.|κἀπεὶ προσῆλθεν, εἶπεν, "ὦ φίλον κάρα"; *El*. 1282: Ηλ. ὦ φίλ', ἔκλυον|ἂν ἐγὼ οὐδ' ἂν ἤλπισ' αὐδάν.| ⟨ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπ⟩έσχον ὀργὰν ἄναυδον; A. 3x *Supp*. 118: ἱλέομαι μὲν Ἀπίαν βοῦνιν·[ἐφυμν. α] | καρβᾶνα

in Aristophanes, either to emphasize the solemn nature of the proclamation (*Eq.* 1072, *Av.* 556, *Ra.* 369),[22] or, as in *Ach*. 1183 to parody the tragic style.[23] Rather stylistically marked use of the form can also be found in Herodotus (e.g. about the utterances of the priestesses in Dodona cf. aor. αὐδάξασθαι),[24] while according to Ruijgh the examples in Hippocrates could maybe yield the Doric colour of the dialect of the Island of Cos (Ruijgh 1957: 151).

A verbal derivative is attested in the epigraphic context in Lesbos, cf. *IG* XII 2 497.8 (Mytilene Perama). The document however does not yield any dialectal features and is to be interpreted as poetic, cf. χαίρειν αὐδήσας αὐτὸς ὄν[αιο βίου]; the same situation is to be found in a rather late document from Samos (Ikaria) *IG* XII 6.2 1259.7 f. (3rd/4th century CE): ὄντως ἔστι λέγοντος ἀκούειν, νν εἴ γέ τιν" αὐδὴν || ἠδύνατ" ἐκπροχέειν ἡ λίθος ἡ Παρίη (poetic).

The best example of the complexity of the problem of how to assess the noun αὐδή and the verbal derivatives such as αὐδάω "utter, speak", are the examples of its use in the epigrams inscribed in 130 CE by Julia Balbilla, court poet and friend of Hadrian and companion to his wife, Vibia Sabina. Balbilla inscribed three epigrams on the legs of the Colossus of Memnon. They have elements of wit, history, and mythology written in a Homeric tone. The epigrams have been written using Aeolic Greek in its Lesbian, poetic variation and are generally inspired by Sappho, yielding Sapphic forms. They sometimes include hypercorrect or hyperdialectal elements which should be understood as elements of the existing tradition. Αὐδή (and αὐδάω) are attested 3 times in these poems, cf.

Colosse de Memnon 28.7:

> ἐνὶ σκίαι ὡράων δεύτερον ἦχε μέτρον,
> ὡς χάλκοιο τυπέντ[ο]ς ἴη Μέμνων πάλιν αὖδαν
> ὀξύτονον· χαίρω[ν κ]αὶ τρίτον ἄχον ἴη.

Colosse de Memnon 29:

> ἴρηες μύθων τῶν παλάων ἴδριες,

δ' αὐδὰν εὖ, γᾶ, κοννεῖς.| πολλάκι δ' ἐμπίτνω ξὺν λακίδι λινοσινεῖ; *Pers*. 575: ὀᾶ,|τεῖνε δὲ δυσβάυκτον βοᾶτιν τάλαιναν αὐδάν·|γναπτόμενοι δ' ἀλὶ δεινᾶι[ἀντ. β]; *Pers*. 942: Ξε. ἴετ' αἰανῆ πάνδυρτον[ἀντ. α]|δύσθροον αὐδάν, δαίμων γὰρ ὅδ' αὖ|μετάτροπος ἐπ' ἐμοί.

[22] Cf. e.g. *Eq*. 1072: {ΑΛ.} Οὐ τοῦτό φησιν, ἀλλὰ ναῦς ἑκάστοτε / αἰτεῖ ταχείας ἀργυρολόγους οὑτοσί· / ταύτας ἀπαυδᾷ μὴ διδόναι σ' ὁ Λοξίας.

[23] Cf. πρὸς ταῖς πέτραισι δεινὸν ἐξηύδα μέλος.

[24] E.g. 2.55.2: Δύο πελειάδας μελαίνας ἐκ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτιέων ἀναπταμένας τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην, τὴν δὲ παρὰ σφέας ἀπικέσθαι· ἱζομένην δέ μιν ἐπὶ φηγὸν αὐδάξασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπηίῃ ὡς χρεὸν εἴη μαντήιον αὐτόθι Διὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θεῖον εἶναι τὸ ἐπαγγελλόμενον αὐτοῖσι καί σφεα ἐκ τούτου ποιῆσαι. Cf. also 2.57.2: Μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπηίῃ φωνῇ αὐδάξασθαι λέγουσι, ἐπείτε συνετά σφι ηὔδα ἡ γυνή· ἕως δὲ ἐβαρβάριζε, ὄρνιθος τρόπον ἐδόκεέ.

χαῖρε, καὶ αὐδάσαις πρόφρων ἀσπάσ̣δε[ο κ]αὔτ[αν]
τὰν σέμναν ἄλοχον κοιράνω Ἀδριάνω.

Colosse de Memnon 30:

κὠ Μέμνων τρέσσαις μεγάλω μένος Ἀδρι[άνοιο]
ἐξαπίνας αὔδασ', ἀ δ' ὀΐοισ' ἐχάρη.

It seems however difficult to decide what the motivation for choosing this particular element was – whether it was chosen as the Homeric, traditional form, typical of formulaic use in an epic meter, or whether it was chosen as an element particular to the Lesbian lyric.

From the formal point of view the form is clear – together with the *n*-stem ἀηδών ⟨*au̯e:don*- f. "nightingale" (τ 518) and the verb ἀείδω, Att. ᾄδω, and the *i*-stem ἀηδώ, αηδοῦς (*Lyr*.), αὐδή belongs to the PIE verbal root *h_2u̯edH*- "sound, speak" (*LIV*[2]: 288; Greek forms in *GEW* I 26, Chantraine 1933: 159 § 119; Beekes 2010: 168). The noun αὐδή is then to be interpreted as a zero-grade formation *$h_2$udH-éh$_2$* whereas the noun ἀηδών would be the lengthened grade (otherwise Peters 1980: 14, for which one deals with a regular full grade *h_2u̯edh$_1$* (ἀηδών) and a zero grade *$h_2$udh$_1$éh$_2$* alternation).[25]

It is then clear that αὐδή does not display any particular dialectal feature; apparently, if the form is to be analysed as Lesbian, or, as assumed by the Compiler, Arcadian, one would expect the retaining of the long /*a:*/ in nom. sg αυδα (for the assumed Cypriot counterpart inf. Hsch. Γ 770 γόδαν· κλαίειν. Κύπριοι as in Latte's edition, see Solmsen as ϝοδαν 1901: 81, Peters, *ibidem*, "*sed* ϝ *ante o apud Cyprios periit*" Latte; it seems however that the reading should rather be: γοᾶναι· κλαίειν. Κύπριοι as in the new edition of Hesychius,

[25] According to the opinion presented in *LIV*[2] 288 Gr. ἀηδόν- should be separated from the verb ἀείδω, for which, due to the existence of the primary nominal derivates, such as ἀοιδός and ἀοιδή, one should rather postulate the root *h_2u̯eid*- as the basis of the derivation. Gr. ἀηδών could then be understood as primary *nomen agentis* *$h_2$udhx-on*- "making sounds" to the root *h_2u̯edhx*-, cf. for the semantics Germ. *su̯ana*- m. "swan" (OHG. *swan*, OSax. OE. *swan*, OIsl. *svanr*) ← *su̯onh$_2$ó*- "making sounds" (: root. *su̯enh$_2$*- "sound" *LIV*[2] 611), Germ. *xanan*- "Hahn" (Goth. *hana*, OHG., OSax *hano*, OIsl. *hani*, OE. *hana*, OFris. *hana, hona*) ← *kan-on*- "singer" (root *kan*- "sing, sound" *LIV*[2] 343). The assumption of the existence of a primary *n*-stem with a lengthened *e*-grade of the root may be problematic because of the not assured status of acrostatic types with root ablaut /*e:*/ : /*e*/ in such formations. It seems, however, that the etymological relationship of Gr. ἀηδών and Hom. ἀείδω, Att. ᾄδω "sing" can be sustained if one assumes two root extensions *h_2u̯eh$_1$+d*- and *h_2u̯eh$_1$+i+d*- → *h_2u̯ei̯[h$_1$]d*- (Klingenschmitt 1989: 83[12]), cf. PIE *leh$_1$*- "to let", as in Alb. *la* aor. "he let" ← *lə$_1$-t* for *leh$_1$-t*; also Alb. *dha* aor. "he gave" ← *də$_3$*-t for *doh$_3$-t*; cf. Hitt. prohibitive particle *lē* ← *leh$_1$* aor. impv. 2sg "let" next to *leh$_1$-d*- (observed in Germ. *lēte/a*- "let") and *leh$_1$+i+d*- → *lei̯h$_1$d*- (in Lit. *láisti, láidžiu* "let", Klingenschmitt 1982: 213[69], *idem* 1989: 83[12]). Gr. ἀηδόν- "nightingale" ← *au̯edón*- can then, according to such scenario be understood as a primary *nomen agentis* *h_2u̯eh$_1$d-ón*- "the singing one" f., Gr. Hom. ἀείδω, Att. ᾄδω "sing" is then a primary verbal formation *h_2u̯éi̯(h$_1$)d-e/o*- "sing" (Schaffner 2005: 96 f.).

cf. 2018: 516). It therefore seems impossible to distinguish a transmitted form from the regular, poetic/epic use. Judging from the distribution of the forms in exclusively literary occurrences, one should probably qualify this form as connected to the epic vocabulary as well. Bowra's statement (1959: 58) according to which αὐδή should be "a good Lesbian word" does not seem well justified.

ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ ΕΜΑΡΨΕΝ· ΕΛΑΒΕΝ

The form of an aor. ἔμαρψεν meaning "hold, took hold", has been quoted in the List as an example of an alleged Cypriot form. According to Ruijgh, all formations quoted by the Compiler as examples of the dialect native to Cyprus could belong to the so-called "Achaean" stock of epic vocabulary. This should be understood as the presence in Homeric language of an element which is earlier than both Aeolic and Ionic stock. If this is the case, the "Achaean" dialect would mean forms of Greek spoken in the Peloponnese and adjacent islands of the Aegean during the Mycenaean age. Remnants of this dialect (or group of dialects) may occur in classical times in Arcadia and Cyprus and the record of the earliest Achaean forms may be observed on the Linear B tablets. It would therefore not come as a surprise that these forms in the right scenario could be understood as some of the most archaic elements of Greek vocabulary.[26]

The aorist ἔμαρψεν is not found in the epigraphic material in Cyprus and the presence of the νῦ ἐφελκυστικόν in the ending would speak strongly in favour of the influence of Ionic-Attic and would point to the non-dialect specific character of the form (cf. Egetmeyer 2010: 163, 177, 640), even if according to Egetmeyer the expected synonym, i.e. λαμβάνω is not found in the dialectal material either (*idem*, 602). On the other hand, the form ἔμαρψε[occurs in Sapph. fr. 58.21: [ ]ον ὔμως ἔμαρψε[and the aorist infinitive may be seen in Alc. fr. 61.14: (V) [θά]ναṭ[ον ζ]ακρῠόεν[τα] μάρψαι[. It is, however, tempting to treat both occurrences as results of Homeric influence rather than dialectal formations, due to the general poetic character of the verb (*v. infra*).

According to Bowra, one could introduce an additional argument in favour of the interpretation of the quoted aorist formation as Lesbian, namely indirect evidence as transmitted by Hesychius, where one may find a gloss Hsch. K 595 καμμάρψαι· καταλαβεῖν aor. inf. "catch, overtake". This, however, is without any indication of dialectal provenance which stays next to κάμμαρψις, as ascribed by the author of the lexicon to the Lesbian dialectal stock. Both forms have been qualified as Lesbian by Hoffman and counted among the group of Lesbian glosses; in other sources, the forms are not attested.

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[26] Cf. the discussion by Morpurgo Davies 1992: 415–432.

καμμάρψαι is neither found in Lesbian inscriptions nor in the literary dialect. The form occurs in Homer, e.g. *Il*. 6.364: ὥς κεν ἔμ' ἔντοσθεν πόλιος καταμάρψῃ ἐόντα, but without apocope of the preverb; as a Homeric element, it also occurs in Hes. *Op*. 496: μή σε κακοῦ χειμῶνος ἀμηχανίη καταμάρψῃ and archaic lyric poetry (cf. Pi. *I*. 34, 53; Thgn.). The same applies to the inf. aor. of the simplex μάρψαι, which can be found in Homer and Hesiod, and, as a poetic element, it is also found in the tragedy, cf. e.g. in *Il*. 22.201: ὣς ὃ τὸν οὐ δύνατο μάρψαι ποσίν, οὐδ' ὃς ἀλύξαι; also Hes. fr. 150.29: ἰέμενοι] μάρψαι, ταὶ δ' ἐκφυγέειν καὶ ἀλύξαι, and E. *Hec.* 1061: ἀνδροφόνους μάρψαι χρῄζων Ἰλιάδας.[27] The aorist stem also occurs in Greek funeral inscriptions to render the idea of dying metaphorically: "caught/took", always about Μοῖρα or Ἄιδης, "Fate/Hades caught me / took me". The Homeric influence in all these examples is very probable, as the documents seem to be of a poetic sort, cf. e.g. Argolid, Corinth., Aeg. *IG* IV 620.2: [M]οιρα θοη μαρψασα παρ' ανερος ηρπασε κολπων ‖ οια τις ειοβορος διψας εχι[δνα δακνει]; *IG* IV 622.8: μητερα [τη]ν μηπω πικρος [ε]⟨μ⟩α⟨ρ⟩ψ' Αιδης; Megara *IG* VII 115.3: μαρψασα μοιρα σωμα τη⟨ν⟩δ' υπο χθονα δεδωκεν, ητορ δ' ο⟨υ⟩ρανωι μ⟨ε⟩τα⟨ρ⟩[σ]ιον; *Expl. Arch. Del.* I 30 (1974) Rheneia 476,1: A.----ΛΛΙΤΟΝΙΙΑΙΣΣΑ[----] ον κατεμα[ρψεν] Μοιρα πολυκλαυτου νηματος αραμενα·; the verb is also found once in papyrus: *SB* VI 9448.4: [ἔ]ξω τῶν ἀνειλημμένων ἐων[ησάμην τῷ κα]τεγγυήσαντι οἷς ἐπάροι ὑπὸ ὠνήματι ομ[ ] .... ς Θῦβι ἐμαρψάμην καὶ καλ[ ]...

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[27] The forms of a verb μάρπτω are found in Greek from Homer (cf. e.g. *Il*. 21.489: ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἀμφοτέρας ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔμαρπτε), they clearly belong to the poetic register and their sporadic occurrences in prose may be explained due to the fact that they are quotations of poetic fragments, cf. e.g. Plut. *Quaest. conv*. 4.1, where the form μάρπτε should come from a poem by Empedocles, cf. ὥστε γίγνεσθαι τὸ τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέους / ὡς γλυκὺ μὲν γλυκὺ μάρπτε, πικρὸν δ' ἐπὶ πικρὸν ὄρουσεν, / ὀξὺ δ' ἐπ' ὀξύ, δαλερὸν δαλεροῦ λαβέτω), or Diog. Laert. 6.86.9: Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Θυρεπανοίκτης διὰ τὸ εἰς πᾶσαν εἰσιέναι οἰκίαν καὶ νουθετεῖν· ἔστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τόδε / ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔμαθον καὶ ἐφρόντισα καὶ μετὰ Μουσῶν / σέμν' ἐδάην· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια τῦφος ἔμαρψεν. The sigmatic aorist may be observed in Homer and the tragedy, as well as in Archaic poetry, cf. e.g. *Od*. 24.390: μήτηρ, γρηῦς Σικελή, ἥ σφεας τρέφε καί ῥα γέροντα ‖ ἐνδυκέως κομέεσκεν, ἐπεὶ κατὰ γῆρας ἔμαρψεν ‖; cf. also e.g. Pi. *Nem*. 6.12: τόκα δ' αὖτ' ἀναπαυσάμεναι σθένος ἔμαρψαν. ἦλθέ τοι Νεμέας ἐξ ἐρατῶν ἀέθλων παῖς ἐναγώνιος', cf. also Archil. fr. 101: ἑπτὰ γὰρ νεκρῶν πεσόντων, οὓς ἐμάρψαμεν ποσίν, χείλιοι φονῆές εἰμεν, or certainly as an "Epic" element in Lykophron *Alex.* 1361: οὐκ ἀσμένως ἔμαρψεν ἐρράου σκύλος, etc. The forms have been also commented by scholiasts and grammarians, pointing to the verb λαμβάνω as a synonym for μάρπτω, cf. Hsch. e 2262 f.: *ἔμαρψα· κατέλαβον (E. *Rhes.* 681) ASvg; *ἔμαρψας· ἐκράτησας vgn, cf. further Schol. in Pind. *Ol.* 6, schol, 21: Κατὰ γαῖ' αὐτὸν]* Ἡ κατὰ προσθετέα τῷ ἔμαρψε· ὑπερβατὸν γάρ ἐστιν· ἵν' ᾗ κατέμαρψε καὶ κατέπιεν, Hsch. M: *μάρψαι· συλλαβεῖν gn, καταλήψεσθαι (E. *Hec.* 1061) (Sg); μάρψει δ'· καταλήψεται (*Il*. 15.137) or *μάρψω· καταλάβω (E. *Alc.* 847) A; cf. also Eust. *Comm in Hom. Od.* 1.371.4 f.: ἕνα γὰρ ἑτάρων μάρψας ἐδείπνησε, τοῦ Κύκλωπος σὺν δύο αὐτοὺς θοινομένου. εἰ δὲ τὸν κήρυκα ὁ Ἀντιφάτης ἔμαρψεν, οὐκ ἔστι σαφῶς εἰπεῖν. (Vers. 102.) Ὅρα δὲ ὅτι ἐν τῷ, ἄνδρε δύω κρίνας, τρίτον δὲ κήρυκα δοὺς, ἁπλούστερον ὁ ποιητὴς γράφει.

In formal terms, the form can be considered a compound from the simple verb μάρπτω (⟨ **mr̥p-i̯o-* with a characteristic development of the Common Greek / pi̯/ → /pt/, cf. Lejeune 1972: 79), used as a synonym for κατα- or συλλαμβάνω, cf. Hsch. B 1083 βράψαι· συλλαβεῖν. ἀναλῶσαι. κρύψαι. θηρεῦσαι ← zero grade **mr̥p-sa-*. The verb itself still lacks a convincing etymology (Frisk *GEW* I 178; Beekes 2010: 907 f.).

There are no real arguments for treating the gloss as Aeolic (cf. the lack of the expected *o*-reflex of **r̥*, if one considers a zero-grade to be a derivation base), except for the possible apocope of the preverb (see below); however, the verb κατα-μάρπτω belongs to Homeric diction, as already pointed out by Hoffmann (1893: 239). The form appears to be related to the next gloss κάμμαρψις, used as a special technical term with an indication of dialectal, Lesbian origin.

In the case of κάμμαρψις, the situation is slightly different, as this word has been labelled as Lesbian, cf. Hsch. K 596: κάμμαρψις· μέτρον σιτικόν, τὸ ἡμιμέδιμνον. Αἰολεῖς, nom. sg. "grain measure". The form is a Hesychean *hapax legomenon*, which seems related to the compound verb καταμάρπτω "catch", and the aorist stem καμμάρψαι, treated above. κάμμαρψις does not occur in Lesbian inscriptions; the indication Αἰολεῖς could have been made based on the frequent apocope of the prepositions in the Lesbian dialect (in the position before C) both in literary and epigraphic texts, cf. ὀν for ἀνά, κατ for κατά, παρ for παρά (Hodot 1990: 44, 63), which may also further lead to assimilation, especially before /*l*/: καλλαφθεντος *ERE* 01.a20 (end of the 4th century BCE), καλλυσιν *KYM* 07.5 (3rd century BCE; Hodot 1990: 144 f.; cf. also Thumb–Scherer 1959: 108). The dental occlusives are, however, generally preserved before /*m*/ (Rix 1992: 94), so maybe the geminated ⟨μμ⟩ should be considered a hyperaeolism.

Concerning the semantics, the glossed form was used as the name of a grain measure ("Bezeichnung eines Getreidemaaßes", Bechtel 1921: 121). If both forms, καμμάρψαι and κάμμαρψις, are related (to each other), an original meaning could be assumed to be "a mass that may be caught, held". According to Hesychius, it is half a μέδιμνος, which would mean that it contained ca. 25.9 litres. A semantic parallel may be found in Slavic, where there are names of measures attested that show a relationship to the verb "catch, take by hand, greifen, mit Hand erreichen".[28]

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[28] This is e.g. the case of the Polish word *sięga* and the dialectal *siąga* "measure of wood; measure of length; for clothes ca. 60 cm", also *sąg*, *siąg*. Such a situation can also be found in other Slavic languages, cf. Czech *sáha*, Slovak *siaha*, *syha*, Ukr. *sážen*', Serbo-Croat. *sežanj* ← **sęgъ*, **sęžьnь*, all related to the OCS verb °*sęgǫ* °*sęšti* (a nasal present from IE **seg-* "heften, anhängen", *LIV*[2] 520, cf. also Machek 1957: 437 f.).

There do not appear to be any arguments to support the idea of the Lesbian provenance of the gloss, and the direct source remains obscure. This does not preclude the possibility that the form was indeed used by Aeolic speakers. The verb κάμμαρψαι seems to be a specifically Homeric element, while the *terminus technicus* κάμμαρψις could belong to vernacular speech; but the specific dialectal provenance of the form seems dubious. Consequently, we may apply the same evaluation to the alleged Lesbian character of the aor. ἔμαρψεν (as per Bowra) and treat it as a poetic-Homeric element in line with a generally observed character of the *GKP*.

ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ ΤΑΡΒΕΙ· ΦΟΒΕΙΤΑΙ

In our List, one may find another form ascribed to Cypriot, namely a 3sg. present ταρβεῖ as the alleged dialectal equivalent of the verb φοβεῖται "is alarmed, frightened". The form is given in the 3sg. in the older mss. (*Urb*. 11–12 century, *Laur*., first half of the 15th century). However, in both Madrid manuscript copies the word is 1 sg. ταρβῶ (*Matr*. 4576, 7211 both from the late 15th century). With the same meaning, though without any particular dialectal label, the form also occurs in the lexicographical tradition, cf. Hsch. T 182 *ταρβεῖ· φοβεῖται (cf. also 183 and 184 *τάρβει· φοβοῦ, *τάρβησαν· ηὐλαβήθησαν), and Suda T 117 pointing out Sophocles as the sources of a form, see ταρβεῖ: φοβεῖται. καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ ταρβεῖν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμᾶν. ταρβεῖν μέν, ὦ γεραιέ, τἀνθυμήματα πολλή' στ' ἀνάγκη τἀπὸ σοῦ. καὶ μὴν ἔνεστι τοῖς εὖ σκοπουμένοις ταρβεῖν τὸν εὖ πράσσοντα, μὴ σφαλῇ ποτέ. The sources observe the relationship to the nominal formation τάρβος, cf. Suda T 118: τάρβη καὶ τάρβος: εὐλάβεια, φόβος. ᾧ μή 'στι δρῶντι τάρβος, οὐδ' ἔπος φοβεῖ. τουτέστιν ὁ μὴ τὸ ἔργου δεδοικὼς οὐδὲ τὸν λόγον.

The verb ταρβέω seems to be well attested in Greek from the times of the Homeric epic with the meaning "to be alarmed, fear, dread, or stand in awe" and as a poetic formation it is extremely rare in prose (cf. however, Plut. *Ant.* 39.4: οἵ τε ἵπποι τοῖς Πάρθοις ἐξίσταντο ταρβοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἔφευγον).

The entry in *LIV*[2] 632 compares the Greek form to OInd. (epic) *tárjati* "threaten, revile", and *tarjáyati* "threatens, reviles, frightens, mockes" (*EWAiA* III: 238), which have both been quoted as continuants of the PIE pres. **térgʷ-e-* and caus. **tórgʷ-eie-* respectively from the root **térgʷ-* (cf. here also Lat. adj. *torvus* ← PIt. **torgʷo-* from PIE **torgʷ-o-* "grim, angry, fierce, grim looking" or Hitt. *tarkuu̯ant-* (adj.) "looking angrily" as a petrified participle from an unattested verb ***tarku-* "to look grimly", cf. PIE **trgʷ-ent-* to PIE **tergʷ-*, cf. also adv. *tarkuu̯a* "angrily"; cf. de Vaan 2008: 625; Kloekhorst 2008: 844). According to *LIV*, the root should develop primarily into the Greek noun

τάρβος, ταρβέω and as a consequence should be interpreted as a denominative formation. According to others, the distribution of the attested forms of the verb and their frequency next to a rare nominal formation τάρβος may point to the opposite scenario, having the substantive τάρβος created from the verb and not the other way round (cf. *DELG* 1094; Beekes 2010: 1452). It seems, however, that the origins of the verb may be much more complicated and the ultimate answer of how one should assess the relationship between the verb ταρβέω (infrequent aor. τάρβησε), noun τάρβος, and the compound ἀταρβής "fearless" does not seem possible,[29] since the example must be analysed against the background of the assumed existence of *-ēs-* continuants of IE stative formations in Greek. While this is an interesting problem *per se*, it does not belong to the main problem of the dialectological attribution of ταρβέω (cf. the verbal class interpreted in Tucker 1990: 27–72 based on Watkins 1971: 51–93).

In Homeric use, one may find only 2 examples of a noun τάρβος and 1 of ἀταρβής at the end of the verse. On the other hand, 27 examples of inflectional forms from ταρβέω may be observed in epic use – in 14 cases they are found at the beginning of the verse, and 8 examples occur after the first foot. The 2 examples of ἀτάρβητος may be found after the trochaic caesura and ταρβοσύνη and ταρβαλέος have been applied, also at the beginning of the verse – this testifies to the well-adopted character of the form to poetic use (Ruijgh 1957: 163). According to Ruijgh, it may be another case of the "Achaean" element present in Homeric *Kunstsprache*, whereas the dialectal form of the verb should in fact be τάρβημι (Ruijgh, *ibidem*).

Such a form is however not found in any of the Cypriot documents (neither syllabic nor alphabetic); it does not display any particular dialectal features. It is the problem of the assumed development of the **r̥*, if we stick to the etymology of ταρβέω as a reflex of a "stative" **tr̥g$^{\mu}$-eh$_1$-*, which should in Cypriot

[29] Assumed derivational evidence may actually strongly speak in favour of a secondary derivation of neuter *s*-stem nouns from pre-existing compound adjectives in *-ēs*, since the considerable number of neuter nouns in *-os* are back-formed from adjectives in *-ēs* (Meissner 2005: 93 f.). It seems that one may assume the existence of two groups of the neuter nouns in *-os* in Greek. In an early phase of Greek (pre-Homeric), the full grade neuter nouns must have existed alongside "Caland" adjectives that have been later remodelled after these adjectives, as in type *κρέτος/*κράτος. τάρβος being a zero grade *s*-stem noun belongs to this class and may had existed next to so far unattested form *τέρβος (such as *κρέτος/*κράτος). The root only appears in the zero grade in Greek; since τάρβος is very rare comparing to verbal stem and compound ἀταρβής, it seems more plausible that τάρβος is in fact a back-formation. After the deverbative derivation of *s*-stem adjectives was fully established and had become a productive category of word formation, new nouns were created as back-formations from such adjectives (Meissner 2005: 94). In the post-Homeric period, the remodelling inherited *-e-* grade *-s*-stem neuters and the creation of new *-s*-stems provided further series where the noun and adjective agreed in gradation (cf. Tucker 1990: 53 f.).

develop to /*or*/ or /*ro*/,[30] and the "athematic" inflexion of the assumed τάρβημι in Cypriot, since the evidence for the athematic "Aeolic inflexion" of the verbs in this dialect is very scarce and is considered uncertain (Hock 1971: 486).[31] On the other hand, however, ancient grammatical tradition quotes the verb in athematic shape as an example of the Boeotian dialect next to Aeolic (Lesbian) -μι forms, cf. Herodian Περὶ μονήρους λεξ. 3.2.930.5: πρόσκειται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον, ἐπεὶ Αἰολεῖς πάλαιμι καὶ γέλαιμί φασι καὶ πλάναιμι, Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τάρβειμι καὶ ποίειμι καὶ φίλειμι.[32]

The verb does indeed occur in the form of an athematic verb in the literary Lesbian dialect, cf. inf. Alc. fr. 206.7: ...] μοῖρα· τάρβην δ' ὄ[; Alc. fr. 119.15: τά]ρβη⟨μ⟩μι μὴ δρόπ̣[ω]σιν αὔταις, and Alc. fr. 302 ii 12: τάρβημιμ[, where, however, one should consider the transmitted orthography τά]ρβημμι in Alc. fr. 119.15 as not being authentic, with a second ⟨*m*⟩ added by a second hand onto the papyrus (L), which is clearly a hyperdialectal feature (cf. Hock 1971: 98–101; Voigt 1971: 228; Blümel 1982: 172[168]). Certainly, the athematic inflexion of the so-called *verba vocalia* has been considered one of the most characteristic features of the Lesbian dialect. It had already been observed by grammarians, cf. e.g. information in § 40 *Comp*. III by John Philoponus: Τὰ δὲ εἰς ω καταλήγοντα παρ' ἡμῖν ῥήματα ἔνια ὀντὶ ὁριστικῶν εὐκτικὰ ποιοῦσιν. οἷον νοῶ νόημι, φιλῶ φίλημι, cf. a similar opinion from Gregory of Corinth in his chapter on the Aeolic dialect, § 55: Τὰ δὲ εἰς ω καταλήγοντα ῥήματα παρ'

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[30] Cf., however, Morpurgo Davies (1968: 799–801) and Egetmeyer (2010: 145) who list several pieces of evidence for *a*-vocalism present in Cypriot material, although their examples are not compelling. According to Morpurgo Davies, the instances of *o*-colouring were conditioned by a preceding *u̯*-: "both in Arcadian and Cyprian, the reliable instances of *aR/Ra* considerably outweigh those of *oR/Ro*. This amounts to saying that the data definitely favour the suggestion that *aR/Ra* and not *oR/Ro* is the regular treatment of *R̥* in these dialects" (Morpurgo Davies 1968: 808). Egetmeyer remarks that the Cyprian outcome is uncertain because of a lack of clear examples (Egetmeyer 2010: 144). It seems however, that the traditional assumption of the *o*-coloured outcome of the development of an inherited **r̥* should be seen as regular in Arcado-Cypriot (so Fraenkel 1911: 250 f.). It could still be postulated to belong to this dialectal group (García Ramón 1985), but still with an unclear outcome in Cypriot /*ro*/ or /*or*/, cf. recent treatment of the problem by van Beek 2022: 129–137 for Arc.-Cypr.; the /*a*/ of ταρβέω within this context van Beek 2022: 133, 157–158.

[31] Cf., however, Schwyzer (1939: 728): "in den äolischen Dialekten und im Arkadisch-Kyprischen flektieren die Deverbativa und Denominativa als Verba auf *-mi*" (the same point of view shared by Thumb–Scherer 1959: 169; repeated by Rau 2009. Cf. Hock 1971: 279–305 for the evaluation of the material).

[32] Cf. the entire passage: Εἰμί. οὐδὲν εἰς μι λῆγον ὁριστικὸν ῥῆμα κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον διφθόγγῳ παραλήγεται, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ εἰμί, ὃ σημαίνει τὸ ὑπάρχω. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ τὸ βαρυνόμενον ἡ παράδοσις διὰ τῆς ει διφθόγγου γράφει· οὐχ ὑγιῶς μέντοι οὔτε κατὰ τὸ κίνημα αὐτοῦ οὔτε κατὰ τὴν Αἰολίδα διάλεκτον, ὡς δέδεικταί μοι ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὀρθογραφίας. πρόσκειται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον, ἐπεὶ Αἰολεῖς πάλαιμι καὶ γέλαιμί φασι καὶ πλάναιμι, Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τάρβειμι καὶ ποίειμι καὶ φίλειμι.

ἡμῖν εἰς μι ποιοῦσιν. οἷον νοῶ νόημι, φιλῶ φίλημι.[33] It seems therefore justified to ask if the form included in the List may be considered Aeolic based on this evidence.

There are however two problems to be addressed. The first one, similarly to the case of the alleged Cypriot character, is the phonological issue of the development of the sonantic *$\underset{\circ}{r}$ in the Aeolic dialect (Lesbian), which seems to render the *-or/ro-* reflexes in all three variants: Boeotian, Thessalian, and Lesbian (cf. Scarborough 2023: 92–105). It should therefore be emphasized that the expected reflex of assumed *tergu-* in the zero grade *$t\underset{\circ}{r}g^{u}$- should be **torb-* (or ***trob*). As this is not attested in Greek,[34] it may well be assumed that the *-ar-* reflex in *tarb-* can be ascribed to the Ionic-Epic (Homeric) influence in the literary dialect of Alcaeus and Sappho (cf. van Beek 2022: 125, 133, 157–158).

The second issue is the interpretation of Lesbian examples supporting athematic inflexion for vocalic verbs. On the one hand, if the hypothesis that the

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[33] Cf. the recent treatment of the phenomenon by Scarborough 2023: 137–142. The author highlights the fact that in Lesbian, the interpretation of athematic forms of vocalic verbs, despite their assumed "Aeolic character" is difficult and depends highly on the assessment of the reliability of the sources, mainly because all three possible inflectional forms (φίλημι, ἀδικήω, φιλέω) appear in both epigraphic documents and literary records (Scarborough 2023: 139).

In Blümel's interpretation the regular Lesbian type should feature athematic forms ending in *-*ēmi*, and the examples of re-thematised forms such as ἀδικήω should be treated as secondary innovations. One should also keep in mind the possibility of the influence of the literary Ionic dialect (Homer) on Lesbian poets, κοινή in the case of later documents (Blümel 1982: 167–172). Hodot, on the contrary, focuses solely on epigraphic evidence and suggests two interpretations (Hodot 1990: 192 f.), assuming the existence of two types of forms, i.e., athematic with long thematic vowels or thematic with the contraction of the thematic vowel, and he himself speaks in favour of the thematic interpretation, quoting regular examples of 3sg. verbs in *$\bar{a}$- and *$\bar{o}$-, as τιμαι *NAS* 01.l.41, 44 (end of the 4th century BCE) and στεφανοι (12 times in the 3rd/2nd century BCE) instead of the expected †τίμασιν and †στεφάνωσιν. Hodot points out that there are no attested cases of 1sg. present active forms that display thematic or athematic inflection for vocalic verbs in the available inscriptional material (Hodot 1990: 193). However, these exact forms appear quite frequently in the literary Lesbian dialect, cf. e.g. κάλημμι (Sapph. fr. 1.16), αἰτιάμενος (Alc. fr. 358.5), δοκίμωμι (Sapph. fr. 56.1; cf. Hamm 1957: 171 f.). Scarborough addresses the interpretation dilemma and asks whether the interpretation should be based on previously attested examples from the literary dialect (with the possibility of influence from the Epic dialect) or on forms exclusively from epigraphic documents, even if they are much younger in terms of chronology (Scarborough 2023: 141). The form attested in the literary dialect dates to the 7th–6th century BCE, and therefore, at least from the point of view of the chronology, one could assume that the attested athematic inflection is original and the epigraphic forms in the 4th century underwent generalisation as thematic inflection, in line with the general trend of the Ionian-Attic dialect and the emerging koine (Scarborough 2023: *ibidem*). The author assumes that forms such as κάλημι should be treated as specific creations within the literary dialect, possibly influenced by the epic Homeric *Kunstsprache* (Scarborough 2023: 142).

[34] Cf., however, Hsch. T 1159: τόρβηλος· μεμψίμοιρος "faultfinding, criticizing, querulous" – since the form τόρβηλος lacks the etymology, it is difficult to postulate any form of relationship between τορβ- and ταρβ- (the alleged dissimilation from *τολβηλος to the isolated Hsch. T 453: τέλβεσθαι· μεμψιμοιρεῖν. ἐπικαλεῖν).

spoken Lesbian dialect regularly transformed all verbs of the type -έω into verbs of the type -ημι by the 7th century BCE and then reintroduced these vocalic verbs with athematic inflexion into thematic classes is true, one would expect other inherited verbs in -ημι (e.g. τίθημι) to also show signs of thematic inflexion in this dialect. On the other hand, however, if the epigraphic forms of the verb τίθημι are thematic, it may point to a situation in which the Lesbian dialect secondarily transferred all verbs ending in -ημι into thematic inflexion at a much later stage. In such a scenario, a literary formation such as κάλημι would need to be considered authentic. However, if verbs of the type τίθημι still function as athematic in epigraphic documents, this may indicate that the generalisation of inherited forms in -αμι to -άω took place much earlier, and forms such as κάλημι were specific creations within the literary dialect, possibly influenced by the epic Homeric *Kunstsprache* (Scarborough 2023: 142).[35] In the case of a verb τάρβημι already its vocalism may point to an Ionic Epic origin, which may be further strengthened by the poetic character of the athematic inflexion, and therefore it seems plausible to treat the τάρβημι as yet another Homerism. The opinion expressed by Herodian quoting the form τάρβειμι as Boeotian cannot be corroborated by the facts, as the athematic inflexion of *verba vocalia* (Βοιωτοὶ δὲ τάρβειμι) in the Boeotian dialect cannot be positively claimed (Blümel 1982: 171 f.; Scarborough 2023: 136; for a negative evaluation of the Boeotian literary evidence see Prauscello 2017: 27–52). Given these two main concerns and the fact that this is mainly a poetic word, it would be difficult to try to attribute it to any particular dialect; "it may be argued that it is only a Homeric word", which makes the verb τάρβημι yet another Homeric element in Lesbian poetic diction (cf. O'Neill 1969: 25; Bowie 1981: 98 f.).

ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ ΠΕΔΙΛΑ· ΥΠΟΔΗΜΑΤΑ

A similar situation occurs when confronting the form πέδιλα glossed in a meaning of "sandals", ὑποδήματα (cf. e.g. ποσὶν ὑποδήματα δοίην, *Od*. 18.361), which, according to Bowra, may be considered another Aeolic (Lesbian) element even, if it is included in the List among the Cypriot forms. It seems, however, that once again such a claim cannot be corroborated by the actual evidence.

The form seems to be old; it had already been attested in Mycenaean times, where examples such as **pe-di-ra** (nom. pl.) /pedi:la/, **pe-di-ro** (gen. pl.) / pedi:lo:n/ and **pe-di-ro-i** (dat. pl.) /pedi:loi̯ʰi/ are attested in PY Ub 1318.3:

[35] It seems for example that East Ionic generalised formations such as τιθέω, ἵστάω, and διδόω. Therefore, one cannot even argue for an Ionic influence in the potential restoration of the -μι inflection in Lesbian.

wo-di-je-ja pe-di-ra 2 “sandals 2”; 1318.5: **wi-ri-no pe-di-ro e-ma-ta 4**; “ox-hide sandals” or 1318.77: **di-pte-ra a$_3$-za pe-di-ro-i** “goatskin for the sandals” (*DM* II 95). The form is well represented in the Homeric Epic, where it occurs regularly to mean “sandals” ἀμφὶ πόδεσσιν ἑοῖς ἀράρισκε πέδιλα, / τάμνων δέρμα βόειον (*Od*. 14.23–24), sometimes referring to the sandals of the gods, such as Hermes or Athena, cf. *Il*. 24.340 and *Od*. 1.96–98: ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἑδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα / ἀμβρόσια χρύσεια, τά μιν φέρον ἠμὲν ἐφ᾽ ὑγρὴν / ἠδ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀπείρονα γαῖαν, cf. also “winged sandals” πτερόεντα πέδιλα in Hesiod’s *Scutum*, 220: ἀμφὶ δὲ ποσσὶν ἔχεν πτερόεντα πέδιλα.[36]

The form is not attested in Cypriot material; the single suggestion of its dialectal status is that of the *GKP*. From the formal point of view, πέδιλα (and the Myc. attestations) must be interpreted as a derivative which shows a weak **ped*- form of the root as in πούς, ποδός (*DELG* 933), which may be often found as a second member of the compounds. One has to state that the form does not display any particular “dialectal” feature, and therefore it is difficult to postulate its dialectal character. The example cannot be interpreted as Lesbian (or more broadly Aeolic). The actual Lesbian form should be πέδιλλα according to the suggestion made by *Etym. Magn.* 658.51–58, cf. πέδιλα τὰ ὑποδήματα παρὰ τὸ περιεῖλεισθαι αὐτὰ τοῖς ποσὶν ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ πεδῷ εἶλεισθαι, οὐ πάντως δὲ τὰ ῥηματικὰ ὀνόματα φυλάττει τὴν γραφὴν τοῦ ῥήματος, ὥσπερ εἴρω ἱρώκαι, νείφω νίφας. Ὅτι πέδιλλα λέγουσιν οἱ Αἰολεῖς, ὥσπερ ὅμιλος ὁμίλλος. Εἰ δὲ ἐγράφετο διὰ τῆς ΕΙ διφθόγγου, πέδελλα ἂν ἐλέγετο, ὥσπερ κείρω κέρρω, φθείρω φθέρρω.[37] Such a form is not found in either the Lesbian epigraphic or literary dialect, with a notable exception being the Sapphic compound adjective χρυσοπέδιλλος (cf. fr. 103.13, 123), used twice and once found in Alcaeus εὐπέδιλος (Iris) Alc. fr. 327.2. These, however, seem to be based on the epic χρυσοπέδιλος (as in *Od*. 11.604) and have very probably been artificially

[36] The Compiler suggests the semantic equivalence between πέδιλα and ὑποδέματα. Both words are Homeric, denoting a kind of footwear, but ὑποδέματα refers to more peasant and coarse footwear (cf. *Od*. 15.369–370: [...] ποσίν θ᾽ ὑποδήματα δοῦσα / ἀγρόνδε προΐαλλε [...] “He puts sandals on my feet, / and sent me among the fields”), while πέδιλα, on the contrary, seems to have been used to refer to footwear made of better material (24.340), cf. 14.23–24, where Eumaeus is making shoes with δέρμα βόειον εὐχροές (“a good ox leather”). This type of footwear is also used for divine sandals, such as the ones belonging to Hermes that allow you to fly (cf. the epithets ἀμβρόσια or χρύσεια in 24.340–342 = 5.44–46 = 1.96–98, referring to the luxurious footwear of Hermes and Athena; in the same line χρυσοπέδιλος, for sandals belonging to Hera 11.604). The form *sandalon* is on the other hand found later (first examples *h.Merc.* 79, 83, 139), cf. σάμβαλα in Sapph. fr. 110a.2 and does not give any particular semantic references (obscure etymology Beekes 2010: 1305).

[37] “Sandals are footwear either because they are bound to the feet or because they are taken from the ground. Not all verbal nouns, however, keep the same spelling as the verb, just as with εἴρω (speak) [has] ιρώ, νείφω (snow) [has] νίφας. And the Aeolians say πέδιλλα (sandals), just as ὅμιλος (assembly) [has] ὁμίλλος. But if it were written with EI [a diphthong], it would be said πέδελλα, just as κείρω (cut) [has] κέρρω, φθείρω (destroy) [has] φθέρρω.”

adopted into Lesbian in the course of textual transmission (cf. λ⟨λ⟩ *praeter necessitatem*, Voigt 1971: 115). According to ancient scholarship, the Aeolic dialect showed a preference for geminated consonants, including geminated liquids, which in many cases should be historically explained as examples of the Aeolic outcomes of so-called "first compensatory lengthening", cf. e.g. Lesb. στέλλειν vs Attic στείλειν, etc. Certainly, in the case of πέδιλλα, one would not claim there are phonetic or phonological reasons behind the geminated /*l*/; it is much more likely that we are dealing with an orthographic intervention providing the Aeolic/Lesbian colour to the form (cf. the interpretation of the outcomes of the phonological process by Scarborough 2023: 131–134; cf. also Ringe 2024: 266 ff.).[38] The use of adjectives in Sappho and Alcaeus agrees with that of Homer, it is therefore highly probable that both forms, χρυσοπεδιλος and ευπεδιλος, are very poetic epithets and loanwords from Homeric style (cf. the interpretation by Broger 1996: 106; 216).

It seems that in all cases considered above the forms from the List should be considered typical Homeric elements. Theoretically speaking we cannot exclude *a priori* the situation in which some of the forms may have been used in vernacular dialects as well. In the case of the forms that have been discussed the evidence is however negative. The distribution of the forms, however, occurring exclusively in the poetic context, points towards the association of the forms with the Homeric Epic register. The true reasons for ascribing the forms discussed in this paper to individual dialects are not straightforward and are still unclear. The forms may indeed occur in Lesbian poetry, although the reasons for this are different than those assumed by Bowra and are connected with the prestige and influence of the Homeric *Kunstsprache* (cf. *color homericus* of the Lesbian poetry). Bowra turns his particular attention to the examples of the forms named by the Compiler as Cypriot with "parallel" forms in Lesbian. These, however, cannot be brought back to any form of alleged common dialectal lexical stock, and are against claims such as: "These words, which are common to Arcado-Cypriot and the Lesbian branch of Aeolic must surely go back to a single origin, which can hardly be anything else than a language of the Greek mainland before the Aeolic colonization" (Bowra 1959: 59).[39] This claim has to be assessed as fundamentally wrong. In light of the dialectal analysis of the forms attested in Ποῖαι γλῶσσαι κατὰ πόλεις the Homeric character of this lexical list seems evident. To deny it or even to simply underestimate it would also

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[38] This seems a better solution than suggested by Schwyzer 1939: 439[6], Hamm 1957: 20 §26 who assume the etymology of *°*pedīlos*- as from *πεδιϝλον (why such suffix conglomerate?), and by Ruijgh 1967: 42 who claims πέδιλλον should be an Aeolic development of **pedilnon*; it seems that **lo*- is a diminutive suffix attached to the stem **ped-ih*$_2$- "belonging to a foot" (Chantraine 1933: 218; Broger 1996: 106 f.).

[39] Cf. also Bowra 1934 for the problem of the relationship between Cypriot dialectal lexicon and Homeric language.

mean downsizing the whole lexicographic tradition, of which only the main lines could be signalled here. Certainly, Homeric language has been taken up and reused in subsequent literary traditions, and to some extent, it has impacted epigraphic documents as well, but as a matter of stylisation.

The Ποῖαι γλῶσσαι κατὰ πόλεις may initially appear to be an unimpressive list of 100 ancient forms, but it is unique and worthy of detailed study. It seems that it may be used as a model in the modern and comprehensive way of the treatment of the dialectal lexicon and has the potential to offer new perspectives in our understanding of the forming of scholarly tradition on the auto-reflection of different varieties of language spoken in Greece in ancient times. The constant mixing of literary forms with dialectal material seems a very interesting phenomenon, but the question regarding to what extent such information can be considered as reliable evidence of the spoken language of different regions of Greece remains unanswered. What is more obscure, is of course the fundamental question of why some dialects/regions also get special sections concerning πόλεις and others do not, and why these πόλεις and not others were selected, given the fictional dialectal attribution of many of the glosses. It is one of the most fascinating aspects of the anonymous lexicon.[40]

Preserved grammatical and lexicographical sources at our disposal are in most cases relatively late; while they testify to existing reflection on different varieties of Greek in ancient times, the preserved works show just a small fragment of this mostly lost tradition. Consequently, they seem to reflect quite a uniform tradition of understanding the works of Homer as the ultimate source of archaic forms of Greek. They transmit knowledge about the epichoric variants of the Greek language, but this is mostly in the context of literary works of the epic, lyric, and tragedy. With time, the chronological and dialectological dimensions became indistinguishable, leading to the ancient Greek dialects becoming quite an abstract notion and a reservoir of strange and obsolete forms.

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[40] We may gain some insight into this phenomenon by considering, for example, Gregory of Corinth's thoughts on dialectal attribution in his work. He first states: Διάλεκτός ἐστιν ἰδίωμα γλώσσης, ἢ διάλεκτός ἐστι λέξις ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα τόπου ἐμφαίνουσα – that is to say, a dialect is a linguistic peculiarity or a word that reflects the distinct character of a place. However, he immediately follows this with: Ἰὰς ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἴωνος, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ Κρεούσης, τῆς Ἐρεχθέως θυγατρός, ᾗ ἔγραψεν Ὅμηρος. Ἀθὶς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθίδος, τῆς Κραναοῦ θυγατρός, ᾗ ἔγραψεν Ἀριστοφάνης. Δωρὶς ἀπὸ Δώρου, τοῦ Ἕλληνος, ᾗ ἔγραψε Θεόκριτος. Αἰολὶς ἀπὸ Αἰόλου, τοῦ Ἕλληνος, ᾗ ἔγραψεν Ἀλκαῖος. Κοινὴ δέ, ᾗ πάντες χρώμεθα, καὶ ᾗ ἐχρήσατο Πίνδαρος, ἤγουν ἡ ἐκ τῶν δ συνεστῶσα. Ἑκάστη δὲ διάλεκτος ἔχει οἰκεῖον ἰδίωμα. In other words, he conceptualises dialect exclusively in terms of literary forms, associating each with an exemplary author –an approach that is, in part, both fictive and ahistorical, particularly in the case of koine and Pindar.

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DUBIA ARISTOPHANEA? UNA SPIEGAZIONE 'MECCANICA' PER UNA NOTIZIA ANTICA*

by

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ABSTRACT: This paper dwells on the genesis of the ancient notice about four comedies doubtfully attributed to both Aristophanes and Archippus. On the basis of the suspicious alphabetical closeness of both titles and authors' names, it is argued that the notice may have stemmed from the misreading of the ancient catalogues on literary works. Hints on the layout of the ancient catalogue that originated the error are offered through the observation of witnesses represented by epigraphs, papyri and manuscripts.

KEYWORDS: Aristophanes, Archippus, authorship attribution, ancient catalogues

Secondo *Proll. Com.* 28.66–67 Koster, alcuni studiosi antichi attribuivano quattro dei quarantaquattro drammi di Aristofane anche al commediografo coevo Archippo[1]: si tratta di Ποίησις, Ναυαγός, Νίοβος e Νῆσοι[2]. Benché la fonte non adduca nessun argomento a supporto di un simile sospetto sull'autenticità delle opere, dagli albori della filologia moderna fino al tardo Ottocento la notizia veniva riportata senza troppe discussioni[3]. Successivamente, la critica ha affrontato la questione con l'ausilio di strumenti diversi: così, mentre la via dell'analisi stilistica è stata seguita a più riprese dagli studiosi per dimostrare la presenza di peculiarità testuali tutte aristofanee nei singoli drammi, taluni hanno invece proposto soluzioni al dilemma postulando una collaborazione di Archippo (in qualità di διδάσκαλος) con Aristofane[4]. Come è evidente da questi

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1 Per un inquadramento generale di Archippo si veda Miccolis 2017: 12–13.

2 Il Ναυαγός è, più correttamente, il Διόνυσος Ναυαγός; il *Niobo* era conosciuto anche come Δράματα: v. Castelli 2020: 140–141 e *infra*.

3 Cf. Brunck 1783: 210–211; Dindorf 1846: 445; Kock 1880: 459.

4 Per Rostagni 1955: 407–408 ciascuno dei due autori scrisse una Ποίησις, ma Archippo avrebbe imitato Aristofane. Labiano ha dichiarato aristofanee, su basi stilistiche, le *Isole* (Labiano 2012) e il *Niobo* (Labiano 2016). Archippo fu διδάσκαλος di Aristofane per Storey 2012.

esempi di intervento sulla questione, la critica tende a considerare i drammi indubbiamente di Aristofane e infatti gli studi più recenti danno soltanto notizia della doppia attribuzione riportata dai *Prolegomena*[5].

I tentativi di soluzione appena citati non hanno tuttavia indagato l'origine di una simile notizia, per la verità isolata, che può essere meglio inquadrata partendo dal dibattito sull'autenticità dei testi. Come già evidenziato dalla critica, le discussioni sulla paternità delle opere letterarie sembrano essersi sviluppate a partire dal V secolo a. C.[6] Per quanto riguarda i propri testi, il teatro comico offriva numerosi spunti per questo dibattito già all'atto della pubblicazione, ad opera degli autori: i drammi sono ricchi di accuse di non autenticità che i commediografi muovevano contro i testi dei loro colleghi (cf. Ar. *Nu.* 553–554 ed Eup. fr. 89 K-A, scambio relativo al plagio dei *Cavalieri* nel *Maricante*)[7]. È tuttavia difficile immaginare una genesi di questo tipo per la nostra notizia, poiché niente di tutto ciò è ricostruibile per quanto riguarda Archippo e Aristofane. Conseguentemente, è ragionevole supporre che i dubbi sulla paternità dei drammi siano da ricondurre esclusivamente a una matrice erudita.

In relazione ai drammi attici, gli studiosi antichi adottarono dapprima un criterio 'documentario' per individuare le opere di dubbia attribuzione: le *Didascalie* di Aristotele furono lo strumento privilegiato per stabilire l'autenticità dei testi perché basate sulla documentazione epigrafica del teatro ateniese[8]. Non tutti i testi potevano, però, essere 'certificati' in questo modo: si pensi ad esempio all'*Andromaca* di Euripide, ritenuta spuria perché non presente nei registri ateniesi[9]. In ogni caso, fonti come le *Didascalie* avrebbero potuto offrire – anche se ne avessimo una parte cospicua – ben pochi spunti, data la loro organizzazione sulla base di un criterio strettamente cronologico: la notizia dei *Prolegomena* sembra infatti risentire di un'organizzazione alfabetica del materiale letterario citato.

L'organizzazione alfabetica della notizia è evidente da un primo esame dei titoli: per uno di questi drammi conosciamo una denominazione più completa (Διόνυσος Ναυγός), mentre per un'altra commedia esisteva un altro titolo (Δράματα ἢ Νίοβος). Due dei quattro drammi sarebbero dunque catalogabili sotto la lettera *delta*, eppure i *Prolegomena* non conoscono la denominazione più completa e citano queste commedie nella forma semplificata. Si potrebbe pensare che la causa della citazione 'semplificata' sia l'esigenza di brevità ma,

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[5] Si veda ad esempio Pellegrino 2024: 52–53; 52 n. 80.

[6] Blum 1991: 158, 237.

[7] Sulle accuse di plagio nella commedia antica cf. almeno Heath 1990: 152 e Biles 2011: 35 n. 94; 156 n. 90.

[8] Cf. Blum 1991: 41.

[9] Blum 1991: 41. Si veda anche Otranto 2021: 72.

come risulta da un rapido esame dei testimoni dei frammenti, le forme più complete di questi due titoli non sempre erano note[10].

La presenza di forme semplici dei titoli non sembra irrilevante al fine di collocare, seppur approssimativamente, la genesi della notizia. Il primo a introdurre un criterio alfabetico nella catalogazione dei titoli fu Callimaco[11]. Costui, 'padre' della catalogazione bibliotecaria, interveniva per aggiungere un titolo solo se esso mancava del tutto[12]. In base ai rilievi della critica, invece, le forme alternative o 'aggettivate' possono ricondursi alle ricognizioni degli eruditi di epoca successiva[13]. I titoli riportati dai *Prolegomena*, come detto, non sembrano avere ancora subìto giustapposizioni di forme alternative: la notizia si sarà dunque formata quando lo strumento bibliografico del πίναξ di impostazione callimachea cominciava ad affermarsi[14].

Inoltre, il confronto incrociato di alcune fonti getta luce su quello che doveva essere il modo di procedere in merito ai testi di incerta attribuzione. Dionigi di Alicarnasso, nel suo opuscolo *Su Dinarco* (1.2), lamenta la frettolosità con la quale anche eruditi del calibro di Callimaco attribuivano opere di Dinarco ad altri oratori e viceversa[15]. Successivamente (11.18) Dionigi conferma, secondo un criterio strettamente stilistico, che un discorso era di Callicrate – come volevano i cataloghi di Pergamo – e non di Dinarco, come si sospettava. Poiché l'attribuzione di un'opera su base stilistica può avvenire solo attraverso la lettura dell'opera stessa, la frettolosa attribuzione di testi ad altri autori doveva avvenire in forma differente. Sulle modalità di questa seconda attribuzione ci informa Gellio (*Noctes Atticae* 3.3.1) che, nel riportare un passo di Varrone, dimostra come il ricorso agli *indices* – ossia ai cataloghi bibliotecari – fosse la pratica più comune, benché non attendibile, per stabilire la paternità delle opere (in quel caso le commedie di Plauto). Non è impossibile che anche Dionigi

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[10] Ad esempio, si può notare che su dieci frammenti catalogati nell'edizione Kassel-Austin sotto la voce Δράματα ἢ Νίοβος, tre (289, 290, 296 K-A) sono citati solo con il secondo nome.

[11] Cf. Daly 1967: 22–25 e Blum 1991: 182.

[12] Si veda Blum 1991: 156–157.

[13] Cf. Bender 1904: 5–7. Secondo lo studioso (p. 23), la denominazione Δράματα per il *Niobo* sarebbe più corretta perché l'unica testimoniata dalle fonti scoliastiche. In realtà, un esame dei testimoni dei frr. 289–298 K-A dimostra che talvolta il dramma è menzionato come *Niobo*. Inoltre, la dicitura Νίοβος εἰρόφορος nella citazione di un frammento (298 K-A) sembra suggerire che gli eruditi conoscessero questo secondo titolo e abbiano lavorato su questo. Sulle ragioni dei titoli doppi, cf. ora Castelli 2020: 140–141.

[14] Come ricorda Otranto 2021: 54, il termine πίναξ poteva anche essere utilizzato per indicare i semplici cataloghi di libri, ormai modulati sulla falsariga dell'impostazione data da Callimaco, e non solo le ampie opere erudite. Non mancano, del resto, esempi di forme 'intermedie' tra il πίναξ erudito e quello di uso più comune: in esse sono assenti le note sticometriche e le biografie degli autori coinvolti. Si veda in merito ancora Otranto 2021: 69–70.

[15] Questa testimonianza e le successive sono discusse da Otranto 2021: 55–57. La studiosa afferma giustamente che in *Din.* 1.2 Dionigi si riferisce a «Strumenti critici dal valore normativo» (p. 56).

stigmatizzasse la medesima prassi descritta chiaramente da Gellio/Varrone: una pratica simile è infatti attestata per la grecità da Ateneo (13.336d), che nei cataloghi eruditi non scorge il titolo di una commedia di Alessi e, anche per questo, ne mette in dubbio l'esistenza[16].

Chiarita, dunque, la centralità dello strumento-catalogo per il nostro discorso, è possibile prendere in considerazione la vicinanza alfabetica sia delle opere sia dei nomi degli autori. Anzitutto, la Ποίησις è la prima commedia posta tra i *dubia*, seguita dagli altri tre titoli che costituiscono invece un blocco omogeneo perché inizianti per *ny*. In realtà, l'intera tetrade può essere considerata alfabeticamente contigua: come si vedrà, negli elenchi di opere non mancano alterazioni dell'ordine alfabetico, talvolta anche vistose. È poi possibile che la notizia dei *Prolegomena* sia costruita in ordine alfabetico inverso, poiché questo fenomeno non è isolato nell'ambito delle notizie riguardanti drammi spuri, cf. ad esempio Eur. T *IA* 9, 28–29 Kannicht (τούτων νοθεύεται τρία· Τέννης, Ῥαδάμανθυς, Πειρίθους), per quanto le ragioni di questo eventuale uso, raro ma attestato, ci sfuggano[17]. Alla luce di entrambe le ipotesi, comunque, i quattro drammi sembrano costituire un gruppo compatto, fin troppo omogeneo.

Dalla notizia si deducono due aspetti: anzitutto, in casi di una catalogazione dei titoli nella forma 'semplificata', la vicinanza alfabetica poteva mutare, fino a creare successioni 'difformi' rispetto a quelle degli elenchi in nostro possesso. Inoltre, la citazione del titolo semplice ci proietta in una fase iniziale della compilazione bibliografica sui testi comici, poiché le oscillazioni nei titoli dipendono talvolta anche dalla volontà degli eruditi di classificare i medesimi drammi secondo il loro arbitrio (*v. supra*). Sappiamo, poi, che la vicinanza alfabetica dei titoli e/o dei nomi degli autori, palese nel nostro caso, è una delle ragioni per le quali si determinarono guasti nella tradizione bio-bibliografica[18]: è forse possibile, dunque, approfondire l'origine della notizia dei *Prolegomena* sulla base di criteri meramente filologici.

In merito alla vicinanza alfabetica delle opere, oltre alle considerazioni già svolte, occorre registrare che mancano esempi diretti prodotti nella fase pionieristica dell'attività bibliografica[19]. Di conseguenza, per indagare questo aspetto, è necessario ricorrere a *exempla* posteriori di elenchi. In questo senso, a causa di aspetti che si metteranno in luce più avanti, possono essere di qualche utilità

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[16] Sul passo si veda Otranto 2021: 56–57. Si veda inoltre Blum 1991: 189 sulla consultazione dei cataloghi per opere di dubbia attribuzione.

[17] L'uso dell'ordine alfabetico inverso nei cataloghi di opere letterarie e di autori è raro ma attestato: si veda Blum 1991: 187, con ulteriori esempi.

[18] Si pensi, ad esempio, alla vicenda delle due Ποιήσεις di Antifane e Aristofane, sulla quale si vedano almeno *PCG* III 2: 247 e Olson 2022: 336–337. La Suda dimostra che potevano confondersi anche i nomi dei due autori: all'inizio della voce su Aristofane (α 2735 Adler) i manoscritti recano, infatti, il nome di Antifane.

[19] Cf. Barnes 2002: 67–69.

anche i cataloghi di opere rinvenibili nei manoscritti. Per Aristofane, risulta prezioso il cosiddetto *Index Novati*, dal nome del suo editore che, nel 1879, pubblicò il testo rinvenuto sul codice *Ambros*. L 39 *Sup*.[20]. Come segnalato dalla critica, si tratta di uno dei tre manoscritti recanti il catalogo più completo delle opere di Aristofane[21]. Il contenuto di questi, malgrado alcune differenze, è sostanzialmente omogeneo[22]. In essi troviamo impiegati titoli più completi e/o doppie titolature ma, in questa fase del ragionamento, il valore del catalogo risiede soprattutto nei criteri ordinativi e nel *layout* che se ne desume.

L'elenco ambrosiano delle opere di Aristofane procede alfabeticamente, tenendo conto solo della prima lettera e dimostra così il legame, seppur lontano, con una fonte erudita che risente dei criteri compilativi di Callimaco[23]. I titoli sono scritti orizzontalmente e il loro ordine alfabetico, inoltre, mostra leggere alterazioni, come nel caso dei Γεωργοί che seguono Δαναΐδες e Δαιταλεῖς, le Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι che seguono i Δράματα e precedono il Διόνυσος Ναυαγός, o le Φοίνισσαι che seguono le Ὧραι. Tale tipo di errore si verificava frequentemente: già frammenti epigrafici come il catalogo delle opere di Euripide, inciso assieme a quello di altri autori su una lastra rinvenuta nel Pireo e databile tra II e I secolo a. C. (*IG* II/III^2 2363)[24], dimostrano che alterazioni di questo tipo poterono prodursi anche in un'età piuttosto antica della formazione dei cataloghi. Ferma restando la possibilità di un ripristino autonomo dell'ordine regolare ad opera di chi attingeva a queste fonti, la copiatura sarà proseguita perlopiù meccanicamente da parte dei copisti/incisori.

Si scorge, dunque, un palese rapporto di continuità tra i manoscritti e le fonti erudite più antiche (epigrafi ma anche, come si vedrà, papiri), ciò che lascia intendere che con ogni probabilità questa doveva essere la prassi editoriale anche nella composizione dei primi cataloghi[25]: esempi confermativi del rapporto tra questi tipi di documento ci giungono, inoltre, dal raffronto dei cataloghi manoscritti di altri autori antichi (Euripide, Eschilo)[26]. Inoltre, nell'elenco ambrosiano

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[20] Novati 1879.

[21] Si tratta dei mss. *Vat. Gr.* 918 e del *Reg. Gr.* 147. Si veda Castelli 2020: 142.

[22] Per le differenze di contenuto tra i mss. si veda Otranto 2000: 34.

[23] La catalogazione alfabetica basata soltanto sulla prima lettera è tipica dell'attività di riordino svolta da Callimaco, dalla quale dipende anche l'*Index Novati*, mentre dal II secolo d. C. la catalogazione seguirà un ordine pienamente alfabetico: cf. Blum 1991: 190–193 e Otranto 2020: XIV–XV sull'*Index Novati*. In termini più generali, si veda Wartelle 1971: 21–22.

[24] Sull'epigrafe, nota da lungo tempo in quanto pubblicata in Burzachechi 1963: 93–96, si veda ora Dardano 2021. Per altre testimonianze epigrafiche di impianto assai simile, cf. Otranto 2021: 65–68.

[25] Otranto 2021: 69 fa riferimento a una vera e propria «Prassi catalogica» unica che «di volta in volta presenta caratteristiche diverse».

[26] Cf. il catalogo delle opere di Euripide nel ms. *Laur. Plut.* 32. 2 e l'impaginazione di *P. Oxy.* 2456 (= MP^3 452 = LDAB 926 = TM 59821). Per Eschilo e la fonte che avrebbe dato

la sequenza alfabetica dei titoli procede in orizzontale, tanto nell'epigrafe sopracitata quanto nei manoscritti recanti i cataloghi delle opere di Aristofane. Si creano dunque diverse colonne (dalle due alle cinque, a seconda del tipo di documento) nelle quali si riscontra un ordine alfabetico 'a salti', dovuto al procedere in orizzontale dell'elencazione dei titoli[27]. Si tratta di un aspetto primario ai fini del nostro discorso: le opere potevano risultare isolate in 'mini-blocchi' di righe e/o colonne di estensione variabile in base allo spazio di scrittura.

Veniamo ora alla prossimità alfabetica dei due autori. In merito, i manoscritti sopracitati non possono offrire dati, poiché trasmettono separatamente i cataloghi relativi a ciascun autore ivi copiato (v. *infra*). Ad ogni modo, alcuni indizi per ricostruire quale fosse la prassi antica possono giungerci da altri tipi di documentazione, come i cataloghi su papiro. A tal proposito, *P. Oxy.* 2659 (= MP^3 2087.1 = LDAB 4813 = TM 63604) costituisce un utile esempio[28]. Il papiro è stato vergato attorno al II secolo d. C. e contiene anche l'elenco delle commedie possedute da una biblioteca, non necessariamente pubblica[29]: vi figurano sia Aristofane sia Archippo, assieme ad altri commediografi[30]. Il papiro è testimonianza di ciò che doveva accadere nell'attività di catalogazione antica del patrimonio letterario: a quanto pare, le opere erano elencate secondo una suddivisione per genere, ciò che accresce le possibilità che i nomi di Archippo e Aristofane, già di per sé assai vicini, potessero risultare contigui nei cataloghi[31]. Inoltre, mentre i nomi degli autori erano posti in ἔκθεσις, i titoli delle opere erano elencati sotto in sequenza alfabetica. Questa, come detto, era limitata alla sola prima lettera e poteva conoscere perturbazioni.

Nel caso di questo papiro, i titoli delle commedie aristofanee sono disposti su una sola colonna. È tuttavia opportuno tenere presente che il papiro costituisce l'elenco di una biblioteca periferica: esso fornisce, dunque, un esempio generale di *layout* che poteva variare, per necessità di spazio, a seconda della quantità di rotoli posseduti dalla biblioteca. Del resto, queste liste sono soltanto modellate su quelle di opere bibliografiche erudite come i cataloghi alessandrini,

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luogo ai cataloghi contenuti nei mss. quali il *Laur. Plut.* 32, 9, si veda Wartelle 1971: 16 n. 25. Lo studioso pensa a un rapporto di questi cataloghi con il contenuto dei πίνακες ma su questo aspetto si vedano almeno Regenbogen 1950: col. 1420 e Otranto 2000: XVII.

[27] Oltre all'epigrafe del Pireo recante i titoli di Euripide si vedano gli esempi citati da Regenbogen 1950: col. 1419 e Otranto 2000: XIII–XIV.

[28] Per l'*editio princeps* si veda Rea 1966. Per un inquadramento generale del papiro nei suoi aspetti materiali e paleografici si veda ora Nocchi Macedo 2022: 275.

[29] Per un inquadramento generale del papiro si veda Otranto 2000: 37. Uno *status quaestionis* sulla natura del contenuto si trova in Nocchi Macedo 2022: 276 n. 118.

[30] Su questo papiro si veda, da ultimo, Otranto 2021: 78.

[31] L'elenco del papiro riguarda i soli comici, ma non mancano esempi di papiri con suddivisione interna 'per genere': cf. *PSI* 19662*v* sul quale si vedano Carlini 1989: 94–98 e Otranto 2021: 74–75.

nati per inventariare una quantità maggiore di testi[32]. Questi ultimi tipi di elenco potevano richiedere, quindi, una gestione meno 'ariosa' dello spazio di scrittura. Ciò è confermato da altre testimonianze: si pensi, ad esempio, all'epigrafe del Pireo, della quale si è già messa in evidenza la caratteristica principale, ossia la catalogazione di più di un titolo sulla medesima riga (elemento che peraltro ritorna nei cataloghi dei manoscritti).

Altrettanto accade nei papiri più antichi: si pensi, ad esempio, a *P. Vindob. Gr.* 39966 (= MP³ 2089.1 = LDAB 4408 = TM 63203), catalogo di opere varie (Omero, Esiodo, Eliano) del I secolo d. C. nel quale i titoli delle opere sono riportati, generalmente nel numero di tre, sulla medesima riga[33]. Il papiro, inoltre, dimostra che era persino possibile trovare il nome di un altro autore nel medesimo rigo recante le opere dell'autore che veniva prima: si veda il fr. 1, col. 2, rr. 12–13, ove si citano in sequenza le opere di Esiodo e subito dopo si apre la sequenza di quelle callimachee (Θεογο(νία) Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμ(έραι) Καλ⟨λ⟩ιμά(χου) | Αἰτίω(ν) α . [.] Ὕμ(νοι) [Ἐπ]ιγράμ[ματα]), fatto che lascia intuire quanto, in una fase antica della catalogazione dei testi, la corretta attribuzione di questi potesse essere esposta a rischi.

Risulta assai difficile spingersi oltre queste poche informazioni deducibili in forma comparativa dai documenti in nostro possesso. Rimane tuttavia certo che queste catalogazioni, sia papiracee sia epigrafiche, avevano un'impostazione editoriale comune[34]. Sulla base degli elementi desumibili dalle testimonianze epigrafiche e papiracee relative ai cataloghi antichi è possibile ricostruire, almeno nei tratti fondamentali, ciò che potrebbe essere ragionevolmente accaduto nel nostro caso. Le ipotesi che si prospettano sono tre: 1. Le liste delle opere dei due autori potevano presentarsi in successione e una lettura scorretta dei dati bibliografici potrebbe aver generato l'incomprensione; 2. Le quattro commedie figuravano su un medesimo blocco verticale cui era accostato, ἐν ἐκθέσει, il nome di Archippo; 3. I quattro drammi costituivano una medesima riga pericolosamente vicina all'intestazione Ἀρχίππου che apriva il catalogo delle opere di quest'ultimo, posto su un'altra colonna, a destra.

È ragionevole escludere l'ipotesi nr. 1, ossia un errore dovuto alla presenza del nome Ἀρχίππου immediatamente dopo l'elenco delle opere di Aristofane (come in *P. Vindob. Gr.* 39966): un simile caso si sarebbe potuto verificare qualora i *dubia* avessero avuto un titolo iniziante per le ultime lettere dell'alfabeto, mentre i nostri titoli cominciano per lettere che li collocano nella parte 'centrale' di un elenco in ordine alfabetico e dunque saranno stati necessariamente seguiti da altri titoli. Per la medesima ragione, è improbabile che il guasto si sia verificato in relazione a titoli scritti sulla medesima colonna (ipotesi nr. 2): in un

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[32] Si veda sull'argomento Otranto 2001: 1064.

[33] Su questo papiro si vedano almeno Puglia 1998 e Meliadò 2023.

[34] Si veda Blum 1991: 24–29.

caso simile, infatti, i titoli coinvolti sarebbero stati più di quattro. Niente vieta invece di ipotizzare che i quattro titoli delle commedie di Aristofane formassero un blocco unico orizzontale a causa di una successione alfabetica regolare ma non esente da perturbazioni (ipotesi nr. 3). In base ai dati raccolti, è possibile ritenere che, in un elenco formato secondo l'uso più antico di una denominazione 'semplificata', i titoli Νῆσοι, Νίοβος e Ναυαγός si trovavano in sequenza. In ragione dei fenomeni tipici degli elenchi più antichi (ordine alfabetico limitato alla sola prima lettera; titoli che 'scavalcano' quelli inizianti per la lettera precedente), il titolo Ποίησις potrebbe essere risultato vicino alla triade iniziante per *ny*[35]. La tetrade composta da Νῆσοι, Νίοβος, Ναυαγός e Ποίησις, poi, si sarà ritrovata tutta sulla medesima riga a causa di fenomeni inerenti al *layout* (ad es. la suddivisione dello spazio in base alla lunghezza degli altri titoli)[36]. In secondo luogo, poiché i cataloghi relativi a più autori dovevano essere raccolti in serie (cf. *P. Oxy.* 2659) e, come testimonia già l'iscrizione del Pireo, erano posti in diverse colonne una di seguito all'altra, il catalogo di Archippo poteva seguire il catalogo di Aristofane anche con un intervallo di uno o più autori, fino a figurare sulla colonna a destra del catalogo aristofaneo. Sarà dunque sufficiente ipotizzare che la dicitura Ἀρχίππου, posta in ἔκθεσις, stesse all'altezza della riga dei quattro drammi per essere ritenuta successivamente una notazione sulla paternità del blocco di quattro commedie, così da generare infine la notizia riportata dai *Prolegomena*. Il compilatore della notizia dei *Prolegomena*, infine, potrebbe aver riscritto la tetrade utilizzando l'ordine alfabetico inverso, che talvolta compare in notizie pinacografiche sulle opere spurie (*v. supra*).

Come chiarito a più riprese, si tratta di una ricostruzione e, come tale, essa ha carattere di ipotesi: troppi elementi, non solo testuali, ci sfuggono. Occorrerebbe avere piena certezza sul *layout* dei cataloghi più antichi e una più dettagliata conoscenza dei fenomeni che il testo doveva subire in ragione del formato del catalogo ma, fino all'ottenimento di dati nuovi e più dirimenti, non è possibile pronunciarsi in maniera più precisa. Inoltre, l'uso dell'ordine alfabetico inverso, attestato ma al momento non riconducibile a specifiche necessità o consuetudini, richiederebbe ulteriori e più generali approfondimenti, non solo in merito alla nostra notizia. In ogni caso, il confronto tra le testimonianze dei manoscritti, delle epigrafi e dei papiri, fondato sull'ormai assodata continuità

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[35] Tra i titoli inizianti per *ny* e quelli inizianti per *pi* dovevano figurare soltanto due titoli inizianti per *omicron* (Ὀλκάδες, Ὄρνιθες). Dato che l'ordine alfabetico era limitato alla sola prima lettera, la Ποίησις poteva anche figurare nelle prime posizioni della 'sezione' dei titoli inizianti per *pi* e avrebbe quindi potuto 'scavalcare' quelli in *omicron* fino a ritrovarsi immediatamente dopo i titoli in *ny*, come dimostrano i documenti studiati.

[36] Ad esempio, a causa di titoli più lunghi come *Tesmoforiazuse* (forse persino seguito dal numerale) ed *Ecclesiazuse*, che occupano un maggiore spazio di scrittura, la formazione dei gruppi di titoli posti sulla medesima riga poteva essere irregolare perché costituita da un numero variabile di titoli.

che caratterizza i cataloghi delle opere letterarie, non porta a escludere e, anzi, lascia ipotizzare una genesi 'meccanica' del dato relativo ai *dubia Aristophanea*, un dato che ha successivamente originato la notizia presente nei *Prolegomena*.

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PLATONIS EYTYXIA RETRACTATA, SEU QUOAD HUMANA IN REBUS GERENDIS PROSPERITAS VIRTUTI CONIUNCTA SIT

scripsit

SBIGNEUS DANEK

ABSTRACT: This article attempts to answer the question of the degree to which Platonic εὐτυχία, understood as fortuitous success, results from favourable external circumstances, and to what extent it is connected to the preparedness of the individual experiencing it to face life's challenges, in other words, to their life virtue (ἀρετή), whose inseparable component is practically conceived wisdom (σοφία). It is demonstrated that only success in undertaken endeavours (εὐτυχία) arising from such practical wisdom can serve as the foundation for the fullness of life's happiness designated as εὐδαιμονία.

KEYWORDS: Plato, eutychia, virtues

Tres apud Graecos adhibitae sunt voces ad vitae humanae prosperitatem pertinentes, e quibus εὐδαιμονία, vitae beatae nomen, primum et frequentia et vi locum obtinet, sequentibus designationibus fortunae faventis, quod εὐτυχία dicitur, atque etiam – vox est εὐθυμία – interni status nulla sollicitudine exturbati. Quae tria apud Platonem eodem auctoritatis gradu obveniunt, hac nuper commemorata εὐθυμία vix conspicienda legentibus, latius aliquid occurrente εὐτυχίας voce, atque dominante et numero et pondere εὐδαιμονίας illius appellatione. Id inter ultima duo discrimen explanari potest perexigua philosophi fiducia in fortunae favorem, cum beatitudo humana in pace quadam interna et convenienter praeparata mente imprimis poni debeat[1].

Quae cum ita sint, praecipua cum attentione examinandus videtur *Euthydemi* Platonici locus, in quo illa εὐτυχία, inter maxima optanda hominibus bona collocata, cum scientia humana artissime iuncta esse arguitur. Exemplo afferuntur medicus doctus, curationis de salute prosperae custos optimus, arte sua pollens gubernator, bene succedentis navigationis praesidium certissimum, seu prudens in bello imperator, victoris laudem potius quam insipiens quidam alius sibi demeriturus. Quorum omnium in re cuique perpetranda successus indeque orta

[1] Cf. Danek 2022: 139.

felicitas effecti sunt recte navando propriam sibi operam, quae navitas illic argumentationis εὐπραγία nomine denotata est[2]

At, obiecerit quispiam, non omni ex certamine dux exercitus ille victor exit, cum valde obstantibus externis omnibus ab adversariis aliquando suppressus sit, et similia quaedam infortunia etiam ceteris, de quibus modo mentio fuit, quamvis bene instructis contingere possunt[3]. Estne itaque εὐτυχία idem atque prospero actae rei eventu gaudere an iam agere scienter, quod ipsum laudatione dignum videri possit[4]. An etiam – tertium iam gradum scientiae prosperitatisque consociationis illius ut adeamus – disciplina sua bene instructum paratum se praebere recte et frugaliter agendo. Aequatur enim a Socrate in ipso fere totius argumenti exordio haec tam optanda hominibus εὐτυχία cum humana

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[2] *Euthd*. 279e1; cf. Dimas 2002: 20: "Wisdom makes us happy by setting aright our actions". Quod iudicium nixum supradicta εὐπραγία ("The actual constituent of happiness is εὐπραγία", p. 23) sicut fundamento certo humanae in vita felicitatis non omnia tamen explanabit, cum referatur alioqui haec εὐπραγίας vox ad felicem vitae condicionem ipsissimam, quod etiam illius in progressu argumentationis prodire videtur (*Euthd*. 281b3). Itaque – sicut recte W. Altman animadvertit – cum sit haec "eupragia" appellatio vivendi feliciter altera, insignem admodum vocabuli ambiguitatem ignorare ("to ignore the far more significant equivocation on εὐπραγία") atque in felicitate humana describenda uti voce hac "lubrica" ("the slippery word εὐπραγία") est ignotum per ignotum quoddam explanare (Altman 2018: 69–70). Ancipitem hunc usum vocabili, primum ad recte sua gerendum, deinceps ad beate vivendum ipso in *Euthydemo* referendi, conspicit etiam A. Pacewicz (2016: 96, ann. 48).

[3] Cf. Rider 2012: 7: "Nevertheless, as the above examples show, avoiding mistakes does not guarantee success, because uncontrollable and unforeseeable outside factors can come into play. In other words, a skilled person might fail because of bad luck". Cuius exploratoris omnem reliquam comprobantes argumentationem dissentiemus tamen ei, reducenti Platonis εὐτυχίαν, id est bonam fortunam, ad rerum exoptatos nobis eventus assequendos, cum – quod infra demonstratum erit – est ea etiam aliquando confidentis sorti suae sibique animi stabilitas. Notionem illam εὐτυχίας, sicut B. Rider comprendere idem fere est atque in caecum aliquem cultum commodi exspectandi ("commodity fetishism") incidere, cuius vanae fiduciae – quod recte D. Adams statuit – obtrectatorem primus se Platonicus Socrates praebet ("But of course this is just the sort of commodity fetishism Socrates is trying to help Cleinias avoid", Adams 2014: 72).

[4] Hoc altero in casu contentus iam quodam actae rei – suo "interno" – successu existimabitur, qui munus susceptum perficiat omni vitio integer aliter atque agens ille cui fortunatum esse contingit agendi eventu exoptato, id est gerendae rei successu aliquo "exteriore" – cf. Nawar 2017: 944: "a distinction between behaviour on the one hand and accomplishments on the other, that is, between what might be regarded as *internal-success* (performing a certain activity well) on the one hand and *outcome-success* (attaining a certain result)". Scientia ratioque humana non est iam instrumentum proposita quaecumque assequendi, sed ipsius pretio constans bonum unaque existimatio omnium pretii, quae gerimus gesturique simus (cf. Russell 2005: 49–50: "wisdom is successful purely in its exercise [...] its success none the less consists in its exercise, rather than in its producing a distinct outcome"; cf. Scolnicov 1998: "reason is not a tool for attaining goals independently thought worthwhile; rather, rationality itself, expressed in the giving of reasons and the avoidance of contradictions, confers value to goals and opinions".

sapientia (σοφία)[5], non iam effectrice fortunate agendi, sed felicitate ipsa per se facta[6].

Cum tamen illa consociata fortunae faventi σοφία non idem statui possit atque scientia et artificium, quorum exempla modo allata sunt, inquisitione aliqua dignum esse videtur, quantopere dicta fortuna, id est εὐτυχία, cuidam ipsa sapientia sua beato nullisque functo scientias poscentibus operibus tribui debeat[7]. Sitne denique aliquando illa distinctio inter extra, ad opus quoddam feliciter perficiendum, conversam εὐτυχίαν et εὐδαιμονίαν, internum revera beatae mentis statum, apud Platonem sublata? Idem est atque usum prioris de duobus vocabulis in Platonis operibus diligentius perscrutari.

Nomen illud εὐτυχίας eiusdemve stirpis vocabula obveniunt probatis doctorum consensu Platonicis in operibus quinquies et tricies. Quoniam omnem hanc congeriem legentium patientiae offerre nimis et iis ipsis et haec scribenti molestum atque consilio infra dicto ne minime quidem fructuosum visum est[8], ea tantum afferentur, quibus conexio indubitabilis – quod demonstrandum huius auctor commentatiunculae sibi proposuit – bonae in vita prosperitatis atque assequendae et praestandae continuo virtutis in promptu sita sit. Exigua praeterea mentio reddita erit etiam iis quae conexui supra dicto obsistere videntur.

Vox ipsa εὐτυχίας, cuius est origo verbum quod dicitur τυγχάνω quodque idem attribuitur agenti assequentique optata sibi bona atque etiam recipienti solum quae fors ipsa seu divina quaedam voluntas[9] obtulerit, eundem in modum

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[5] *Euthd*. 279d6–7: Ἡ σοφία δήπου, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, εὐτυχία ἐστίν.

[6] Adducendus hoc in loco videtur P. Dimas, cuius ex opinione bene edocti hominis felicitas idem iam est atque pollere fiducia quadam in suum facultatis "cogitativae" regimen ("full confidence in one's command of one's deliberative capacities"), unde nascitur ita praeparato cuique ima quaedam satisfactio nixa possibili rationis usu perfectissimo ("a deep *reason-based* contentment", Dimas 2002: 22).

[7] Commemorari debet hic quaestionis D. Dentsoras, cuius ex opinione in supra dicto *Euthydemi* Platonici loco non solum de susceptae quandocumque rei successu actum sit, sed sit in perscrutationis discrimine condicio beata humanae mentis, promptae ad recte semper cogitandum rectaque sequendum. Huic sententiae obstant a Platone prolata exempla et navigii gubernatoris et exercituum ductoris, quorum internae condicionis minime tunc interest, valet autem id solum, victores an cladem passi rem suam ad finem perducere possint. Tali in statu rei non sat firmum videtur conferre cum Platonicis fortunae faustae exemplaribus Stoicorum veterum disciplinam de homine excellentia sua beato ("to reinterpret the Platonic dialogues in ways that made them compatible with Stoic ethics" – Dentsoras 2019: 53), ceterum a quibus beatae illius excellentiae nomen aliud atque Platonica εὐτυχία – vox videlicet εὐδαιμονίας – plerumque usurpatum est.

[8] Sunt in hoc praeteritorum numero etiam loci rem existimantibus conspicabiles (e.c. *Phdr*. 229d4, 233b3, 245b7) qui tamen argumentationi conclusionibusque nostris nulli obstaculo neve fiunt adiumento.

[9] Cf. McPherran 2005: 57: "Socrates is inclined to ascribe the causal influence we commonly call 'good luck' to the operations of the intelligent, good divinities".

anceps apparet, cum una ex parte quorum nostro ipsorum conatu potiti simus, at ex parte altera omnia nutu fortunae nobis affluentia denotet[10]. Primum ipsius artificio et fortitudine bene in perficiendo conamine succedere dici potest, alterum susceptae rei successu, ut non demerito, similiter gaudere, nullam tamen poscere scientiam, nullamque fere ad agendum praeparationem videtur. Inspicienti omnes apud Platonem locos, ubi illa εὐτυχία et εὐτυχοῦντες aliqui reperiri possint, quaerendum est perpetuo, utrum de dictis modo duobus feliciter agenti cuidam conatuum vitaeque degendae successum attulerit. Ceterum nullo fere in casu statuere poterimus eventum hunc fortunatum donatum ei esse praeter omne dubium immerito. Plerumque enim fortuna fortes adiuvare diligit.

Spectabimus exempli gratia *Convivii* locum, in quo dicit Alcibiades sortem felicissimam (εὐτύχημα) sibi contigisse, quod concessum est ei Socratem comitanti quibus sapiens est ille omnia exaudire[11]. Prima specie temeritate solum fortunae admissum id esse videatur, re autem vera non plane immerito, nam et forma et ingenio dignum se ille iuvenis praebuit, ut philosophorum sapientissimi disciplinam exciperet, et non sine ulla excellentiae suae conscientia fatus esse quae allata sunt ille apparet[12]. Similem se praebet Alcibiadis, at magis fortunatum illo in perniciem denique ruente, effrenatus quidam, fortunatus (εὐτυχής – *Resp*. 561a8) hanc ob rem, quod una cum annis supprimere tandem furorem bonaque imbui consuetudine potuit. Qui tamen eius ad pietatem reditus non casu fortunae effectus est, sed est promotus consopita prius, at praecordiis inhaerente virtute, expergefacta denique, una cum bona ratione sensuque moderationis rectum in requirendum vitae cursum redigentibus. Tempus vitae provectum propius virtutibus consideratoque consilio fit etiam felici cuidam, prudentiam et stabile iudicium sanum illic aetatis demum adepto[13] atque commutatio haec fortunata dici potest, sed non fortuita, quoniam una ex parte cum virtute accrescente, ex parte autem altera cum renascente inde innocentia, beatae vitae adminiculo, artissime iuncta est.

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[10] Cf. Jones 2013: 8: "'Good fortune' is ambiguous between at least two senses: good things that happen to us that are largely out of our control, and successes we achieve". Unius tantum partis (uniusve exactius vocabuli originis) fautorem hac in re diiudicanda praebet se D. Adams, cuius ex opinione id quod veterrimum denotabatur Graeco fortunae nomine (nomen id unaque origo εὐτυχίας appellationis dicitur τύχη) est aliquid petens agere ("its primary meaning is 'act'", Adams 2014: 51). Quam rei explanationem tantopere nostro infra extendendo argumento profuturam in dubium adducere ne minime quidem esset nobis optabile.

[11] *Symp*. 217a3–5: ἔρμαιον ἡγησάμην εἶναι καὶ εὐτύχημα ἐμὸν θαυμαστόν, ὡς ὑπάρχον μοι χαρισαμένῳ Σωκράτει πάντ' ἀκοῦσαι ὅσαπερ οὗτος ἤδει.

[12] Uti itaque evenit Alcibiadi eadem fortuna felici quam "constitutivam" appellatam Th. Nagel distinguit, cum ipsius beatifica strenuitas subnixa sit datis desuper bonis, inter cetera natu ingenuo, mente capaci ingenitave fortitudine (Nagel 1979: 28); cf. Rider 2012: 6: "the allotment of goods given to us at birth".

[13] *Leg*. 653a6–9: καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀρετὴ ψυχῇ καὶ κακία παραγίγνεται πρῶτον, ταῦτ' εἶναι, φρόνησιν δὲ καὶ ἀληθεῖς δόξας βεβαίους εὐτυχὲς ὅτῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας παρεγένετο.

Pervenimus itaque ad caput unaque exordium totius quaestionis, id est εὐτυχίας illius Platonicae praesentiam in optima vitae humanae institutione, beatum quemque nostrum in perpetuum efficiente. Quam rem explanare idem est atque statuere, quantopere adipisci denique id quo contendamus vel, etiam effectu frustratum, rem suam gerere integerrime vel denique mente maturum esse ita ei gerendae (tres enim gradus εὐτυχίας illius Platonicae distinximus) felicitati excellentiaeque humanae potiundae coniunctum sit. Fitne aliquando haec triplici gradu occurens εὐτυχία idem atque beatae mentis εὐδαιμονία?

Platonis *Leges* – eius disciplinae extremum – inquirentes poterimus aliqua illius coniunctionis testimonia invenire. Non enim casu quodam fatove Heracleae incolae fortunati agniti sunt, procul qui se retinuerint ab invidia agri distribuendi aerisve alieni absolvendi[14]. Prosperitatem hanc tutata est eis sua civilis virtus et continentia, quae animorum dispositio felicem hanc urbem reddidit. Illorum εὐτυχία est revera idem atque beate vivere, id est frui nullis exturbata iurgiis εὐδαιμονία. Eundem in modum Gnosiorum urbe deducendae coloniae cuidam datum erit vita delectari felici (εὐτυχεῖν) non per aliquam fortunae vicissitudinem, sed ipsorum sua de salute conatu et industria (*Leg*. 754c3–d4). Etiam haec εὐτυχία beatus est status totius civitatis tutae internoque malo liberae praeparandus civili diligentia et fortitudine, praecipue tamen regentium consilio prudenti[15].

Praecipua debetur attentio edendis a parva humana prole vocibus, quae sponte prodiens expressio nascentis desiderii, interdum etiam aversionis, nominata est "signa nequaquam felicia" (σημεῖα οὐδαμῶς εὐτυχῆ), signa internum utrumque statum quoquoversus proclamantia[16]. Nulla est enim infantibus illis frustratio neu satisfactio in exterioribus quibusdam fortuna favente suave sollertia assequendis. Veniunt in mentem per quandam vicinitatem liberi non fortunati dicti in Platonis *Politia* et id ob ignorantiam matrimonia conciliantium, nesciverint qui accuratius fatorum praedicta inquirere. Non illic revera de fortuna negante his nuper natis aliquam prosperitatem tractatur, cuius favores in ipso natu nemini providendi sunt, sed de idonea corporis animique constitutione, felicem quae et una prospere sua gerentem quemque efficit. Sunt enim illi nec fortunati (εὐτυχεῖς) neque indole bona eminentes (εὐφυεῖς) iidem appellati (*Resp*. 546d1–3).

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[14] 736c5–8: Τόδε δὲ μὴ λανθανέτω γιγνόμενον ἡμᾶς εὐτύχημα, ὅτι καθάπερ εἴπομεν τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποικίαν εὐτυχεῖν, ὡς γῆς καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς καὶ νομῆς πέρι δεινὴν καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον ἔριν ἐξέφυγεν.

[15] Quae orta per prudentem rerum civilium gubernationem prosperitas testimonium facta est evidentissimum bonae fortunae atque consilii sapientis conexionis mutuae (cf. Reeve 1989: 134: "For that craft enables the philosopher-kings to arrange for the production of a maximally stable, maximally self-sufficient polis whose members are as happy as possible throughout their lives").

[16] *Leg*. 792a3–4: τοῖς δὴ παιδίοις τὸ δήλωμα ὧν ἐρᾷ καὶ μισεῖ κλαυμοναὶ καὶ βοαί, σημεῖα οὐδαμῶς εὐτυχῆ.

Revenimus quendam in modum ad *Euthydemi* sententiam de virtutis et bonae fortunae concorditate – virtutis quae illo in sermone ad sapientiam reducta est, ingenitam paucissimis, patentem autem enimvero tantum bona indole a natura praeditis. Et nonulli Platonis *Legum* loci "legitimum" faciunt hanc beatificam virtutem latius aliquid comprendere, omnis qua notione humana excellentia contineatur. Est haec et bona aptaque tempori dimensio numerorum artis musicae, id est tam cuique optabilis temperantia, praestat quae audientibus ut etiam canentibus decentem et una beantem voluptatem (ἡδονὴν εὐτυχῆ, 813a2)[17]. Est deinceps debita immortalibus atque mortalibus pietas, quo praesidio contra omnem animi sollicitudinem metumque pia corda praemuniuntur. Quas enim domus maxime hac virtute eminentes (ὁσιωτάτους) agnoscimus, easdem etiam fortunatas maxime (εὐτυχεστάτους, 877e1) agnoscere oportet – prosperitate fruentes continua et una vice bona animorum condicione beatas. Etiam rerum publicarum custodibus hoc incolarum quaerendum est genus, quod ob virtutem laudabile maxime (εὐδοκιμώτατον πρὸς ἀρετὴν) et iunctim fortunatum (καὶ ἅμα εὐτυχές) existimari possit (878a3). Tunc itidem bona fortuna et mens bona virtutem civilem sequitur.

Maturus aevo *Legum* auctor confirmare quendam in modum videtur ea, quae multo prius inter *Euthydemi* propositiones enuntiata sunt. Utroque testimonio effertur in manifestum conexio aliqua reciproca gestarum rerum eventu prospero, id est εὐτυχίᾳ utendi, atque εὐδαιμονίᾳ, id est vita beata, perfruendi et conectens utriusque generis felicitatem quoddam quasi ligamen fit demum supra emergens virtus[18]. Nam et bene in rebus succedere a praestanda virtute artissime dependet – quae mentis ad rem gerendam apparatione idonea, id est scientia

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[17] Cf. Pacewicz 2016: 199, ann. 24.

[18] Reperiuntur etiam apud Platonem loci discordantes in speciem cum ita claudenda ratione nostra, tales scilicet in quibus videatur εὐτυχία /1/ casu tantum fortunae accidens esse prosperitas ad rerum exteriorum statum minimeque ad affectionem animi pertinens ac praeterea /2/ etiam carenti omni virtute alicui plane fortuita contingere posse. Apparet id tum praecipue, cum est haec ascripta "mendacio beatissimo" (εὐτυχέστατον ψεῦσμα – *Men*. 71d6), cuius commissi ipsum se Socrates culpat, commemoratisve supra infantium vocibus – "significationi nequaquam prosperae" (σημεῖα οὐδαμῶς εὐτυχῆ – *Leg*. 792a4), seu legislatoris muneri inter vix sedabilem rerum exturbationem difficillimo – negotio "non felici" (οὐκ εὐτυχὲς – *Leg*. 876b7) dicto. Notandum est tamen, quod in hac actionum ipsarum prosperitate seu infortunio simplex fit tantummodo transportatio agentis cuiuscumque sensuum in ea, quibus perficiendis fungitur – vetus et multarum gentium communis loquendi consuetudo – felices revera non voces sunt neque alicuius labores, sed agens ipse, bene seu contrario sensu per ea praestanda afficiendus. Is autem reperietur virtute sufficiente beatus (Socrati est ea animus paratus fortisque adeo, ut recuperato vero oblitus erroris commissi felicem se factum profiteatur) sive carente animi robore miserandus admodum factus (non se praebet e. c. parem paratumque negotio difficili suscipiendo infelix ideo commemoratus supra legislator). Alter insuper obici potest argumento nostro legislator laudabilis, per casum aliquem fortunae (τινα τύχην) ad regnantem quendam adulescentem delatus (*Leg*. 710c5–d1). Ut is tamen egregium in modum munus suum exsequi possit, non caeco casu fortunae, sed utriusque virtute et prudentia opus est, nam demum alterius excellentia bene ab altero existimata hoc regisque legumque conditoris munerum commercium initum esse potuit. Casum illum fortunae (τύχην) aliquod esse

quadam atque etiam indole bona, consistit – et altera de parte virtutis expers nemo beata mente laetari vere potest, totiens quod a Socrate Platonico demonstratum est. Sunt quidem aliqui rerum potiti atque in alios dominantes, et vulgo habiti felices et ipsi sua freti prosperitate, quae tamen vana tantum species beatae vitae apparet, cum et virtus genuina intaminata resistere debeat et id beate vivere neque stupro ullo pollui nec sollicitudine quavis turbari possit. Cuius rei manifestum fit exemplum Archelaus Macedonum rex, cuius invidenda plurimis felicitas in dubium adducta est a Socrate negante aliquem, dominatum qui per scelus et iniuriam obtinuisset, vere esse felicem (*Gorg*. 470d5–479e9).

Conectens utriusque generis felicitatem sicut copula virtus exposcit tamen strenuitatem quandam in rebus gerendis, longe alienam quieti vitantium civilis vitae contentiones philosophorum et contra civitatibus ipsis acceptissimam (non fortuito reverenda communiter ἀρετῆς vox haec omnia quae alteri comprobari debeant designat). Otia disputationesque philosophorum, nisi ad civilia opera hortamina facta, procul sint itaque ab hoc virtutis et una prosperitatis exemplari. Ipsum id autem beate vivere vitam fieri necesse est laboriosam admodum, nixam recte correcteque navando propriam sibi operam, summo semper adiumento menti bene compositae, unde quies interna quaedam confidentiaque exoritur proprium denique cursum nacti hominis. Servabitne tranquillitatem hanc internam iactatus tempestatibus atque a spe deiectus petita sibi assquendi?

Elata adeo animi immunitas non propria esse videtur morali disciplinae Platonis, numquam qui reprehendebat ad suum cuiusque bonum contendentes summovebatve temporalia haec bona de vita hominis vere sapientis. Platonicum beate vivere est frui prudenter omnibus quae assecuti simus fortuna obsequente virtuti atque industriae nostrae, nixis semper nostris de rebus assequendis conatibus scientia quadam, doctrice efficaciter rem susceptam perficiendi. Fit itaque Platonis illa εὐτυχία, id est optata sibi bona adipiscendi satietas, efficiens quoddam εὐδαιμονίας, id est beatae vitae, et una pars eius integerrima[19] – ceterum quae inter alia ingredientia huius vitae bona enumerari potest[20]. Numne sic

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momentum humanis in rebus ciendis non negamus, sed hominis ipsius demum est – ut prosperitate, id est εὐτυχία, uti possit – illud "εὖ" evenienti sibi sorti addere.

[19] Hanc tam gravem investigationi nostrae quaestionem – quoad videlicet εὐτυχία Platonica ad ipsam εὐδαιμονίαν referri possit – D. Adams ita comprendit, ut respiciatur apud eum εὐτυχίας notio una ex parte sicut singulare quoddam inter aliqua cetera huius εὐδαιμονίας ingredientia collocandum (one among many components of *eudaimonia* – Adams 2014: 63), ex parte autem altera ut eadem iam beatae vitae satietas (*eutuchia* as equivalent to *eudaimonia* – Adams: 64). Nos tamen duorum illorum nulla ratione sociabilium medii resistentes, supra cetera omnia pretia rerum dicta εὐτυχία collocata sicut sensu quodam prosperitatis, quem ipsorum per virtutem assecuti simus, statu revera animi interno, quo εὐδαιμονία, id est vitae felicitas permanens exstruatur, condicionem necessariam unaque causam efficientem exactae εὐδαιμονίας εὐτυχίαν illam Platonicam factam esse statuimus.

[20] Pl. *Euthd*. 279c5–8: Potest tandem explanari mira hic in speciem consecutio, cum uno tenore enumerantur exstans in speciem εὐτυχία atque propria omnis humana possesio bonorum, ut

apparati atque in rebus strenui perpetuo felicem degere vitam poterimus omni sollicitudine vacuam?

Quantopere, ratione intellectuque nostro subacta fortuna, constanter omnibus vitae incommodis integri felicesque superesse possimus, non est Platoni clarum continuo, cum una ex parte ad beatam degendae vitae stabilitatem sagaciter fortiterque agentibus addicendam inclinetur, at ex parte altera coactus sit aliquando, ut admitteret ferri non semel dubio cursu rerum incertum sui rationis cultorem[21]. Quo autem feretur destituta a ratione errantis mens, contrarium in modum apud eum dissolvitur. Cum enim plerumque ad ima insipientiae delapsa illa sit, tum etiam hanc aliquando petit regionem, ubi plane iam evanescit humanae εὐτυχίας atque εὐδαιμονίας excellentia, quando divino mota spiritu mens divinos ingenii partus in lucem edere sciens et valida facta sit.

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McPherran 2005: M. McPherran, *What Even a Child Would Know: Socrates, Luck, and Providence at 'Euthydemus' 277d–282e*, Ancient Philosophy 25 (2005), pp. 49–61.

Nagel 1979: Th. Nagel, *Mortal Questions*, New York 1979.

Nawar 2017: Nawar, *Platonic know-how and successful action*, European Journal of Philosophy 25 (2017), pp. 944–962.

Nussbaum 2001: M.C. Nussbaum, *The Fragility of Goodness. Luck and Ethics in Greek Tragedy and Philosophy*, Cambridge 2001.

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constans valetudo, forma excellens, inter cives honores vel prudentia, iustitia, fortitudo et sapientia denique.

[21] Rem in extenso comprendit exposuitque accuratissime M.C. Nussbaum, cum dominantem primum in disciplina Platonis mentis plane sibi satisfacientis securitatem ("rational self-sufficiency") posteriori vacillationi opposuisset hominis, cui esset vivendum sub mundi exterioris dominatu continuo ("living well within a world in which the external has power", Nussbaum 2001: 20). Cf. Rider 2012: 13 ("the futility of human efforts in the face of fortune and the god"*).*

Pacewicz 2016: A. Pacewicz, *Koncepcja przyjemności w filozofii Platona*, Wrocław 2016.
Reeve 1989: C.D.C. Reeve, *Socrates in the 'Apology'. An Essay on Plato's 'Apology of Socrates'*, Indianapolis–Cambridge 1989.
Rider 2012: B. Rider, *Wisdom, Εὐτυχία, and Happiness in the 'Euthydemus'*, Ancient Philosophy 32 (2012), pp. 1–14.
Russell 2005: D. Russell, *Plato on Pleasure and the Good Life*, Oxford 2005.
Scolnicov 1998: S. Scolnicov: *Plato on Education as the Development of Reason*, in: *Paideia. Ancient Philosophy*, s.l. 1998 [available at www.bu.edu/wcp/Papers/Anci/AnciScol.htm].

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MYTHOGRAPHY OF THE MUSES*

by

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ABSTRACT: The article addresses the question of the Muses' presence in mythographic writings. The paper considers the ways in which mythographic descriptions differ from literary references to the Muses, and the impact that mythographic practice has had on the image of the goddesses. The analyses progress from a general evaluation to a more detailed examination of specific examples. The central analysis considers the portrayal of the Muses in the works of Cicero, Diodoros, Apollodoros and Hyginus, and highlights the impact of mythographic variation on the configuration of the Muses. The conclusions emphasise the significant role of mythographic works in shaping the representation of the Muses, while also pointing to notable differences between this portrayal and that found in literary, and especially poetic traditions.

KEYWORDS: Muses, mythography, Cicero, Diodoros, Apollodoros, Hyginus

Mythography and the Muses is quite a surprising combination. It seems that the goddesses of inspiration have not particularly interested scholars collecting and studying mythical material. Where is there room for poetic invocations to the Muses, a set of epithets and descriptions of the chorus of the goddesses dancing and singing to the accompaniment of Apollo in a mythological compendium? It is certainly an interesting set of data, important for a literary historian, but is it of any significance in the study of myths? The objective of this paper is to demonstrate that this approach is erroneous for two reasons. First, mythography is a phenomenon broader and more interesting than we usually assume. Second, the Muses also had their mythological lives, which we often tend to forget.

Let us begin with a question: why mythography? In recent years, interest in ancient mythographic literature has grown significantly. One piece of evidence the edition of the *Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Mythography* (2022). The number of publications on Greek and Roman mythographers has increased

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rapidly, and awareness of the role of the mythographic impulse in the analysis of mythical stories has also grown.[1] Today, in studies on particular mythological characters, on partly preserved tragedies or the literary output of the Hellenistic era it is difficult not to include the role of myth transmission, as well as knowledge of mythographers' working methods. In fact, studies on Greek myths and religion increasingly often include a mythographic point of view as an important aspect of analysing sources, transmission, and changes in the mythical narrative.

However, what do we understand by mythography? Generally speaking, this term covers a vast set of intellectual practices connected with the Greeks' processing their own mythical tradition.[2] The phenomenon, however, should not be assessed exclusively on the basis of the superficial perception of Apollodoros and Hyginus' works, for it is not an ordinary retelling of mythical stories. The available fragments of early (Fowler 2000; 2013) and Hellenistic mythographers (*BNJ*) show that the analysis of mythical tradition was then closely connected with historical and geographical studies. Also important were the analysis of literary tradition – after all, the source of stories was primarily poetic works from previous periods – and the development of philosophy. In the latter case, the extensive intellectual reflection of the Greeks gives rise to rationalistic and allegorical models for explaining mythical tales. Mythography was then similar to present-day anthropology, which draws extensively from other fields of knowledge. In effect, mythographers tried not only to collect all possible information, but also to put it in order, standardise, and, if possible, explain it. Traces of these practices can be found not only in typically mythographic works, but also throughout much of ancient literature.

We shall now proceed to examine the mythological life of the Muses. In ancient cultures gods are often associated with specific narratives showing their birth, important events in their lives and the function and characteristics that define them. In the case of the Muses the issue is more complicated. The Homeric Hymn (25) to the Muses demonstrates that the goddesses were not connected with any stories. The absence of a narrative about their births as well as the lack of a single adventure in which they might participate prevents the goddesses from becoming fully realised mythical characters.[3] Therefore, many researchers believe that the Muses have "no well-marked personalities" (Curtius 1953: 229), or that "they remain somewhat enigmatic figures" (Murray 2020: 13).

Such a pessimistic assessment is, in part, a consequence of focusing attention on references to the goddesses in known and well-preserved poetic texts. On the other hand, the mythical details of the Muses' lives are obscured by

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[1] See e.g. Henrichs 1987; Hawes 2017; Romano, Marincola 2019; Pagès, Villagra 2022. More references can be found in the *Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Mythography*.

[2] See Smith, Trzaskoma 2022b; Pàmias 2022.

[3] See however the short story about the birth of the Muses in Hes. *Theog*. 53–60.

the accumulation of literary references to them as the guardians of inspiration, knowledge and memory. The Muses were undoubtedly an important part of reflection on language, song, music and other aspects of the functioning of literature and knowledge in Antiquity. However, this does not mean that their lives were only of a metaliterary character and did not have a mythical dimension.[4]

To give just a small example of mythical material and lost data, let us refer to the Muses' presence in theatrical production of the 5th–4th centuries. First, the Muses can be noticed in the partly preserved comedy *The Marriage of Hebe* (with the alternative title *Muses*) by Epicharmos (fr. 39 *PCG*). In the play we find a chorus of seven Muses-rivers with such names as Neilo, Tritone, Asopo, Heptapore, Achelois, Titoplous, and Rhodia, the daughters of Pieros and the nymph Pimpleis, who bring fish to newlyweds as a gift.

Second, the drama *Rhesos*, ascribed to Euripides, presents an anonymous Muse as a character in the play, who is the mother of the eponymous hero. Her role was undoubtedly connected with the cult of the Muse Klio as Rhesos' mother.[5] The local peculiarities must have given rise to stories about the circumstances of the hero's birth, as well as about his mother and father (Strymon, the River God).

Third, we have information that the tragedy titled *Muses* was written by Sophocles (*TrGF* 4 F 407a–408, p. 348; cf. *IG*^{2} 2363, 25). Sometimes it is believed that it is just another title of the play *Thamyras*, but they are most probably two different dramas. Furthermore, the previously mentioned *Thamyras* was a play in which the goddesses assumed a pivotal role, likely to have contributed to the development of narrative elements centred on them (the genealogies, connections with music, agon, instruments, location of events etc.).[6]

Fourth, we can also name additional, lesser-known dramas that refer to the Muses. Polyzelos allegedly wrote the comedy *The Birth of the Muses*, of which we have a few fragments, which, however, do not contribute much (*PCG* 7, fr. 8–11). Nevertheless, the title clearly suggests the subject matter, which, taking into account the parents known from Epicharmos, means that there is a lively debate about the circumstances and the birthplace of the Muses.[7] The title *Muses* can also be found among the works of such authors as Phrynichos (the 5th c.), Euphanes (the 4th c.), Ophelion (the 4th c.) and Euphron (the 3rd c.). We do not know anything about the plays by the latter two. Fragment 36 (*PCG*) of Phrynichos concerns tuna, which suggests a maritime context. Epicharmos also turns us towards the Black Sea. The maritime context and eating seafood can also be found in Euphanes (Ath. 8.343b).

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[4] About the Muses as mythical personification see Murray 2005.

[5] Schol. ad Eur. *Rhes*. 346 (= Marsyas of Pella, *BNJ* 135 F7); dedication for Klio see *BCH* 84 (1960): 793–798.

[6] See Kárpáti 2016.

[7] About Epicharmos' Pieros and Pimpleis, see Mojsik 2022, *passim*.

It is worth noting that all these examples come from Old and Middle Comedy and all the works mentioned treat the Muses as their main theme. There we find a chorus composed of Muses, or a Muse appears there as a character in the drama. And these examples are just the tip of the iceberg.[8] All this leads us to the conclusion that the ancients knew about the Muses and talked about them much more than is assumed today.

Thus, what do the Muses have to do with mythography as literature comprehensively studying the mythical tradition? Is the presence of the Muses in mythographers' works significant? How does a mythographic description differ from literary references to the Muses? And what influence does mythographic practice have on the image of the goddesses? It is important to emphasise that the questions posed here have not yet been the focus of research, as studies on the Muses have primarily focused on their (meta)literary image.[9]

The analysis proposed in the following part of the article will of course not be complete, because this would require referring to more extensive source material.[10] Nevertheless, even these partial studies will allow us to outline the problem and propose important answers.

Let us begin with a general overview of the whole problem of the Muses' presence in mythographers' works. In the next part we will see examples and outstanding aspects of the mythological image of the goddesses. Out of an enormous number of ancient mythographic works, only titles and rare fragments have survived. Thus, it is not easy to reconstruct the image of the Muses in literature of this type. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw a few conclusions. The most important one is: the Muses were the subject of mythographers' interest because of the need for the standardisation of the tradition concerning names, genealogy, and their number, and then also because of their offspring and their relations with other gods and mortals. Despite the importance of Hesiod's text, there were considerable discrepancies in the way the Muses were presented, including their origins and number. Below I shall present just a few examples.[11]

In the Archaic period, not only nine Muses were known, but also three, attributed, for example, to Eumelos (fr. 36 *PEG*).[12] In the comedy by Epicharmos (fr. 39 *PCG*), on the other hand, we find seven Muses, the offspring of Pieros and Pimpleis. In both authors the names of the goddesses also deviate from the standard version of Hesiod and are linked to the names of rivers from different

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[8] Stories about the Muses is an issue which deserves separate treatment.

[9] See e.g. Mayer 1933; Murray 2015.

[10] I leave aside, among other things, mythographic material from the Hellenistic period, as it is fragmentary, the least researched and generally adds nothing more than what we know from well-preserved later sources.

[11] About the various numbers of the Muses see Mojsik 2011.

[12] See recent discussion in Tsagalis 2017.

parts of the world. This, in turn, is linked to the search for a different genealogy from the descent from Zeus and Mnemosyne, as can already be seen in Epicharmos (Pieros and Pimpleis). Thus, in Mimnermos we encounter the pair Gaia and Uranos as parents, and in Eumelos Apollo as father.

Another important thematic group will be the sons of the Muses and the Muses'relationships with other gods (and mortals) resulting in the appearance of offspring. It seems likely that Asclepiades already made an attempt to establish the details of the origin of some mythical musicians (schol. Pindar. *P.* 4.313a). This may have been the result of the presence of divergent information in Athenian dramas. In the preserved passage from the sixth book of his *Tragoidoumena*, Hymenaios, Ialemos and Orpheus are the sons of Apollo and Kalliope.[13] The origin of Orpheus was also the subject of discussion and analysis by Hellanikos of Lesbos (*BNJ* 4 F5a–c), Pherecydes (*BNJ* 3 F26) and Damastes of Sigeum (*BNJ* 5 F11b).[14]

All these early examples of discrepancies in the image of the Muses indicate probable areas of work of early mythographers. The image of the Muses required a process of ordering, standardisation and explanation due to the presence of numerous local versions (for example, Macedon or Boeotia) and poetic ones, which did not form a coherent whole. The same was true for other mythological figures. However, this means that despite their great (meta)poetic role, the Muses were also important mythological figures and objects of worship. However, fuller information about the goddesses can only be found in preserved mythographic works, i.e. in Apollodoros and Hyginus, and later also in Antoninus Liberalis and Fulgentius. A long passage about the Muses has also been preserved in book 4 of Diodoros' *Library*, which was undoubtedly the result of reading mythographic works.

We will now examine a few examples in order to gain insight into the impact of mythographic practice on the portrayal of goddesses. We will start with an intriguing passage from Cicero, who, although not a mythographer, was keen to reach for the works of his learned predecessors. In *De natura deorum* we find an extensive enumeration of the different generations of Muses, which Cicero combines into a chronologically coherent story (3.54):

> Iam Musae primae quattuor Iove altero natae, Thelxinoe Aoede Arche Melete, secundae Iove tertio et Mnemosyne procreatae novem, tertiae Piero natae et Antiopa, quas Pieridas et Pierias solent poetae appellare, isdem nominibus et eodem numero quo proximae superiores.[15]

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[13] See Villagra 2012.

[14] See Mojsik 2022: 100–104.

[15] "Again, the first set of Muses are four, the daughters of the second Jupiter, Thelxinoë, Aoede, Arche and Melete; the second set are the offspring of the third Jupiter and Mnemosyne, nine in number; the third set are the daughters of Pierus and Antiope, and are usually called by the

As we can see, Cicero had to deal with contradictory information about the origin of the Muses (1. Iovis alter = Uranos, 2. Jupiter and Mnemosyne, 3. Pieros and Antiope), their names and the number of goddesses. Such divergent stories could have resulted from local traditions or poetic invention, because the Greeks had no reason to limit themselves to the so-called canonical version of Hesiod. In the local context, four or seven Muses were not a problem, because local recipients usually knew only this one version. However, with the development of literacy, access to the works of predecessors and the emergence of libraries, awareness of contradictions in information from different literary works and regions of the Greek world grew.[16] This also went along with the need to organise such contradictory stories into a coherent and logical mythical narrative.

The proposal that Cicero presents us is a trace of just such a mythographic analysis of the tradition concerning the Muses. The description in *De natura deorum* proves that the traditional versions of the myth about the Muses are only seemingly contradictory. In fact, these are information about separate generations of the Muses – the distribution in time here replaces the versions of the stories by different poets and local versions.

We already know solutions of this type from the works of mythographers of the classical era. For example, Herodoros (*BNJ* 31 F14) claimed that the contradictory stories about Heracles result from the fact that "there were seven other Heracleses as well". Similarly, he listed two Orpheuses (F42), with the junior being probably the author of the "Orphic writings". In this way, the tradition is put into an order and at the same time preserved. What is contradictory may in fact be earlier or later in time. This historicising procedure therefore explains and saves from oblivion the Greek mythical tradition with its poetic and local particularism. As Greta Hawes (2014: 19) explains, "rationalistic interpretation does not reject myths outright, but reshapes them".

Another aspect of Cicero's passage is the presentation of the 'Pierides' as mortal daughters of Pieros. Let us dwell on this issue for a moment. The term 'Pierides' was one of the three basic epithets of the Muses in the early literary tradition.[17] This epithet indicated that the Muses were daughters of Zeus, who resided on Olympos, and that they themselves lived in Macedonian Pieria, the land at the foot of Mt. Olympos.

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poets the Pierides or Pierian Maidens; they are the same in number and have the same names as the next preceding set" [transl. H. Rackham].

[16] This is where the explanation of the number of Muses in Pausanias' *Periegesis* 9.29 comes from.

[17] See Hes. *Theog*. 1.53 (Muses live in Pieria); 'Pierides': Ps-Hesiod, *Scutum* 206; Sa. fr. 103 Voigt.

The first departure from this interpretation can be seen in Epicharmos, who in his comedy *The Marriage of Hebe* made the Muses the daughters of Pieros and the nymph Pimpleis (fr. 39 *PCG*). The interpretation was probably intended to be humorous (the names mean "Fat and Fullness"), and the context indicates a feast and gifts of fish for the glutton Heracles. However, we encounter a similar explanation in Cicero (Pieros and Antiope), and later also in the story of the rivalry between the Pierides and the Muses in Ovid (*Met*. 5.250–678) and Antoninus Liberalis (9). These latter cases prove that information from mythographers can also find its way into literary circulation.[18]

The term 'Pierides' is also explained in a similar way by Pausanias (9.29.4):

> εἰσὶ δ᾽ οἳ καὶ αὐτῷ θυγατέρας ἐννέα Πιέρῳ γενέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἅπερ ταῖς θεαῖς τεθῆναι καὶ ταύταις, καὶ ὅσοι Μουσῶν παῖδες ἐκλήθησαν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων, θυγατριδοῦς εἶναι σφᾶς Πιέρου.[19]

There are therefore two possible ways of interpreting this connection between 'Pierides' and Pieros and considering them as mortals. Either part of the tradition concerning the Muses is in fact a reference to Pieros' daughters. Or, going further, the Muses were in general of mortal nature. It seems, therefore, that since the classical era there have been rationalising explanations – based on (false) etymology – indicating the human origin of the Muses (and the beginnings of music). However, such an interpretation not only has rationalising and etymologising features, stripping the myth of magical elements (the Muses are omniscient, and their song is stunningly beautiful), but also euhemeristic ones. Let us note that bringing the Muses down to earth and linking their genealogy with the original eponym of Pieria fits well with the nature of the explanations of Euhemeros of Messenia.[20]

And one last question – if we take at face value that the 'Pierides' can be 'daughters of Pieros', then does that mean that all the other names of the Muses – 'Thespiades', 'Emathides', 'Olympiades', 'Heliconides' or 'Aonides' – can also be explained in this way? This could have changed the approach to traditional information about the Muses. The role of mythographers is clear in this case and has a great influence on the perception of the goddesses of inspiration.

Let us now turn to the *Library* of Apollodoros and see what information about the Muses appears in the most important, preserved mythographic compendium. The goddesses already appear in the initial part of the work, in the part describing the relationships and offspring of Zeus (1.13–18):

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[18] About the contest of the Muses with Pierides in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* see Mojsik 2023.

[19] "There are some who say that Pierus himself had nine daughters, that their names were the same as those of the goddesses, and that those whom the Greeks called the children of the Muses were sons of the daughters of Pierus" [transl. W.H.S. Jones].

[20] See Winiarczyk 2002; Hawes 2014: 25–28.

> ἐκ δὲ Μνημοσύνης μούσας, πρώτην μὲν Καλλιόπην, εἶτα Κλειὼ Μελπομένην Εὐτέρπην Ἐρατὼ Τερψιχόρην Οὐρανίαν Θάλειαν Πολυμνίαν. Καλλιόπης μὲν οὖν καὶ Οἰάγρου, κατ᾽ ἐπίκλησιν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος, Λίνος, ὃν Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ὁ ἀσκήσας κιθαρῳδίαν, ὃς ᾄδων ἐκίνει λίθους τε καὶ δένδρα. (...) Κλειὼ δὲ Πιέρου τοῦ Μάγνητος ἠράσθη κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης (ὠνείδισε γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸν τοῦ Ἀδώνιδος ἔρωτα), συνελθοῦσα δὲ ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παῖδα Ὑάκινθον, οὗ Θάμυρις ὁ Φιλάμμωνος καὶ Ἀργιόπης νύμφης ἔσχεν ἔρωτα, πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος ἐρᾶν ἀρρένων. (...) Εὐτέρπης δὲ καὶ ποταμοῦ Στρυμόνος Ῥῆσος, ὃν ἐν Τροίᾳ Διομήδης ἀπέκτεινεν: ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι λέγουσι, Καλλιόπης ὑπῆρχεν. Θαλείας δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐγένοντο Κορύβαντες.[21]

The commentary on this fragment will be divided into three parts. First, Apollodoros' passage contains a catalogue of goddesses, which rarely appears in such a form in poetic works. Usually, poets are satisfied with mentioning one Muse by name. Apart from Hesiod, we do not encounter a list of all the names. In turn, such a list of Muses is very characteristic of mythographic works, which count, establish (names and their order) and arrange the material.

Secondly, a distinct feature of Apollodoros' description is the enumeration of each Muse along with the nature and identity of her offspring. However, there is no story here about lovers, and very rarely (with the exception of Kleio) is there one about how the relationship came to be established. A characteristic feature is the addition of a short introduction to the story about selected sons of the Muses. Hence, Orpheus or Thamyris gain narrative value, but "Corybantes" is merely a passing reference.

And thirdly, in 1.14 we come across an interesting phrase κατ᾽ ἐπίκλησιν (δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος), which Trzaskoma and Smith in their edition of Hyginus translate as "thought really Apollo". For years it has not been clear how to understand this wording. It seems, however, that this passage may be interpreted as a trace of mythographic intervention. What do I mean? In tradition there were two versions of Orpheus' genealogy (and Linos', but he will not be included in this analysis), since the hero was attributed with being descended from either Apollo or Oeagrus.[22] This ambiguity, however, must have raised a problem for a mythographer, for whom the rational perception of the situation suggested that

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[21] "By Mnemosyne he (sc. Zeus) had the Muses, first Calliope, then Cleio, Melpomene, Euterpe, Erato, Terpsichore, Ourania, Thaleia, and Polymnia. 14. Calliope and Oiagros (though really Apollo) had Linus, whom Heracles killed, and Orpheus, who was trained to sing to the cithara and moved stones and trees by his singing. (...) 16. Cleio fell in love with Pieros son of Magnes because of Aphrodite's anger (Cleio had reproached her for loving Adonis). She shared his bed and had a son by him, Hyacinthos. Thamyris, the son of Philammon and the nymph Argiope, came to desire Hyacinthos and was the first to love other men. (...) 18. Euterpe and the river Strymon had Rhesos, whom Diomedes killed at Troy. According to some he was Calliope's son. Thaleia and Apollo had the Corybantes" [transl. R. Scott Smitth, S. Trzaskoma].

[22] See Mojsik 2022: 35–37, 100–104.

there could be only one father, and thus only one version of the myth could be true. Here mythographers showed creativity by proposing at least two different solutions of the problem.

One possibility was used by Hellanicus when he merged two versions of the genealogy into one, albeit longer version of Orpheus' descent: Apollo/Thoosa – Linos – Pieros/Methone – Oeagrus/Kalliope – Orpheus (Proclus, *Vita Homeri* 5.4). Both Apollo and Oeagrus fit in such a genealogy, which means that both traditional versions retain their meaning. The descent from Apollo has a slightly different dimension here, but is still true.

Apollodoros (or his source) chooses a different solution – the rationalisation of the information itself about two versions of the genealogy. The phrase κατ᾽ ἐπίκλησιν ("how people say") is used in situations where we are dealing with a nickname or with dual origin: from a god and a man. The hero's name is Odysseus, but people call him (hence the epiclesis) "the Traveler". We know the case of dual origin from the story of Heracles' birth – officially the father is Amphitryon, but in reality (according to what people say) it is Zeus. Similar stories were also told about Theseus, Helen and Dioscuri. Apollodoros' text therefore explains to the audience that there are two traditions related to the origins of Linos and Orpheus, but they can be reconciled. The tradition is thus explained and saved.[23]

We shall now return to the issue of the sons of the Muses. Why does this information become so important in the work of mythographers? First, mythographers focus on genealogies, attempting to organise them according to chronology and the logic of relationships. Second, most of the so-called sons of the Muses were associated with the domain of the Muses, broadly understood *mousikē* (e.g. Musaios, Linos, Orpheus, Thamyris, Hymenaeos). These sons also had their own stories, in which the Muses could play a certain role (e.g. at the funeral of Orpheus). All this together, like the description of the circumstances of the begetting of a given son, must have generated information about the Muses themselves. Finally, let us recall Pausanias' remark (9.29.4) that "those whom the Greeks called the children of the Muses were sons of the daughters of Pieros". The story of the sons is here intertwined with the rationalising story of the Muses as 'daughters of Pieros'. This in turn, in a euhemeristic way, allows us to explain the origins of some of the 'sons of the Muses', including in particular Orpheus as the author of the so-called Orphic writings.[24]

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[23] Another possibility is that (especially in Roman times) some authors rationalised the story by thinking in terms of *real father* vs *foster father* – e.g. Zeus is Heracles' father, but at the same time Heracles was raised in Amphitryon's house. I owe this comment to an anonymous reviewer.

[24] For the debate concerning the beginnings of the Orphic writings see Edmonds 2013: 95–194.

Another characteristic feature of mythographic works is the reference to etymology.[25] In the case of the Muses a good example of this phenomenon is a passage from the fourth book of Diodoros' *Bibliotheca* (4.7.4).

> Μούσας δ' αὐτὰς ὠνομάσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ μυεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ διδάσκειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων ἀγνοούμενα. ἑκάστῃ δὲ προσηγορίᾳ τὸν οἰκεῖον λόγον ἀπονέμοντές φασιν ὠνομάσθαι τὴν μὲν Κλειὼ διὰ τὸ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως τῶν ἐγκωμιαζομένων ἔπαινον μέγα κλέος περιποιεῖν τοῖς ἐπαινουμένοις, (...) Μελπομένην δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μελῳδίας, δι' ἧς τοὺς ἀκούοντας ψυχαγωγεῖσθαι, (...) Ἐρατὼ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς παιδευθέντας ποθεινοὺς καὶ ἐπεράστους ἀποτελεῖν.[26]

The example cited here does not mean that etymology is the exclusive domain of mythographers, and that poets do not use etymology and wordplay. The connection between the names of the Muses and the activity or features visible in the names is already present in Hesiod's catalogue.[27] In the case of mythographers, however, it is about the exceptionally consistent way this technique is used and about using it to rationalise myth. The first such clear example of the phenomenon within mythography is the work *On Unbelievable Tales* by Palaiphatos (c. 4th century BCE). Etymology often allows the author to bring the story down to earth and show that in myth there is an ordinary, human story hidden under the cloak of the extraordinary.

The second, interesting aspect of the image of the Muses visible in Diodoros' passage is the ordered catalogue of goddesses. We can find a similar one in many later mythographic works, e.g. in *Fabulae*, the Latin mythographic handbook attributed to Hyginus. We do not know anything certain about the author of this work (1st–2nd century CE), but he is certainly not the freedman of Augustus and the head of the library on the Palatine Hill of that name.[28] The work is not well preserved, the only manuscript has been lost, and even the title of the work (*Fabulae*) is probably not original. Nevertheless, together with the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodoros, it is a flagship example of ancient mythography.

In the standard text of the *Fabulae* there are only three references to the Muses: *Praef*. 27 (the Muses as daughters of Jupiter and Moneta); 165 (the

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[25] For etymology in mythographic practice see most recently Pellizer 2022.

[26] "Men have given the Muses their name from the word 'muein', which signifies the teaching of those things which are noble and expedient and are not known by the uneducated. For the name of each Muse, they say, men have fond a reason appropriate to her: Cleio is so named because the praise which poets sing in their encomia bestows great glory (kleos) upon those who are praised; (...) Melpomenê, from the chanting (melodia) by which she charms the souls of her listeners; (...) Erato, because she makes those who are instructed by her men who are desired and worthy to be loved (...)" [transl. C.H. Oldfather].

[27] *Theog*. 77–79, see West 1966 *ad locum*; Murray 2020: 16.

[28] For Hyginus see recently Fletcher 2022.

jury in Marsyas story), 224 (Crotos, foster brother of the Muses). We know, however, that the late copy used by Jacob Molsheim in his edition (1535) was defective and required many additions. The final part of the work has not survived, and the beginning is not complete. Fortunately, we have an extract from Hyginus' work, made for the use of students in the early third century, which gives us a glimpse of some of the lost parts of the work. This extract is a bilingual (Greek and Latin) schoolbook by an anonymous teacher. At some point, the work was wrongly attributed to the famous fourth-century teacher Dositheos, the author of the *Ars grammatica*. Our anonymous author has been referred to in scholarship ever since as Pseudo-Dositheos.[29]

Additionally, the schoolbook suffered damage, and most of the myths have been lost. Only the *Preface*, *Index*, the introductory part of the text, and four tales have survived. Of the latter, three clearly indicate the origin of the extract from Hyginus' *Fabulae*. Finally, it is important to present two pieces of information. First, Pseudo-Dositheos gives the title of the work being summarised as *Genealogiae*. From then on, this has been considered the original title of Hyginus' work, and *Fabulae* has been thought to be a version added later. Second, the date of the summary appears in the *Preface*: the consulship of Maximus and Aper (September 11 in 207 CE). This is the terminus *ante quem* for the creation of Hyginus' work.

However, the importance of this fragmentarily preserved summary by Pseudo-Dositheos lies elsewhere for us, and not in its date and title. The beginning of the work preserved in this anonymous schoolbook contains important information about the Muses.

In the text by Pseudo-Dositheos, after the *Preface* there was an *Index*, which presented the content of the work being summarised and its layout. This includes an important sentence:

> primum ergo omnium Musarum novem nomina et artes et filios, et cum quibus concubuerint, et deorum duodecim nomina, et septem zodi⟨aci⟩, et signorum duodecim.[30]

Only after the Muses did Hyginus move on to present the names of the twelve gods. The information therefore indicates that the entire work begins with the Muses. It also proves that the arrangement of the content within a given category was carefully thought out: names, arts, children, lovers. Fortunately

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[29] The edition of the text: *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana Leidensia*, ed. G. Flammini, München–Leipzig 2004.

[30] "First, the names of all nine Muses, as well as their arts, children, and their lovers. Then the names of the twelve gods. The seven days of the week. The twelve constellations of the zodiac" [transl. R.S. Smith, S. Trzaskoma].

for us, this part of the work with the enumeration of goddesses is almost fully preserved, and the gap only affects Thalia (1):

> Nunc incipiam a Musis scribere: Clio cytharam; cum Piero, natus Hymenaeus. Euterpe tragoediam; cum Strymone, natus Paean. Thalia comoediam ⟨...⟩ Melpomene psalterium; cum Acheloo, natae sunt Sirenae. Terpsichore tibiam; cum Neptuno, natus Eumolpus. Erato cytharam; cum Actaeone, natus Thamyris. Polyhymnia lyram; cum Hercule, natus Triptolemus. Urania siderum rationem; cum Apolline, natus Linus. Calliope poesin; cum Oeagro, natus Orpheus.[31]

The placement of the Muses at the beginning of the work and such an extensive description proves the exceptional role of the goddesses in this list, because the Muses precede the names of all other gods and figures of Greek and Roman mythology and religion. The testimony itself is also interesting to us because the catalogue contains elements and information previously unknown.

Let us begin by examining the opening of the story of the creation of the known world. In *Theogony*, Hesiod begins with an invocation of the Muses (v. 1: "From the Heliconian Muses let us begin to sing"), but begins the creation of the world with Chaos (v. 116: "At the first Chaos came to be").[32] Apollodoros, like a classical mythographer, begins with the first "ruler" (*Bibl.* 1.1: "Ouranos was the first to rule the entire cosmos"). Hyginus, in turn, places the Muses, their names, areas of care, and offspring/spouses at the beginning. Why? We have no basis for a clear answer, but it looks like a return to the roots of Greek tradition and poetic practice, but a mythographic version.

Interestingly, Hyginus is not the only mythographer who favours the Muses and refers to Hesiod. We encounter a similar device in the work *Mythologiarum libri tres* by Fulgentius (Fabius Planciades Fulgentius). Regarding the author, however, this is not the bishop of Ruspe in North Africa, but another author of the same name from the end of the 5th century. The work contains allegorical explanations of pagan myths in the spirit of Cornutus and uses allegory and etymology as a key to explaining the meaning of names and stories.

The introduction to this work contains a description of a meeting with the Muses, partly in the style of Hesiod, and partly that of Kallimachos (a dream). The text also includes a poetic hymn to the goddesses, which invokes the Muses, and the rest is a successful imitation of the scene of the goddesses' epiphany.

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[31] "I shall begin my composition with the Muses: Clio, the cithara; to Pierus she bore Hymenaeus. Euterpe, tragedy; to Strymon she bore Paean. Thalia, comedy ⟨...⟩. Melpomene, the lyre; to Achelous she bore the Sirens. Terpsichore, the flute; to Neptune she bore Eumolpus. Erato, the cithara; to Actaeon she bore Thamyris. Polyhymnia, the lyre; to Hercules she bore Triptolemus. Urania, astronomy; to Apollo she bore Linus. Calliope, poetry; to Oeagrus she bore Orpheus" [transl. R.S. Smith, S. Trzaskoma]. The summary also contains a Greek version, but I give the text in its Latin version, which I assume is the language of Hyginus' original.

[32] Earlier in the *Theogony* (v. 11–21), the Muses themselves sing a song about the gods.

The author freely mixes poetry and prose in his description, and also combines poetic inspiration with the role of knowledge and education. The appearance of Kalliope here is therefore both unexpected – after all, this is a Christian mythographer speaking – and exceptionally obvious, considering the author's erudition and education:

> Adstitit propter; erectus ergo in cubitum ueneratus sum uerbosam uiraginem, olim mihi poetico uulgatam euidentius testimonio, nec inmemor cuius uerbosas fabulas propter scolaribus rudimentis tumidas ferulis gestaueram palmas, et quia non mihi euidenti manifestatione quaenam esset liquebat, cur uenisset inquiro.[33]

Taking into account the description of the Muses in *Myth.* 1.15 (see below), for Fulgentius the goddesses are above all an allegory of knowledge, and this is how this meeting should be understood. If we put together the reconstructed beginning of Hyginus' *Genealogiae*/*Fabulae* and Fulgentius' *Mythologiae*, we see a tendency to make a mythographic work similar to a poetic work. Invoking the Muses or starting with them is a typical element of the structure of a poetic work from Homer to Virgil and further in the European tradition.

If we were to look for other reasons for placing the Muses at the beginning of a mythographic work, Pindar and his hymn for the Thebans (fr. 29–35 Snell/Maehler) also comes to mind. In this work, the poet explained that the Muses were born as an essential complement to the world of the gods, who demand a story to make the world complete. The glory of the gods and their achievements is supposed to result from the stories of the Muses.[34] This in turn is the main topic of mythographic writings – the works of gods (and heroes).

Returning to Hyginus' text, let us note that the usual description of the individual Muses, e.g. *Clio cytharam; cum Piero, natus Hymenaeus* also contains a reference to 'ars'. This element can be interpreted in several ways. Firstly, it is an invention or gift of the Muses (instruments, astronomy, tragedy, poetry), and the goddesses appear here as the "first inventors".[35] Secondly, their area of specialisation – Euterpe specialises in playing the aulos, and Ourania in astronomy. And thirdly, "ars" is also a visual distinguishing feature that allows the identification of individual Muses in iconographic representations.[36]

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[33] "She stood close by me; and, prostrating myself, I worshipped the queen of eloquence, in time past made very familiar to me by the testimony of poets and memorable for the wordy stories I relayed with hands swollen from canings in my first steps at school. But, because it was not clearly apparent to me who she was, I asked why she had come" [transl. L.G. Whitebread].

[34] See Hardie 2000.

[35] For the first time the phenomenon of connecting "inventions" with the Muses we come across in Heraclides of Pontus F. 111 Schütrumpf (= schol. in Eur. *Rhes*. 346 [p. 335.13–19 Schwartz]). See also schol. in Hes. *Theog*. 76.1.

[36] See Cohon 1991/1992; Taback 2002.

Another issue is that Hyginus' description includes a list of unusual sons of the Muses and unattested relationships, e.g. Eumolpos from Neptune, Triptolemos from Hercules. Usually such unusual relationships required explanation, which may indicate further, unknown to us, stories about the Muses. On the other hand, the need to organise the list of the Muses certainly led to inventing new relationships, so that all the Muses had at least one son, and therefore one lover. This, in view of the limited number of mythical musicians and potential partners, posed a certain challenge for the mythographer.

At the end of our tour de force it is also worth taking a look at what the allegorical description of the Muses looked like.[37] Let us start with Fulgentius (1.15):

> Huic etiam Apollini nouem deputant Musas ipsumque decimum Musis adiciunt illa uidelicet causa, quod humanae uocis decem sint modulamina; unde et cum decacorda Apollo pingitur cithara. (...) prima Clio quasi cogitatio prima discendi – cleos enim Grece fama dicitur, (...) secunda Euterpe quod nos Grece bene delectans dicimus, quod primum sit scientiam quaerere, secundum sit delectari quod quaeras (...); Urania octaua, id est caelestis – post enim diiudicationem eligis quid dicas, quid despuas; eligere enim utile caducumque despuere caeleste ingenium est.[38]

It is evident that the goddesses and their names serve as a representation of knowledge and its diverse domains. The myth, therefore, can be regarded as a fictionalised portrayal of the human intellect.

A shorter, yet equally allegorical description of the Muses can also be found in *First Vatican Mythographer* (1.113):

> Clio, id est cognitio quaerendae scientiae; Euterpe, id est bene delectans; Melpomene, id est meditationem faciens, quae tragoedias edidit. (...) Calliope, id est optimae vocis, quae litteras docuit.[39]

As we can see, the medieval mythographer combines an allegorical explanation with a catalogue of the Muses, a non-standard explanation of names,

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[37] For allegoric interpretation see most recently Ramelli 2022.

[38] "They also assign to Apollo the nine Muses and add him to the Muses as a tenth one, for the reason that there are ten organs of articulation for the human voice, whence Apollo is also depicted with a lyre of ten strings. (...) First is Clio, standing for the first conception of learning, for cleos is the Greek for fame (...). Second is Euterpe, whom in Greek we call well pleasing, because it is the first step to seek knowledge, the second to delight in what you seek. Eighth is Urania, that is, heavenly, for after judging, you select what to say and what to reject: to choose the useful and reject the inferior is a heavenly ability" [transl. S.G. Whitebread].

[39] "Clio means the idea of seeking knowledge. She discovered history; Euterpe means well-pleasing. She invented the flute; Melpomene means practicing meditation. She produced tragedies; (...) Calliope means 'of best voice'. She taught literature" [transl. R.E. Pepin]. See Zorzetti, Berlioz 1995; Pepin 2008.

inventions and at the same time the areas that the goddesses take care of. In these descriptions (e.g. *quae litteras docuit*, "who taught literature"), the individual goddesses seem to be ordinary beings, with, at most, exceptional intellectual abilities.

SUMMARY

It is now appropriate to present a summary of the key characteristics of a mythographic description of the Muses. How does it differ from poetic uses? Mythography grew out of local storytelling, but in particular benefited from poetic material and drew heavily from it. From the beginning, however, prose as a form of expression was an important feature of it. This, as well as other circumstances related to cultural change, influenced the way the material was approached and also the removal of poetic customs related to locating sources of knowledge and inspiration in the world of the gods. The first and most striking conclusion is therefore the clear absence of any connection between the goddesses and inspiration in mythographic descriptions. The myth of the Muses as goddesses supporting the bard or poet is here deprived of its poetic core and limited to details of genealogy, sons/lovers of the Muses and the etymology of names. Goddesses as a source of inspiration, memory and knowledge are basically absent from mythographers' texts. Descriptions of epiphanies and epithets also disappear, because they are secondary and are not an essential part of the myth. Attempts to return to the poetic tradition are encountered only in Hyginus, and later also in the epiphany scene in Fulgentius. Both cases refer to Hesiod and the early literary tradition and serve as a significant reflection of the mythographer's ambition and his effort to establish his authority as a well-read author. However, when evaluating the entire mythographic legacy, these two examples should be considered exceptions to the rule.

Secondly, poets focus on selected elements of the Muses' image, e.g. on one version (e.g. local and related to the place of recitation) of the genealogy, names, etc. In turn, mythographers compile relatively complete material from many different regions and poetic works, regardless of their local and performative use, which gave it meaning and value. Their work consists in cataloguing names, areas of activity and organising genealogical data. This, in turn, leads to many procedures that alter the mythical image of the goddesses.

The arrangement of divergent material can, for example, lead to the supplementation, also by force, of the list of sons and lovers, as is the case with Hyginus. It also led to attempts to reconcile contradictory versions of the genealogy, number, and names, as we saw with Cicero, who proposed the existence of three generations of Muses. Finally, the arrangement could lead not only to the addition of new material, but also to the concealment of other data. Let us

note that the catalogue of sons in Apollodoros and Hyginus assumes that each Muse has one partner and one son. In fact, in poetic material, the origin of such figures as Orpheus or Linos is usually associated with different Muses (and different fathers), depending on the needs of the moment.[40] In a mythographic catalogue, however, such contradictory information would introduce unnecessary confusion. Hence, it is usually pushed into the background – Apollodoros only occasionally informs us about divergent versions of myths.

Another activity characteristic of mythographers is the search for a rational (historically correct) explanation of a mythical story. This group includes, for example, the story of the 'Pierides' as daughters of Pieros. Interestingly, this popular rationalisation secondarily became a source of a poetic story (Nicander, and then Ovid). This proves that mythographers are not only imitative, but can also be a source of mythical material for poets. We are dealing with a similar case in the case of Parthenios' *Erotika pathemata*.

When we consider the influence of mythographers on the image of the Muses, it is undoubtedly more significant than previously assumed. Practices typical of mythography explain many ancient testimonies (e.g. Cicero, Ovid) containing information about goddesses. Comparing various mythographic data allows us to evaluate the specificity and craftmanship of the author. By analysing examples of myth allegorisation in the works of Fulgentius and the *Vatican Mythographer*, we can see, for example, that no two mythographic accounts are identical. This proves once again that such writing is far from a mere imitative activity.

To sum up, the presence of the Muses in mythographic works was undoubtedly significant. This is clearly indicated by passages from Cicero, Diodoros, and also by Hyginus who began his work with a catalogue of these goddesses. The material cited in this article aims to show how the approach of mythographers differs from poetic references to the Muses. At the same time, however, it also indicates how diverse and numerous were the stories about the Muses in ancient tradition. However, the state of preservation of materials together with our contemporary practices have determined that we evaluate the "mythology of the Muses" primarily through the lens of the Homeric hymn to the goddesses (25) rather than through the works of Apollodoros and Hyginus.

It is also no coincidence that interest in the stories of the Muses did not die out with Antiquity. It can be seen in medieval works devoted to Antiquity and Greek myths.[41] In 1507, Lilio Gregorio Giraldi even published a work entitled *Syntagma de Musis*, which is a display of knowledge of the goddesses available

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[40] Orpheus' mothers: Kalliope (Pi. fr. 128c), Kleio (schol. Hom. *Il*. 10.435 [1.364, 16 Dind.]), Polymnia (schol. A.R. 1.23–25a [9.3 Wendel]), Thamyris' daughter (schol. Eur. *Rhes*. 916). Linos' mothers: Ourania (Paus. 9.29.6–9); Kalliope (A.R. 1.14); Terpsichore (Suda, lambda, 568).

[41] Curtius 1953, ch. 13.

at that time. The work of the Italian mythographer is evidence of an undying fascination with the Muses, who were thought to provide inspiration and were sources of human creativity. However, this interest does not surprise us at all, because the work was written in an era when the term *musaeum* was making a name for itself, and Marsilio Ficino wrote about the role of inspiration in *In Platonis Ionem*.[42]

In the modern era, examples of mythographic innovation have not disappeared either. In the works of new mythographers, we can also find previously unknown versions of the story of the Muses.[43] For example, in Natale Conti's *Mythologiae* (published in 1567) we find the following information regarding the offspring of the Muses (7.15): "Clio and Magnes had Linus". This is a version not attested in the ancient sources known to us – Apollodoros (1.16) gives a similar pair of parents (Kleio and Pieros, son of Magnes), only that the son here is Hyakinthos. This raises the question of whether the author found this information in a work unknown to us, or perhaps he himself is responsible for such a solution. A certain parallel is the role of Linos in the Macedonian genealogy of Orpheus, or the relief in the shape of a cave from the Valley of the Muses.[44] The genealogy and the story therefore make sense based on our knowledge of the Muses and Linos. However, this does not change the fact that the early modern mythographer seems to know a version that we do not find in any ancient source.

Finally, I have reserved this direct and definitive proof of the Muses' close connection with mythography. The inscription from Amorgos (*IG* 12.7 273) from the 1st century CE contains the dedicatory text, which presents a certain Aristogenes, son of Agatheinos, as the "mythographer of Apollo and the Muses" (Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μουσῶν / μυθογράφον). Apart from the name, we know nothing about the author or the circumstances of the dedication. We can only assume that Aristogenes was a man who collected various information about the Muses. However, so did the mythographers discussed here, collating, arranging and explaining the Muses – in their own way.

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[42] See Findlen 1989 (about early modern *musaeum*); Söffner 2014.

[43] For early modern mythography see Solomon 2022.

[44] See Mojsik 2022: 100–104; Paus. 9.29.

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THE SUEBIAN RETREAT: CAESAR'S OFT-OVERLOOKED USE OF THE SUEBI IN *COMMENTARII DE BELLO GALLICO*[*]

by

MICHAL HABAJ

ABSTRACT: The present study examines Caesar's portrayal of the Suebian retreat in his *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, a dimension of his narrative that has received relatively limited attention within the broader context of the work. I argue that Caesar's depiction of the Suebian retreat not only underscores his strategic and military acumen but also serves to reinforce his broader Roman-Germanic narrative. In doing so, it forms part of Caesar's literary strategy to assert both Roman authority and his personal command on the Rhine frontier.

KEYWORDS: Caesar, Suebi, Roman frontier, narrative strategy

> Hoc proelio trans Rhenum nuntiato Suebi, qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti coeperunt.
>
> When this battle was reported across the Rhine, the Suebi, who had reached the banks of the river, began to return home.
>
> (*BGall.* 1.54.1[1])

> [...] hunc esse delectum medium fere regionum earum quas Suebi obtinerent.
>
> [...] this place was chosen because it was roughly in the middle of the land that the Suebi inhabit.
>
> (*BGall.* 4.19.3)

> [...] Suebos omnes, posteaquam certiores nuntii de exercitu Romanorum venerint, cum omnibus suis sociorumque copiis, quas coegissent, penitus ad extremos fines se recepisse [...]

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[1] All the translations of Caesar's *BGall.* (ed. O. Seel) in this study are my own.

> [...] after news came of the arrival of the Roman army, all the Suebi withdrew to the very edge of their territory, with all their forces and those of their allies who had gathered [...]
>
> (*BGall*. 6.10.4–5)

Taken together, these three passages suggest a gradual expansion of Roman authority under Caesar, met by a corresponding retreat of the Suebi. Initially, Caesar confined them to the eastern bank of the Rhine; in his first expedition into Germania, he pushed them deeper into their own territory. Ultimately, in response to Caesar's advance, the Suebi withdrew to the most remote confines of their territorial domain.

Caesar created this version of events deliberately. Throughout his *Commentaries*, he never explicitly mentions any other enemy army waiting in the middle of its territory, and only rarely did he speak of driving an enemy to the edge of their territory.[2] However, in the case of the Suebi, Caesar made both claims. Moreover, he mentions the Suebi in only three books, and in each case the last piece of information he gave about the Suebi was their location. In Book 1, they are at the near edge of their territory, in Book 4, in the middle, and in Book 6, at the far edge.

Caesar employs the narrative of the Suebi to illustrate a broader point, using their geographical displacement as a means to construct his Gallo-Roman narrative, one clearly intended for a Roman audience. It may be assumed that, even if the term 'Suebi' was known in Rome prior to Caesar, little specific information about them was available.[3] This lack of precise knowledge afforded Caesar considerable latitude to define and characterise the Suebi according to the rhetorical and political needs of his account.

The image of the Suebian retreat that Caesar presents has not been sufficiently addressed by scholarship. In this study, I demonstrate how it interweaves with other passages in the *Commentaries* and suggest that it plays a significant role in the context of the whole work. In this way, I attempt to demonstrate that, within Caesar's narrative, the image that unfolds before the reader has a double significance:

(1) Caesar uses the Suebi throughout the narrative to illustrate his extraordinary commanding competence. Caesar probably realistically considered his military possibilities beyond the Rhine in 53 BCE and, like a good commander,

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[2] Caesar states this explicitly only in the case of Ambiorix (*BGall*. 6.33.3), while he merely implies it in the case of the Sicambri (*BGall*. 6.18.4–19.1).

[3] See Peschel (1978: 268–270); Timpe (1992: 279, 297–298). For more on how the Suebi were only known from Caesar's descriptions: Walser (1956: 22–58), who nonetheless accepted that Posidonius had mentioned the term but failed to connect it with Germans. In contradiction to this, *Brill's New Pauly* (Rainer Wiegels) says of the Suebi that "their name had been coined by the second century BCE".

he chose not to risk the lives of his troops (*BGall*. 6.29.1).[4] He withdrew to Gaul and left Germania without total victory. However, is this the impression Caesar intended to give in the *Commentaries*? Would he wish the Roman reader to think that he had left such a powerful enemy undefeated beyond the borders? Caesar's own work would indicate the opposite, because he presents himself as Rome's defender against danger,[5] giving his politics *honor* and *dignitas*.[6]

(2) I will also argue that the image of the retreating Suebi supports Caesar's narrative construction of the Gallic frontier. This is why the Gallo-German ethnographic description follows immediately after Caesar had secured Roman authority in Germania, with the Suebi withdrawing to the very edge of their territory (*BGall.* 6.10.5–11; 11.1). Caesar's shaping of the Gallic frontier has been the subject of research in several important studies in recent years.[7] For this reason, I will not seek to highlight the formation or significance of the Gallic frontier itself. Instead, I will situate the Suebian retreat within the broader context of this research, arguing that Caesar's portrayal of this event serves to reinforce – and indeed magnify – his triumph over Gaul.

I. CAESAR'S COMPETENCE IN MILITARY COMMAND

Caesar left Germania without resolving the problem of the Suebi. I base this conclusion on the fact that Ariovistus was not a Suebian, and the Suebi only comprised a part of his army.[8] In any case, he did not meet the main Suebian

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[4] Caesar himself states that he was confronted at this point by a never-ending forest. It would have been a tactical error to continue. Both the Roman's position in the camp and the Suebi's position in the forest suited each respective party. The first to leave their position would lose – Caesar analyses this in detail using the example of Titurius and Q. Cicero (*BGall*. 5.31.3–49.8). Anyone who had read these accounts would have known that to leave the camp and embark into unknown and difficult terrain would have been tantamount to losing the war. For more on Caesar's description of German geography, in which he described Germania as a death trap that lacked internal borders and that was invulnerable to Caesar's speed: Krebs (2006: 131–132); Schadee (2008: 167–169, 178–179); Allen-Hornblower (2014: 683–693). For more on Caesar's attempt to preserve his men see *BGall*. 7.19.4–6.

[5] See for example: *BGall*. 1.8.3; 35.4. Caesar, and those around him, systematically spread the rumor that he was a defender of peace in Rome and of Roman borders against powerful enemies in the north. In 55 BCE, Cicero declared in *Pis.* 81 that if the mountains fell and the rivers rose (by which he was referring to the Alps and the Rhine as a natural barrier against the Gauls and Germans), Rome would have nothing to fear, because Caesar was protecting her.

[6] For more on Caesar's attempts to obtain *honor* and *dignitas*, see Morstein-Marx (2009). For his attempt to represent his enemies as simple and poor barbarians who would not threaten Roman ethical behaviour with their luxuries in the event of a Roman victory: Jervis (2001: *passim*).

[7] Krebs (2006); Krebs (2011); Schadee (2008); Dignef (2013); Riggsby (2018).

[8] Ariovistus is often assumed to have been Suebian. See e.g. Plin. *HN* 2.170. In modern research e.g.: Koutroubas (1972: 22, 35); Gesche (1976: 91); Peschel (1978: 275–276); Meier

army in battle. The Suebi stand out as the only adversaries whom Caesar neither defeated in battle nor compelled to sue for peace through the dispatch of ambassadors. Throughout the *Commentaries*, Caesar consistently emphasises his military successes by naming the emissaries sent by various tribes to formally declare their submission. The Menapii offer a telling example in *BGall.* 6.5.4–6.2: initially regarded by Caesar as an unconquered people – shielded by dense forests and marshland – they had not yet approached him with envoys. It was only after a targeted campaign against their territory that they were forced to send representatives to request peace. In contrast, the Suebi remained the sole tribe to maintain open hostility toward Caesar without ever being compelled to seek terms through diplomatic overture, thereby constituting a unique exception in Caesar's otherwise consistent narrative of overcoming resistance through military action and enforced submission.

By the time he composed Book 6 – or, at the latest, when he undertook the compilation of the *Commentaries* – Caesar must have recognised that a decisive military victory over the Suebi was unattainable and that the conquest of Germania by force was beyond reach.[9] Yet he resolved this narrative challenge not through the record of actual subjugation, but by crafting a portrayal of the Suebian retreat that conveyed the impression of Roman *auctoritas*, *vis*, and *virtus*. In this way, Caesar transformed a strategic limitation into a rhetorical affirmation of Roman power.

By implying that the enemies who threatened Roman control of Gaul had withdrawn ever further from the borders of Roman influence, Caesar creates an image in which he has extended his own and Roman authority beyond the Rhine. In Book 1, Caesar states through the mouth of Diviciacus that, for the safety of Gaul, it is insufficient simply to defeat Ariovistus; instead, more Germans must be prevented from penetrating beyond the Rhine:

> Caesarem vel *auctoritate sua* atque exercitus vel recenti victoria vel *nomine populi Romani* deterrere posse, ne maior multitudo Germanorum *Rhenum traducatur*, Galliamque omnem ab Ariovisti iniuria posse defendere.
>
> Caesar could, either by *his authority* and that of his troops, as a consequence of his recent victory, or *through the reputation of Roman*

(1993: 324); Lieberg (1998: 70) *contra* Walser (1956: 19, 23, 32). Ariovistus is assumed to have been Suebian because of his wife, who *domo secum duxerat* according to Caesar (1.53.4). However, this does not prove that Ariovistus was from Suebia. The second common argument is based on *BGall.* 1.37.3, where Caesar speaks of the divisions of Suebians marching towards the Rhine as 'other Suebians'. However, this again does not prove that Ariovistus was Suebian in origin, only that there were Suebians in Ariovistus' army. Caesar never refers to Ariovistus himself as a Suebian.

[9] Suet. *Iul.* 25.2; Cass. Dio 50.32.1–2; Rambaud (1953: 206); Carcopino (1968: 283); Schauer (2016: 152–154).

> *people*, intimidate Ariovistus, preventing him from bringing more Germans *across the Rhine* and thus defending all Gaul from the outrages of Ariovistus.
>
> (*BGall.* 1.31.16)

In the end, Caesar carries out both these tasks, defeating Ariovistus and also keeping the Suebi in the east beyond the Rhine (*BGall.* 1.54.1). In Book 4, where Caesar describes the events of 55 BCE, he explains that the main reason for his expedition into Germania was to strike fear beyond the Rhine (*BGall.* 4.16.1), and he writes that the Suebi consider it a matter of great prestige when they can keep their neighbours at a great distance from their borders:

> Publice maximam putant esse laudem quam latissimi *a suis finibus vacare agros*: hac re significari magnum numerum civitatum *suam vim sustinere* non posse.
>
> They consider it most commendable if they can keep *a large uninhabited area at their borders*. This proves from their point of view that many nations were unable to *resist their power.*
>
> (*BGall.* 4.3.1)

Caesar subsequently compelled the Suebi to retreat to the central regions of their own territory – an outcome they themselves deemed commendable. In effect, he successfully resisted their strength and engineered a depopulated buffer zone beyond the Rhine frontier. Through this calculated demonstration of control, Caesar asserted the superiority of Roman power over even its most resolute opponents.

In Book 6, this image is intensified. When describing the events of 53 BCE, he states that the Germans consider it a proof of their bravery if they push their neighbours out of their territory, thereby protecting their borders at the same time:

> Civitatibus maxima laus est *quam latissime circum se* vastatis finibus *solitudines habere*. hoc proprium *virtutis* existimant, expulsos agris finitimos cedere neque quemquam prope se audere consistere.
>
> The greatest praise for these populations is to ravage the neighbouring country to ensure that *they have as wide a swath of empty land around them as possible*. They consider it a mark of their *valour* to force their neighbours to abandon their fields, and that no one dares to settle near them...
>
> (*BGall.* 6.23.1–2)

This is exactly what Caesar does with the Suebi by pushing them to their very borders.[10] At the same time, Caesar underscores his military competence not only

[10] Similarly, *BGall*. 6.33.3 describes the case of Ambiorix, whom Caesar drove to the edge of the Ardennes forest, although failed to completely defeat.

from a barbarian perspective but also in terms intelligible to the Roman reader. He consistently portrays retreat – particularly to one's own territorial boundaries – as a mark of dishonour. This sentiment is explicitly articulated in *BGall.* 7.56.2, where, despite widespread Roman opinion favouring a withdrawal from the Gauls to the safety of Provincia, Caesar firmly rejects the proposal as unworthy and lacking in dignity. For Caesar, compelling an enemy to abandon their territory constituted a meaningful and recognisable form of victory. This notion is echoed by Hirtius in *BGall.* 8.24.4–25.1, where it is noted that although Caesar held little hope of capturing Ambiorix, the devastation of his lands was presented as a strategic and symbolic success. A similar logic is evident in Caesar's own account of the campaign against the Sicambri (*BGall.* 4.18.4–19.1), where the act of plundering their territory is framed as tantamount to victory.

Thus, although Caesar had not yet defeated the enemy, he had humiliated them and in so doing had underlined his military competence. As the story of the expansion of Roman authority escalates in Books 1, 4, and 6, Caesar proves his commanding abilities in the story of the Suebi from a Gallic (*BGall.* 1.31.16), Suebian (*BGall.* 4.3.1), Germanic (*BGall.* 6.23.1–2), and Roman point of view. As is evident from the texts quoted above, he proved both his own and Roman *auctoritas*, *vis*, and *virtus*.

II. THE SUEBIAN RETREAT, ROMAN BORDER, AND TRIUMPH

Thus, although Caesar does not defeat the Suebi, he eliminates the danger they represent and calms the chaos. The withdrawal of the Suebi to the opposite side of their territory from Gaul meant that Roman authority was established on the Rhine border.[11] Immediately after Caesar had completed this literary triumph over the Suebi, he defined the border by embarking on his subsequent Gallo-Germanic ethnographic excursion. After *BGall.* 6.10.5: *Ad eius silvae initium Suebos adventum Romanorum expectare constituisse* ("The Suebi had decided to wait for the Romans at the beginning of this forest."), follows 6.11.1: *Quoniam ad hunc locum perventum est, non alienum esse videtur de Galliae Germaniaeque moribus et, quo differant hae nationes inter sese, proponere* ("Coming to this part of the narrative, it seems appropriate to describe how the customs of Gaul and Germania, as well as the populations of the two countries, differ from each other."). In his narrative, the connection between this ethnographic excursion and the Suebi is made

[11] The expulsion of the Germans beyond the Rhine was an important element in Caesar's conquest of Gaul: *BGall.* 3.7.1, 11.2; 4.6.2–3; Germans crossing the Rhine were dangerous for the *populus Romanus* and for Italia: *BGall.* 1.33.3. According to Cass. Dio 39.48.4, from the very beginning of the campaign, Caesar entered Germany only to secure the border. For more on how Caesar asserted Roman authority: Luc. 5.660–662; Flor. 1.45.14–15; Oros. 7.9.1. In *BGall.* 6.10.4 Caesar implies that the Suebi withdrew from the Romans because of his own capabilities as a commander.

clear by the position of the passage in the text, being bookended by news of the Suebian withdrawal (*BGall.* 6.10.5–29.1).

In Caesar's Gallo-Germanic excursion, researchers have found various layers of meaning.[12] By the excursion, Caesar defined his gains geographically and ethnographically.[13] The excursion, however, also represents a deliberately constructed narrative of Roman triumph, which clearly relates to and simultaneously concludes the portrayal of the Suebi's retreat. Although Caesar does not secure a conventional military victory, he achieves psychological dominance. The Suebi remain formally unconquered, yet Roman authority is decisively asserted at the frontier. Their retreat thus allows Caesar to define his success not through direct conquest, but through strategic demonstration. This success is materially and symbolically conveyed through the depiction of the bridge's construction over the Rhine, serving as a lasting assertion of Roman power and presence beyond its frontiers:[14]

> [...] sed, ne omnino metum reditus sui barbaris tolleret atque ut eorum auxilia tardaret, reducto exercitu partem ultimam pontis, quae ripas Ubiorum contingebat, in longitudinem pedum ducentorum rescindit [...]
>
> [...] but not to relieve the barbarians of all fear of his return, and to retard the arrival of their auxiliaries, he threw down the last part of the bridge, which extended to the banks of the Ubii for a distance of 200 feet [...]
>
> (*BGall*. 6.29.2–3)

Caesar reports that the bridge on the Gallic side stands and is fortified. Furthermore, the bridge is directed towards Germania. Therefore, Caesar can always expand it towards Germania from Gaul, while this is impossible from the other side. This indicates that the Rhine is not a border of Roman, but rather of the enemy's influence.[15] Enemies were frightened by Caesar's ability to work

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[12] Several authors have emphasised that the excursion was significant from a number of perspectives. The ethnography was supposed to cover up Caesar's lack of success, or to portray Germania as a country whose territory was dangerous from a military point of view and was therefore better avoided and not integrated into Roman territory: Trzaska-Richter (1991: 123); Zeitler (1999: 50–51); Krebs (2006: 123–127); Dignef (2013: 1131–1132); Allen-Hornblower (2014: 687). The description was also intended to reflect Caesar's scientific and ethnographic interests: Koutroubas (1972: 122–124); Norden (1974: 84–97); Andreocci (2008: 57). For more on how Germania was presented previously, as well as the importance of the excursion to define Caesar's gains, see: Schadee (2008: 163–176); Riggsby (2018: 73–95) *contra* Gesche (1976: 97).

[13] For more on the ethnographic definition of the border at the Rhine: Walser (1956: 76–77); Koutroubas (1972: 122–124); Lund (1998: 44–45); Schadee (2008: 163); Riggsby (2018: 94–95) *contra* Gesche (1976: 97).

[14] See Grandazzi (2009: 548, 552–555); Dignef (2013: 1130). According to Pliny, the Romans can triumph over rivers, as shown in this case by the bridge. For more, see the references to ancient authors in Kleiner (1991: 184–185 and *passim*).

[15] Caesar explains that Roman authority does not end at the Rhine in *BGall*. 4.16.1. See also *BCiv*. 3.87.1; Cass. Dio 41.32.2; 44.42.5.

with bridges (*BGall.* 1.13.2; 4.18.4); in Book 4, even the Suebi ultimately withdrew to the centre of their territory after they discovered that Caesar had built a bridge (*BGall.* 4.19.2). Thus, in Book 6 the preserved part of the bridge on the Gallic side physically and permanently represents Roman authority, proving Roman presence and Caesar's sphere of influence.

At the same time, Caesar is speaking from the position of *pontifex maximus*; not only does he work with bridges and span rivers,[16] but he is also the highest priest and commander, protecting the border and Roman territory, which belongs to the Roman gods.[17] Not by chance in Book 4 does he speak of the Suebi, through the mouth of Germanic ambassadors, as a population that even the gods cannot match (*BGall.* 4.7.5). As pontifex maximus, Caesar makes it clear that the Germanic gods may be no match for Suebi, but he will secure the authority of the Roman gods. In Book 4 he ensured it by building a bridge, while in Book 6 he finally consolidated it by leaving half of the bridge. The Suebi – who had exalted themselves even above their own gods – are ultimately driven to full retreat. As a result of Caesar's actions, the Rhine becomes a space governed solely by Roman deities. Caesar thus established the Roman border in every sense – geographical, ethnographic, military, and religious. Thanks to Caesar's description of the Suebi, Gaul is not only bounded and conquered, but also protected. Caesar's triumph in Gaul is consequently complete.[18]

Thus, the present analysis has shown that, by describing the gradual retreat of the Suebi, Caesar supplemented his Roman-Gallic and Roman-Germanic narrative. In doing so, he not only showcases his military competence and underscores his *virtus*, but also affirms the *auctoritas* – both personal and Roman – that he had established along the Rhine.

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[16] For more on the bridge and its symbolic function in the *Commentaries*, which Caesar uses to corroborate his position as pontifex maximus, and as a man who is capable of building, destroying, and restoring bridges, showing his power over land and nature, see Grandazzi (2009: 548, 552–555); Digneff (2013: 1130).

[17] Caes. *BGall*. 1.12.6. In his letters to Rome, Caesar referred to himself not only as proconsul, but also as *pontifex maximus*, as did Lepidus in his letters to Cicero: *Fam.* 10.34, 36 (35). Therefore, he was writing from Gaul as the highest Roman priest, not simply as a military commander. The degree to which Caesar was perceived through his role as *pontifex maximus* is underscored by the fact that several Roman authors dedicated their works to him specifically in this religious capacity. For a list of these authors, see: MacRae (2016: 61).

[18] For more on how Caesar's narrative had success and contributed to his triumph: *RRC* 452; Prop. 3.3; Luc. 5.268; Flor. 1.45.9; Plut. *Caes*. 27.5; App. *Celt*. 18; Eutrop. 6.17; Oros. 7.9.1; Koutroubas (1972: 135); Richter (1977: 28); Westall (2017: 124–127).

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THE SEPARATION OF PYRAMUS AND THISBE – AND OF THEIR NAMES (OVID, *METAMORPHOSES* 4.55–166)*

by

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ABSTRACT: Ovid's placement of the names *Pyramus* and *Thisbe* reflects these characters' failed desire for physical union. The only time their names are next to each other is when the lovers are sitting at their wall; otherwise, the closest they get is as the "title" of the story in its first line. This play with the position of their names throughout the story reflects how tantalizingly close the two people come to being together and adds to the pathos of this failed attempt at union. A final play on the name *Thisbe*, however, may suggest their ultimate union in death.

KEYWORDS: Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Pyramus, Thisbe

Separation is the central theme of Ovid's famous Pyramus and Thisbe story (*Metamorphoses* 4.55–166), with the two lovers kept apart by their parents, a wall, and then bad timing and poor deduction skills. Louis Perraud has shown how Ovid uses apostrophe in this episode to highlight the alienation of the two lovers, who never actually speak to each other face-to-face in the story.[1] The closest they come is Thisbe's words to Pyramus right before he dies.

In this note I complement Perraud's study (and other scholarship) by showing that Ovid uses the position of the names *Pyramus* and *Thisbe* within verses to emphasize and depict the separation of the two lovers, and to show just how close they come to being united without actually doing so, thereby adding to the pathos of the story. Ovid generally restricts Pyramus' name to the first position in the line (five times: 55, 107, 142, 143, 146), and Thisbe's to the last (four times: 93, 99, 115, 143). When Ovid alters this positioning it is to suggest the characters' tantalizing proximity, in different senses of the term. I end by suggesting that this emphasis on the characters' names may also be setting up an instance of etymological wordplay at the end of the tale.

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1 Perraud 1983.

It will be helpful to begin with a quotation of all of the lines that include one or both of these characters' names, just to make it clear where they fall in the lines as the story goes on:[2]

Pyramus et **Thisbe**, iuuenum pulcherrimus alter,	55
saepe, ubi constiterant hinc **Thisbe**, **Pyramus** illinc,	71
Callida per tenebras uersato cardine **Thisbe**	93
quam procul ad lunae radios Babylonia **Thisbe**	99
Pyramus; ut uero uestem quoque sanguine tinctam	107
sed timidi est optare necem". uelamina **Thisbes**	115
"**Pyrame**" clamauit, "quis te mihi casus ademit?	142
Pyrame, responde! tua te, carissime, **Thisbe**	143
ad nomen **Thisbes** oculos a morte grauatos	145
Pyramus erexit uisaque recondidit illa.	146

A few things are immediately evident: first, the two characters' names are used with great frequency in such a short story;[3] second, Pyramus' name is usually the first foot, and Thisbe's is usually the sixth, and; finally, the two characters' names appear in the same line only three times.

One of the two times that Thisbe's name is not at the end of the line is when the daughter of Minyas telling the story begins by identifying the two main characters (*Met*. 4.55–56):

> **Pyramus** et **Thisbe**, iuuenum pulcherrimus alter,
> altera, quas Oriens habuit, praelata puellis
>
> Pyramus and Thisbe, the one the most handsome of youths,
> The other, preferred to the girls which the East had

The names appear essentially as the title of the story, and Rosati compares this kind of naming to the titles of novels.[4] But Ovid does the same thing elsewhere, as for instance at the beginning of the poem's first (one-sided) love story (1.452): *Primus amor* ***Phoebi Daphne*** *Peneia* or when Vertumnus tells Pomona a story that begins: *Viderat a ueteris generosam sanguine Teucri /* ***Iphis Anaxareten*** (14.698–699). Like these others, Pyramus and Thisbe are joined as the subject matter of the story, and though the reader cannot know it, this is almost as close as their names will ever get to each other; as the subject of a story, these two people are united in a sense they never physically are within that story.

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[2] I quote the text of the *Metamorphoses* from Tarrant 2004. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

[3] As far as we know, these characters do not have named parents, so Ovid cannot refer to them by using patronymics.

[4] Rosati in Barchesi, Rosati 2024: 372; cf. Bömer 1976: 36. As noted by, e.g., Cortez 2022, the story shares many similarities with the ancient novel. But unlike the ideal romance, the titular characters never actually (re)unite, and the placement of their names emphasizes that failure.

The closest their names get is in the next reference, when Ovid describes how the lovers sit on their respective sides of the wall (*Met*. 4.71–72):

> saepe, ubi constiterant hinc **Thisbe**, **Pyramus** illinc,
> inque uices fuerat captatus anhelitus oris
>
> Often, when they had sat, on this side Thisbe, Pyramus on that,
> And the exhalation of the mouth had been laid hold of with yearning
> in turn

This is one of three times that their names appear in the same line, and the only time they appear juxtaposed, to which the chiasmus created with *hinc* and *illinc* draws attention. This placement foreshadows their doomed meeting, since ironically they are closest when sitting by the crack in the wall.[5] For Pyramus and Thisbe, the high point of their relationship is their time communicating through the wall.[6]

As the narrative turns to their planned meeting, meant to bring them together face-to-face, their names grow further apart. Ovid starts with the first part of Thisbe's story, and we see her name as the last word in both verses 93 and 99. When Pyramus' half of the story begins, his name returns to the beginning of the verse (*Met*. 4.105–107):

> Serius egressus uestigia uidit in alto
> puluere certa ferae totoque expalluit ore
> **Pyramus** [...]
>
> Having exited a little late, Pyramus saw the clear footsteps
> Of a wild animal in the deep dust, and his whole face
> Grew pale [...]

His name is emphasized by enjambment, as is his belated (*serius*) arrival.[7] When he comes upon the scene and begins to deduce what has happened, *uelamina **Thisbes** / tollit* ("he lifts up Thisbe's veil"; *Met*. 4.115–116); the positioning of her name once more at line end emphasizes the lovers' separation.

The final appearances of their names comes in Thisbe's apostrophe of the dying Pyramus, in which their repetition highlights and culminates Ovid's play with the positions of these names (*Met*. 4.142–146):

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[5] On this sort of juxtaposition in the *Aeneid* see Dainotti 2015: 227–231, who notes that: "juxtaposition of two words (usually proper names of warriors or tribal names) can reflect iconically proximity, hostility, or an affectionate relationship between the two referents" (p. 227).

[6] This makes the whole story like a bizarre, failed *paraklausithyron*, as noted by Perraud 1983 and others. And, as Gaillard (1997: 113) observes, the story did not have to include a wall with a crack; there could just have been a prohibition from their parents, as in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.

[7] Linant de Bellefonds, Prioux 2018: 316. Cf. Keith 2001, who identifies a constellation of etymological word plays in this episode, including *mora*, 'delay'.

> "**Pyrame**" clamauit, "quis te mihi casus ademit?
> **Pyrame**, responde! tua te, carissime, **Thisbe**
> nominat; exaudi uultusque attolle iacentes".
> ad nomen **Thisbes** oculos a morte grauatos
> **Pyramus** erexit uisaque recondidit illa.
>
> "Pyramus," she shouted, "What misfortune has taken you away from me?
> Pyramus, respond! O dearest one, your Thisbe is calling you
> By name. Hear me and raise up your face from where it lies".
> At the name of Thisbe, Pyramus raised his eyes weighed down by death and,
> Having seen her, he closed them again.

The appearance of Pyramus' name at the beginning of three of the five lines jumps off the page, and 143, the final line to include both of their names, conjures pathos in part through the juxtaposition of *tua te*, forming a synchesis of sorts with *carissime Thisbe* (complemented by the polyptotonic chiasmus of *Pyrame ... Thisbe ... Thisbes ... Pyramus*). Moreover, Ovid calls our attention to the names by using both *nominat* and *ad nomen*, both at the beginning of the line, in the position often given to Pyramus' name.[8]

The repetition of the vocative is pathetic,[9] since this is the first time Thisbe speaks directly to Pyramus in our story.[10] As Anderson notes, however, "the narrator ingeniously reveals that the dying man pays no attention to his own name, but he does stir at Thisbe's".[11] Ovid emphasizes this response by putting Thisbe's name in a position it has appeared in only outside of the story (i.e., the second half of the second foot and first half of the third), as part of the introductory framework (line 55). She gets as close to Pyramus' position as she ever does in the story, only to have Pyramus die soon after. But now, with her name as close to the beginning of the line it ever gets, it is not in the same line as Pyramus' name, but one line removed; the names are so close to each other, and yet so far away in a way that emblematizes the entire story.[12] The use of *nomen*

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[8] Perraud (1983: 137–138) notes the use of *nominat* to emphasize Thisbe's repeated use of Pyramus' name, which he likens to the *conclamatio* for the dead. The verb *nominare* is relatively rare in the *Metamorphoses*: twice it appears in the sense of "call by the name of / label" (11.641, 13.699), and only once in the way Ovid uses it in the Pyramus and Thisbe story, while Ceyx is drowning (11.566–567): *dum natat, absentem, quotiens sinit hiscere fluctus, / nominat Alcyonen ipsisque immurmurat undis* ("while he swims, as often as the wave allows him to open his mouth he calls the absent Alcyone by name, and murmurs into the very waves").

[9] Ovid uses the vocative to similar effect at 8.231–233, where Daedalus calls for *Icare* three times in as many lines (in the fifth foot of 231, then at the beginning of both lines 232 and 233).

[10] Cf. Perraud 1983: 137, who says that Thisbe's speech "might be termed a direct address about a direct address".

[11] Anderson 1997: 427. Cf. Anderson 1995: 268, who observes that the female narrator of this story gives more emphasis to Thisbe than Pyramus. See Janan 1994 for the ways in which the female narrators' concerns affect the stories they choose and how they tell them.

[12] For the phenomenon of "vertical juxtaposition" in Latin poetry see Harrison 2024.

directly next to *Thisbes* highlights the failed connection with Pyramus, as does Ovid's choice to use *illa* rather than *Thisbe* in 146, thereby denying them one final line containing both of their names.

Before tentatively suggesting one more name-related detail in Ovid's version of the Pyramus and Thisbe story, it is necessary to briefly preempt two possible objections to the reading offered above. The first is that Ovid owes such positioning to his now-lost source. This is unlikely for a few reasons. If it is true that *PMich* 3793 preserves an earlier version of this story,[13] it cannot have influenced Ovid's placement of names for two reasons: first, the names of the lovers in this papyrus fragment are Pamphilus and Eurydice; while the former matches Pyramus in quantity, the latter obviously does not match Thisbe; second, the text of this papyrus is in prose.[14]

A second, more reasonable objection is that not all names can fit all positions in a hexameter line. Although it is true that Ovid's hexameters tend to begin with dactyls, making the first foot a likely place for a dactylic name such as *Pyramus* to fall, dactylic words appear much more frequently in the *Metamorphoses* as the fifth foot than as the first foot.[15] Unsurprisingly, therefore, a metrically equivalent name such as *Icarus* only appears in the *Metamorphoses* as the first (8.204, 232, 233) or fifth (8.195, 231) foot.[16] But the name *Pyramus* could also appear in the fourth foot (as it does in Greek, at least, at Nonnus *Dion*. 12.84). In short – and as his placement of the names in a minority of their uses shows – Ovid did not have to place *Pyramus* at the beginning of the line and *Thisbe* at the end as consistently as he does.[17]

Contrasting what Ovid does in this story with what he does in the poem's arguably most ideal love story also shows that Ovid's placement of these names is not simply a reflection of the limitations of hexameter. The story of Philemon and Baucis in Book 8 is the best example of an equal romantic partnership between two humans in the *Metamorphoses*, and Ovid seems to be reflecting this partnership through the placement of their names. Ovid uses the name *Philemon* five times in the poem, and on four of those occasions the name *Baucis* appears in the same line:

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[13] The best overview of this myth, its possible Ovidian antecedents, and its afterlife in antiquity is provided by Linand de Bellefonds and Prioux 2018: 307–332.

[14] Renner 1981: 93–94; cf. Stramaglia 2001: 81.

[15] For the frequency with which dactylic words appear in a given foot in Ovid *Met*. 1, 6, 12 and other Latin hexameter authors, see De Neubourg 1986: 207, Tableau A-10; cf. 205, Tableau A-6 for spondaic words.

[16] The repetition of the vocative *Icare* in 8.231, 232, and 233 evokes the same kind of pathos as the repetition of *Pyrame* in successive lines.

[17] The careful attention to the placement of proper names in the hexameter may go all the way back to Homer. See Ward 2025, with additional bibliography.

sed pia **Baucis** anus parilique aetate **Philemon** 631
concipiunt **Baucis**que preces timidusque **Philemon** 682
narrarent casus, frondere **Philemona Baucis**, 714
Baucida conspexit senior frondere **Philemon**. 715

With the exception of 714, which ends with the names next to each other, the name *Philemon* always appears in the nominative and as the last word in a line; forms of *Baucis* appear in various positions within different lines. In the next verse (715) their names frame the line, with *Baucida* first and *Philemon* last; this is the only time that their names appear in the same line but at opposite ends. The name *Philemon* appears alone in 706, and *Baucis* appears alone in 640 and 705, meaning that their names appear more frequently in the same line than they do apart. The contrast between the placement of names in this story (and elsewhere) suggests that their positioning within Pyramus and Thisbe is deliberate.

I end with a tentative suggestive involving the name *Thisbe*, as Ovid may be indulging in another word play beyond those mentioned by Keith.[18] According to the Suda (θ 388) the word θίσβη is equivalent to σορός, which means "urn", "coffin", or some other receptacle for a body. Ovid may be alluding to this meaning in the last line of the story (*Met*. 4.165–166):

nam color in pomo est, ubi permaturuit, ater,
quodque rogis superest, una requiescit in urna.

For when it has matured, the colour in the fruit is black,
And what remains from the pyres rests in one urn.

I say that this is a tenuous connection because θίσβη as a common noun only appears in the Suda, and I have not been able to find *urna* linked with σορός in any of the ancient glossaries. But it is possible that Ovid uses *urna* to suggest θίσβη, and perhaps that Pyramus (the *pyr*- part of whose name may be alluded to in the fires of the *rogis*) has finally "entered" Thisbe / the urn, as the two finally get the union that they were denied for the rest of the story – and that we might expect on the basis of the parallels with the ancient novel.[19]

Whether or not this last instance of paronomasia is convincing, the whole story of Pyramus and Thisbe revolves around notions of proximity, of what it means to get close in different ways, including emotionally, physically, and temporally, and Ovid underscores these ideas through the placement of the characters' names within verses. It is only at the end of the story that the irony of its title – *Pyramus et Thisbe*, with their names joined – becomes clear. This play

[18] Keith 2001.

[19] This point builds on the suggestion of Cortez (2022) that the expected reunion of lovers here happens in death, through the fruit of the tree.

with the placement of the names adds to the pathos of this story that stands out by being the first human-human love story in the poem and the first story told by a human[20] and is so unusual in the poem by providing an instance of two humans who are actually and naturally in love with each other and want to be together.[21] The placement of names is a subtle component of the poignant frustration of the young lovers' attempts to be together.

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[20] Rosati in Barchiesi, Rosati 2024: 369: "The first story of the poem told by a human narrator is also the first love story in which gods are not the actors, nor demi-gods".

[21] See Sharrock 2021 for how "ordinary" Pyramus and Thisbe are and how unusual that makes them in the context of the *Metamorphoses*.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR A NEW INTERPRETATION OF TWO SEXUAL GRAFFITI FROM POMPEII: *CIL* 4.1410 AND 5187*

by

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ABSTRACT: The article offers a new interpretation of two well-known and much-discussed sexual graffiti from Pompeii: *CIL* 4.1410 and *CIL* 4.5187. As the textual variants and emendations considered so far provide little assistance, a context-based approach is applied in both cases, leading to hypothetical inferences. The first graffito alludes to the symbolism of the sea of love and Venus (*navigatio amoris*), conveying the passionate experiences of a pair of lovers. The second graffito may be read as a peculiarly phrased sexual boast, for which some literary parallels can be found in Martial's satirical epigrams.

KEYWORDS: Pompeii, graffiti, *Venus plagiaria*, *navigatio amoris*

I. *CIL* 4.1410

The well-known and much discussed *CIL* 4.1410 (Naples Archaeological Museum, Inv. 4694) was found on a wall in a room adjacent to the entrance of House VI.7.6 in Pompeii. Unusually, it was intentionally inscribed around an existing nail, positioned beside a fresco depicting a serpent entwined around a sceptre:

> Venus enim / plagiaria / est: quia exsanguni / meum petit, / in vies [=viis] tumultu(m) / pariet; optet sibi, ut bene / naviget, / Ario sua r(ogat?).[1]

In the standard translation by A. Varone, it reads:

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* I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers of *Eos* for their comments and suggestions, which helped me to revise the manuscript.

[1] For references see Gigante 1979: 205–209, Varone 1994: 25–26 and n. 16, Solin 2017: 273, Solin *et al*. 2021: 1658–1659. See also – most importantly – Magaldi 1931, Maiuri 1948 (for *Venus Plagiaria*: pp. 162–164), Guarino 1980.

> Venus is a weaver of webs; from the moment that she sets out to attack my dearest, she will lay temptations along his way: he must hope for a good voyage, which is also the wish of his Ario.[2]

As it stands, written in large, clear letters, the text raises no doubts except for line 10 at the end. Owing to certain terminological oddities, however, its meaning has become the subject of extended debate and numerous diverging interpretations – some far-fetched and soon discarded, others more plausible, yet none universally accepted. Several scholars have remained sceptical of all these proposals. In 1871, in his *Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae, Herculanenses, Stabianae*, K. Zangemeister declared: *Difficile est scriptoris balbulentis magis quam loquentis sententiam assequi*. Such a pessimistic conclusion was due to the two main *cruces philologorum* in this text, both arising from problematic expressions: who is Venus *plagiaria*/*Plagiaria* and what is the meaning of *exsanguni*?

So far, two significant explanations of *plagiaria* have been proposed.[3] Most scholars (K. Zangemeister, M. Gigante, A. Varone) associate *plagiaria* with *plaga* ('hunting-net', 'snare', 'trap'), which leads to a metaphorical interpretation of Venus in the graffito as a *seductrix* (Zangemeister, Schoene 1871, ad *CIL* 4.1410). The concept may go back to the Greek Aphrodite δολοπλόκος ('full of artful expedients', 'weaver of wiles', cf. πλέκει δόλους, δόλος = 'cunning', 'deceit', 'trickery') in Theognis, Simonides, and in Sappho's *Hymn to Aphrodite*.[4] Although this poetic explanation appears plausible, it is problematic from a purely grammatical point of view: why *plagiaria* and not *plagaria*? The form *plagaria* remains unattested.

No wonder, then, that other scholars (A. Maiuri 1948, and following him *OLD*) preferred to derive the form *plagiaria* from *plagiarus* ('kidnapper'),

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[2] Varone 1994: 25. Solin 2017: 273 presents slightly different translation, largely following the reading by Gigante: "Effettivamente Venere cattura con / la rete (?): poiché insidia il mio / consanguineo (?), provocherà tumulto / nelle vie; lui si auguri una buona / navigazione, ciò che chiede anche la / sua Ario."

[3] Other explanations include Venus as *pelagia* = 'marine', 'belonging to the sea' (Th. Mommsen), *plagosa* as the protector of *plaga*, meaning 'region', 'quarter' (perhaps 'streets') frequented by prostitutes (F. Ribezzo); and *plagosa* as 'flogging', 'flagellant' (E. Magaldi). In Latin, *plagare* means 'to strike', 'to wound'; hence *plagosus*, 'fond of flogging'. Magaldi 1931 adduced a passage in Hor. *Carm.* 3.26.11–12: *regina, sublimi flagello / tange Chloen semel arrogantem* – "lady [Venus], let Chloe feel with another the pain she has caused me" (trans. C.P. Jones).

[4] For δολοπλόκος, see Ricceri 2013. As pointed out by Gigante, in Latin literature *plagae* appear in erotic contexts; see Lucr. 4.1146–1148: *Nam vitare plagas in amoris ne iaciamur, / non ita difficile est quam captum retibus ipsis / exire et validos Veneris perrumpere nodos* ("it is easier to avoid being lured into the traps of love than, once caught, to extricate yourself from the nets and burst the strong knots of Venus", trans. M. Ferguson Smith); Plaut. *Trin*. 5.237–238: *numquam Amor quemquam nisi cupidum hominem postulat se in plagas conicere: eos petit* [...] ("love never aspires to cause misery to anyone but a lustful man. He seeks that kind, follows them [...]", trans. D.M. Dutsch); Plaut. *Mil*. 1388: *Ipsus illic sese iam impedivit in plagas* ("There has he entangled himself at once in the toils", trans. H.T. Riley).

and its cognates. *Crimen plagii*, the offence of the violent abduction (*plagium*) of a person, was made punishable under the *Lex Fabia de plagiariis* in the 1st century BCE, whereas the graffito is dated some years after 50 BCE.[5]

Whatever *plagiaria* means, it stands in some relation to *exsanguni*, which is even more elusive. Its grammar is baffling: the compound *exsanguis* ('bloodless', 'lifeless', 'pale') has the genitive *exsanguis*, whereas the simplex noun *sanguis* has the genitive *sanguinis*. Even if the form remains defective (unless the adjective was mis-declined by analogy with the noun *sanguis*), the sense should be deduced from the context. K. Zangemeister, V. Väänänen, and A. Varone assumed that this odd phrasing reflects an emphasis on kinship and suggested *ex-sanguine(m) meum* (*ex meo sanguine = qui est sanguis meus*), that is 'he who is part of my blood' (Ario's lover) or 'he who is a descendant of my blood' (Ario's son).[6] Accordingly, the graffito is thought to have been written by a worried lover or a concerned mother.[7] The problem is that such a meaning is unattested elsewhere. We are therefore left with the literal sense of regular *exsanguis* ('without blood' or 'lifeless'), which remains problematic, and not only for grammatical reasons. How, then, should it be interpreted?[8]

My contention is that the use of obscure, uncharacteristic terminology does not preclude a proper understanding of the text in its entirety. Some kind of 'attack' of the goddess, characterised by *petit* ('[Venus] sets out to attack') and the subsequent *tumultus*, sets the tone for the entire metaphorical narrative, and several clues suggest its circumstances and causes. I suggest that the locution *in vies* does not allude to particular streets in Pompeii but to the distant journey that brought separation between Ario and her companion. Crucially, *bene naviget*

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[5] The text of the *Lex Fabia de plagiariis* has not survived, but its implications are discussed in the *Digesta*, especially at 48.15.1–6. The physical act of man-stealing does not preclude other scenarios. According to Guarino 1980, *plagiarius* might also have referred to a cunning person who, through persuasive powers and trickery, was able to win over, seduce, and subsequently capture and enslave his victims. See Latte 1960: 186–187 for the unconvincing juxtaposition of *Venus plagiaria* with the literary topos of *Venus furtiva*, denoting secret or stolen love (adultery), in Ov. *Ars am*. 275 and Tib. 1.8.57.

[6] For his part, Mommsen 1847 opted for the risky *ex angue mecum petit*, "mit mir bittet aus der Schlange".

[7] According to Varone 1994: 25–26, n. 16, the phrase *in vies tumultu(m) pariet* suggests that Ario was not a mother. Solin 2017: 273, following Gigante, takes a different approach: Ario is the mother or a relative of a young male victim of Venus: "La situazione rispecchiata nel testo potrebbe essere grosso modo questa: una madre di nome Ario ha preso atto che suo figlio (meno verosimilmente un parente consanguineo) ha subìto l'assalto di Venere ed è caduto nella sua rete; poiché Venere provocherà tumulto nelle vie, Ario augura al figlio felice navigazione. Forse il figlio deve scappare per qualche guaio sessuale."

[8] Ribezzo 1936: 48, n. 2 had already interpreted *exsanguni(m)* as "uno da cui Venere abbia succhiato tutto il sangue", referring to the draining of blood from a hapless lover in Plaut. *Curc*. 147–154 (*mihi misero amanti ebibit sanguinem*).

hints at a sea voyage, in accordance with the figurative *tumultus*.[9] Besides the traditional literary figure of the cruel sea separating lovers, *navigare* evokes the symbolism of the sea of love (the sailing of Venus' dominion) and love-seafaring (*navigium amoris*), both fairly common in Greek and Latin literature; their numerous variants and developments are attested in poetry and prose alike.[10] Usually a lover is presented as a sailor adrift on the open sea, his ship or boat tossed by waves and storms, the stormy sea corresponding to the tribulations of passionate love. Before coming safely to harbour (synonymous with the beloved), he is constantly at risk of being "shipwrecked on the sea of Venus" (*Veneris naufragus in pelago*, perhaps meaning "shipwrecked [sailor] of Venus in the sea", Porph. Optatianus fr. I, ed. Morel). Such shipwreck, *naufragium amoris*, was equivalent to the unhappy fate of a man ravaged by his passions or suffering in love (*tormenta amoris*) owing to unrequited feeling, scorn, or – nota bene – separation and, at times, the onset of love-sickness.[11] In some cases one may observe thematic sequences similar to those in the Pompeian graffito: separation of the lovers, one of them facing the storm or shipwreck and being tormented by violent physical symptoms; invocation of Aphrodite/Venus; and a final, hopeful plea to reach harbour. Such clustering of stereotyped expressions points to a common background shared by the graffito and this strand of poetic tradition.

With these considerations in mind, we may now return to the text.

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[9] See Prop. 3.15.1–2 (to Cynthia): *sic ego non ullos iam norim in amore tumultus / nec veniat sine te nox vigilanda mihi* ("So, let me have no more storms in love, now, and let no night come when I lie awake without you!", trans. A.S. Kline); August. *Conf*. 9.10.25: *si cui sileat tumultus carnis*, referring to the 'tumult of the flesh'. So also Wachter 2019: 260: 'Liebesturbulenzen'.

[10] For the most important *loci* see Laguna-Mariscal 1989, Murgatroyd 1995, Ieranò 2003, Drago 2010; for fundamental and up-to-date study of maritime imagery of love in Latin literature see Christidou 2023.

[11] In *AP* 10.21 by Philodemus, the narrator addresses a prayer to Aphrodite to save him from the turbulent sea: "Cypris of the Calm, lover of bridegrooms; Cypris, ally of the just; Cypris, mother of the tempest-footed Loves; save me, Cypris, a man but half torn away from my saffron bridal chamber, and chilled now to the soul by the snows of Gaul. Save me, Cypris, thy peaceful servant, who utters no vain words to any, tossed as I am now on thy deep blue sea! Cypris, who lovest to bring ships to port, who lovest the solemn rites of wedlock, save me now, my queen, and bring me to the haven of my Naias" (trans. W.R. Paton); in *AP* 5.235, by Macedonius the Consul, we read: "You came past hope to me who was longing for you. In my amazement / you shook profoundly all the [romantic] thoughts in my mind / [about you], and I tremble. And my heart in the depths of its passion / quakes, while my soul drowns in the wave of Love. But me, the shipwrecked / sailor who has come near dry land, welcome within your / harbour and save" (trans. J.A. Madden). A similar juxtaposition appears in *AP* 5.209: "By thy strand, O Paphian Cytherea, Cleander saw Nico swimming in the blue sea, and burning with love he took to his heart dry coals from the wet maiden. He, standing on the land, was shipwrecked, but she in the sea was received gently by the beach. Now they are both equally in love, for the prayers were not in vain that he breathed on that strand" (trans. W.R. Paton).

First, the question of Venus *plagiaria* mentioned in the graffito. Given that *plagiaria* is most likely derived from the noun *plagium*, the goddess appears as a kind of 'plunderer' of humans in a seascape. A wide range of metaphors, similes, and comparisons is applied to the sea-of-love concept: not only sea battles and pirates (*AP* 12.85: 'robbers of the sea') and pirate ships (*AP* 9.415 and 416; cf. also Plaut. *Men*. 344: *navis praedatoria* with reference to a prostitute's house), but also pirate ships of Aphrodite (*AP* 5.44 and 5.161). Other aspects of the goddess fit this image well. Marine Aphrodite/Venus ruled the waves, protecting sailors (*Galenaia*, *Pelagia*, and *Euploia*, 'She of the Smooth Sailing'[12]), when unpropitious or hostile, however, she can raise storm winds and hurricanes, tossing sailors on the rough sea or leaving them shipwrecked. Cypris, wielding power over sea and winds, became one of the principal inspirations behind conventional storm imagery of love.[13] She is seen as the embodiment of the destructive force of unbridled passions, as in the Pompeian graffito *CIL* 4.9123: *Sic Venerum feritas saepe fit aura levis* (referring to the ferocious turmoil of Venus turning into a gentle breeze). Nota bene, Venus in Pompeian graffiti presents a range of specific features, regularly appearing not only in relation to forcible seduction and violent subjection, but also to the widespread concept of love as a physical and psychological malady.[14] Such associations may have been reinforced

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[12] It is important to note the wide dissemination of representations of maritime Venus, either seafaring or holding a rudder. In her iconography, the Pompeian Venus is usually depicted holding a sceptre in one hand and a rudder in the other. See the frescoes in House of the Labyrinth (VI.11.9), the House of Castor and Pollux (VI.9.6), the House of M. Fabius Rufus (VII.16.22), the House of Venus and the Four Gods (IX.7.1), and V.4.6. In Domus of Lesbianus and Numicia Primigenia (I.13.9, with the now lost graffito *CIL* 4.9867: Ἀφροδείτη σώζουσα), she is shown steering a boat. Ships or boats of Venus appear in a large number of Roman mosaics and frescoes. The applied medallion from Lyon, dated to the 2nd century CE and inscribed *navigium Veneris*, even depicts sexual intercourse on a boat (Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, inv. no. CEL 6745).

[13] "Cypris, mother of the tempest-footed Loves", *AP* 10.21. See also, for example, Catull. 64.97; Prop. 2.12.7 and 3.17.1–4 – a hymn to Bacchus by a poet wracked by 'frenzied' or 'enraged' Venus. It begins with the god being summoned to bring smooth seas and a favourable wind: *da mihi pacato vela secunda, pater / tu potes insanae Veneris compescere flatus* (some editors adopt the conjecture *fastus* instead of *flatus*).

[14] See, for example, love as illness calling for treatment (?) in *CIL* 4.8408a–c; as torture in *CIL* 4.1837 (*cruciasse [= cruciavisse]*); madness in *CIL* 4.4519; fever in *CIL* 4.1645, 1898, 4966, 4967, 1882; and, most notably, 1824 from the basilica: *Quisquis amat, veniat [= veneat?]. Veneri volo frangere costas / fustibus et lumbos debilitare deae. / Si potest illa mihi tenerum pertundere pectus, / quit [= quid?] ego non possim caput i[ll]ae = [illi] frangere fuste [= fusti]?* ("Let all who love go to blazes! As for Venus, I want to break her ribs with cudgel blows and maim her loins. If she can pierce my tender heart, why shouldn't I split her head with my stick?", trans. A. Varone). *Plagiaria* may well, after all, come from plain *plaga* = *ictus*, 'stroke', 'blow', 'affliction', especially since Pompeian orthography allowed some unorthodox *-iaria* endings (see the hapax *nerviaria* in *CIL* 4.1712, from *nervia*, *nerviae* = *nervus*).

by the fact that, in Roman legal tradition, the *Lex Fabia* against the crime of *plagium* provided for the punishment of actions including the kidnapping and imprisonment of freeborn men by pirates, whether for ransom or for sale into slavery (Tarwacka 2009: 115–119).

Second, it is necessary to accept that any reconstruction of the reading of the phrase *exsanguni / meum* is inconclusive, since we are faced with a seemingly irresolvable dilemma between *ex-sanguine(m) meum* or *exsangune(m) meum*. The intended meaning, however, can be inferred by clarifying the context of the imagery. Because a violent, predatory Venus appears at the beginning of the text, an ancient reader would probably anticipate some kind of adverse experience. Arguably *exsanguis* ('bloodless', but also 'pale' and 'powerless'), a standard symptom in pathographies of intense physical *eros* or love-sickness, would fit well in this context (e.g. Ov. *Ars am*. 1.729: *palleat omnis amans*). This particular aspect of the individual's appearance is consistent with the fact that the expression *bene naviget* in the graffito does not denote simple 'sailing away', i.e. escaping the storm. The emphasis is on perseverance in the face of adversity, 'good sailing' or 'homecoming [from a far journey]'.[15] In Greco-Roman popular imagination and medical tradition, the symptoms of love-sickness occurred, or were exacerbated, whenever the lover was separated from the beloved; at such times he was most vulnerable and exposed to the hazards associated with the condition. The only kind of *navigatio* that would prevent or mitigate the onslaught of passionate desire brought by *Venus plagiaria* amounted to a return to Ario as the safe refuge of fulfilled love.[16] The nail driven into the wall – though not necessarily testimony of a specific magical ritual – emphasised the intrinsic, quasi-magical power of love and desire that was bound to unite Ario and her partner forever, making them inseparable.

It is hard to miss the emotional overtone in the cordial, playful exchanges between the lovers, implying a relationship characterised by mutual passion

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[15] According to Guarino 1980, 'good voyage' was a synonym of a successful life and career. It is safer to assume, however, that this voyage was associated with a safe homecoming; see Lactant. Placidus, in his (?) commentary on Stat. *Theb*. (*Commentarios in Statii Thebaida*) 4.31: *(Nota puppim) de rupe salutant vale illis dicunt et ut bene navigent optant. Est ergo 'salutare' etiam abeuntibus vale dicere. Nota cum ab ea domum rediens salutaretur.* See also the seemingly metaphorical meaning of parallel expressions in two Christian graffiti from the *Memoria apostolorum* in Rome: *quod bene / navigent vi orationis* in *ICUR* 5.12959, and funerary *nabiga felix in Deo* in *ICUR* 5.12973, as well as one from the Crypt of the Popes in the catacombs of Saint Callixtus: *ut Verecundus cum suis* / *bene naviget* in *ICUR* 5.9524.17.

[16] The final sensual entanglement of the couple – in fact, the context might indicate sexual double entendre of reaching 'harbour' vel sim. – allowed for effective cure and recovery. See e.g. Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 2.7: "There is no medicine for Love, no potion, no drug, no spell to mutter, except a kiss and an embrace and lying down together with naked bodies" (trans. Ch. Gill). For basic bibliographical references for this concept Versnel 1998: 250, n. 93; see also Winkler 1991: 222–224.

(*meus – sua*). 'To be someone's *exsanguis*' might refer to situations in which the lover pales from love or love sickness, or from being over-sexed.[17] A personally meaningful *exsanguni / meum* must have carried some appreciative implications, all the more so because the parallel phrase *exsanguni meo* appears in another fragmentary graffito on the same wall: *Protuli / quia exsanguni / meo cupit / parere*, *CIL* 4.1411 (Naples Archaeological Museum, Inv. 4699; Zangemeister, Schoene 1871, add. 207), in the same hand as *CIL* 4.1410.

Admittedly, the text of the graffito is replete with ambiguities and ambivalences, whether intentional or not. One can conclude, however, that an underlying thread – the theme of sailing on the sea of love – is clearly discernible. As a result, it can be explained through a set of related naval metaphors of love, passion, and sexual intercourse, along the lines of the conventional ship-storm-harbour imagery. This is therefore an apt moment to propose a slightly more nuanced translation of the graffito, one that aims to remedy interpretative deficiencies as far as possible:

> Venus, then, she is a [sea] robber, as much as she is tormenting my [lover's] pale-face along his way [sc. out on the sea of Venus] with [her] tribulations; his only wish must be that of a safe sailing back, which is [also] what Ario hopes for.

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[17] Wachter 2019: 359–360 renders *exsanguni* as 'Spitzname' *Exsanguni*, 'Bleichgesicht', derived from the adjective *exsanguis*. 'Paleness' (*pallor*) caused by loss of *sanguis* was not only a common symbol of overwhelming love but also a clear sign of sexual overindulgence. In Mart. 1.77.6, those practising oral sex seem to have pale faces (*Cunnum Charinus lingit, et tamen pallet*). See also, for example, Sen. *Dial*. 10.2.4: *quam multi continuis voluptatibus pallent* (sc. *illi ad quorum felicitatem concurritur*). In a number of medical and philosophical sources, semen is regarded as a kind of blood, for instance in Lucr. 4.1036. *Sanguis* may indeed signify 'sperm', just as *vena* ('vein') may signify 'penis' (Adams 1982: 35). Note typical symptoms of severe physical exhaustion induced by excessive desire (*libido*) in Cic. *Sest*. 16 on Clodius: *[...] qui enim in eius modi vita nervi esse potuerunt hominis fraternis flagitiis, sororiis stupris, omni inaudita libidine exsanguis [insani?]?* ("[...] for what muscles could a person have in a life of this kind, when he is bloodless from repeatedly abusing his brother[s], having sex with his sister[s], and every [other] unheard of lust?" (trans. A. Corbeill). For discussion of this passage (*nervi* 'sinews', 'muscles'), as a slang expression for penis; in *Priap*. 68.33 *nervus* stands for *mentula*) see Adams 1982: 38, and Corbeill 1996: 115, who also adduces Cic. *Sest*. 24 on Gabinius and Piso as "enervated and bloodless" (*hominibus enervatis atque exsanguibus*). In such context *exsanguis* serves as an invective, denoting excessive sexual activity that deprived its victims of the masculine vigour required for public office. See also Auson. *Cent. nupt.* 8.126–130, on the defloration of a bride: *Itque reditque viam totiens / uteroque recusso transadigit costas / et pectine pulsat eburno. Iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam finem adventabant: / tum creber anhelitus artus aridaque ora quatit, sudor fluit undique rivis, labitur exsanguis, / destillat ab inguine virus* ("Back and forth he plies his path and, the cavity reverberating, thrusts between the bones, and strikes with ivory quill. And now, their journey covered, wearily they neared their very goal: then rapid breathing shakes his limbs and parched mouth, his sweat in rivers flows; down he slumps bloodless; the fluid drips from his groin", trans. H.G. Evelyn-White).

II. *CIL* 4.5187

The one line graffito *CIL* 4.5187 from House IX.6.8 ('Lupanare di Amando' or 'Casa del Larario', on the atrium walls; Della Corte 1965: 163) reads:

> Messius hic nihil futuit.

This brief declaration has hitherto not attracted the attention it deserves. It is marginally mentioned in a number of standard books on graffiti and on ancient/Roman sexuality, without any further reflection. At first glance the sense seems pretty obvious:

> Messius didn't fuck here.[18]

Most commentators have tended to interpret the text as some sort of a self-ironical or ironical manifesto. It might have been produced by Messius himself, either resignedly confessing defeat or uncharacteristically parodying the dozens of boastful, self-glorifying wall messages of the *futui* type that proclaim alleged sexual exploits.

Some scholarly examinations, however, have considered a different approach, implying a meaning beyond the literal sense of what is stated. On this view we are dealing with a satirical graffito produced by someone questioning Messius' masculinity in a world full of self-proclaimed, virile penetrators. Levin-Richardson (2013: 339–340) summarises this possibility well: "Messius is mocked for what he *does not* do: he does not *futuit* as a Roman man should. The implication is either that Messius is impotent, or that he enjoys something other than *futuere* – perhaps being penetrated, or performing oral sex [...]. A female reader of this graffito could implicate Messius' status as a normative Roman man in a way that was perhaps more anxiety-provoking to male listeners, since it implies that even non-action could be subject to mockery". From this perspective the graffito is not playful at all, since it is aimed at denigrating Messius. The man who 'didn't fuck' would, by implication, equal a *pathicus*: a *fellator* or a recipient of *pedicatio*.[19]

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[18] Translation by Varone 1994: 86, with further bibliographical guidance and a comment on "the forlorn Messius to his fate": "Incredible as it seems, in the thick of this infernal chaos, where everyone takes up arms and faces his or her adversary, being only too ready to fight, there are those who have to resign themselves to watching the struggle from a distance, unable to get involved, and thus remaining empty-handed".

[19] Similarly, Guerra 2008: 439: "Não parece viável que seja o próprio a colocarse publicamente nessa situação geradora de troça. Pode vislumbrarse mais facilmente a possibilidade, relativamente comum, de ser um texto escrito por alguém que pretende colocar Méssio numa situação delicada, compreensível neste contexto tipicamente masculino onde se confrontam os sucessos e insucessos da vida sexual. Envolver outrém numa situação como esta é, afinal, marcálo definitivamente com um carga negativa de que a custo se livrará".

Both interpretations present difficulties, which will be outlined briefly below.

As for the first: it must be emphasised that if the voice in the text is to be taken as ironic in tone, it cannot belong to Messius himself. Our intuitive interpretation of the graffito relies on a highly unlikely anachronistic approach. Such instance of self-deprecating humour would stand out among the hundreds of extant sexual graffiti. Many are light-hearted, certainly, but they do not mock the writer's own flaws or failures, nor do they under-represent the self. In Pompeian sexual graffiti the verb *futuere* ('to fuck') typically appears in the first person singular, usually to boast, in contrast to contemptible forms of sexual activity, which appear in the second and third person singular.[20] The writers of the graffiti never declare themselves to be committing such shameful acts: there are no cases of *fello / fellator sum*, *cunnum lingo / cunnilingus sum*, *pedicor / cinaedus sum*. In principle, even first-person invective directed at a second-person target was avoided.[21]

There has also been hesitation in the scholarship about the meaning of *nihil*. Some Latinists have taken it as *acc. pretii = gratis*.[22] Again, everything depends on the intention of the author: was Messius bragging of cost-free carnal success with a woman? It is possible, but unlikely. A one-off act of sex free of charge, in a particular location, was neither sufficient grounds for bravado nor interesting enough to arrest the attention of passers-by.

As for the second interpretation, one may object that the assumption of a satirical, defamatory stance on the part of the narrator leads to an internal contradiction. If someone actually wanted to insult Messius, he ought rather to have written, to score the satirical point, "Messius didn't fuck anywhere" or "Messius didn't fuck anybody". Restrictive *hic* ('here'), automatically diminishes the extent of the humiliation and spoils everything.[23]

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[20] E.g. *CIL* 4.1516, 2175, 2199, 2200, 2203, 2246, 4029, 8442.

[21] Panciera 2001: 90: "The verb *irrumare* is found in the first person singular on three occasions and just twice in the second and third person singular. In contrast, all appearances of *fellare* are in the second and third person singular. The writers of sexual graffiti are willing to present themselves as *irrumatores*, but they designate only others, in the second or third person and frequently by name, as fellators [...] *irrumatio* is not a source of invective against the person who is the subject of the verb *irrumare.* [note 49] [...] the writers of graffiti never wrote in the first person singular posing as someone else. The consistency with which the *sexually despised roles are not expressed by the first person singular* is an argument in support of this assumption".

[22] Tuulio, Linkomies 1939: 231, Perl 1978: 112 n. 6, *ThLL* 6.1 col. 1664.18. The phraseology of Pompeian graffiti suggests the use of regular *gratis* after all; see *CIL* 4.10194a: *M. Polli[u]s Pudes [=Pudens] futuit cratis [=gratis], si amabit Gem(ellam? Geminam?).*

[23] An anonymous reviewer pointed out to me that *nihil* stands in the phrase in the position where a noun would normally appear, for example *feminas*, and that *futuere* refers only to sex with women. The inscription could therefore be jokingly implying that "Messius fucked nothing here". However, there are no cases of such humorous use of indefinite pronouns in the ancient sources.

We therefore need another way to solve the riddle of this remarkable, atypical graffito. There are suggestive parallels in contemporary literary narratives. Ladies' men who were 'not fucking' recur as a motif in several of Martial's epigrams. Consider first a man named Lattara (Mart. 11.47). A self-declared misogynist who avoided vaginal intercourse, he shunned the baths, porticoes, and temples that might expose him to such a 'risk'. He even doused his body with cold water from the *Aqua Virgo* to reduce his libido:

> Omnia femineis quare dilecta catervis
> balnea devitat Lattara? ne futuat.
> cur nec Pompeia lentus spatiatur in umbra
> nec petit Inachidos limina? ne futuat.
> cur Lacedaemonio luteum ceromate corpus
> perfundit gelida Virgine? ne futuat.
> cum sic feminei generis contagia vitet,
> cur lingit cunnum Lattara? ne futuat.
>
> Why does Lattara avoid all baths patronized by the
> feminine cohorts? He doesn't want to fornicate.
> Why doesn't he take a leisurely stroll in Pompey's
> shade or repair to the threshold of Inachus'
> daughter? Doesn't want to fornicate. Why does he
> sluice his body, all plastered with Lacedaemonian
> mud, with cold Virgin water? Doesn't want to fornicate.
> Since he is at such pains to avoid contact with
> the female sex, why does Lattara lick a cunt?
> Doesn't want to fornicate.
>
> (trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, revised)

In the poem, *ne futuat* is repeated at the end of every other line. The reader, much to his surprise, learns in the final line that, in fact, Lattara does engage in sexual activity with women; however, this is not intercourse but the shameful act of performing oral sex on a woman.

In another of Martial's poems, the narrator seems to reassure a jealous husband that he has nothing to fear from a handsome youth:

> [...] uxori qui saepe tuae comes inprobus haeret,
> non est quod timeas, Candide: non futuit.
>
> who often sticks unblushingly to your wife's side
> no need for alarm, Candidus. He doesn't fuck.
>
> (Mart. 12.38, trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey)[24]

[24] See the discussion in Panciera 2001: 199 and Cowan 2015: 744–745. 'Not fucking' appears in 10.95 as well, where Galla's lover and husband both claim that they have not fucked her

If we were to take the last line at face value, we would miss the ironic, satirical point of the poem, which targets the depilated dandy who penetrated Candidus' wife orally or anally.[25] Elsewhere Martial makes a similar, although less elegant, joke about one Gargilius:

> Lingis, non futuis meam puellam
> et garris quasi moechus et fututor.
> Si te prendero, Gargili, tacebis.
>
> You don't fuck my girl, you lick her,
> and you talk like a lover and fucker.
> If I catch you, Gargilius, you'll shut up.
>
> (Mart. 3.96, trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey)[26]

Some other 'not fucking' males are ridiculed by Martial as impotent; oral sex was their pathetic attempt at stimulation, or the only alternative.[27]

Taken together, this category of Martial's womanisers, prone to non-coital lovemaking, presents a revealing picture of Roman moral standards. Whether adulterers, libertines, or impotents, their ranks consisted mainly of effeminate *cinaedi*. In spite of, or thanks to, their 'perverse' sexual misbehaviour, they were often popular with women and occasionally more successful than their stereotypically masculine rivals.[28]

CIL 4.5187 appears to present something similar: another way of saying that he did, in fact, have sexual intercourse, though not a standard form. The only doubtful question concerns authorship. Was it written by someone attacking Messius, probably exposing his passive sexuality, or by Messius himself, making a rather startling or provocative announcement? There is no certainty, which is unfortunate, since the attribution of either a negative or positive value to Messius' behaviour depends on it. An outsider's ridicule or invective seems, however, implausible: as already mentioned, the phrasing is uncharacteristically

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(*se futuisse negant*); the joke is that they must have been engaging in *pedicatio* or *cunnilingus*, which they knew could not have resulted in her giving birth to a child. In 3.87 people believe that Chione has never been fucked (*numquam esse fututam*), but she is advised by the poet to cover her disgraced mouth while bathing, implying that she was a *fellatrix*.

[25] Obermayer 1998: 59 n. 173. Moreover, the same Candidus shares his wife with the public in 3.26 (*uxorem sed habes, Candide, cum populo*). See also similar invective in Mart. 5.61.

[26] That is, "your tongue will be otherwise employed", as the translator explains. See Moreno Soldevila 2014: 319–323.

[27] See Mart. 11.46.5–6: *Quid miseros frustra cunnos culosque lacessis?/ Summa petas: illic mentula vivit anus* ("Why do you vainly pester unfortunate cunts and arses? You should go for the top. That's where an aged cock is alive", trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey). In 9.41 Ponticus prefers masturbation and never has vaginal sex (*numquam futuis*).

[28] See the most recent general studies of *cinaedi* by Sapsford 2022 and Gazzarri, Weiner 2023.

mild and tame for such purpose, even if it overlaps to a degree with Martial's more suggestive presentation of satiric 'types', whose non-coital sex relations echo particular vices.

Messius' authorship of the message, not explicit enough to constitute an attack by a third party, seems more likely.[29] But if this self-authored message lacked Martial's humorous, mocking tone, what was it for? We have seen that a self-presentation strategy amounting to humble bragging can be dismissed as anachronistic. In the light of the parallels with Martial's poetry, one may suspect that he offered a dry announcement to the passers-by that 'here' (*hic*) he engaged in sexual activity, but not vaginal intercourse. The inference is that he had active anal or oral intercourse. It is therefore reasonable to assume that this graffito, despite its literal meaning, does not differ much from mainstream graffiti that praise dissolute lifestyles devoted to physical pleasures. Their most popular variety reduces to numerous variations on *futui* ('I fucked') or *hic futuit* ('x fucked here'). Besides *futuere*, however, the normative active role during sex is typically asserted by the verbs *pedicare* ('to penetrate anally/sodomise') and *irrumare* ('to force to perform oral sex'), in the first or third person (for a useful survey of the evidence see Levin-Richardson 2011).

It is also worth noting the contrasted pairing of two different types of sexual activity with a 'negation' of vaginal intercourse in a fragmentary graffito on a 1st-century BCE/1st-century CE plaque from the amphitheatre in Lyon: *op(time*?) *pedico, non fuṭọ* [= *futuo*] ("I do not fuck, [but] I do butt-fuck well", Guey, Audin 1964: 52–53, no. 15 = *AE* 1964: no. 146). The dedicant's deliberate intention was clearly to emphasise even more his active (homoerotic?) virility. Similar, though less blunt and more elaborated, expressions were also employed. A Greek graffito from Ostia evokes learned associations while offering a roundabout variation on the theme of the active sexual role:

> Πάντες δια/γράφουσι, ἐγὼ μό/νος οὐδὲν ἔγραψα.
> Πυγίζω πάντες τούτ[ους οἳ] / ἐπὶ τοίχο γράφουσι.
>
> Everyone writes. I alone have written nothing.
> I bugger all those who write on the wall
>
> (trans. A. Chaniotis)[30]

The writer uses the expression ἐγὼ μό/νος οὐδὲν ἔγραψα, with a potential double meaning. In a number of graffiti, and in the literary tradition as well, the

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[29] Yet another possibility is that it represents an angry comment on the unavailability of sexual services, but it appears quite unlikely, as no comparanda for such statements are known to the author.

[30] Rea 1979. A variant from Palatine in Rome reads: πολλοὶ πολλὰ ἐπέγραψαν / ἐγὼ μόνος οὔτι ἔγραψα ("many have written many things, the only one who wrote nothing is me", Castrén, Lilius 1970, no. 145).

act of writing can symbolise active sexual behaviour (e.g. *CIL* 4.2360 and 8229, both with the phrase *amat qui scribet*; for the literary tradition see Williams 2002). Accordingly, the message begins with a phrase reminiscent of Martial's 'not fucking', then quickly adopts a more defiant stance specifying the non-coital behaviour involved. What seems a negation of masculine identity swiftly turns into a defiant affirmation of dominant status. 'I do not fuck' and 'I have written nothing' function in a similar way and in a similar context: both can be taken to refer to non-vaginal types of sexual activity.

To sum up, it is reasonable to argue that Martial's poems shed new light on the context of Messius' graffito, highlighting yet another aspect of the many numerous influences, similarities, and parallels between Vesuvian graffiti and Latin poetry. Earlier scholars have taken the graffito to mean that Messius didn't engage in sexual activity at all. In fact, whether composed by Messius' detractors or by Messius himself, it was intended to allude implicitly to unnamed sexual acts and behaviours, either passive (performing oral sex on a woman or man, or being penetrated anally) or active (engaging in anal or oral penetrative sex), together with their respective negative or positive connotations, depending on the authorship.

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ACTOR IN THE THEATRE OF THE GODS – HANNIBAL'S DREAM IN SILIUS ITALICUS' *PUNICA* (3.163–221)

by

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ABSTRACT: The present study examines Hannibal's dream – an episode in Silius Italicus' *Punica* (3.163–221) – with special attention to theatrical structure, staging, and symbolic motifs (the admonition, the prohibition on looking back, the serpent). Reading Silius alongside earlier accounts (Silenus via Coelius, Cicero's *De Divinatione*, Livy, Valerius Maximus) shows how Flavian poetics reshape inherited material: Silius tones down the spectacular *concilium deorum*, recasting Hannibal as an actor moved by divine direction rather than as a counsellor among the gods. Mercury's harangue (*o rector Libyae*) urges action and frames the invasion of Italy; the ban on looking back, familiar from epic *exempla*, is transgressed in a way that serves dramaturgy rather than impiety. The *ater serpens* functions as a theatrical sign, not simply an allegory of "Carthaginian evil." Overall, Silius' version contributes to a Roman interpretative horizon, redirecting attention from the Carthaginian general to the theatre of the gods. In this perspective, Hannibal's dream assists a Flavian remodelling of the Second Punic War and supports an imperial Roman self-image.

KEYWORDS: Hannibal, Silius Italicus, Second Punic War, Roman epic, ancient historiography

INTRODUCTION

As Suetonius reports, before his own death, Augustus was supposed to correct his hairstyle and ask his friends if he had played his part well in the drama of life (*mimum vitae*), wanting them to clap for his departure.[1] As Angelos Chaniotis rightly points out, this comparison of a dying man to the role of an actor who leaves the stage is one of the many comparisons that ancient theatre left to the post-classical world. This observation, transferring its projection to the world of the Roman Empire, was rooted in Hellenistic thought, where the directors of the 'game of life' were seen in superhuman forces, gods or Tyche.[2] This projection naturally also concerned historical events. The role of Hannibal in the context

[1] Suet. *Aug.* 99.1–2; Chaniotis 1997: 219.

[2] The transition from Hellenistic to Roman theatricality is depicted by the funeral of Demetrius, which closes with the indication that when the Macedonian drama came to an end, Roman drama would be presented, cf. Plut. *Dem*. 53.4: διηγωνισμένου δὲ τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ δράματος ὥρα τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐπεισαγαγεῖν; Chaniotis 1997: 220–221, 245. See also note 8.

of the story described in the epic, as seen from a distance of three hundred years, is best read through the lens of theatricality. The story of Hannibal's dream, recalled in the times of the Roman Empire, illustrates the theatrical form of presenting historical events in order to give them a new assessment. In this way, the convention of the performances of individual actors on a theatrically arranged stage made it possible to transform historical matter into a form useful for Silius' time. Such a diagnosis seems to be beneficial for explaining the entire episode. Besides, as François Ripoll aptly observes, the intensity of cultural transformation in the imperial era was not without its influence on the epic as a genre, which flourished once again.[3] The theme of the poem does not appear to be accidental, as it approaches the Roman-Carthaginian struggle with considerable hindsight, lending it an interesting form and occasionally providing unprecedented information.[4] Claire Stocks notes that *Punica*, created in a relatively short time (approximately between 80–100 CE), found its place in the Roman epic along with the *Argonautica* by Valerius Flaccus and the *Thebaid* by Statius.[5] The ideological message of those works undoubtedly correlates with a watershed of the Imperium Romanum. We know that peace characterised that stage in history following a period of major turmoil;[6] therefore, it would seem that the Roman state required a morale booster and consolidation of trust in Roman rule. The ideological facet of the epic was naturally one of the components in a plethora of means that served to build the ideological foundations of the empire.[7]

Looking at Hannibal's actions through the prism of the role he was assigned to play in the discussed sequence of Silius' *Punica* fits with the concept of better recognising the individual episodes that make up the entire work – both in terms of the symbolic elements used and in terms of the possibility of identifying the sources from which they were derived. The historical role of Hannibal, seen through the prism of his dream as a Roman propaganda story, poses several problems. Is Hannibal's role really in the foreground? Is it a causative factor? Or does it become a 'role within a role', arranged to reveal completely different factors? To answer those questions, the question of theatricality[8] in a rather

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[3] Ripoll 1998.

[4] The historical value of the information contained in the poem is debated, see Burck 1984: 21–28; Santini 1983. Cf. Seibert 1993: 39. On the state of the literature on Silius see: Vinchesi 2004: 5–17.

[5] Stocks 2014: 5–11.

[6] Greenhalgh 1975.

[7] See Mrozewicz 2010; Acton 2011: 20–64.

[8] The concept of theatricality defines a kind of utility in social life. In the Greek paradigm, theatricality precedes classical theatre, which is visible both within Homeric presentations – especially the *Iliad* and in the political life of the society of the classical period – as Chaniotis 1997: 223, emphasises long before the establishment of drama festivals in Athens, Solon convinced the Athenians to resume the war against Megara for the possession of Salamis by staging

narrow sense of the term will be engaged here to consider the short episode described in *Punica*.

We shall analyse individual sequences of *Punica*, while paying attention to the role of the protagonist and the accompanying situational contexts, as well as symbolic motifs (Hannibal's admonition, the prohibition on turning around, as well as the symbol of the serpent). Hannibal's experience, based on the theatrical structure of the presentation of the episode, consisting of beginning the description from the real context and the gradual transition of the protagonist into a state of sleep, and then his gradual reflection followed by the awakening of the hero, allow us to observe a change in the presentation of the commander's attitude to the problems of the war with Rome. Capturing the literary presentation of the episode, confronted with parallel descriptions derived from ancient historiography, through the analysis of individual sequences of the episode, may finally contribute to answering the main research question concerning Hannibal's dream contained in Silius as an example of using and transforming elements of propaganda from Hannibal's environment to create his own vision of historical events and thereby create a positive image of the Roman Empire.

THE CONTEXT OF THE VISION'S APPEARANCE – HANNIBAL'S TRANSFORMATION FROM HERO TO ACTOR

Ancient sources widely employed the literary motif of Hannibal's dream. In the story, a divine messenger who descends from the heavens either to communicate the will of the gods directly or merely to invite him to an assembly of the gods visits the sleeping Hannibal. There, the Carthaginian receives orders. A necessary condition is to follow the guide's instructions regarding the prohibition of looking back. However, the Carthaginian does not obey and sees a horrifying picture of the havoc wreaked by a monstrous beast, amid tremendous noise and destruction. The symbolism of the augury remains open. Each version, which in general conveys such a depiction of events – Cicero (who draws on Silenus),[9] Livy,[10]

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in Athens a dramatic scene. According to the episode described by Plut. *Sol*. 8.1–2, Solon wore a cap on his head and pretended to be mad, reciting elegiac poems in which he proclaimed himself the herald of Salamis. For other examples of the fusion of theatricality with Greek culture see Connor 1987: 40–50. Theatricality thus became a staging of socio-political life and drew inspiration from it to describe both past and current events, cf. Rehm 1992: 3–11. In the Hellenistic period, politics was increasingly dramatised, see Slater 1995: 143–157. Therefore, it is not surprising that the ruler is identified with an actor, cf. Chaniotis 1997: 244. Let us emphasise the identification, which is very desired from the point of view of Roman culture.

[9] Cic. *Div*. 1.49 (Silenos = *FGrHist* 175 Fr. 2).

[10] Liv. 21.22.5–9.

Valerius Maximus,[11] and Zonaras[12] – demonstrates certain differences. Still, that of Silius Italicus[13] departs substantially from all the rest. It should also be emphasised that the fragment constructed by Silius was placed in an important position in the third book of *Punica*, fulfilling an important role both in the dramaturgical structure of the narrative of this book and in the construction of the entire poem. The fact that Hannibal's dream described in Silius Italicus' monumental *Punica*[14] is the most elaborate narrative of the event by ancient authors compels one to consider the sources which Silius used. The situation also implies a reflection on the literary elements which may either have constituted formal inspirations or have been conceived by the poet himself.[15] These factors were intended to illustrate the role of Hannibal – to make us reflect on his heroism and to make the reader, perhaps knowledgeable about previous versions of the dream, take a critical look at this theatrical performance.[16]

Hannibal's dream, presented by Silius, should be considered in a specific context. In the introduction to the actual story of Hannibal falling asleep and being haunted by a vision, the hero's attitude, characterised by passivity, is clearly marked.[17] In Silius' view, it is this attitude that ultimately allows us to discover the meaning of divination. In the presented episode, the hero's behaviour is surprisingly apathetic; he behaves as if he did not want to discover the meaning of the fortune-telling, and the dream that will reveal it to him is not expected by him at all.

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[11] Val. Max. 1.7.*ext*. 7.

[12] Zon. 8.22.9.

[13] Sil. 3.163–221.

[14] The entire poem by Silius Italicus spans 17 books and comprises a total of 12,202 verses, see Blomgren 1938; von Albrecht 1964.

[15] Nesselrath 1986: 203–230.

[16] It is necessary to see this episode in *Punica* in the broader context of the Homeric tradition on which this epic poem was modelled. In Silius these inspirations were the result from conceptual principles, since *Punica* is presented as a continuation of the *Aeneid*, which is, after all, a continuation of the *Iliad*, and therefore, as Ripoll 2001: 87 rightly points out, the logical and chronological succession of these three conflicts emphasised in the prophecy of Proteus (Sil. 7.472–493) and fulfilled through the exposition of Venus and Juno, antagonistic deities from previous epics, whose appearance is intended to connect the Trojan War with the Punic Wars and the figure of Hannibal. On the typology of Homeric reminiscences in Silius, see: Ripoll 2001: 87–104 pointing to the elements of imitation and competition between the work of Silius and the *Iliad*, which takes place on the level of heroic deed and poetic creativity. Such an approach implies a greater awareness on the part of Silius of his art and a deeper reflection on his relationship to the epic tradition than is usually seen in *Punica*: "Cette démarche implique de la part de Silius une conscience de son art plus élevée et une réflexion sur son rapport à la tradition épique plus approfondie que celles qu'on lui reconnaît" (*loc. cit.*, p. 105).

[17] Cipriani 1984: 113 expresses strong words about Hannibal's participation in this episode*:* "oltre all'intelaiatura su cui si regge tutto il sogno, anche la personalità annibalica ha subito sotto questo aspetto profondi ritocchi al punto da risultare quasi annullata." On the narrative level, this is because "Giove dedica, infatti, attenzione alle imprese di Annibale solo per la funzione che esse assolvono all'interno del cammino che porterà ad astra la fama della gens Dardania" (*loc. cit*.).

Hannibal's farewell to his wife,[18] and later the journey to Gades, bring to mind the scenery of a tedious sea voyage, planting lazy images in the reader's imagination, and the culmination of this stage of description occurs when, after seeing the city walls, the tired Hannibal falls into a deep sleep.[19] It should be emphasised that even by epic standards, this introduction is quite extensive and serves deliberately to delay the climax of this story. Hannibal's motif of seeing the city walls does not seem necessary at all, because from the point of view of the known war events, they were not supposed to play any important role. The walk of the weary protagonist is designed to make the reader aware of his growing fatigue and introduce him to the process of falling asleep. The role played by Hannibal is a theatrical presentation of the protagonist intoxicated by monotony, for whom falling asleep seems to be the only alternative. At this point, the pace of the action is rapidly increased. In *Punica* this happens because of a deity who deliberately frightens the protagonist during a sluggish (*segnis*) rest. She makes him observe what is about to happen as she interrupts his sleep with delirious visions.[20] The commander learns that he has to act quickly and decisively.[21]

Silius' intent is fulfilled as a result of a dream. Hannibal, frightened and drenched in a cold sweat, wakes up joyful and begins to reflect on the promises given to him by the gods.[22] He performs sacrifices to the gods[23] and moves against

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[18] Sil. 3.134–137. Hannibal's monologue addressed to his wife [cf. La Penna 1981: 223 ff.] may suggest that the hero knows the future, and in his deepest conviction he considers himself to be a character who is to perform deeds that make him noticed by the gods. He says to his wife that both in peace and in war the end of every person's life is precisely determined – from the first to the last day. And there are not many people whose fiery souls allow them to enjoy fame forever. It is for such people that the father of all gods assigns a place in heaven: *et pace et bello cunctis stat terminus aeui* / *extremumque diem primus tulit; ire per ora* / *nomen in aeternum paucis mens ignea donat* / *quos pater aetheriis caelestum destinat oris*. The famous scene of Hector's farewell to Andromache, *Il*. 6.407 ff., appears to have inspired Silius here. Poet calls Hannibal's wife as Imilce, 3.97 ff.

[19] Sil. 3.128–162. Vessey 1982: 320–335, esp. 329 – points to the analogy contained in Stat. *Theb*. 2.7 ff. – in the presentation of the spirit of Laius, summoned by Mercury, who appears to Eteocles. As Vessey emphasises (p. 329), both dreams have common features, because according to the terminology of the ancient classification of dreams, they combine both the prediction of the future (*oraculum*) and the invocation of the dreamer's obsession (*insomnium*). Mercury finds Hannibal in a restful sleep (Sil. 3.170), but is attacked by *the monitis amaris* (Sil. 3.171), because this is not the time to rest, but to act.

[20] Sil. 3.166–167: *praecipitat consulta uiri segnemque quietem* / *terret et immissa rumpit formidine somnos*.

[21] Sil. 3.172–175. The sudden turn of events is a reference to *Aen*. 257 ff.; cf. Vinchesi 2004: 208. A kind of parallel can also be found in *Il*. 2.23–24: εὕδεις Ἀτρέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἱπποδάμοιο / οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὕδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα.

[22] Sil. 3.215–216: *it membris gelidus sudor, laetoque pauore* / *promissa euoluit somni noctemque retractat*.

[23] The sacrifice of a bull seems to be of particular importance here, see Sil. 3.219: *placatus meritis monitor Cyllenius aris*. From the point of view of the reality in which Silius lived and worked, this motif is quite interesting, because, as Mastrocinque 2017: 151 ff. emphasises, the sacrifice of a bull (in Mithraism) symbolised victory. Gaius Stern confirms this, pointing to

Rome with his multi-ethnic army.[24] This scene, like a theatrical performance, is crowned with a call to Calliope, so that she, as the muse of epic poetry, may pass on to posterity the news of the nations that have been called to battle because of terrible tasks and have begun a war with the kingdom of Latinus: *prodite, Calliope, famae, quos horrida coepta* / *excierint populos tulerintque in regna Latini*.[25] The details of this dramaturgical presentation will become fully visible when analysing the individual elements and motifs present in the dream.

PROOEMIUM TO HANNIBAL'S DREAM (3.163–169) AS A PRESAGE OF A WATERSHED EVENT

Already in the initial verses introducing the story of Hannibal's dream, Silius clearly elucidates the intention behind it. Here, the dream is a conceptual element of the account according to which a supreme deity (*pater omnipotens*) incites Hannibal to take up arms against Italy, which is simultaneously described as an element of putting Roman valour to the test.[26] Silius makes a significant symbolic reference there, speaking explicitly of an ordeal of the Dardanian people, drawing on the well-known literary standard that associated Dardanos with Aeneas and situated the action in the sphere of formal inspiration with Vergil's masterpiece.[27] At this point, Silius clearly indicates how Hannibal becomes a plaything in the hands of the gods – his tasks are dictated by the supreme deity.[28] In the weave of historiographical discussions about the beginning of the Second Punic War, the cause of the conflict's outbreak appears as arranged in a theatrical convention.[29]

Il. 7.312–14 – where Agamemnon was rejoicing at the victory (κεχαρηότα νίκῃ) of Ajax over Hector and sacrificed a bull (βοῦν ἱέρευσεν). On the literary level, the dream can therefore mobilise Hannibal to action, because it is a prediction of victory. The theatricality of the protagonist's behaviour is thus reinforced by the promise of success, which he expects as a human being.

[24] Sil. 3.220–221. Cf. Barreca: 1983/1984: 43–68.

[25] Sil. 3.223–224.

[26] Sil. 3.163–164; Cipriani 1984: 112–113.

[27] Diod. 5.48.2–3; Verg. *Aen*. 3.167 ff.; 7.206 ff.

[28] McDermott, Orentzel 1977: 24–34, esp. 24, 27 draw attention to the perception of the work as a subservient statement towards the emperor Domitian, while at least two fragments (Sil. 3.607–629; 14.686–688) may testify to genuine adoration of the emperor. From the point of view of the considerations conducted here, the first mention seems particularly important, in which Venus and Jupiter discuss the future of Rome, and the father of all gods predicts the victory of the Romans in the Punic War, developing the glory of the Flavian family (a mention of the father and brother is devoted to this, cf. Sil. 607–610; McDermott, Orentzel 1977: 27). In the conceptual sense, Hannibal's dream is an introduction to the discovery of this triumph of the last of the Flavians, which takes place in the third book.

[29] On complex explanations of the mechanism of social life transformed into theatricality, see: Burns 1972: 122–141.

Naturally, the poem does not wholly depart from the political realities surrounding the outbreak of the Second Punic War but, in a way, offers a kind of alternative to explain the causes of this conflict. The *prooemium* also includes a subtle reference to another war which, from the Carthaginian standpoint, may have been an attempt to respond to the retaliatory action in the wake of the First Punic War. The intention to redress the injustices suffered by Carthage may be conveyed in the phrase *bellorum meditans priscosque referre labores*.[30] Hence, the supreme father of all things sends his messenger, but, unlike in other stories of Hannibal's dream, the role is not entrusted, in Silius, to a youth possessed of divine features but is assumed by a deity indicated in the unmistakable allusion to the word *Cyllenius*.[31] Thus, the messenger is Hermes himself, son of Zeus and Maia, the youngest of the Pleiades, born in a cave at the foot of Cyllene in Arcadia, to which Silius refers further on (*cui gelidis almae Cyllenes auditus antris*).[32] The oneiric evaluation of subsequent events appears to be in particular consonance with the knowledge that Silius must have presumed in his reader, namely, that Zeus was said to have begotten Hermes at night, in secret, when both gods and people had fallen into a deep slumber.[33] Consequently, the fact that Hermes was chosen as Hannibal's guide does not seem accidental. Besides, the deity epitomises the night and mystery, as well as, very appropriately, a certain cunning.[34] This connection serves to dramatise this opening scene and, by intensifying the intriguing atmosphere, serves the theatrical qualities of the entire episode. Perhaps it is to suggest that the Romans are going to confront a difficult adversary who – besides conventional warfare – will resort to means beyond the standards of virtuous rivalry.[35] At this point, a contrast is visible to indicate clearly the seriousness of the task that the dream vision will impose on Hannibal. This confirms earlier observations about the extent to which it becomes an element of the 'divine plan' in Silius.[36]

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[30] Sil. 3.165. In this fashion, Silius makes a deft reference to an aspect of the causes of the Second Punic War without engaging in an extensive discussion (see Wolny 2012: 31–50). Later on, he would mention the Carthaginian capture of the city of Saguntum, see Sil. 3.178.

[31] Sil. 3.168: *imaque per umentem noctis Cyllenius umbram aligero lapsu portabat iussa parentis*.

[32] Sil. 3.203.

[33] Hes. *Theog*. 938; Ov. *Met*. 2.679 ff.

[34] Cf. Reingeard 1935; Kerényi 1945; Bettini 2000: 200–224.

[35] Burck 1992.

[36] Christ 1968: 475 is of the opinion that Silius in his narrative belongs to a large extent to Livy, which is based on an introductory characterisation (Sil. 1.56 ff.), the scholar also emphasises that Hannibal is associated with the gods and remains an agent of Juno (Sil. 1.63). According to Christ, this is why he becomes the most important figure in the theatre of war for sixteen years (*loc. cit.*).

Conveying the above other than by using the convention of a dream would have been exceedingly difficult; therefore, Silius opted for the most felicitous device to underscore one of the key moments in the development of the Roman-Carthaginian conflict. In this case, he exploited an important pattern in ancient literature, whereby the dream of the protagonist often presages significant, even landmark events.[37] According to William Harris, Hannibal – seen from a purely historical perspective – is likely to have had no need to justify his invasion of Italy; in a sense, this was done on his behalf by historians who spoke of the dream in which the Carthaginian commander received orders from Jupiter.[38] The dream motif made it possible to show the protagonist taking a crucial decision which would ultimately appear to have been the outcome of divine will. Silius is consistent in this notion because the initial intimation that the will of the father of all things will be brought to bear[39] corresponds to the caution Hannibal receives from the divine guide.[40]

THE ADMONITION OF HANNIBAL (3.172–182)

In the relevant passage of the *Punica*, Hermes visits Hannibal to admonish him. This happens when the latter is in his deepest sleep, as implied by the phrase: *mulcentem securo membra sopore adgreditur iuvenem ac monitis incessit amaris*.[41] The divine messenger immediately informs him of the purpose of his coming: to admonish the sleeping commander and to reinforce his resolve to invade Italy. What Hermes says is formulated lucidly and precisely, without a symbolic veil of the oneiric convention that lets hidden meanings be only conjectured. The messenger speaks to Hannibal directly and, calling him the ruler of Libya (*o rector Libyae*), states that it is disgraceful for a commander to waste the whole night in sleep, for the art of command relies on the vigilance of the leaders.[42] At this point, there is a clear reference to Hannibal's passivity, which

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[37] Hopfner 1937: 2233; Näf 2000: 5; Holowchak 2002. Harris 2009: 56 underlines that "almost all ancient epiphany that are described in literary texts are explicable as attempts to bestow prestige or to explain action or as some combination of the two."

[38] Harris 2009: 55.

[39] Sil. 3.163.

[40] Sil. 3.172–182. Cf. McDermott, Orentzel 1977: 27.

[41] Sil. 3.170–171.

[42] Sil. 3.172–173: *turpe duci totam somno consumere noctem, o rector Libyae*. This is an example of evident inspiration with Vergil, where Aeneas sleeping on the stern of his ship was admonished by a spectre resembling Mercury (*omnia Mercurio similis*), see Verg. *Aen*. 4.560–562: *Nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos, / nec, quae te circum stent deinde pericula, cernis, / demens, nec Zephyros audis spirare secundos*? It should be emphasised that at this point there is once again a suggestion completely different from the assessments made against Hannibal earlier – the assessment contained

is to be turned into action by divine command. At this juncture the messenger elaborates, informing Hannibal in a poetic supplement that he would immediately be able to see how swarming vessels plough the waves and Latin warriors audaciously go forth (*iam maria effusas cernes turbare carinas et Latinam toto pubem volitare profundo*),[43] while he tarries on the Iberian Peninsula (*dum lentus coepti terra cunctaris Hibera*).[44] Naturally, as the divine messenger continues, the Carthaginian commander can boast plenty of memorable feats (*scilicet id satis est decoris memorandaque virtus*),[45] the most eloquent example of which is the capture of Saguntum, a city of Greek origins (*quod tanto cecidit molimine Graia Saguntos?*).[46] Hermes ends with a final reproof, urging the commander to act if only his soul is capable of measuring up to the bold undertaking; he therefore should hasten and join the divine messenger.[47] He shows the possibilities of capturing Rome and also recommends that he not turn to look back.[48]

Drawing on a previous literary tradition seems to account for the conventional rationale for Hannibal's dream recounted in Silius.[49] The dream is simply intended to explain why Hannibal attacked Italy. When one looks at the early grounds for such explanations, examples may already be found through an analysis of the heroic world. Using a characteristic rhetorical example, Harris observes that the cause of Agamemnon's erroneous choice of the moment of attack should be sought in the dream he had.[50] Thus, the epiphany taking place in a dream is intended to show the protagonist the way or sometimes warn them against something, just as a supernatural entity warns Cyrus of imminent death. It is worth pointing out that Calpurnia dreamt that Caesar was killed and tried to persuade him not to go to the Senate on the night of 14 March 44, but he

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in Dio 13.54.4 [is the result of the reception of annalist sources, which also included reports taken from historians of the Carthaginian expedition to Italy (e.g. Silenus), cf. Klotz 1936: 68–96] emphasised the natural qualities of Hannibal's body that determined his steadfastness, it were the features that were trained (κατεργάζομαι) as a result of his lifestyle: τὰ μὲν φύσει, τὰ δὲ καὶ διαίτῃ, παρεσκεύαστο, ὥσθ' ὅσα ἐνεχειρίζετο ῥᾳδίως κατεργάζεσθαι. Nepos *Hann*. 1.1 also presents a very flattering characterisation of Hannibal, saying that he surpassed all other commanders: *Hannibalem tanto paerasitise ceteros imperatores prudentia*. Dio 13.54.4 also speaks of his superiority (πλεῖστος) over other commanders, emphasising that it resulted from a non-standard way of thinking and a thoughtful way of using words and deeds (cf. Canter 1929: 564–577; Levene 2012: 100–104). This characterisation strongly contrasts with the sleepy and passive commander depicted by Silius.

[43] Sil. 3.174–175.

[44] Sil. 3.176.

[45] Sil. 3.177.

[46] Sil. 3.178.

[47] Sil. 3.179–180: *en age, si quid inest animo par fortibus ausis, / fer gressus agiles mecum et comitare vocantem*.

[48] Sil. 3.181–182.

[49] Engels 2007: 423–425.

[50] Harris 2009: 55.

failed to listen to her.[51] The epiphany can also occur as a motif; for instance, consider Hector, who appeared in Aeneas' dream, causing the latter to leave Troy in time.[52] Presumably, Artorius, a physician from Octavian's entourage, was also the author of an important warning. A friend's dream persuaded the young Augustus to leave his tent and saved his life at Philippi.[53] In the literature of antiquity, dreams often come to eminent historical figures, e.g., Alexander the Great, Pyrrhus, Caesar, and Augustus. Visions are granted to other individuals, such as Eunus (leader of the Sicilian slave revolt),[54] Sertorius, or Spartacus.[55] They are often spurred to act in this fashion, which later serves to account for their deeds thus prompted. A classic example of admonition formulated in a dream can be found in Herodotus. The protagonist of the story, Xerxes, is doubtful whether he should embark on an armed expedition against Hellas. The vision, which will occur during sleep, begins with the Persian king's nightly consultations concerning the conversation he had with Artaban during the day.[56] In his reflection, the ruler arrives at the conclusion that the invasion of Hellas would be inopportune and falls asleep with the thought. However, he is visited by an apparition appearing as a tall and shapely male (ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν),[57] who reproaches Xerxes, stating that the king errs in abandoning his former resolution. At first, the ruler ignores the dream and undertakes no hostile action against Hellas. As he lies down to rest at night, the same apparition returns, this time aggressively blackmailing the king. The man warns Xerxes that if he does not launch a campaign against the Greeks, he will fall into ignominy as quickly as he became great and powerful.[58] The story of Xerxes' dream ends with an important recapitulation, from which it follows that when the gods send apparitions, things must be as they wish, meaning that the expedition against Hellas must be undertaken.[59]

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[51] Suet. *Div. Iul*. 81.3: *et Calpurnia uxor imaginata est conlabi fastigium domus maritumque in gremio suo confodi; ac subito cubiculi fores sponte patuerunt*.

[52] *Aen*. 2.268–297; Steiner 1952: 33.

[53] Suet. *Div. Aug*. 91.1; Vell. Pat. 11.70; Cf. Suet. *Div. Vesp*. 5.5

[54] Diod. 25.2.3 (= Poseidonios, *FGrHist* 87, Fr. 108).

[55] Plut. *Crass*. 8.1 ff.

[56] Hdt. 7.12.1 ff.

[57] Hdt. 7.12.1 ff. The spectre usually takes the shape of a young and handsome man. In the dreams of figures of the Hellenic period, it is often embodied in Alexander the Great. Prior to the battle of Ipsus (301 BCE), Demetrius Poliorcetes dreamt an Alexander-like apparition came to him, hinting at helping the Antigonid during the battle. Driven by hubris (ὕβρις), Demetrius asserted that he would use the watchwords Δία καὶ Νίκην (instead of Alexander). In consequence, Alexander declares his support for the coalition forces instead (Plut. *Dem*. 29.1), and the battle ends with the defeat of the Antigonids, see Wolny 2020: 93–97.

[58] Hdt. 7.12.1–14.3.

[59] Hdt. 7.15.1 ff. As a result, people change their mind to comply with the divine instigation. Similarly, gods gathered on a boat around Isis are said to have appeared in a dream of the Egyptian

The motif of a divine envoy or a person who delivers a suggestion in a fashion similar to Hannibal's dream is variously presented. In Cicero's *De divinatione*, it starts with the Carthaginian being summoned to the council of the gods: *visum esse in somnis a Iove in deorum concilium vocari*.[60] Such an arrangement in the initial sequence of the commander's dream does affect his rank, clearly suggesting that Hannibal is now entitled to sit among the gods.[61] Cicero, who cited Silenus as his principal source, seems to adhere to the facts since, as Dominique Briquel aptly underlines, there is no need to question the original authorship's historicity.[62] Consequently, Silenus could indeed be credited with being the primary source of information about the dream which, as a 'matrix' of a kind, serves as a point of reference from which all other modified accounts stem. The version supplied by Silius is simplified in that the participation of Hannibal in the assembly of the gods (*concilium deorum*) is omitted.[63] Here, the poet's description corresponds to Livy and Valerius Maximus.[64] Thus, Silius' Hannibal does not make his decision after consulting the gods, as Silenus had envisioned it, but receives an order from them. In the theatre of the gods arranged by Silius, Hannibal will not play the important role of the one who is invited to the assembly and debates with the gods as equals. On the contrary, this spectacular aspect has been 'strongly toned down' in *Punica*.

In a sense, this order is relativised using elements of the harangue of the divine envoy. An examination of meanings of the individual motifs may demonstrate the broader perspective adopted by Silius and reveal the intentions behind the modifications which, in fact, tallied with the ideological background of his writings. Among those vital components of Hermes' tirade, there is a phrase which describes Hannibal as the "ruler of Libya". Next to formal inspiration, resulting from the fact that the messenger has to address the one favoured with a prophecy in one way or another, such an appellation unavoidably (and

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pharaoh Nectanebo, prompting the protagonist of the story to make efforts to placate their wrath, cf. Nawotka 2018: 19–20. Also, an example of a prophecy which foreshadows a change in the world – an inevitable one, in fact – is found in Hdt. 5.92, such as the story of a pregnant eagle on a rock, which would give birth to a tyrant who, in his turn, would bring about the fall of the Corinthian Bacchiads; Hart 1982: 49–52.

[60] Cic. *Div*. 1.49. The motif of *concilium deorum* is seen again in Zon. 7.22; Hesselbarth 1889: 7 noted that the account by Coelius was indirectly or directly available to Zonaras (*Coelius sehr nahe steht*); cf. Meyer 1924.

[61] Cf. Wolny 2007: 256.

[62] Briquel 2000: 125.

[63] Wolny 2007: 256–257.

[64] It may be noted that both of those accounts are quite congruous in this respect, see Val. Max. 1.7.*ext*. 1: *ab Iove mortali specie excelsiorem iuvenem invadendae Italiae ducem* ≈ Liv. 21.22.6: *iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum*.

anachronistically) labels Hannibal as the head of the Carthaginian state. This device places the Carthaginian in the very foreground of retaliation against Rome and corresponds with the famed sentence in Vergil: *exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor*.[65] It can be said that by doing this, Silius justifies why the gods give this important role to Hannibal. He is a personification of Carthage and must discover all the qualities in himself in order to become an avenger whose aim is to destroy Roman rule. In Silius, he pursues the goal as the leader of the entire Punic state (*rector Libyae*)[66] which, incidentally, may have been convenient for the Roman interpretation of events after the Second Punic War, when many called for Carthage to be razed to the ground.[67] Much attention has already been devoted in scholarly studies to this model justification of the brutal action of the Roman army,[68] but it does not change the fact that Silius' viewpoint upholds the conventions for explaining the "imperial *raison d'état*".[69]

The juxtaposition of the allusion to vigilant, watchful command with the bold advances of the Latin men offers, apart from the aforementioned inspiration from the *Aeneid*, other possibilities of interpretation. Perhaps it is also an allusion to the skill of the commander, given that he planned to fight against the Romans. After all, that astuteness was a trait with which Nepos began his brief biography[70] to highlight the prowess of Hannibal as a commander. This approach was elaborated in Livy, whose characterisation of the Carthaginian leader contributes to the legend of Roman courage.[71] In Silius, just as in the *Aeneid*, there is a reference to ships, which appear to possess an attribute of distinct warning in Vergil. According to the prophecy, the sea will first swarm with vessels, and then the land will go up in flames.[72] The reader, linking the motif with the corresponding fragment in Silius' poem, will readily notice the allusion to the First Punic War, which ended in Carthaginian defeat precisely because of naval warfare. Hence, the admonition of the divine guide is supposed

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[65] *Aen*. 4.620.

[66] Sil. 3.173. Even superficial Roman knowledge must have presumed the existence of political bodies in Carthage (e.g. Bacigalupo Pareo 1977: 61–87; Fantar 1979: 33–48), whereas the belief in autonomous rule and sole decision-making on Hannibal's part (who after all was just one of the Carthaginian commanders whose prerogatives were established by the Carthaginian authority), cf. Wolny 2016: 158–164, would hardly be tenable.

[67] Miles 2010: 347–348.

[68] Here, one could mention the fear of Pyrrhus, for instance, cf. Wolny 2019: 21–44 (with broader discussion).

[69] See Rich 1993: 38–68.

[70] Nep. *Hann*. 1.1. See also above, note 42.

[71] Hoffmann: 1942.

[72] Verg. *Aen*. 4.565–568.

to mobilise Hannibal to be more decisive against Rome.[73] The urging brings the *Aeneid* to mind once again, as its protagonist is assured that the most opportune moment has come to carry his undertaking through. In this context, the bold doings of the Latin men are a typical interjection deriving from *ex post* experience. Hannibal's strike must be directed against Italy, because their use of the reserves of men was the foremost strategic problem for the potential antagonists of Rome, as Pyrrhus had already found out first-hand. The fall of Saguntum, a city of Greek origins, seems to rely on fairly convoluted symbolism. It may be quite a perverse reference to Hannibal's later political manifesto, which exploited the promise of Greek liberation.[74] Perhaps the lineage of those slogans should be sought in the propaganda spread in the wake of Hannibal's campaign, focusing attention on the figure of Silenus. Approached in conjunction and in a broader literary context, the motifs may reveal Silius' conceptual design behind recalling the capture of Saguntum by Hannibal. However, it is indisputable that the poet developed his own rhetorical model here, which served him to portray the prompting of the commander and situate the motif of Hannibal's admonition in a broad historical and literary context.[75]

THE PROHIBITION ON LOOKING BACK (3.181)

Shortly after the divine guide utters words which are expected to spur Hannibal to action, the commander is forbidden to look back, which Silius conveys with the phrase *respexisse veto*. This phrase does not have any special meaning here. In Silius' text, it probably remained as a relic of earlier versions, ich which this prohibition was expressed in a much blunter way. This element of communication in the poetic description of the dream is enhanced with an eloquent addition, according to which the prohibition comes from the father of all gods (*monet hoc pater ille deorum*).[76] It seems quite relevant that the information is somehow ancillary to the depiction of Hannibal's vision, as it is only loosely linked to the further story, which in all sources proves prophetic in nature. Silius' account does not state clearly whether Hannibal looked back, violating the prohibition, or whether the subsequent unfolding of his vision was independent of his non-compliance. This motif thus becomes important because it affects the assessment of Hannibal's own decision-making. The author

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[73] Here, one can detect the allusion to the Italian expedition which Hannibal led across the Alps, Sil. 3.466–646. Cf. the dramaturgy of the expedition also in other authors: Liv. 21.30.1–38.9; Plb. 3.44.5–56.5; App. *Hann*. 4.15–17; Händl-Sagawe 1995: 193–199.

[74] Erskine 1993: 58–62.

[75] Manuwald 2014: 216.

[76] Sil. 3.181.

of *Punica* tries to show that regardless of whether he breaks the ban or not, the vision will happen anyway. Although it is mentioned later on that Hannibal did look back, the information is not articulated as if it were strictly linked to the prohibition. Hannibal merely turns towards the blaze of light (*effluxere viro, et turbatus lumina flectit*);[77] the light is therefore conjoined with the vision which ensues at this moment. The theatricality of this scene seems clear and eloquent at the same time. The hero is lured by the light, following the glare with his eyes, that will reveal the prophecy to him.

The subsequent verses do help to resolve doubts concerning the direct connection between the epiphany and the prohibition, as the divine guide outlines the vision of Hannibal before the gates of Rome, in an aura of victory (*victorem ante altae statuam te moenia Romae*),[78] which symbolically harbours the condition for it to come true. There then follows an enigmatic description which virtually makes the reader expect that the guide will stretch out his hand to lead the overjoyed Hannibal to his domain,[79] but the story is suddenly interrupted there.[80] It is likely to be one of the important moments in Silius' description, indicative of a rupture in the plot which occurs before Hannibal turns to look at the light, doing what he has been forbidden to do.[81] The Orphic myth uses prohibition as a symbol of the struggle with human weakness. Its breach means the victory of weakness and involves specific consequences.[82] This kind of purport seems clear, but the connection between the prohibition and being bestowed a vision is not present in Silius. The poet does not bring the propagandistic facet of breaking the prohibition to bear, or at least does not do so to the extent that Livy did, which leads to the conclusion that the disclosure of the augury is not contingent on Hannibal's disobedience. In Silius, the prohibition is therefore an element integrated into the entirety of the account of the dream episode.

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[77] Sil. 3.188.

[78] Sil. 3.182.

[79] Sil. 3.183–184.

[80] Sil. 3.185.

[81] The prohibition was very clearly exposed in earlier versions: Cic. *Div*. 1.49: *quo illum utentem cum exercitu progredi coepisse; tum ei ducem illum praecipisse, ne respiceret*; Liv. 21.22.6: *proinde sequeretur neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos*, e.g. Zon. 8.22.

[82] In earlier versions – especially in Livy's account – Hannibal is almost equal to the members of the assembly of the gods, as he reveals his pride (ὕβρις). The exposition of this premeditation in Livy corresponds to another fragment in which the Carthaginian is accused of disregarding the gods (*nulla religio*), Liv. 21.4.9: *has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant: inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio*. Unlike Orpheus, Hannibal breaks the ban with impunity. The power of Orpheus is visible in the possibilities of performing many miracles in Hades: stopping the wheel of Ixion, balancing the stone of Sisyphus, or transforming Tantalos, cf. Lee 1960: 57–80. The life and death of Orpheus, as well as the symbolism of the prohibition and its violation were interesting material for the reflections of philosophers, cf. Seltzer 1982: 182.

THE REVELATION OF THE BEAST AND ITS SYMBOLISM WITHIN THE VISION (3.185–213)

In the surprising scenery of destruction built by Silius, which Hannibal turned back to look at,[83] there is also the central element of this representation – a serpent of huge-size (*ater serpens*).[84] In the prophetic vision of his dream, Hannibal, as an actor and a spectator, simultaneously experiences a situation in which the future of the war with Rome is announced to him. This can also be indicated by the momentum of the presentation of this scene, when the beast slides down from the heavens,[85] wreaking havoc;[86] the huge size of the monster[87] is expressed through cosmic references.[88] Additional information is not without significance here – a clear allusion to the destruction of the Italian land, the horror of the whole phenomenon,[89] and an indication that the blast emitted by the serpent is deadly (*letifer*).[90]

At this point, in Silius' account, there is a kind of flashback. Is it possible for Hannibal to see himself? The unbridled destruction carried out by the

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[83] Sil. 3.185–188.

[84] Sil. 3.191: *ater letifero stridebat turbine serpens*. On monstrous serpents in antiquity see: Stothers 2004: 220–238; Ogden 2013: 26–67.

[85] This is suggested above all by Silius' reference in 3.192–193.

[86] Sil. 3.189–190: *Ecce iugis rapiens silvas ac robora vasto / contorta amplexu tractasque per invia rupes*.

[87] Compared to the parallel descriptions, there is a clear exaggeration of the snake symbol, cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.49, where the hero notices a huge monster, entwined by snakes (*tum visam beluam vastam et inmanem circumplicatam serpentibus*) and in Liv. 21.22.8 observes a strangely sized snake (*tum vidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine*); Val. Max. 1.7.*ext*. 1: *animadvertit inmansae magnitudinis serpentem concitato impetus omne*. On *magnitudo*: Liv. 21.22.8; cf. Cic. *Verr*. 6.29; Liv. 44.11.2; Caes. *BG* 1.39.1; Gell. 1.3.28; Plin. *Nat*. 9.155. In Zon. 8.22 on the road traversed by Hannibal there are monsters or beasts that go in front of him: τῷ δ᾽Αννίβα θηρία πολλὰ καὶ ἄγνωστα (the word θηρίον unquestionably means *beast*, because it is defined by an adjective ἄγνωστος), but later the snake appears (δράκων): καὶ δράκοντα αὐτῷ επακολουθοῦντα ἀμήχανον. See also Charlesworth 2004: 503–504. In addition, the Latin lexical borrowing – *draconarius*, means the one "who carries the serpent's banner" (cf. Charlesworth 2004: 504: "bearer of the serpent standard").

[88] He emphasises that this creature was as powerful as the Serpent (*Anguis*), who wraps the Ursa Major and the Little Bear (*Arctus*) with scrolls, cf. Sil. 3.192–193: *quantus non aequas perlustrat flexibus Arctos, / et geminum lapsu sidus circumligat Anguis*.

[89] The serpent's body encircles both constellations, and when it uncovers its mighty mouth, it lifts its back to the height of rain clouds. The fury of the cracking vault of the sky increases the noise and causes a heavy downpour mixed with hail, which ends the apocalyptic image of the vision, cf. Sil. 3.196–197: *congeminat sonitus rupti violentia caeli / imbriferamque hiemem permixta grandine torquet*. Cf. Wolny 2026.

[90] Sil. 3.191. The adjective *letifer* in Silius seems to confirm the tragic symbolism of prophecy, as it does in Vergil, cf. Verg. *Aen*. 10.169, who talks about bows as deadly weapons (*letifer arcus*), cf. Ov. *Met*. 8.362; Colum. 7.12.14; Stat. *Theb*. 5.628; Wolny 2026.

serpent might indicate an allegory of the commander's deeds during the Second Punic War, as Nicolas Vaschide and Henri Piéron suggested a century ago.[91] The revelation of the beast would illustrate the destructive power of Hannibal, associated with the hatred with which he went against the Romans. In this respect, Kenneth Matier accepted the explanation of this metaphorically understood identity of Hannibal, noting that the scene with the participation of *ater serpens* is similar to the episode in *Punica*, in which Regulus kills a powerful serpent,[92] which is a symbol of the cruelty of the Punic people.[93] Of course, this kind of supposition would assume that the symbol of the serpent in Hannibal's dream is a Roman invention, which is not the case. This motif, which Cicero obtained from Silenus (through Coelius), served Hannibal's propaganda.[94] The description of the episode was transformed in the Roman narrative represented by *Punica*. First of all, it should be emphasised that from the point of view of Hellenic culture, and especially in the literary tradition of Greco-Roman antiquity, the serpent consistently symbolises passing from the land of the dead to the world of the living and vice versa. In addition, the serpent, being a symbol of immortality, could herald death, but it remained above it. The analysis of some parallelisms may bring us closer to discovering what the snake was in the account of Hannibal's dream. It is worth noting that in Herodotus the serpent is placed in the role of a helper of victory – as was the case at the battle of Salamis.[95] Plutarch suggests that the serpent is closest to heroes.[96] Therefore, it is difficult to consider the appearance of the beast in Hannibal's dream as an allegory of the evil deeds of Carthage – such reasoning would be too simple, and above all, it would oversimplify the problem of the genesis of this motif as a means of expression in Silius. In the scene of the beast's revelation presented in *Punica* Hannibal, while remaining both an actor and a spectator, sees the symbol of death, which according to his original intention was to lead him to immortality.[97] From the example of this revelation, it is clearly visible that Silius did not try to tone down all motifs from the original accounts. The revelation of the beast in Hannibal's dream was probably also an attractive motif

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[91] See Vaschide, Piéron 1901: 178.

[92] Sil. 6.140–293; Matier 1989: 8.

[93] Bassett 1955: 1–22.

[94] Vogt 1953: 98–99; La Penna 1978: 105; Cipriani 1984: 116–117; Seibert 1993: 184–185; Briquel 2000: 123–127.

[95] Paus. 1.36.1; Apollod. 3.12.7; Diod. 4.72; Plut. *Sol*. 9.2, *Thes*. 10.1 ff.; Hes. Fr. 107 = Strab. 10.393.

[96] Plut. *Cleom*. 39.1 ff.

[97] Wolny 2026.

for the author of the poem, which lent theatricality and added drama to this fantastic scene.[98]

Unfortunately, this situation implies difficulties in making an appropriate diagnosis regarding the meaning of this dream – and thus what intention the author of *Punica* had regarding the fate of Hannibal and Italy. As with other authors, the meaning of the prediction is explained while the dream lasts in Silius' narrative, which, in any case, tallies with all the accounts, from which it follows that the symbols portend the destruction of Italy (*vastitatem Italiae*).[99] Most likely, this was the original intention of the story stemming from Silenus,[100] which no doubt lost much of its appeal in the eyes of rationally minded historians, such as Polybius, who derided the anecdotes according to which a god or hero (θεὸς ἢ τις ἥρος) led Hannibal to Italy.[101] Jakob Seibert asserts that Silius depicts the laying waste to Italy more elaborately to intimate that Hannibal will ultimately fail to capture Rome.[102] This concept is somewhat fanciful in that it suggests a pro-Roman interpretation of Hannibal's dream within the fragment describing the vision. Ines D'Arco goes even further, observing that the essential purport of Hannibal's dream – as it was incorporated by Roman literature – is that the success of crossing the Alps is, in fact, an illusory one, because the ending of the dream betokens the eventual defeat of Hannibal, on the one hand, and Roman victory on the other.[103] Harris noted aptly that from a literary viewpoint, a dream containing a prophecy that falls into the category of epiphany dreams was particularly opportune, since it allowed a rationale that was indispensable to understand the course of events to be introduced into the narrative.[104]

CONCLUSIONS

Hannibal's dream in Silius' view is very characteristic, as it is an important exemplification through which a broader propaganda programme prepared by the poet becomes visible. The introduction of the hero's dream as a narrative device substituted effectively for the author's commentary on events, and in that

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[98] Undoubtedly, the well-established literary form of conveying certain content through the narrative formula of a dream [cf. Weber 2000; Schubert 2011: 1–20; Vítek 2017: 127–152.] was attractive enough to Silius.

[99] Liv. 21.22.9.

[100] Briquel 2004: 145–157.

[101] Plb. 3.47.9; Foulon 2000: 671.

[102] Cf. Seibert 1993: 189–190.

[103] D'Arco 2002: 162: "Così il successo del superamento delle Alpi viene fatto apparire come momentaneo e illusorio: la chiusa del sogno lascia intuire la sconfitta finale di Annibale e quindi la vittoria dei Romani".

[104] Harris 2009: 55.

sense played a similar role to speeches,[105] which made it possible to 'breathe life' into particular characters and colour the flow of the narrative with personalised views attributed to such protagonists. At the level of detail, Hannibal's dream episode contained in *Punica* is a scene that reflects the theatricality of the form. This presentation has its formal framework limitations (it is the protagonist's tedious journey in the introduction to the episode and his reflection after the end of the vision); it also has actors, dramaturgy of the action, and symbolic references resulting from the oneiric exposition of the vision. Hannibal's dream paradoxically does not reveal him as the principal figure; this character gives the possibility of existence to other actors and, from the point of view of Silius' conception, these are the gods. They are the personified entities more important than he is. Jupiter *omnipotens* admonishing the commander becomes an allegory of the *concilium deorum*, and his role is to show Hannibal as a tool in the hands of the gods, while the tasks assigned to him become only an element in the broad plan for the fulfilment of historical necessity. Hannibal's vision reveals what will happen in the future. This prophecy is visible in the dramatic scene, in which the protagonist sees the destruction of Italy. The story of Hannibal's dream does not conclude in unequivocal fashion, offering leeway for more extensive interpretations. Presuming that the prophecy essentially speaks of the short-term success of the Carthaginian, or its failure in the long run, enables the inference of Roman intervention in the content of the dream which Silius ultimately conveyed. The ultimate point of god-marked necessity is, of course, the imperial power of the time of Domitian – an emperor whom Silius genuinely admired. Nevertheless, the means of expression used by the poet to put together the entire composition were largely based on earlier accounts describing this episode – especially Livy's account. While on the level of *Ab urbe condita* there were still visible motifs from the original version of Silenus (repeated by Coelius and most fully extant in Cicero), Silius tried hard to tone down, hide, or creatively transform those elements of the story that could expose the propaganda-charged image of Hannibal. After a heavily emphasised introduction to the episode (*prooemium*), Hannibal is admonished by an envoy – an expanded scene compared with the original versions – whose role is to break his lethargy and compel him to act, though still within the framework of a previously written script. In the passage in question, *Punica* is very striking in the blurring and toning down of the prohibition against turning around. In fact, it is difficult to say that Hannibal broke this prohibition, because the hero is lured by the light and follows the light, so there is no way to consider this act as an objection to the will of the gods. As a result, all the features of Orpheus or Prometheus, with which Hannibal, as described in his dream in Cicero or Livy, could be associated, find no precedent here.

[105] Peter 1911: 255; Wooten 1974: 235–251; Pearson 1975: 214–230.

In addition, the author of *Punica* may not have known what to do with the motif of the serpent – a symbol of Greek provenance, which was originally intended to be an important element of Hannibal's propaganda – because the serpent was seen as a guide that led the hero through the dimensions of life and death. Of course, the Roman *lararium* had serpents on it at least since 69 CE, Rome was steeped in Greek ideology; however, it was in this particular fragment of *Punica* that the author could have had a problem with this symbol. Ultimately, the revelation of the terrible beast in the form of a serpent (*ater serpens*) was used by Silius to build the dramaturgy of the entire account. It gave it pace and theatricality. As a result of these efforts, Silius obtained an image desirable from the point of view of his concept of the work: the Hannibal he depicted is not an inspired antagonist of Rome, who would strike at the foundations of the existence of the empire driven by the hatred instilled in him by his father. His character in the episode in question is rather an exalted young man who is dispassionately looking for an impulse that would allow him to act. Through the projection of the Roman–Carthaginian fate via Hannibal's dream, a theatrical effect was achieved in the verses of *Punica*. Since the appearance of the descendants of Dardanos in these turbulent but momentous times could not be related in a straightforward fashion, the highlighted divine intervention was in tune with the oneiric poetics of historical complications, which resulted in a series of events that had far-reaching consequences for the Romans. In this way, Silius, by transforming the earlier story, contributed to the creation of a new vision of historical events and to the further building of a positive image of the Roman Empire.

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ZWISCHEN VERLUSTANGST UND KONSTERNATION. ÜBERLEGUNGEN ZU PLINIUS' DES JÜNGEREN „DÜSTERNIS" IN DEN BÜCHERN VII UND VIII

von

BORIS HOGENMÜLLER

ABSTRACT: In Books VII and VIII of his letters, Pliny the Younger reflects on illness, loss, and mortality. Unlike earlier letters, which offer detached accounts of others' deaths, these books reveal a personal shift: Pliny describes his own illness and his wife Calpurnia's miscarriage, triggering a temporary existential crisis. This study explores how his pursuit of *memoria* and *aeternitas* intertwines with his fear of oblivion. While literary fame offers one path to immortality, he also sees biological offspring as essential for preserving his legacy. His letters reflect an emotional struggle between love, loss, and ambition. Book VIII marks a turning point, as Calpurnia's recovery restores his hope for descendants. Pliny gradually regains his confidence, illustrating how his letters function not just as personal reflections but as a literary self-portrait capturing his evolving emotions and intellectual outlook.

Keywords: Pliny the Younger, Calpurnia, epistolography, *memoria*, *aeternitas*

HINFÜHRUNG

Die Auseinandersetzung mit Krankheit, Leid und Tod war Anlass zu einer reichhaltigen und fruchtbaren literarischen Beschäftigung in allen antiken Gattungen. Verschiedene philosophische Schulen entwickelten hierzu unterschiedliche Ansätze, die oft zum Maßstab der persönlichen Lebensgestaltung wurden. So formuliert Epikur mit erschreckender Rationalität: „So ist also der Tod für uns ein Nichts. Solange wir da sind, ist er nicht da, und wenn er da ist, sind wir nicht mehr da. Folglich betrifft er weder die Lebendigen noch die Gestorbenen."[1] Platon wiederum sieht im Tod etwas grundsätzlich Positives, da durch die Trennung von Seele und Körper der Seele die Möglichkeit gegeben

[1] Epicurus *Ep*. *Men*. 125: τὸ φρικωδέστατον οὖν τῶν κακῶν ὁ θάνατος οὐθὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐπειδήπερ ὅταν μὲν ἡμεῖς ὦμεν, ὁ θάνατος οὐ πάρεστιν, ὅταν δὲ ὁ θάνατος παρῇ, τόθ' ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμέν. οὔτε οὖν πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντάς ἐστιν οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας, ἐπειδήπερ περὶ οὓς μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, οἳ δ' οὐκέτι εἰσίν. Vgl. Mewaldt 1973: 40.

wird, in die Welt der Ideen aufzusteigen und zu wahrer Erkenntnis zu gelangen.[2] Auch die antike Dichtung griff die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Tod auf, jedoch aus anderen Perspektiven: Während Tyrtaios[3] und Horaz[4] den heroischen Tod auf dem Schlachtfeld glorifizieren, rücken Tibull[5] und andere Elegiker die Klage über den Verlust eines geliebten Menschen in den Vordergrund. Ein weiterer aufschlussreicher Aspekt in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Tod findet sich in Plinius' zehn Büchern literarischer Briefe.[6] Diese geben nicht nur Einblick in die von ihm angestrebten Lebensziele – *fama*, *memoria* und *aeternitas* –, sei es als historische Person oder als epistolographisches Ich,[7] sondern lassen auch Rückschlüsse auf seine emotionale Verfassung zu.

Dabei zählen epistolographische Texte zu den unmittelbarsten Quellen für die Rekonstruktion persönlicher Emotionen antiker Autoren. Als subjektive Textsorte spiegeln sie oft direkte Gedanken, Gefühle und Reaktionen des Verfassers wider.[8] Im Gegensatz zu historiographischen oder rhetorischen Werken, die stärker stilistischen und literarischen Konventionen unterliegen, zeigen Briefe häufig spontane Emotionen und individuelle Perspektiven.[9] Moderne emotionshistorische Ansätze – etwa die von Barbara H. Rosenwein formulierten – betonen, dass Emotionen nicht nur aus expliziten sprachlichen Äußerungen, sondern auch aus rhetorischen Strategien, Wortwahl und thematischen Schwerpunkten erschlossen werden können.[10] In der Antike dienten Briefe zudem oft der Selbstinszenierung, wie etwa in Ciceros Korrespondenz, die neben politischen Reflexionen auch persönliche Emotionen wie Angst, Hoffnung oder Trauer erkennen lässt.[11] Zwar ist eine kritische Reflexion über die literarische Gestaltung und mögliche strategische Motive des Autors stets erforderlich,

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[2] Plat. *Phd*. 64c–70a.

[3] Tyrt. 6/7, 1–2 D.

[4] Hor. *Carm*. 3.2.

[5] Tib. 1.60–72.

[6] Vgl. Gibson 2015: 185–222; Fögen 2015: 21–56.

[7] Dass eine Unterscheidung zwischen der historischen Person des Plinius und des in den Briefen repräsentierten Sprechers vorliegt, die eine vollkommene Identität zwischen Plinius und der *persona* der Briefe ausschließt, sehe ich als hinreichend bewiesen an. Sicherlich stilisiert Plinius sein epistolographisches Ich in einer Weise, die es idealistisch erscheinen lässt. Dennoch erachte ich es für ebenso plausibel, dass bestimmte Eigenarten, Züge und Erlebnisse, die von Plinius' *persona* in den Briefen wiedergegeben werden, mit denen ihres Schöpfers übereinstimmen, so dass Rückschlüsse auf die Lebensumstände und deren Veränderungen der historischen Figur des Plinius durchaus möglich erscheinen – vgl. hierzu nicht zuletzt die Untersuchung von Roy Gibson (2013), die diese These zu unterstützen vermag.

[8] Vgl. Henderson 2007: 37–86.

[9] Vgl. Trapp 2003: 1–16.

[10] Vgl. Rosenwein 2006: 32–56.

[11] Vgl. White 2010: 45–78.

dennoch bleibt die Interpretation persönlicher Emotionen anhand solcher Texte ein fundierter und methodisch gestützter Zugang zur emotionalen Welt klassischer Autoren.

In diesem Kontext ist auffällig, dass Plinius' Auseinandersetzung mit den genannten Themen nicht konstant bleibt, wie ein Vergleich der Bücher zeigt. Während in den Büchern I bis VI vor allem distanzierte Berichte über Unglücksfälle im Freundeskreis vorliegen – etwa der Selbstmord des Corellius Rufus (*Ep*. 1.12), das Leiden des Titius Aristo (*Ep.* 1.22), der Unfalltod des Verginius Rufus (*Ep*. 2.1) oder die Nachrufe auf Silius Italicus (*Ep.* 3.7) und Martial (*Ep.* 3.21) – verschiebt sich der Fokus in den Büchern VII und VIII merklich. Hier treten seine eigenen Krankheitserfahrungen (*Ep.* 7.1; *Ep.* 7.21; *Ep.* 7.26) sowie familiäre Verluste (*Ep.* 8.1; *Ep.* 8.10; *Ep.* 8.11) in den Vordergrund. Auch Berichte über Todesfälle engerer Freunde (u. a. *Ep.* 7.19; *Ep.* 7.30; *Ep.* 8.5; *Ep.* 8.23) lassen Plinius' Stimmung spürbar düsterer erscheinen.[12]

Im Hinblick auf diese Wahrnehmung drängt sich die Frage auf, welche biografischen Ereignisse Plinius' Wandel innerhalb des siebten[13] und in weiten Teilen des achten Buches verursacht haben. Meines Erachtens resultiert er aus dessen sich verändernder Lebenswirklichkeit – im Kontext der eigenen Krankheitserfahrung, insbesondere aber auch der Ehe mit Calpurnia und der Angst vor ihrem Verlust –, die Plinius konsterniert erscheinen lassen. Ausgehend von diesen beiden Ereignissen, verfolgt die vorliegende Studie das Ziel, anhand einzelner Briefe die tieferen Gründe der Konsternation analytisch herauszustellen. Hierfür scheint es nötig, zunächst (I.) das durch Plinius' „self-praise"[14] initiierte Streben nach *memoria* und *aeternitas* anzusprechen, um nachfolgend (II.) anhand von fünf Briefen, die aus dem siebten und achten Buch stammen, die temporäre Veränderung in Plinius' Denken zu ergründen: *Ep.* 7.1 an Rosianus Geminus, *Ep.* 7.26 an Maximus, *Ep.* 7.5 an Calpurnia in Verbindung mit *Ep.* 6.4, *Ep.* 8.10 an Fabatus und *Ep.* 8.11 an Hispulla.

I. *MEMORIA* UND *AETERNITAS* – PLINIUS' LITERARISCHE ZIELE

Kaum ein anderer Brief vermag meines Erachtens Plinius' Intention seines literarischen Schaffens besser zusammenzufassen als die an Novius Maximus adressierte *Ep.* 5.5. Thema und Anlass der Epistel ist die Nachricht vom

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[12] Plinius' düstere Stimmung ändert sich in Buch IX, obwohl auch dort Krankheit (*Ep*. 9.22: Krankheit des Passenus Paulus) und Tod (*Ep*. 9.9: das Ende des Pompeius Quintianus) eine Rolle spielen, allerdings in einer eher distanzierteren Weise als noch in den Büchern I bis VI.

[13] Ich bestreite nicht, dass auch in diesem Buch in ihrer Stimmung durchaus heitere und positive Briefe vorliegen. Dennoch stimme ich der oben angeführten These von Roy Gibson zu, dass gerade in den Büchern VII und VIII die düstere Stimmung ihres Verfassers wahrzunehmen ist.

[14] Vgl. hierzu insbesondere Radicke 1997: 447–469; Hoffer 1999; Ludolph 1997; Henderson 2002; Mayer 2003: 227–234; Neger 2015: 315–338.

plötzlichen Tod des Gaius Fannius (*nuntiatum mihi C. Fannium decessisse*), den Plinius aufgrund seines scharfen Verstandes (*acutus natura, usu exercitatus, veritate promptissimus*) und seiner Bildung (*hominem elegantem disertum*), insbesondere aber wegen seiner literarischen Tätigkeit (*scribebat* [...] *et iam tres libros absolverat subtiles et diligentes et Latinos atque inter sermonem historiamque medios*) schätzte. Doch ist es weniger der Tod des Freundes als das Bewusstsein um die eigene Sterblichkeit, die Plinius umtreibt und zu folgenden resümierenden Worten kommen lässt:

> Quod me recordantem miseratio subit, quantum vigiliarum quantum laboris exhauserit frustra. Occursant animo mea mortalitas mea scripta. Nec dubito te quoque eadem cogitatione terreri, pro istis quae inter manus habes. Proinde, dum suppetit vita, enitamur ut mors quam paucissima quae abolere possit inveniat.

Besonders bemitleidenswert ist (*miseratio fuit*) in Plinius' Augen, dass Fannius so viele Nächte (*quantum vigiliarum*) und so viel Arbeit (*quantum laboris*) vergeudet (*frustra*) habe, ohne letztlich das Geschriebene zu veröffentlichen. Dies bedrückt Plinius im Angesicht der eigenen Sterblichkeit (*mea mortalitas*) gerade mit Blick auf die eigenen Werke (*mea scripta*), die unvollendet daliegen. Daraus entsteht der fast trotzige Aufruf, dem Tod möglichst wenig zu bieten, was er vernichten kann (*ut mors quam paucissima quae abolere possit inveniat*), mit anderen Worten so viel wie möglich zu publizieren.[15]

Aus dieser kurzen Bemerkung wird Plinius' größte Angst deutlich und damit verbunden der besondere Antrieb sichtbar, gerade auch literarisch tätig zu sein. Diese besteht in der Angst, nichts zu hinterlassen, das in Erinnerung bleibt, und dadurch dem Vergessen anheimzufallen. Denn das literarische Erbe, so scheint ihm bewusst zu werden, ist die einzige wirkliche Möglichkeit, Unsterblichkeit und Nachruhm zu erlangen. Als mahnendes Beispiel steht ihm dabei das Schicksal des Verginius Rufus vor Augen, von dessen Leben und Sterben er in *Ep.* 2.1 ausführlich und mit großer Bewunderung berichtet hat. Hoffnungsvoll äußert er sich dort am Ende des Briefes in den Worten:

> Vivit enim vivetque semper, atque etiam latius in memoria hominum et sermone versabitur, postquam ab oculis recessit.

Auch wenn er durch den Tod den Menschen entzogen ist (*ab oculis recessit*), so lebt Verginius weiter (*vivit*) und wird immer leben (*vivetque semper*) in der Erinnerung der Menschen und in ihren Gesprächen (*in memoria hominum et sermone*), da, wie aus Plinius' Beschreibung hervorgeht, seine Lebensleistung – politischer und militärischer Ruhm – ihn überdauern wird.[16]

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[15] Vgl. Sherwin-White 1966: 496–498.

[16] Sherwin-White 229–236.

Ein frommer Wunsch, dem jedoch durch die Realität ein harter Schlag versetzt wird, wie ein zweiter Brief in diesem Kontext, *Ep.* 6.10, andeutet, als Plinius zehn Jahre später das noch immer unvollendete Grabmal des geschätzten Freundes sieht:

> Libuit etiam monimentum eius videre, et vidisse paenituit. Est enim adhuc imperfectum, nec difficultas operis in causa, modici ac potius exigui, sed inertia eius cui cura mandata est. Subit indignatio cum miseratione, post decimum mortis annum reliquias neglectumque cinerem sine titulo sine nomine iacere, cuius memoria orbem terrarum gloria pervagetur.

Fassungslos muss Plinius feststellen, dass das *monimentum* ohne Aufschrift und Namen des Verstorbenen dasteht (*post decimum mortis annum reliquias neglectumque cinerem sine titulo sine nomine iacere*), obwohl Verginius' Ruhm weithin bekannt ist (*cuius memoria orbem terrarum gloria pervagetur*). Wenn ein solches Unglück schon einem Mann wie Verginius Rufus zuteilwird, welches Schicksal müsse man selbst fürchten (*nam cui non est verendum, quod videmus accidisse Verginio*), ist die sich daraus ergebende Frage, die Plinius' Konsternation zeigt. Für ihn ist die Antwort eindeutig und besteht darin, alle Pflichten des Erben im Vorhinein vorwegzunehmen und sich *ergo* selbst um alles zu kümmern (*ut ipsi nobis debeamus etiam conditoria exstruere omniaque heredum officia praesumere*) – mit anderen Worten, dafür Sorge zu tragen, sich schon zu Lebzeiten selbst auf verschiedenen Wegen den Grundstein für ein Denkmal für die Ewigkeit zu setzen,[17] um unvergessen zu bleiben.[18]

Das Streben nach unsterblichem Nachruhm und das Sehnen nach *aeternitas* durchziehen immanent Plinius' Briefkorpus, explizit werden sie in der Sphragis-Epistel des dritten Buches durch den Verweis auf Tacitus' Gedenkschrift auf dessen Schwiegervater Julius *Agricola* zum Ausdruck gebracht. Anlass ist vordergründig der Tod des Dichters Martial, dem Plinius in der Epistel einen Nachruf verfassen möchte. Das eigentliche Ziel jedoch gibt sich im letzten Teil des Briefes zu erkennen und wird, abgeleitet aus der Beziehung zwischen Plinius und Martial, als allgemeingültige Prämisse formuliert:

> Tametsi, quid homini potest dari maius quam gloria et laus et aeternitas? At non erunt aeterna, quae scripsit; non erunt fortasse, ille tamen scripsit, tamquam essent futura.

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[17] Ich denke, dass Plinius den konkreten Ausdruck *conditoria exstruere* im doppelten Sinne verstanden hat: Am Beispiel des Verginius orientiert, wahrhaftig für den Bau eines physischen Grabmals selbst zu sorgen, im metaphorischen Sinn jedoch gleichzeitig durch eigene Leistungen, insbesondere auch literarische, ein *monimentum* für die Ewigkeit zu hinterlassen.

[18] Vgl. Sherwin-White 1966: 563–566.

Nach Plinius' Überzeugung ist das höchste Ziel eines Menschen der Ruhm (*gloria*), das Lob (*laus*) und damit die Unsterblichkeit (*aeternitas*), die durch die ehrenvolle Erinnerung (*memoria*) der Nachkommen, gerade aber auch der eigenen Nachkommen in Form eines *monimentum* erreicht wird. Ein solches Denkmal entsteht durch das Hervorbringen physischer Taten wie auch dem Erzeugen literarischer Hinterlassenschaften, die durch die Nachkommen tradiert und erinnert werden, woraus letztlich *aeternitas* resultiert. Dieses Streben nach Ewigkeit motiviert Plinius in seinem politischen Wirken, seinen literarischen Bemühungen und in den großen Anstrengungen, die er angesichts seiner eigenen Sterblichkeit unternimmt, um eigene Nachkommen zu zeugen.[19]

Die Analogie von literarischem und physischem Erschaffen bzw. Zeugen als Form einer entwicklungstheoretischen Generativität tritt in den hier zu betrachtenden Briefen besonders markant hervor und korrespondiert mit einer zentralen Theorie von Erik H. Erikson. In seinem Werk *Identity and the Life Cycle* (1959) beschreibt dieser die Phase der Generativität als eine Entwicklungsstufe, in der es nicht nur um biologische Fortpflanzung geht, sondern vor allem um deren symbolischen Charakter. Sie äußert sich in intellektuellen, künstlerischen und erzieherischen Aktivitäten, die den kommenden Generationen zugutekommen. In dieser Hinsicht spiegelt die Analogie zwischen „Kind" und „literarischer Schöpfung" als Ausdruck von Generativität Plinius' Bewusstsein für die Endlichkeit des menschlichen Lebens wider – insbesondere für Plinius' eigene Sterblichkeit. Sein Wunsch, literarische Werke zu hinterlassen, wird so zu einem Symbol seines Verlangens, Nachkommen zu zeugen und in Einklang mit der Erkenntnis der menschlichen Vergänglichkeit zu wirken.

Die Vorstellung, dass literarische Werke eine Form von „Nachkommen" im Kontext von biologischer Fortpflanzung und geistiger bzw. literarischer Schöpfung[20] darstellen, die die Hinterlassenschaft und den Ruhm des Autors sichern, findet sich bereits vor Plinius, u. a. Ov. *Tr*. 3.7.49–52 – Gedichte als Erbe der eigenen Identität (*quilibet hanc saevo vitam mihi finiat ense / me tamen extincto fama superstes erit / dumque suis victrix omnem de montibus orbem / prospiciet domitum Martia Roma, legar*) – wie auch in *Tr*. 1.1.1–2, worin der Dichter das eigene Buch personifiziert als sein Kind bezeichnet, das ohne ihn in die Welt hinausgeschickt wird (*Parve – nec inuideo – sine me, liber, ibis in urbem / ei mihi, quod domino non licet ire tuo!*). Eine ähnliche Analogie ist ebenfalls in Hor. *Epist*. 1.20.1–2 zu erkennen, dort bezeichnet der Dichter das

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[19] Zur Analyse von *Ep*. 3.21 möchte ich an dieser Stelle auf meinen Beitrag (2019: 47–57) verweisen, worin ich dieser These im Detail nachgegangen bin.

[20] Die wohl berühmteste Reflexion über die Analogie zwischen biologischer Fortpflanzung und geistiger bzw. literarischer Schöpfung findet sich in Platons *Symposion* (208c–209e), wo letztlich das geistige Erschaffen – insbesondere in Form von Literatur und Philosophie – als höhere Art der Weitergabe erkannt wird, die dem Urheber Unsterblichkeit verleiht.

eigene Buch als Sohn (*Vertumnum Ianumque, liber, spectare videris / scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus*). Besonders anschaulich formuliert Cicero in der Rede *Pro Archia* den Gedanken, dass das literarische Schaffen eine Form von Unsterblichkeit sei, die das Erbe eines Menschen sichert (*multi aeternitatem ingenio consequi malunt quam* corporibus), womit er implizit zu verstehen gibt, dass literarische Werke eine Art symbolische Fortpflanzung darstellen.

Die Vorstellung von Unsterblichkeit durch literarisches Schaffen und eigene Nachkommen wird von Plinius in einigen Briefen des siebten und achten Buches jedoch durch persönliche Rückschläge und unvorhergesehene Ereignisse infrage gestellt. Gerade in diesen Momenten wird deutlich, dass seine literarischen, politischen und persönlichen Ambitionen stets in einem Spannungsfeld zwischen dem Wunsch nach Dauerhaftigkeit und der Erkenntnis der eigenen Vergänglichkeit stehen.

II. DIE EIGENE KRANKHEIT UND DIE ANGST UM CALPURNIA – DIE ANALYSE DER BRIEFE DES SIEBTEN BUCHES

Plinius' siebtes Epistelbuch ist mit 33 Briefen eines der umfangreichsten Bücher innerhalb des Gesamtkorpus. Die Briefe datieren in einen Zeitraum zwischen 107 und 109, die Publikation des Buches erfolgte zusammen mit Buch VIII zwischen 109 und 110.[21]

Thematisch behandeln die Episteln verschiedene Aspekte des täglichen Lebens, wobei die Auseinandersetzung explizit mit der eigenen Krankheit sowie die implizite Besorgnis um Calpurnias besorgniserregende Gesundheit hervorstechen.[22] Während *Ep.* 7.1 und *Ep.* 7.26 von Plinius' Krankheitserfahrungen berichten, wendet er sich in *Ep.* 7.5 mit gefühlvollen Worten an seine Frau, die sich in Kampanien zu einem Genesungsaufenthalt aufhält.

A) *Ep.* 7.1

Orientiert am Kernthema des gesamten Buches, behandelt die an Titus Prifernius Paetus Rosanius Geminus adressierte Epistel Plinius' Bericht über eine schwere Krankheit, die er vermutlich um 96/97 n. Chr. erlitten hat.[23] Aus

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[21] Vgl. zur Datierung die unterschiedlichen Ansätze von Theodor Mommsen (1869: 31–136): 107 n. Chr., Julius Asbach (1881: 38–49): nach 109 n. Chr., Hermann Peter (1901): um 109 n. Chr., Adrian N. Sherwin-White (1966): 108/109 n. Chr., Paolo Cugusi (1983): 108 n. Chr.?, Charles E. Murgia (1985: 171–206): 109/110 n. Chr. und John Bodel (2015: 103): „Sometime in 109 came word that he would go to Bithynia; the final hand was promptly applied to Books 7 and 8 and the two volumes were issued as a pair."

[22] Vgl. Bodel 2015: 86 („proliferation of illness and deathes").

[23] Vgl. dazu meine Überlegungen in Hogenmüller 2025 [in Vorbereitung].

Ep. 10.5, die meines Erachtens auf dieses Ereignis anspielt, geht hervor, dass die Krankheit nach Plinius' eigenem Empfinden womöglich lebensbedrohlich war (*Ep.* 10.5: *proximo anno, domine, gravissima valetudine usque ad periculum vitae vexatus*).

Seinem Bericht in *Ep.* 7.1 zufolge liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass es sich bei der Erkrankung um eine Fieberepisode (*ardentissima febre*) handelte, die über eine geraume Zeit anhielt, sodass Plinius erst nach etwa zwanzig Tagen wieder annähernd genesen erschien. Seine recht konkrete Beschreibung lässt auf eine Infektion mit einer Art „Wechselfieber" schließen, das neben fieberfreien Phasen zu Fieberintervallen mit Spitzen um vierzig Grad führte. Typische Symptome sind dabei allgemeine Erschöpfung, Kopf- und Gliederschmerzen sowie Müdigkeit. Womöglich handelt es sich bei Plinius' Beschreibung um eine bereits in der Antike verbreitete Malariainfektion, konkret um die sogenannte *Malaria tertiana*. Diese Krankheit weist – im Gegensatz zur meist tödlich verlaufenden *Malaria tropica* – einen eher milden Verlauf auf und klingt unbehandelt, sofern keine schwerwiegende Grunderkrankung oder ein hohes Alter des Patienten vorliegen, nach einigen Wochen von selbst ab. Allerdings ist die Krankheit rezidivierend, weshalb es zu zahlreichen Rückfällen noch Jahre nach der eigentlichen Infektion kommen kann, wobei besonders Erschöpfung und wiederkehrendes Fieber den Krankheitsverlauf prägen.[24]

Plinius könnte sich mit dieser Malariaform infiziert haben, da der Erreger in der Antike in Italien, Griechenland und im Nahen Osten verbreitet war. Möglicherweise wurde er durch einen Stich der *Anopheles*-Mücke angesteckt, erkrankte, erholte sich jedoch zunächst wieder. Dass er unter Spätfolgen litt, die ihn in seiner Leistungsfähigkeit einschränkten, seine Ambitionen bremsten und ihn zu wiederholten Erholungsphasen zwangen, erscheint plausibel und durch die Epistel an Geminus, hinter der sich eine Selbstparänese verbirgt, bestätigt:

> Quae tibi scripsi, primum ut te non sine exemplo monerem, deinde ut in posterum ipse ad eandem temperantiam astringerer, cum me hac epistula quasi pignore obligavissem.

Mit dem eigenen Beispiel ermahnt Plinius Geminus, einerseits eine Krankheit geduldig zu ertragen (*proinde moneo patienter resistas*), andererseits aber auch sich selbst künftig zu derselben *temperantia* bzw. σωφροσύνη zu verpflichten (*ipse ad eandem temperantiam astringerer*). Deutlich erkennbar ist, dass sich Plinius an philosophischen Maximen orientiert, die in der Stoa formuliert und durch Cicero zugänglich gemacht wurden. Insbesondere in *De officiis* sind *patientia* (*Off.* 1.122) im Zusammenspiel mit *fortitudo* sowie *temperantia* in Verbindung mit *modestia* (u. a. *Off.* 1.15; 1.46; 1.93) und *moderatio* (*Off.* 1.96;

[24] *Ibid.*

1.98; 1.121; 1.143) zentrale Eigenschaften, die insbesondere den Staatsmann in seinem pflichtgemäßen Handeln im Alltag leiten sollen.[25] Für Plinius ist *temperantia* eine zentrale Eigenschaft, die er mit der Auseinandersetzung mit bzw. dem Ertragen von Krankheit und Tod assoziiert – sie ist es,[26] die ihn beispielsweise in die Lage versetzt, dem in *Ep.* 7.1 so sehr ersehnten Bad mit stoischer Gelassenheit[27] – *placide leniterque* – zu entsagen.

Im gesamten Briefkorpus wird das Substantiv *temperantia* interessanterweise lediglich in drei Briefen verwendet: erstmals in *Ep.* 1.12, worin die Haltung des Corellius Rufus beschrieben wird, der seinen sich verschlechternden Gesundheitszustand durch *temperantia* zu mildern versucht (*Ep.* 1.12: *valetudo, quam temperantia mitigare temptavit*), ein zweites Mal in *Ep.* 5.16, worin Plinius von der *temperantia*, *patientia* und *constantia* der Tochter des Fundanus während ihrer Erkrankung, die zu ihrem Tod führen sollte, bewundernd berichtet (*Ep.* 5.16: *qua illa temperantia, qua patientia, qua etiam constantia novissimam valetudinem tulit*), und ein drittes Mal in *Ep.* 7.1 in der Auseinandersetzung mit der eigenen Erkrankung und der Hoffnung, in einer zukünftigen Situation diese zeigen zu können.

Plinius erweckt durch die an Geminus formulierte Paränese den Anschein, die eigene Krankheitserfahrung als etwas Neutrales und gewissermaßen Gleichgültiges im Sinne eines philosophischen Adiaphoron erkannt zu haben. Dass er dieses mit Hilfe von *temperantia* und *moderatio*, zwei Prinzipien der Stoa, die er verinnerlicht hatte, ohne gänzlich Stoiker zu sein, zu ertragen versuchte, zeigt sich in seinem Werdegang. Insbesondere Ciceros Werke, durch die ihm die Lehrmeinungen der Stoa vertraut wurden, hat er auf Empfehlung seines Lehrers Quintilian gelesen. Möglicherweise sind es die eigenen Krankheitserfahrungen, die ihn auf die Philosophie zurückgreifen und in sich ruhend erscheinen lassen, wie aus *Ep.* 7.1 zu schließen ist. Dieser Aspekt in Plinius' Verhalten, der sich im Zeigen der eigenen *temperantia* manifestiert, ist meines Erachtens erstmals in *Ep.* 7.1 wahrzunehmen und verstärkt sich in *Ep.* 7.26, worin Plinius über Krankheit als solche nachdenkt.

B) *Ep.* 7.26

In Anlehnung an *Ep.* 7.1 reflektiert Plinius in *Ep.* 7.26, die vermutlich an Novius Maximus gerichtet ist, darüber, wie Krankheit zu einem tugendhafteren Leben führen kann. Anlass ist, wie Plinius zu verstehen gibt, das Unwohlsein (*languor*) eines unbekannten Freundes, das ihn zu dieser beinahe

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[25] Auch in *Tusc*. 3.816 und 3.17.36 wird die synonyme Verwendung von *temperantia* und *moderatio* bzw. *frugalitas* erwähnt.

[26] In Sen. *Clem*. 2.3.1 wird *clementia* u. a. als *temperantia animi vel lenitas* bezeichnet.

[27] Sen. *Dial*. 3.38.1: *Tulit hoc ille leniter et sapienter*.

philosophischen Auseinandersetzung mit Krankheit inspiriert. Die Quintessenz formuliert er bereits im Eingangssatz: Krankheit mache die Menschen zu ihrem besten Selbst (*optimos esse nos dum infirmi sumus*). Dies begründet er damit, dass Kranke weder von Habsucht noch von Leidenschaft angetrieben werden (*aut avaritia aut libido sollicitat*); sie dienen nicht in sklavischer Weise der Liebe (*non amoribus servit*), streben nicht nach Ehrenstellungen (*non appetit honores*) und kümmern sich nicht um Geld oder dessen Bestand (*opes neglegit*). Auch ihr eigenes Menschsein werde ihnen in diesem Zustand wieder bewusst (*tunc hominem esse se meminit*), während Neid, Bewunderung und Verachtung ihnen fremd bleiben (*invidet nemini, neminem miratur, neminem despicit*). Zudem könne nicht einmal böses Gerede sie aufregen oder anspornen (*ac ne sermonibus quidem malignis aut attendit aut alitur*).

Mit anderen Worten: Im Moment der Krankheit ist der Mensch auf seinen ursprünglichen Wesenskern reduziert – eine idealisierte Vorstellung, in der die Ablenkungen des Alltags als bedeutungslos erscheinen. Durch diese Reduktion der eigenen Bedürfnisse werden einfache Dinge zum Objekt der Sehnsucht und Begierde. Als Beispiel führt Plinius an, dass Kranke von Bädern und Quellen träumen (*balinea imaginatur et fontes*), die in ihrem Zustand zwar unerreichbar sind, aber den größten Wunsch darstellen (*summa curarum, summa votorum*). Damit verweist Plinius offenbar auf die in *Ep.* 7.1 geschilderte Situation, in der er sich nach langer Krankheit und langsamer Genesung ins Bad begeben wollte (*balineo praepararer*), aber von den verhalten reagierenden Ärzten (*mussantesque medicos*) davon abgehalten wurde. Ruhig und gefasst (*placide leniterque dimissa*) habe er daraufhin auf diese Hoffnung verzichtet und sich ebenso auf den Verzicht vorbereitet wie zuvor auf den Genuss des Bades (*ad abstinentiam rursus, non secus ac modo ad balineum, animum vultumque composui*).

Noch deutlicher als in *Ep.* 7.1 zeigt sich hier der Einfluss philosophischer, insbesondere stoischer Maximen auf Plinius' Haltung. George Frederick Pliotis hebt in seiner 2023 eingereichten Dissertation *Studies in the Ancient Reception of Seneca the Younger* hervor, dass *Ep.* 7.26 eine Parallele zu Senecas *De brevitate vitae* 11 darstellt. Auch der Aufbau des Briefes (These, Argumentation, Konklusion, Sentenz) sowie dessen Stilistik (rhetorische Fragen, kurze asyndetische und antithetische Hauptsätze) erinnern stark an die *Epistulae Morales* an Lucilius. Dennoch distanziert sich Plinius im Schlussteil bewusst von ausufernden philosophischen Traktaten, indem er auf die gebotene Kürze verweist (*breviter tibi mihique praecipere*).[28]

Bemerkenswert ist außerdem, dass Plinius die in der Krankheit durch *patientia* und *temperantia* gewonnene Geisteshaltung auch im gesunden Zustand bewahren will (*tales esse sani perseveremus, quales nos futuros profitemur infirmi*), um ein rechtschaffenes und glückliches Leben zu führen (*hoc est innoxiam*

[28] Vgl. Pliotis 2023.

beatamque destinat vitam). Dass er sich nun vollständig zum Philosophen wandeln möchte – eine Möglichkeit, die der bewusst gesetzte Terminus *vita beata* suggerieren könnte –, halte ich für unwahrscheinlich. Denkbar ist jedoch, dass die Philosophie einen stärkeren Einfluss auf seinen weiteren Lebensweg gewinnt. Die Auseinandersetzung mit der eigenen Krankheit und Sterblichkeit, seinem Erbe und dem intendierten Denkmal, das er hinterlassen möchte, festigt seine philosophische Haltung. Ein entscheidender Faktor in diesem Wandlungsprozess könnte Calpurnia[29] sein, die Plinius offenbar aufrichtig liebte. Ihre schwache Gesundheit, um die er fürchtete, sowie die möglicherweise daraus resultierende Kinderlosigkeit dürften seine Stimmung zusätzlich verdunkelt haben.

C) *Ep.* 7.5 / *Ep.* 6.4

Aus zwei Briefen des sechsten Buches, die direkt an Calpurnia adressiert sind, geht hervor, dass Plinius' Ehefrau aufgrund einer Krankheit zu einem Aufenthalt in Kampanien gezwungen war (*Ep.* 6.4) und von dort an ihren Ehemann schrieb (*Ep.* 6.7). Indirekt wird sie bereits im vierten und fünften Buch in Briefen an ihren Großvater Lucius Calpurnius Fabatus (*Ep.* 4.1), ihre Tante Calpurnia Hispulla (*Ep.* 4.19) sowie in einem Schreiben an Plinius' Freund Pontius Allifenus (*Ep.* 5.14) erwähnt. Obwohl über ihre Biographie nur wenig bekannt ist, lassen sich aus Plinius' Briefen einige Daten recht gut rekonstruieren.

Vermutlich um 104 n. Chr. heiratete Plinius im Alter von etwa vierzig Jahren[30] die deutlich jüngere[31] Tochter des aus Comum stammenden, zum Zeitpunkt der Eheschließung bereits verstorbenen Sohnes von Lucius Calpurnius Fabatus. Die ansonsten glückliche Ehe zwischen Plinius und Calpurnia blieb kinderlos[32] – möglicherweise aufgrund ihres kränklichen Zustands,[33] der wohl auch zu einer Fehlgeburt beigetragen haben könnte. Ungeachtet dessen begleitete Calpurnia ihren Ehemann auf der Reise nach Bithynien, wo sie bis zum Tod ihres Großvaters blieb. Dieses Ereignis zwang sie schließlich zur Rückkehr nach Rom (*Ep.* 10.120), woraufhin sich ihre Spur verliert.

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[29] Vgl. Birley 2000: 2–4 und 45.

[30] Vgl. Sherwin-White 1966: 71 und 264.

[31] Der Altersunterschied betrug wohl mehr als 25 Jahre. Sherwin-White (1966: 459) geht davon aus, dass Calpurnia zum Zeitpunkt der erlittenen Fehlgeburt, die in *Ep*. 8.10 und 8.11 erwähnt wird, etwa 17 Jahre alt war. Die Briefe, die dieses Unglück thematisieren, werden mit Verweis auf *Ep*. 8.1 und Plinius' Reise nach Tifernum ungefähr auf das Jahr 107 datiert.

[32] Der Wunsch nach Kindern wird von Plinius in *Ep*. 8.10 und *Ep*. 10.2 ausdrücklich genannt.

[33] Calpurnias schwacher Gesundheitszustand ist Thema v. a. in *Ep*. 6.4, *Ep*. 6.7, *Ep*. 8.10 und *Ep*. 8.11.

Obwohl die in diesem Zusammenhang zu analysierende *Ep.* 7.5 in der eigentümlichen Disposition des siebten Buches noch vor *Ep.* 7.26 steht, habe ich mich bewusst für eine nachgeschaltete Betrachtung entschieden. In meinen Augen steht der Brief in Verbindung mit zwei weiteren Episteln des achten Buches, deren Auftakt er bildet. Schließlich gibt er einen tieferen – wenn auch stilisierten – Einblick in die Beziehung der beiden Ehepartner.

> Incredibile est quanto desiderio tui tenear. In causa amor primum, deinde quod non consuevimus abesse. Inde est quod magnam noctium partem in imagine tua vigil exigo; inde quod interdiu, quibus horis te visere solebam, ad diaetam tuam ipsi me, ut verissime dicitur, pedes ducunt; quod denique aeger et maestus ac similis excluso a vacuo limine recedo. Unum tempus his tormentis caret, quo in foro et Samicorum litibus conteror. Aestima tu, quae vita mea sit, cui requies in labore, in miseria curisque solacium. Vale.

Calpurnias Abwesenheit und Plinius' daraus resultierende Sehnsucht nach seiner Frau sind Anlass des Schreibens. Recht sachlich erscheint Plinius' Erklärung des eigenen Verlangens (*desiderium*), sind es doch die Liebe (*amor*) und das ungewohnte Getrenntsein von Calpurnia, die dazu führen, schlaflos den Großteil der Nacht (*magnam partem noctium*) mit ihrem Bild vor Augen zu wachen (*in imagine tua vigil exigo*). Die Folgen der Sehnsucht nach Calpurnia zeigen sich darin, dass Plinius oftmals gedankenverloren zu ihrem Zimmer hinwandert (*ad diaetam tuam ipsi me* [...] *pedes ducunt)* und – wie der elegische *exclusus amator*[34] – unverrichteter Dinge krank (*aeger*) und traurig (*maestus*) zurückkehrt. Trost in dieser erbarmungswürdigen Situation (*in miseria curisque*) geben ihm lediglich die Pflichten des *negotium*.

Aus Plinius' einfühlsamen Worten[35] lässt sich auf ein inniges, von Liebe geprägtes Verhältnis zwischen den Eheleuten schließen, das auch durch den Altersunterschied nicht getrübt wurde und zudem Calpurnia als ideale Ehefrau erscheinen ließ.[36] Im Zuge dessen wird sie von Plinius in gleicher Form zur *puella docta* der elegischen Dichtung stilisiert – eine Frau, die nicht nur literarisch interessiert, sondern auch als gebildete Gesprächspartnerin erscheint, während

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[34] Judith Hindermann sieht darin einen Beleg für Plinius' Absicht, die Ehe der beiden als elegisches Liebesverhältnis zu stilisieren. Ihrer Ansicht nach versucht Plinius durch bewusste selektive Anleihen an die Motive der römischen Liebeselegie, wie sie in Properz (4.3), Ovids *Heroides* und Statius (*Silv.* 1.2 und 3.5) zu sehen sind, „ein positives Bild seiner Person für die Mit- und Nachwelt zu schaffen", ganz im Sinne des ihm eigenen „self-praise", ohne dabei selbst umfänglich die Eigenschaften eines elegischen *poeta*/*amator* auf sich zu übertragen, vgl. Hindermann 2010: 45–63; vgl. dazu auch Baeza-Angulo 2017: 292–318.

[35] Vgl. dazu auch Marchesi 2023: 281–303.

[36] Zu Plinius' Vorstellung von Calpurnia als idealer Ehefrau vgl. Shelton 1990: 163–186; Mosquera Souto 2000: 251–268; Pretis 2003: 127–146; Denooz 2010: 163–172; Hindermann 2013: 143–161.

sein epistolographisches Ich selbst Züge eines elegischen *exclusus amator* annimmt.[37] Dass sich diese Beziehung wohl angesichts von Calpurnias Erkrankung und ihrer damit wahrscheinlich in Verbindung stehenden Fehlgeburt intensiviert hat, geht aus der Datierung des Briefes im Kontext von *Ep.* 6.4 und *Ep.* 6.7 hervor, die auf den Frühsommer 107 datieren. Auch für *Ep.* 7.5 kann zu Recht angenommen werden, dass sie im selben Jahr entstanden ist wie die beiden erwähnten Briefe des sechsten Buches.

Plinius' Sehnen nach Calpurnia scheint nicht allein durch ihre Absenz begründet, sondern auch durch eine konkrete Angst um die Ehefrau hervorgerufen zu sein, die mit Blick auf *Ep.* 6.4 besonders stark wirkt. Dort schreibt Plinius zunächst, dass er sich nie mehr danach gesehnt habe, seine Frau zu begleiten, um sich mit eigenen Augen davon zu überzeugen, wie es um ihre Kräfte und ihre Gesundheit stehe (*cupiebam, ut oculis meis crederem quid viribus quid corpusculo apparares*), als in dieser Situation. Es sei zwar üblich, voller Sorge um den Menschen, den man am meisten liebt, zu sein, wenn dieser fern ist (*est enim suspensum et anxium de eo quem ardentissime diligas interdum nihil scire*). Im konkreten Fall jedoch kommt eine greifbare Angst hinzu, die durch Calpurnias unklare Krankheit begründet ist. Sie versetzt Plinius so sehr in Unruhe (*tum infirmitatis tuae ratio incerta et varia sollicitudine exterret*), dass er sich, getrieben von Furcht, schließlich Calpurnias Tod vorstellt (*vereor omnia, imaginor omnia, quaeque natura metuentium est, ea maxime mihi quae maxime abominor fingo*).

Plinius' Angst als literarische Hyperbel anzusehen, durch die er seine besondere Sehnsucht nach Calpurnia ausdrücken möchte, halte ich aufgrund der mehrfachen Erwähnung von Calpurnias schwacher Gesundheit für zweifelhaft. Viel eher sehe ich sie als Ausdruck einer existenziellen Angst, die Plinius innerlich aufwühlt und ihn dazu veranlasst, sie zu formulieren und mitzuteilen. Offensichtlich ist für Plinius Calpurnias unklare Erkrankung, die sie in Lebensgefahr bringt, eine Demarkationslinie, die den sonst so pflichtbewussten und fleißigen Politiker erschüttert und ihn dazu bringt, sein eigenes *monimentum*, das er zu hinterlassen gedenkt, wenigstens temporär aus den Augen zu verlieren.

Aus der Synopse der analysierten Briefe des siebten Buches ergeben sich somit zwei Ereignisse, die als besondere Faktoren für Plinius' zeitlich bedingte Wesensänderung gelten. Einerseits ist dies die Wahrnehmung der eigenen Erkrankung, die Plinius meines Erachtens durch die Infektion mit *Malaria tertiana* und deren rezidivierenden Charakter erfahren hat. Diese tückische Krankheit war für den historischen Plinius nicht allein im Akutzustand lebensbedrohlich, sondern setzte ihm auch Jahre nach der eigentlichen Infektion durch wiederkehrende Fieberepisoden und Erschöpfungszustände gesundheitlich zu,

[37] Vgl. Hindermann 2010: 51.

sodass es zu Leistungseinschränkungen kam, die ihn bei seinem Streben nach *fama* und *aeternitas* behinderten.

Andererseits hat die reale Erkrankung Calpurnias den Cäcilier ebenso stark beeinflusst und bei der Bewältigung der alltäglichen Verpflichtungen nachweislich beeinträchtigt. Diese verursachte in ihm letztlich eine geradezu paranoide Angst, Calpurnia zu verlieren – eine Angst, die Plinius lähmte, womöglich eine depressive Verstimmung und Melancholie auslöste, die eine gewisse Zeit anhielt und erst mit Calpurnias gesundheitlicher Stabilisierung abnahm. Unter welcher Grunderkrankung Calpurnia konkret gelitten haben könnte, ist unbekannt. Allerdings scheint es plausibel, dass eine Fehlgeburt ihre prekäre Situation verschärfte, wie aus zwei weiteren Briefen des achten Buches, die in ähnlicher Weise auf das Jahr 107 datiert sind, deutlich wird.

III. DAS ENDE DER ANGST UND PLINIUS' AUFKEIMENDE HOFFNUNG – DIE ANALYSE DER BRIEFE DES ACHTEN BUCHES

Auch im achten Epistelbuch sind Krankheit und Tod in der engeren Familie und unter Freunden Themen, die Plinius bewegen und zur literarischen Auseinandersetzung fordern. Festzustellen ist jedoch, dass Plinius' Gemütslage bzw. die seines epistolographischen Ichs in der zweiten Hälfte des Buches aufgehellter erscheint als in Buch VII und zu Beginn von Buch VIII. Das dürfte wohl mit Calpurnia und ihrem sich bessernden Gesundheitszustand zu tun haben, der ihn hoffnungsvoll stimmt, zumal eine Ursache gefunden zu sein scheint, wie *Ep.* 8.10 und *Ep.* 8.11 suggerieren.

A) *Ep.* 8.10

Die erste der beiden unmittelbar zusammenstehenden Episteln wendet sich an Calpurnias Großvater, den aus Comum stammenden römischen Ritter Lucius Calpurnius Fabatus.[38] An diesen hat Plinius im gesamten Korpus insgesamt neun Briefe namentlich geschrieben, weitere nehmen Bezug auf ihn, ohne seinen Namen zu nennen.[39] Der Anlass des Schreibens in 8.10 ist die traurige Mitteilung von Calpurnias Fehlgeburt:

> Quo magis cupis ex nobis pronepotes videre, hoc tristior audies neptem tuam abortum fecisse, dum se praegnantem esse puellariter nescit, ac per hoc quaedam. Quem errorem magnis documentis expiavit, in

[38] Die Biographie des Lucius Calpurnius Luci filius Oufentina Fabatus ist durch eine auf das Jahr 112 n. Chr. datierte Inschrift (CIL 5, 5267; ILS 2721, Comum; PIR² C 208; PME C 53.) in ihren Grundzügen gut belegt, vgl. auch Stein 1897: 137; Demougin 1992: 613–614, Nr. 713; Birley 2000: 45.

[39] Vgl. Birley 2000: 45.

> summum periculum adducta. Igitur, ut necesse est graviter accipias senectutem tuam quasi paratis posteris destitutam, sic debes agere dis gratias, quod ita tibi in praesentia pronepotes negaverunt, ut servarent neptem, illos reddituri, quorum nobis spem certiorem haec ipsa quamquam parum prospere explorata fecunditas facit. Isdem nunc ego te quibus ipsum me hortor moneo confirmo. Neque enim ardentius tu pronepotes quam ego liberos cupio, quibus videor a meo tuoque latere pronum ad honores iter et audita latius nomina et non subitas imagines relicturus. Nascantur modo et hunc nostrum dolorem gaudio mutent. Vale.

Wie aus den Zeilen zu erfahren ist, hatte Calpurnia einen *abortus* erlitten (*neptem tuam abortum fecisse*), den sie aus jugendlicher Unwissenheit um ihre Schwangerschaft (*dum se praegnantem esse puellariter nescit*) und daraus resultierender Unachtsamkeit erfahren hat (*custodienda praegnantibus omittit, facit omittenda*). Hierfür musste sie, wie Plinius im feierlichen Duktus – *magnis documentis expiavit* – schreibt, Sühne tun und hätte dafür fast mit ihrem Leben bezahlt (*in summum periculum adducta*). Trotz dieses Unglücks überwiegt die Dankbarkeit, da Calpurnias Leben gerettet werden konnte (*debes agere dis gratias, quod ita tibi in praesentia pronepotes negaverunt, ut servarent neptem*).

Im vorliegenden Brief offenbart Plinius den mutmaßlichen Grund für seine Sorgen um Calpurnia sowie die Ursache ihrer zuvor als mysteriös beschriebenen Krankheit, die in den Briefen des sechsten und siebten Buches noch unklar geblieben war. Calpurnia war unbemerkt schwanger und verlor das Kind – nach Plinius' eigener Aussage – aufgrund ihrer „mädchenhaften Unkenntnis". Wahrscheinlicher ist jedoch, dass eine natürliche Ursache den Schwangerschaftsabbruch herbeiführte. Medizinische Komplikationen in jungen Jahren sind vielfältig,[40] und Plinius' Hinweis auf die Lebensgefahr lässt vermuten, dass ihr jugendliches Alter eine Rolle spielte. Heute gelten Schwangerschaften bei Frauen unter achtzehn Jahren als Risikoschwangerschaften, die mit einer erhöhten Wahrscheinlichkeit für Komplikationen wie Präeklampsie einhergehen können – eine Erkrankung, die eine vorzeitige Ablösung der Plazenta, Blutungen oder eine Frühgeburt zur Folge haben kann.[41] Alternativ wäre auch eine Tubargravidität denkbar, die in 90 % der Fälle zu einem Tubarabort mit starken Blutungen führt und für die Mutter lebensbedrohlich sein kann.[42]

Auffällig ist, dass Plinius' Verweis auf Calpurnias „Unkenntnis" eine implizite Schuldzuweisung enthält. Während er sie in *Ep.* 7.26 als *puella docta* – als gebildete junge Frau – charakterisiert, erscheint sie hier als naiv und

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[40] Vgl. dazu u. a. Fischer et. al. 2016: 347–618; Kruse, Pierdant 2022: 70–79.

[41] Vgl. Klapp 2003: 209–217.

[42] Vgl. Hosang 2009: 37–51.

unerfahren in Fragen der Schwangerschaft und Geburt. Die bereits zuvor erwähnte Buch-Kind-Analogie legt nahe, dass Plinius ihrer Unwissenheit zumindest eine Mitverantwortung für den Verlust zuschreibt: Seiner Ansicht nach hätte Wissen solche Fehler möglicherweise verhindern können. Gleichzeitig schwingt in dieser Zuschreibung ein unterschwelliger Optimismus mit, da der Schwangerschaftsabbruch zumindest als Beweis für Calpurnias grundsätzliche Fruchtbarkeit gewertet werden kann. Plinius suggeriert damit, dass sie durch den Erwerb von Wissen zukünftige Fehlgeburten vermeiden und zu einer *puella doctior* werden könnte – zu einer Frau, die in der Lage ist, eine Schwangerschaft erfolgreich auszutragen.

Obgleich sich die genaue Ursache des Aborts nicht sicher bestimmen lässt, wird in diesem Brief deutlich, dass Plinius trotz seiner Enttäuschung über den Verlust des Kindes vor allem Erleichterung über Calpurnias Genesung empfindet. Noch stärker als der Schmerz überwiegt die Hoffnung auf eine erneute Schwangerschaft, die diesmal glücklich verlaufen möge (*nascantur modo et hunc nostrum dolorem gaudio mutent*).[43] Gleichzeitig offenbart der Brief jedoch auch, dass der Schwangerschaftsabbruch Plinius' zentrales Lebensziel – Nachruhm für sich und seine Familie – zunächst in weite Ferne rückt. Denn es sind gerade die Nachkommen, durch die sein Name weitergetragen und in der Erinnerung der Nachwelt gefestigt würde. Dies verdeutlicht er, wenn er schreibt, dass er sich nicht weniger Kinder wünsche als Fabatus Urenkel (*neque enim ardentius tu pronepotes quam ego liberos cupio*), denen sie beide einen geachteten Namen (*audita latius nomina*) und einen geebneten Weg zu Ruhm und Ehre (*pronum ad honores iter*) hinterlassen hätten. Plinius impliziert hier, dass er selbst eines Tages zu den ruhmreichen Vorfahren zählen möchte, deren Name nicht nur das Ansehen der Familie vergrößert, sondern durch die Nachkommen in der *memoria* als ein *monimentum aeternum* verewigt würde. Calpurnias Fehlgeburt stellt dieses Ziel vorerst in Frage – doch die Hoffnung bleibt bestehen, dass eine spätere Schwangerschaft den gewünschten Erben hervorbringen wird.

Plinius' düstere Gemütslage verstärkte sich durch die unklare Erkrankung und den schlechten Gesundheitszustand Calpurnias. Diese Umstände gefährdeten nicht nur seine Hoffnung auf Nachkommen, sondern beeinflussten auch spürbar die Stimmung seiner Briefe in den Büchern VII und VIII. Bestätigt wird diese Annahme durch die zweite, in diesem Kontext aufschlussreiche Epistel an Calpurnias Tante.

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[43] Nicht gänzlich auszuschließen bleibt die Annahme, dass es sich bei Plinius' Aussagen in einigen Teilen des Briefes um sorgfältige und rhetorisch ausgefeilte Konstruktionen handelt, die den Gepflogenheiten des sozialen Umgangs mit dem enttäuschten Großvater bzw. Großschwiegervater Fabatus entsprechen, um diesen verständnisvoll und versöhnlich zu stimmen.

B) *Ep.* 8.11

Calpurnias Tante väterlicherseits, Calpurnia Hispulla, Tochter des in *Ep.* 8.10 erwähnten Lucius Calpurnius Fabatus, ist in Plinius' Gesamtwerk zweimal Briefadressatin.[44] Neben *Ep.* 4.19, worin das Lob auf Calpurnias Nichte im Fokus steht, ist dies *Ep.* 8.11. Darin informiert Plinius ähnlich wie in *Ep.* 8.10 Fabatus nun Hispulla über die erlittene Fehlgeburt ihrer Nichte, deren zur Sorge gereichenden Gesundheitszustand und ihre allmähliche Genesung:

> Cum affectum tuum erga fratris filiam cogito etiam materna indulgentia molliorem, intellego prius tibi quod est posterius nuntiandum, ut praesumpta laetitia sollicitudini locum non relinquat. Quamquam vereor ne post gratulationem quoque in metum redeas, atque ita gaudeas periculo liberatam, ut simul quod periclitata sit perhorrescas. Iam hilaris, iam sibi iam mihi reddita incipit refici, transmissumque discrimen convalescendo metiri. Fuit alioqui in summo discrimine, – impune dixisse liceat – fuit nulla sua culpa, aetatis aliqua. Inde abortus et ignorati uteri triste experimentum. Proinde etsi non contigit tibi desiderium fratris amissi aut nepote eius aut nepte solari, memento tamen dilatum magis istud quam negatum, cum salva sit ex qua sperari potest. Simul excusa patri tuo casum, cui paratior apud feminas venia. Vale.

Mit größerer Empathie als in *Ep.* 8.10 – Plinius will aus Rücksicht auf Hispulla zunächst von der Rettung der Nichte aus der Gefahr, dann von den Ursachen hierfür erzählen – berichtet er, dass Calpurnia aufgrund der bereits bekannten Fehlgeburt – *inde abortus et ignorati uteri triste experimentum* – in Lebensgefahr geschwebt hat (*fuit alioqui in summo discrimine*) und diese zudem ohne Calpurnias Verschulden geschehen war (*fuit nulla sua culpa*). Wie zu erfahren ist, sei Calpurnia nun bereits wieder fröhlich (*iam hilaris*) und habe sich zu erholen begonnen (*iam [...] incipit refici*). Dass es allerdings recht ernst um sie gestanden habe, lasse sich an der Wiedergenesung bemessen (*transmissumque discrimen convalescendo metiri*).

Wie in *Ep.* 8.10 überragt auch hier auf den ersten Blick Plinius' Erleichterung bzw. die seines epistolographischen Ichs über die allmähliche Gesundung seiner Frau die Enttäuschung über den Verlust des Nachkommens. Calpurnias Rekonvaleszenz nämlich lässt aus seiner Sicht darauf hoffen (*cum salva sit ex qua sperari potest*), dass eine positiv verlaufende Schwangerschaft lediglich aufgeschoben, nicht aber aufgehoben erscheint (*memento tamen dilatum magis istud quam negatum*) – eine Erkenntnis, die sich auf die Aussage in *Ep.* 8.10 stützt, dass durch die Fehlgeburt Calpurnias grundsätzliche Fruchtbarkeit bezeugt wird (*quamquam parum prospere explorata fecunditas facit*).

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[44] Vgl. Birley 2000: 45.

Aus Plinius' Worten, insbesondere jenen des Schlussteils der Epistel, wird meines Erachtens deutlich, dass einerseits die Erleichterung über Calpurnias wahrnehmbare Erholung, die er *expressis verbis* beschreibt, besonders gegenwärtig ist und ihn von seiner Niedergeschlagenheit zu befreien vermag; andererseits aber auch, dass in ihm die leichte Hoffnung aufkeimt, in der Kinderlosigkeit der Ehe mit Calpurnia und dem damit verbundenen Fehlen eines so sehr herbeigesehnten Erbens – als Teil des eigenen intendierten *monimentum* im Streben nach *aeternitas* – lediglich eine temporäre Verzögerung wahrzunehmen, die ihn von seinem eingeschlagenen Weg nicht abbringen kann. Daher markiert *Ep.* 8.11 meines Erachtens die Wendung innerhalb Plinius' wahrnehmbar depressiv-melancholischer Phase, die ihn langsam, aber stetig aus seiner Dunkelheit hinaus auf den ursprünglich eingeschlagenen Lebensweg zurückführen soll.[45]

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG DER ERGEBNISSE

Die Analyse der Briefe ergibt ein klares Bild: Die von Roy Gibson festgestellte Stimmungsänderung in Plinius' siebtem Buch lässt sich einerseits auf seine eigene chronische Erkrankung zurückführen, die ihn nicht nur in Lebensgefahr brachte, sondern auch durch wiederkehrende Erschöpfungszustände seine Leistungsfähigkeit erheblich beeinträchtigte. Diese gesundheitlichen Einschränkungen scheinen eine zentrale Ursache für die emotionale Verstimmung zu sein, die in vielen Briefen des siebten Buches spürbar wird.

Zusätzlich verstärkt wird dieses Phänomen andererseits durch die zunächst unklare, sich jedoch als lebensbedrohlich herausstellende Erkrankung seiner Ehefrau Calpurnia. Die Briefe des achten Buches zeigen, dass Plinius große Angst um sie hatte. Ihre Abwesenheit sowie ihr kritischer Zustand, kombiniert mit seiner eigenen gesundheitlichen Schwäche, führten zu einer tiefen Gemütsverstimmung, die an Depression grenzte. Auch medizinisch wäre es denkbar, dass seine Veranlagung zur Melancholie durch eine Infektion mit *Malaria tertiana* verstärkt wurde.

Ein weiterer Faktor in Plinius' emotionaler Krise könnte sein Lebensziel gewesen sein, durch politische und literarische Leistungen ein *monimentum aeternum* zu hinterlassen, das von seinen Nachkommen bewahrt und vergrößert werden sollte. Da seine beiden ersten Ehen kinderlos blieben, war die Ehe mit der jungen Calpurnia möglicherweise seine letzte Chance, dieses Ziel zu erreichen. Der Verlust seiner Frau hätte daher nicht nur eine emotionale, sondern

[45] Obwohl auch in weiteren Briefen des achten Buches das Thema Tod präsent erscheint (u. a. *Ep*. 8.23), nimmt meines Erachtens die besondere Beklemmung, die noch in der ersten Hälfte wahrzunehmen war, in der zweiten Hälfte tendenziell ab und hat sich ab Buch IX vollkommen gewandelt.

auch eine existenzielle Katastrophe für sein Streben nach Nachruhm bedeutet. Ohne Nachkommen, die sein Andenken bewahren, wäre die Wahrscheinlichkeit, in Vergessenheit zu geraten, erheblich gestiegen.

Gerade in diesem Zusammenhang lässt sich die von Plinius selbst mehrfach implizit angedeutete Analogie zwischen Buch und Kind anführen: So wie er mit seinen literarischen Werken auf Nachruhm abzielt, betrachtet er auch leibliche Nachkommen als zentrales Element seiner *memoria*. Der Verlust des erhofften Kindes könnte daher nicht nur als persönliches Unglück, sondern auch als symbolischer Rückschlag für sein Streben nach Unsterblichkeit verstanden werden. Das Scheitern einer Schwangerschaft entspricht in dieser Lesart dem Scheitern eines literarischen Werks – und folglich verdunkelt sich sein Gemüt angesichts dieser doppelten Bedrohung seines *monimentum*.

Diese Überlegungen hängen eng mit Erik H. Eriksons Konzept der Generativität zusammen: dem Wunsch, bleibende Werte zu hinterlassen – sei es durch Nachkommen oder kulturelle und intellektuelle Leistungen. Plinius' Streben nach Nachruhm kann somit als Ausdruck generativer Sorge verstanden werden, die sowohl durch die Geburt eigener Kinder als auch durch das Verfassen literarischer Werke erfüllt werden sollte. Seine Krisenstimmung während Calpurnias Krankheit und der Fehlgeburt zeigt, wie eng diese beiden Aspekte für ihn verbunden waren: Der Verlust des erhofften Kindes bedrohte nicht nur seine persönliche Zukunft, sondern auch sein generatives Lebensziel.

Umso größer ist die Erleichterung, die in den Briefen zum Ausdruck kommt, als sich Calpurnia nach ihrer Fehlgeburt erholt. Trotz des tragischen Ereignisses sieht Plinius in der Schwangerschaft vor allem den Beweis ihrer Fruchtbarkeit (*Ep.* 8.10) und damit die Aussicht auf zukünftige Nachkommen (*Ep.* 8.11). Ähnlich wie eine überarbeitete Schrift nach anfänglichem Misserfolg schließlich doch noch zur Veröffentlichung reifen kann, bleibt für ihn die Hoffnung, dass eine spätere Schwangerschaft erfolgreich verläuft. Diese Erkenntnis bringt nicht nur sein epistolographisches Ich, sondern auch den historischen Plinius selbst aus seiner Niedergeschlagenheit heraus. Sie markiert einen Wendepunkt, an dem er sich allmählich aus seiner düsteren Gemütslage löst und gegen Ende des achten Buches zu der bekannten optimistischen Haltung zurückfindet, die ihn als Schriftsteller auszeichnet.[46]

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[46] Mit Blick auf Plinius' Selbstrepräsentation in Buch IX und X schreibt Roy Gibson (2013): „Pliny looks more confidently to the future, willing to anticipate in letter after letter a bright future in terms of his reception by posterity above all as a writer and literary figure."

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DEFINING PHILOSOPHY II: THE SIX *HORISMOI* OF AMMONIUS' INTRODUCTION TO HIS COMMENTARY ON PORPHYRY'S *ISAGOGE* (*IN ISAG*. 6.25–9.24 B.)[1]

by

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ABSTRACT: Building on the earlier exploration of the opening of Ammonius' commentary on the *Isagoge*, the study explores the definitions of philosophy introduced in the proem. Their sequence, grouping and eventual overlapping are employed to demonstrate the philosopher's control over his exposition, but also to hint at the all-encompassing nature of the philosophical wisdom, which through embracing all that is remains the most distinguished even if less-than-clear road to perfection (and thus, godhood).

KEYWORDS: Ammonius, Aristotle, philosophy, definition.

In its intent, Ammonius' introduction to Porphyry's *Isagoge* (*Eisagōgē*, known also under its Latin title *Quinque voces*) is addressed to a beginner:[2] therefore, it is hardly surprising that it holds little appeal to scholars interested in the history of logic, the reception of Aristotle, or even Porphyry himself. Indeed, for Jonathan Barnes, the proem is "several pages of waffle",[3] the commentary becoming of interest only after it turns to a discussion of the actual content of the *Isagoge* itself. Still, as I strove to demonstrate in *Defining Philosophy I*, the text – due to its particular position in the *cursus* and the care exercised in its structuring – might be worthy of more scholarly attention than it has

[1] The present study originated as part of research conducted under the terms of National Centre of Research grant NCN 2012/07/B/HS1/01609 (UKSW, Warsaw). This article builds upon the research detailed in Komorowska 2016, which highlighted the essential nature of the *horismos* within the wider educational framework as well as the importance of Porphyrian *Isagoge* within the Neoplatonic curriculum. All quotations from the Ammonian treatise follow the translation by Chase 2020, which also provides basic data and critical apparatus on the text.

[2] A fact openly acknowledged by Ammonius himself *In Isag*. 1; 20.15–24 *et al.* One may also note that the *Isagoge* itself was conceived as an introduction to the Aristotelian *Categories*, whose standing as the start of Aristotelian corpus stems ultimately to Andronicus of Rhodes himself (on this cf. e.g. Griffin 2015: 29–32, Hatzimichali 2016). On Ammonius' agreement with Porphyry's view of the *Categories* as intended for beginners cf. also Sorabji 1991: 2–3. On the philosopher's life and scholarly activity cf. Watts 2006: 204–232.

[3] Cf. Barnes 2006: xv.

hitherto received,[4] particularly given its privileged position at the opening stage of philosophical education. Effectively, this proem is the opening part of an introduction to systematic philosophical study – hence, it should, at least in theory, provide the modern reader with some insight into the pedagogical techniques of the (individual) author or with an illustrative example of Neoplatonic psychagogy. Also, precisely because of its introductory nature, the text may provide some insight into the ways in which authority, which is indispensable for the establishment of a proper teacher-student relationship, is communicated, or how the actual exposition relates to the student's *paideia*, a subject which needs, however, a separate comparative study.

To appreciate the intricacies of the proem's composition, it seems reasonable to remember the consecutive steps taken by the author in the construction of his 'wafflish' and slightly rambling exposition. Conceived as a general introduction to philosophy, it aims at opening the way into this field of study by introducing the subject of inquiry as well as providing its general characteristics. Thus, the general (i.e. subject-focused) section of the proem is divided between questions first of definition, and next, of the division of philosophy, which corresponds to the sequence *ti esti* (essence), *poion esti* (quality). Then and only then does Ammonius switch to the specific, *Isagoge*-oriented section, to *prolegomena sensu stricto*, i.e. to considerations concerning the aim, content, title, etc. of the original, Porphyrian text.[5] In this, the introduction to the *Isagoge* is somewhat reminiscent of the arrangement of the proems to existing *Categoriae* commentaries: in these the proper, specific prolegomena are preceded by ten questions concerning Aristotelian philosophy, starting with the division of philosophical schools (which, among others, serves to explain the emergence and naming of the Peripatetic tradition).[6]

As for the *horismos* (pp. 1–9.24 B.), the respective section falls into two parts. While I have discussed the sequence of the first section (concerning the nature and character of the definition itself), the second, much longer part is devoted to the central problem of the introduction: the definition of philosophy as such. No less than six *horismoi* are provided in this part of the proem – yet, in

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[4] On the subject cf. Komorowska 2016. Admittedly, the proems of the commentaries by Ammonius, Elias and David have been the subject of comparative study in Westerink, Trouillard, Ségonds 1990: XCIII–LVI, and proved of some interest to the more pedagogy-oriented investigations of Goulet-Cazé 1982: 277–280 and Hoffmann 1998.

[5] On the nature of proper *prolegomena* cf. Plezia 1946, Mansfeld 1994 *passim*; the ten points of the general introduction to the course on Aristotle are discussed in detail by Hadot (1990: 19–160).

[6] On the nature of these cf. above all the exhaustive analysis by I. Hadot and her team (Hadot 1990 *passim*); that the paradigmatic character of such a proem did not preclude certain individual input is manifested e.g. by the inclusion of the brief sketch on the history of *Categoriae* exegesis in Simplicius of Cilicia's commentary (Simpl. *In Cat*. 1.3–2.29).

a clear reference to the threefold classification introduced in the opening section (and traceable to Porphyry's own works),[7] Ammonius begins his overview with definitions which are most openly 'Porphyrian' in form, i.e. conform to the prescribed three models of defining – from the content, from the purpose, and from both content and purpose. Additionally, and in compliance with an approach which he assumed when discussing the definition as such, he illustrates these *horismoi* with references to grammar, rhetoric, and medicine.[8] The sequence of definitions provided at this point is as follows:[9]

1. Philosophy is cognition of beings qua beings (2.22–3.1)
2. Philosophy is cognition of things human and divine (3.1–2)
3. Philosophy is assimilation to god (3.7–4.14)
4. Philosophy is exercise in death (4.15–5.27)

As befits an heir to the Platonic tradition, two of the above derive directly from Plato's works.[10] As for (1), the later commentary by Elias identifies it as Pythagorean (Elias *In Isag*. 10.11–13).[11] As for (2), it is later than Plato, being frequently identified as Stoic.[12] Yet, it is to be noted that despite its Stoic origins, (2) enjoyed considerable popularity in imperial Platonism, appearing in Alcinous' *Handbook* (*Didascalicus*) and other sources.[13] Furthermore, it is worth noticing that while (1) and (2) are furnished with no explications or data concerning their actual origin, definitions (3) and (4) are accompanied by extensive (at least in comparison) considerations: effectively, while the introduction of (1) and (2) is accomplished in a mere eleven lines (*In Isag*. 2.22–3.7), the exploration of (3) and (4) takes almost three pages (*In Isag.* 3.7–5.27).

Incidentally, one may also note that the name of Plato (the first name to be mentioned in the work, at *In Isag*. 3.9) is expressly linked to the introduction of (3), i.e. the *homoiōsis* definition, which incidentally is also the first *ek tou*

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[7] Cf. Porphyry *In Ptol. Harm*. 11.19–24.

[8] Cf. Komorowska 2016.

[9] The sequence is described as synthetic in Elias *In Isag*. 8. 7–13.

[10] This is particularly manifest in the case of the latter two: the formula (4) is derived from *Phaedo* 82b, while (3) has its roots in the *Theaetetus* 172a–177c (for the most recent discussion of its history cf. Torri 2019, for earlier discussions cf. above all Sedley 1997, 1999). For the notion of *homoiōsis* in the philosophy of Plato, cf. also Lavecchia 2006, Annas 1998: 52–71.

[11] Still, he notes the impossibility of indicating the precise location of the *horismos* formula (Elias, *In Isag*. 10.13–14). One notices, however, that according to Elias (*In Isag*. 11.17–19) the Samian sage is also responsible for the Stoic formula i.e. (2). This results in a sequence: two Pythagorean definitions *ek tou hupokeimenou*, two Platonic definitions *ek tou telous*, one Aristotelian *apo tēs hyperochēs* and one Pythagorean *ek tēs etymologias*, which tends to privilege the position of Pythagoras within the framework of the definition.

[12] As signalled by Busse (*In Isag.* p. 3, *ad loc.*), the fact that the definition is not strictly Platonic in origin is also implied by Ammonius himself, when saying: τινὲς δὲ ὁρίζονται (3.26).

[13] On the provenance of the formula and its later assimilation into Platonic teachings cf. Brouwer 2014: 8–41.

telous horismos to feature in the proem; also, Plato's name appears no less than four times in the first four pages of the work.[14] This fact is quite striking given that Porphyry's name, in spite of the proem opening an exploration of his *Isagoge*, is first mentioned only near the end of the introduction, i.e. p. 20.21 B. Also noteworthy is the degree of attention paid to the investigation of the *ek tou telous* definitions, i.e. (3) and (4): both are discussed in considerable detail, with *verbatim* quotations from works considered both inspired by or relevant to the subject (Homer, Callimachus),[15] in contrast to the much briefer consideration given to (1) and (2).

The fifth definition is openly described as being Aristotelian in origin. It takes the general form:

5. Philosophy is *technē* of *technai* and *epistēmē* of *epistēmai*

Significantly, the manner of its introduction may appear to distinguish this particular *horismos* from the preceding four (see the μέντοι in 9.7).[16] This seems appropriate since the explanations given beforehand did not hint at a possibility of any *horismos* which would elude the *ek tou hupokeimenou* / *ek tou telous* distinction. Now, however, the reader is faced with a new, unexpected type i.e. an *ek tēs hyperochēs* definition, which defines philosophy not with respect to its subject or its aim, but rather through its standing with regard to other *epistēmai* and *technai* (one notices that an understanding of this particular definition is ultimately incumbent on an implied understanding of the related notions of *technē* and *epistēmē*). Furthermore, this particular *horismos* is also provided with additional explanations concerning its origin and nature, and several examples are introduced in order to illustrate philosophy's superiority to rhetoric, medicine and the poietic arts.

The final (sixth) definition appears once Ammonius has concluded his exploration of philosophy's manifold implications and reaffirmed the adequacy of Aristotelian *horismos*, i.e. in *In Isag*. 9.7–24. Interestingly, this last definition, attributed to Pythagoras himself, should be considered the original, oldest one – yet, it is given at the very end of the sequence:

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[14] The first mention appears in 3.9: οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Πλάτων ὡρίσατο. Then, Plato is mentioned in 4.18 (ἐγκύψας τῷ Πλάτωνος Φαίδωνι; "having studied Plato's *Phaedo*"), 4.24 (ἀλλὰ Πλάτωνος ἓν τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς γράμμ' ἀναλεξάμενο; "but read through one work of Plato's, the one on the soul"), and 4.28 (καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων παρακελεύεται μὴ ἐξάγειν ἑαυτόν; "After all, Plato too exhorts us not to kill ourselves"). The focus on Plato in 4.18–28 is due to the demands posed by the discussion of the correct understanding of Platonic *melētē thanatou*. Further mentions in the proem include 10.20, 21.19, 22.21.

[15] One notes that explanations and discussion follow immediately after the presentation of each of the four – such an approach is strikingly different to that preferred by Elias, who opts to present his eight definitions first, thus providing a general overview of the endeavour, and then follow this outline with a more detailed debate of individual *horismoi*.

[16] Cf. Denniston, Dover 1954: 406.

6. Philosophy is the love of wisdom (φιλοσοφία ἐστὶ φιλία σοφίας)

The inclusion of poetic quotations (from Archilochus and Homer)[17] notwithstanding, the relevant discussion remains brief, being centred on the revolutionary nature of Pythagoras' semantics (9.7–24). At the end, Ammonius simultaneously hints at the existence of more *horismoi* and dismisses them as irrelevant to the current discussion: εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὁρισμοί, ἀρκοῦσι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ("There are other definitions of philosophy, but these suffice", 9.23–24).

One may note that Elias, while basing his exploration of the Porphyrian text on the Ammonian text, feels compelled to provide at least some examples of those superfluous *alloi horismoi*, or 'other' definitions, notably those attributed to students of medicine and harmonics.[18] Yet, Although he patently knows of their existence, Ammonius opts to gloss over these in his own account. Also, in signalling the omission he deliberately draws attention to his authorial choice, asserting that the *horismoi* provided in his proem should suffice. But for what do they suffice? Certainly, for the task he delineated in the opening section i.e. for the purpose of delineating philosophy and for establishing its specific, distinctive traits.

THE 'PLATONIC' FOUR

Initially, the definitions are categorised according to their form with (1) and (2) being characterised as definitions from matter (*ek tou hupokeimenou*), while (3) and (4) are described as being derived from the perceived end (*ek tou telous*). Hardly surprisingly, from the very beginning Ammonius emphasises the similarity of (1) and (2) – not only do both of them rely on an understanding of the subject matter of the lore, but, to all intents and purposes, they both refer to the notion of cognition (*gnōsis*), while the expression of the human and divine (*anthrōpina kai theia*) can easily be equated with *beings qua beings*. After all, he notes, the sense of the said expression is 'things/substances mortal and immortal' which in turn easily converts into the study of beings as such.

Having briefly discussed the two *gnōsis*-related definitions, i.e. (1) and (2), Ammonius turns to the second pair, distinguished by their reliance on the notion of *telos*: while at least at first glance his chief interest lies with (3), yet

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[17] The Archilochean passage is F. 211 West, then the second passage is attributed to Homer, and related to Psi 712, while the third can be recognised as *Ilias* 15.412. It is to be noted that the two Homeric passages appear in similar contexts and an identical sequence in Aristocles of Messene fr. VI. 47–48 Heiland, which may suggest that the two became topical in the relevant discussion well before the times of Ammonius. The latter's reliance on the already existing tradition may additionally explain the seemingly "excessive" literacy of the passage.

[18] Cf. Elias *In Isag.* 9.6–10.6.

he devotes some consideration to (4), an exercise in defining death. Then, at 5.23 he takes an apparent step backwards, turning to definitions (1) and (2) once again – this digression becomes all the more important once we realise that it immediately precedes the introduction of Aristotelian *horismos*. While the return is described as being motivated by logical needs (having effectively discussed the *ek tou telous* nature of (3) and (4), Ammonius moves back to consider the immanent character of the original two definitions), it is still located at the end of the 'Platonic part', rounding up the relevant part of the proem and marking the end of the debate concerning two principal kinds of definition of philosophy that have emerged (which in turn makes it corresponding to the debate in 1.18–2.19).

Originally the two opening definitions, i.e. (1) and (2) were described as being practically equivalent, differing only in their clarity (δῆλον ὅτι ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, διαφέρει δὲ μόνῳ τῷ σαφεῖ τε καὶ ἀσαφεῖ; "It is clearly the same thing as the preceding one, and differs only in terms of clarity and lack of clarity", 3.2–3). Also, it is quite noteworthy that the two are immediately described as *ek tou hupokeimenou* (3.5–6) – the debate in the digression would thus appear redundant (at least to some degree). Still, it is precisely because of this earlier characterisation that one may wish to pay some attention to the subject's sudden re-emergence. Now, its cause appears to be grounded in a logical issue. As Ammonius is quick to note (*In Isag*. 5.28–31):

> Ζητῆσαι δὲ λοιπὸν ἄξιον, ὡς εἰ τέλος ἔχει ἡ φιλοσοφία τὴν τῶν ὄντων γνῶσιν, πῶς τὸν ὁρισμὸν τὸν λέγοντα "γνῶσις τῶν ὄντων ᾗ ὄντα ἐστί", καὶ πάλιν "γνῶσις θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων", ἐκ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου φαμὲν καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ τέλους.
>
> It is worth investigating next, why, if philosophy has the knowledge of being as its end, we say that the definition that says that it is "the knowledge of beings qua beings", and again "the knowledge of divine and human things", is from the substrate and not from the end.

At first glance, the detour appears to conform to a standard rhetorical technique of refuting the hypothetical objections of a potential antagonist (here: an alternative explanation of the *horismoi*) – it may be understood as a way to anticipate and preclude possible confusion that might have stemmed from the mention of knowledge in the *ek tou hupokeimenou* definitions. Yet, this anticipatory move appears to be endowed with additional meaning: firstly, it acknowledges the actual difficulty of relegating (1) and (2) to the category of *ek tou hupokeimenou* definitions; secondly, it introduces a further twist to the defining enterprise itself as it effectively undermines the clear-cut division of the definition-type. Certainly, the first admission is linked to the nature of knowledge as such – by necessity, any knowledge (and any cognition) is knowledge of something (*hupokeimenon*, subject matter). Nevertheless, the cognitive process is irrevocably

aimed at complete cognition /perfect knowledge of the matter: in other words, in studying the *hupokeimenon*, one aims at knowledge. Thus, knowledge of any *hupokeimenon* can be conceived as an end in itself, which necessarily implies that (1) and (2) are not only *ek tou hupokeimenou*, but also *ek tou telous*, which would bring them closer to (3) and (4).

Let us briefly consider the contents of the Ammonian reassumption beginning at *In Isag*. 5.28. One notes that the explanatory part opens – once again – with medicine: the art has already been invoked (in the context of both *hupokeimena* and *telos*) at 2.1–3, where Ammonius introduces the figure of a medic whose job involves caring for human bodies, but who simultaneously aims at providing health:

> οἷον ὁ ἰατρὸς ἔχει ὑποκείμενα μὲν τὰ ἀνθρώπεια σώματα (περὶ γὰρ ταῦτα καταγίνεται), τέλος δὲ τὸ ὑγιάσαι ταῦτα (τούτου γὰρ στοχάζεται).
>
> For instance, a doctor has human bodies as subjects, for that is what he is concerned with, while his end is to heal them (for that is what he aims at).

and shortly after this (2.5–9), he characterises medicine itself in the following manner:

> ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου ὡς ὅταν εἴπωμεν "ἰατρική ἐστιν τέχνη περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα σώματα καταγινομένη", ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τέλους ὡς ὅταν εἴπωμεν "ὑγείας περιποιητική", ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συναμφοτέρου "τέχνη περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα σώματα καταγινομένη ὑγείας περιποιητική".
>
> From the subject, as when we say "medicine is an art that concerns itself with human bodies"; from the end, as when we say "producing health"; and from both, "an art concerning itself with human bodies that produces health".

It is well to keep both of these in mind when considering the remarks on medicine as portrayed in the first passage, with a certain emphasis put on the stochastic character of the art:[19] medicine, after all, differs from true cognition in its fallibility. For now, however, suffice it to note that Ammonius starts his (re)exploration of (1)–(4) from the final form of the definition i.e. the *ex amphoterōn*.

Next, he momentarily abandons medicine in order to return to philosophy and its two parts: the theoretical and the practical. It is at this very point that both the *ek tou telous* definitions, i.e. (3) and (4), become explicitly associated with the practical part – they both describe the ultimate end of philosophical practice, defining the art as striving after a *telos*; by implication, the two *ek tou*

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[19] For an extensive analysis of the concept cf. Ierodiakonou 1995, for its alternative applications also Komorowska 2009.

hupokeimenou definitions appear linked to the other, theoretical part. This latter choice would certainly sit well with their heavy reliance on cognition, inescapably understood as cognition of something. Indeed, this association appears to be the very crux of Ammonius' argument. After all, cognition is by necessity cognition of something, the two (*gnōsis* and *gnōston*) being inseparable (6.18–19):

> ἡ γὰρ γνῶσις τινῶν ἐστι γνῶσις· ἅμα οὖν καὶ ὅτι γνῶσις καὶ τινῶν γνῶσις συμπεριλήψεται.
>
> For knowledge is knowledge of some things simultaneously, therefore, [the definition] will encompass both the fact that it is knowledge and of what things it is knowledge.

Clearly, a definition which relies on the notion of cognition must be both *ek tou telous* (as in naming cognition as the end) and *ek tou hupokeimenou* (as in having to account for the actual subject of the relevant cognition). Also, one notices, the difficulty has its roots (or at least so the Alexandrian claims) in the unique character of philosophy – being purely theoretical, it has no need of a 'double' definition (6.17–18):

> οὐκ ἂν ἄλλον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου δέξαιτο ὁρισμόν, ἄλλον δὲ ἐκ τοῦ τέλους.
>
> [philosophy] could not receive one definition from the substrate and another from the end.

Despite its essential unity the duality of philosophy as divisible into theoretical and practical part is thus portrayed as contributing to the problems concerning (1) and (2). Because of the very prominence (and obviousness) of the *telos* in the other (practical) definitions, and also because of the lack of reference to the matter of *homoiōsis* or, indeed, to the actual subject of the proposed *melētē* (in both cases the end is given while no mention is ever made of actual means of its achievement), two cognition-based *horismoi* project appearance of centering on the subject matter, while in fact they may be taken as the *ex amphoin* (*ex amphoterōn*) kind (6.19–21):

> καὶ οἶμαί γε, εἴτε ἐκ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου τὸν τοιοῦτον ὁρισμὸν εἴτε ἐκ τοῦ τέλους εἴποι τις, οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν εἴη ἄν.
>
> And I think that whether one said such a definition came from the substrate or from the end, one would not be wrong, but rather it would be from both.

Its apparent consistency notwithstanding, a slight hitch seems to emerge in the argument: while 6.4–6 defines philosophy as having two parts (the theoretical and the philosophical, which accounts for the similarity to medicine and justifies the formulation of two sets of definitions), 6.15–16 expressly states that its form is straightforwardly theoretical:

> ἡ δὲ φιλοσοφία ἁπλοῦν ἔχουσα τὸ θεωρητικὸν εἶδος (αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ μόνου ἕνεκεν γίνεται τοῦ γνῶναι τὰ πράγματα) [...]
>
> Philosophy, for its part, which has a purely theoretical form (for it exists only for knowing realities) [...]

The answer lies, I believe, in the definition Ammonius suddenly reveals to be (despite his earlier protestations) *par excellence ex amphoin*, i.e. the one reliant on the notion of *homoiōsis*. The theoretical nature of such *homoiōsis* being hard to deny (particularly in light of the inspired quotations in 3.12–23),[20] the philosophical activity is hence elevated into the realm of theory, with the seemingly practical end of *melētē thanatou* constituting a reflection of an essentially theoretical endeavour. Perfect cognition of *ta onta*, being the ultimate end for the philosopher (as well as the *idion* of godhead), the 'practice' of *homoiōsis* becomes an entirely intellectual, theoretical endeavour, the practical (ethical) results of the study remaining secondary to the theoretical.

This apparently rhetorical passage should thus be regarded as a more detailed reappraisal of the earlier discussion; after all, it leaves the reader with a revised description of the definitions:

(1) and (2) are reclassified as *ex amphoin*, even though expediency and formal analogies with *ek hupokeimenou horismoi* may lead to the simplifying classification of them as *ek hupokeimenou*,

(3) is elevated to the most straightforwardly complete *ex amphoin horismos* (yet, no explanations are provided for this decision),

(4) appears to retain the *ek tou telous* definition, while being simultaneously associated with the actual practice of philosophy; all the same, this practical aspect may justifiably raise questions concerning the *hupokeimenon*. Thus, while the definition retains its formal *ek tou telous* character, its actual nature is revealed as being much more complex.[21]

Thus, effectively, the four definitions outlined in *In Isag*. 2.22–5.27 are revealed to carry certain traits that will reverberate throughout the considerations of Plato's philosophical output: they are not necessarily what they appear at first glance to be. Instead, they possess unexpected depth, carrying meaning much deeper than their simple form may suggest, hinting at something beyond

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[20] The quotations deal respectively with divine knowledge, divine munificence, and divine immortality, thus underlining the three most evident qualities of the divine nature and, simultaneously, the crucial difference between the mortality of men and the indestructibility of the gods. Ammonius points out that the duality of divine powers (manifested through knowledge and munificence) is reflected in the duality of human activities (classed as cognitive and practical).

[21] One may be reminded of the fact that in the Neoplatonic curriculum *Phaedo*, the very dialogue that actually promotes the *melētē* would be linked to the development of purificatory (katharctic) virtues. The Neoplatonic commentaries on the dialogue, with extensive commentary, are to be found in Westerink 1976–77.

the immediate import of their wording. This is particularly manifest in the case of (3), which appears incomplete because of its failure to acknowledge the matter (i.e. *ta hupokeimena*) while focusing on the *telos* (6.22–23):

> τοῦ τε λέγοντος "ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπῳ" οὐ προσδιορίζοντος ἐν τίσιν ἡ ὁμοίωσις [...]
>
> from the one that says "assimilation to God insofar as is possible for mankind" without giving an additional definition of what the assimilation consists in [...]

In addition, it seems important that the four definitions, with the possible exception of (4), appear to represent the most complete, exhaustive kind, which may be taken as a sign of the comprehensiveness of Plato's approach. Still, it is to be noted that (4), as made manifest in the story of Cleombrotus, cannot be comprehended in its simplest formula, i.e. without the input of the others. Indeed, it seems safe to note that the above four definitions work together to provide an exhaustive and comprehensible image of philosophy. Thus, effectively, (1) and (2) provide insight into the nature of both *homoiōsis* and *melētē*, this insight being indispensable for a correct understanding of the later, seemingly *ek tou telous*, pair. In turn, the exquisite conciseness and brevity of (3) and (4) demand explanation: such explanation is effectively provided by (1) and (2). In this context, it may be instructive that while introducing (4) Ammonius refers to the story of Cleombrotus of Ambracia and his unfortunate confusion concerning the nature of *melētē*,[22] the story being faithfully reported in Elias (*In Isag*. 14.1–13).[23] The four definitions become clear only when considered together: while (1) and (2) appear to excessively simplify the matter in hand by forgoing an indication of purpose, (3) and (4) emerge as too cryptic to be understood in isolation from the other two.

This mutual dependence of the four formulae affects their standing as independent *horismoi*. Even more importantly, it interferes with their being understood (particularly at the beginning of philosophical instruction), while at the same time highlighting the importance of due appreciation of philosophical *asapheia*. Taken in isolation they may appear misleading or plain incomprehensible on account of the conciseness that remains excessive at this stage of the instruction. This means that for the time being at least (1) to (4) are to be regarded as a separate group, a fact made manifest by the Ammonian detour and his

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[22] 4.18–27, the passage includes an epigram by Callimachus (*Ep*. 23 Will.). The tale is supplemented by additional quotations from the *Phaedo* 62b and more detailed explanations by Ammonius himself (55.3–27).

[23] One may note that according to Elias Cleombrotus' error is shared by the Stoics, who tended to see philosophy as preparation of physical death (τοῦ φυσικοῦ θανάτου), cf. Elias *In Isag*. 14.15sq.

careful reconsideration: this latter, one might say, contains a promise of development, of leading an alumnus to the stage at which Plato's intentional *asapheia* will cease to interfere with a student's understanding of his words. In a manner of speaking, it may be asserted that Ammonius began his overview with Plato in order to show that his definitions, taken in their simple form, lack the apparatus necessary for full comprehension, while being in fact quite effective in their task as definitions. This efficacy, however, will become clear only once one considers the essential duality of philosophy, itself a mirror of the dual powers of the divine. This duality is not only expressly mentioned with direct reference to the *Theaetetus* definition,[24] but it is also re-emphasised later in the proem, as Ammonius turns to the discussion of the division of philosophy (11.10–16):

> ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐλέγομεν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὁμοίωσιν θεῷ εἶναι, ὁ δὲ θεὸς διττὰς ἔχει τὰς ἐνεργείας, τὰς μὲν γνωστικὰς πάντων τῶν ὄντων, τὰς δὲ προνοητικὰς ἡμῶν τῶν καταδεεστέρων, εἰκότως ἡ φιλοσοφία διαιρεῖται εἰς τὸ θεωρητικὸν καὶ πρακτικόν· διὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ γινώσκομεν τὰ ὄντα, διὰ δὲ τοῦ πρακτικοῦ προνοούμεθα τῶν καταδεεστέρων, καὶ οὕτως ἐξομοιοῦμεν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ.
>
> For since we said that philosophy is assimilation to God, and God has twofold activities, some that are cognitive of all beings, and others that are providential of us inferior beings, philosophy is rightly divided into theoretical and practical. For through the theoretical we know beings, while through the practical we exercise providence for the inferior, and thus we assimilate ourselves to God.

The phrasing at this point is symptomatic: while the most obvious point of reference lies with (3), the accompanying discussion makes plentiful use of the other three definitions. Thus, *to theōrētikon* being responsible for the acquisition of knowledge and hence, related to (1) and (2); at the same time, *to praktikon* is aimed at the actual goal of bettering the human position, which corresponds to the practical orientation of *melētē thanatou* in (4). In this, Ammonius appears to look back at the perfection of (3) as implicitly reflecting both the *hupokeimenon* and the *telos* and easily converted to a reflection of both the theoretical and the practical.

The duality of philosophy is first mentioned in *In Isag.* 6.5–7 as Ammonius notes:

> ἐκεῖνο δὲ πρῶτον σκοπητέον, ὡς ἡ μὲν φιλοσοφία τὸ μέν τι ἔχουσα μέρος θεωρητικὸν τὸ δὲ πρακτικὸν διττὸν ἔχει καὶ τὸ τέλος.

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[24] *In Isag*. 3.9–16: ὁ γὰρ θεὸς διττὰς ἔχει τὰς ἐνεργείας, τὰς μὲν γνωστικάς, καθ' ἃς τὰ πάντα γινώσκει, [...] τὰς δὲ προνοητικὰς τῶν καταδεεστέρων, καθ' ἃς τοῦ κόσμου ὅλου προνοεῖται, [...] ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος κατ' ἄμφω βούλεται ἐξομοιοῦν ἑαυτὸν τῷ θεῷ ("For God has two kinds of activities: some are cognitive, by which he knows all things [...] and others are providential of more inferior things, by which he exercises providence over the whole world [...]. The philosopher wishes to assimilate himself to God in both respects").

> Yet one must first consider how philosophy, which has one part theoretical and the other practical, has a twofold end as well.

The duality of *telos* results in a certain difficulty when attempting a definition as it must account for two distinct, but mutually overlapping ends. Thus, the intellectual, cognitive end is achieved through the acquisition of knowledge – a part corresponding to (1) and (2) – while the practical end is most straightforwardly outlined in (4). Essentially, the double nature of philosophical endeavour necessitates the emergence of distinct, but overlapping definitions – yet, when carefully examined, each of them appears, in a way, sufficient.

Having demonstrated the complexity of the four initial definitions, Ammonius turns to those he expressly associates with Aristotle and Pythagoras. Is this because the search did not produce satisfactory results? Not at all – the four *horismoi* that have been discussed above are, after all, illustrative of the nature of philosophy. Nevertheless, Ammonius feels the need to introduce two more, fathered respectively by Aristotle and Pythagoras, thinkers of paramount importance for Neoplatonic philosophy (and, in Aristotle's case, the Neoplatonic curriculum). The two appear as a supplement to the preceding four, varying from them in form and character: neither, one notices, refers to either subject or end. Instead, the two final definitions emphasise philosophy's uniqueness, its special, privileged status among all sciences and poietic arts. In this, they look back to Ammonius' own emphasis on the unique status of philosophy in *In Isag*. 1.15–17 where philosophy emerges as the source of definitions for all other sciences and arts.

INTRODUCING ARISTOTLE

Having seemingly concluded his discussion of the four Platonic *horismoi*, Ammonius turns to Aristotle (and one would do well to remember that it is actually Aristotle who fathered the ultimate reference point of his discussion, the *Categoriae*, the treatise constituting the object of Porphyrian interest in the *Isagoge*). In a way, it is this fifth definition that remains of crucial importance to the entire proem: anticipated in the opening paragraphs of the work, it comes from the author of *Categoriae*, the work which in itself provides an introduction to philosophy proper and the 'model' for philosophical definitions.

It is to be noted that regardless of its firm attribution there is nowhere in the original corpus where the definition of philosophy is given in the precise form provided by Ammonius in *In Isag*. 6.25–28:

> Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὁρισμὸς Ἀριστοτέλους ἐκ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς αὐτῆς, ἧς ἔχει πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας, λέγων "φιλοσοφία ἐστὶ τέχνη τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστήμη ἐπιστημῶν", τοιῷδέ τινι τρόπῳ πρὸς ταύτην ἰόντος τὴν ἀπόδοσιν.

> There is another definition by Aristotle of philosophy, from its superiority over other sciences and arts, which says that "philosophy is the art of arts and the science of sciences"; and he proceeds as follows toward his account.

While Elias is quick to supply additional information on the origins of the definition (effectively, it originates in the Aristotelian *Metaphysics*),[25] no additional data is provided by Ammonius' text.[26] Still, regardless of how specific the exegesis is in identifying the source of the relevant passage, it is noteworthy that our quotation is not a quotation at all – instead, it is an inference from a much longer text. Additionally, when considering the precise origin one may also mention the possible relevance of the *Metaphysics* K 7 with its discussion on the nature of knowledge, i.e. *epistēmē* (1063b36–1064a1):

> Πᾶσα δ' ἐπιστήμη ζητεῖ τινὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ αἰτίας περὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ὑφ' αὑτὴν ἐπιστητῶν, οἷον ἰατρικὴ καὶ γυμναστικὴ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἑκάστη τῶν ποιητικῶν καὶ μαθηματικῶν.
>
> Every science seeks certain principles and causes for each of its objects – e.g. medicine and gymnastics and each of the other sciences, whether productive or mathematical.
>
> (trans. J. Barnes)

The above sits well with Ammonius' insistence that philosophy provides the first principles of all other theoretical disciplines, while also conforming to the characteristic division into *technai* and *epistēmai* (1.15–17), here neatly implied when mentioning both the poietic and the theoretical sciences (which also hints at the close relation of the definition with the 'Platonic four' due to the inclusion of both theory and practice). Also noteworthy is the subsequent assertion of the Stagirite (1064a2–4):

> ἑκάστη γὰρ τούτων περιγραψαμένη τι γένος αὑτῇ περὶ τοῦτο πραγματεύεται ὡς ὑπάρχον καὶ ὄν, οὐχ ᾗ δὲ ὄν, ἀλλ' ἑτέρα τις αὕτη παρὰ ταύτας τὰς ἐπιστήμας ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη.
>
> For each of these marks off a certain class of things for itself and busies itself about this as about something that exists and is – not however qua being; the science that does this is another distinct from these.
>
> (trans. J. Barnes)

In addition, the higher status of philosophy can also be inferred from its supremacy over purely physical sciences, a supremacy clearly recognised in the Hellenistic philosophy of Posidonius as employed by the Neoplatonist Simplicius in his *Commentary on Physics*.

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[25] Elias, *In Isag*. 8.18.19.

[26] Busse notes in the relevant *apparatus* the possible reference to *Metaph*. A 2.

The definition, as duly noted by Ammonius, differs from those it succeeds in its character: while the former derive either from matter (*ek tou hupokeimenou*) or from the scope (*ek tou telous*), or, for that matter, from both (*ek sunamphoterou/ex amphoin*), the one attributed to Aristotle relies on philosophy's supremacy over other sciences (*hyperochē*), which, interestingly, appears to affect its standing as a definition, as it becomes much more a description of philosophy, at least in the terms of definition that are outlined in the opening phrases of the proem.[27] The nature of this supremacy is not expressly stated in the definition, but one is reminded of the passage in the opening paragraph of the introduction (*In Isag*. 1.16–17):

> [...] αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιστήμαις τε καὶ τέχναις τοὺς ὁρισμοὺς παρέχουσα
>
> [...] for it is philosophy that provides definitions for the other sciences and arts.

Introduced at the beginning of the commentary and included in (the midst of) a brief outline of the nature of the *horismos*, the notion of philosophy as the science of definitions establishes an intrinsic connection between philosophy and *horismoi*, and transforms the former, right from the beginning, into a 'meta-discipline', hinting at the likely source of its particular position within the order of sciences.[28]

Unlike the four others, the Aristotelian definition is immediately followed by an explanation intended to portray the manner in which the Stagirite arrived at the preferred *horismos*. The relevant discussion extends over two pages of Busse's edition: this is longer than the exploration of any other definition (the second longest, the discussion of (4), comprises one and a half pages of the edition). Yet, in spite of the relative length of the relevant passage, the definition is not a returning feature of the proem, the honour being patently awarded to the *gnōsis*-based *horismoi.*

As for the relevant explanations: the emergence of the quoted *horismos* is described as *apodosis*.[29] Its origin is then linked to the constitutive difference between *technai* and *epistēmai* which differ fundamentally with respect to their matter (*hupokeimenon)*. The respective considerations are reflective of a subject

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[27] Indeed, while Ammonius makes no attempt to explain the sequence of the definitions itself, Elias devotes some space to the relevant discussion, linking the sequence to the more general principles of philosophical explanation: compare *In Isag.* 7.31–8.5, where the philosopher emphasises the priority of the universal over the particular (according to him, definitions derived from end or matter reflect the universal, while the definition through its superior character remains unique to philosophy).

[28] On the notion of order as applied to scientific knowledge compare e.g. Flemming 2007.

[29] On the term cf. *Cat*. 7a8, *Top*. 108b9. For Ammonius' use cf. *In de interpret*. 47.18–19.

already touched upon i.e. the cognition of things divine and human (or, for that matter, of beings), as it was debated with respect to (1) and (2). Also, the commentator continues to employ the science (and practice) of medicine as a representative example of the problems at hand. This time, however, the fallibility of medicine is contrasted with the surety of geometry.

Certainly, within the Ammonian introduction, philosophy is revealed as providing principles of all possible cognition (7.13–17):

> πάσαις τοίνυν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις καὶ τέχναις ἡ φιλοσοφία τὰς ἀρχὰς δίδωσι· τῇ μὲν γὰρ γεωμετρίᾳ τοὺς καθολικοὺς λόγους (φιλοσόφων γὰρ τὸ καθόλου ζητεῖν), ἄλλως τε ὁ γεωμέτρης τὸ σημεῖον ἀμερὲς λαμβάνει καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἐπ' ἄπειρον διαιρεῖ καὶ ταύταις ἀναποδείκτως ταῖς ἀρχαῖς κέχρηται, ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος ταῦτα δείκνυσιν.
>
> Now philosophy gives their principles to all sciences and arts: [it gives] universal formulas to geometry (for it pertains to philosophers to search for the universal). Moreover, the geometer takes the point to be partless, and divides magnitude to infinity, and uses these principles without demonstration, whereas the philosopher proves them.

As for philosophy's importance to medical research, it relies on the investigation of the four elements and its fundamental relevance to the humoral doctrine (7.31–8.4). Then, having stressed its superiority over medicine, Ammonius turns his attention to the subject which, though mentioned in the opening phrases of his introduction, has remained largely absent from the considerations thus far: the art of rhetoric as reliant on philosophy and operating in analogy to the latter[30] – its prime instruments are in fact analogous to the basic instruments of philosophical investigation:

Philosophy	**Rhetoric**
syllogismos	*enthymēma*
epagōgē	*paradeigma*

The care displayed at this point of the respective exposition appears congruent with the particular standing of the *Categoriae* as the fundament of exposition of logic. Philosophy is the ideal which rhetoric only emulates – an important point to make at the opening phase of philosophical education given the probable schooling of the student body. It seems significant that it is in this very context that Ammonius provides his reader with a brief definition of *syllogismos*

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[30] Cf. 8.4–6: ἔτι μὴν καὶ ῥητορικῇ φιλοσοφία τὰς ἀρχὰς δίδωσιν· ἀναλόγως γὰρ τῇ τε ἐπαγωγῇ καὶ τῷ συλλογισμῷ τὸ παράδειγμα καὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα ὁ ῥήτωρ λαμβάνει· ("In addition, philosophy gives its principles to rhetoric as well, for the rhetor takes the examples and enthymemes as analogous to induction and syllogism").

and outlines the distinction between philosophical *epagōgē* and rhetorical *paradeigma*. Since *syllogismos* is defined as λόγος ἐν ᾧ τεθέντων τινῶν ἕτερόν τι τῶν κειμένων ἐξ ἀνάγκης συμβαίνει τῷ ταῦτα εἶναι ("an argument in which, certain things being posited, something other than what is present occurs necessarily because they hold true," 8.9–10) its truth is inherently different from the fallibility of its rhetorical counterpart (8.6–9):

> ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ συλλογισμὸς ἀληθής ἐστιν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἔχει, οὕτως καὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα ἀληθὲς βούλεται εἶναι, μιᾷ μέντοι προτάσει τοῦ συλλογισμοῦ λείπεται, ὅθεν καὶ συλλογισμὸς ἀτελὴς λέγεται.
>
> For as a syllogism is true since it possesses necessity, so the enthymeme wishes to be true, but falls short of the syllogism by one premise, whence it is called an imperfect syllogism.

In addition to the above considerations concerning the truth of rhetorical and philosophical reasoning, let us briefly consider Ammonius' statements concerning the notion of rhetorical *paradeigma* (8.10–15):

> τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἀναλογεῖ καὶ τῇ ἐπαγωγῇ τὸ παράδειγμα· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκείνη τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἔχει καὶ τὸ εἰκός, οὐ πάντως δὲ τὸ ἀληθές, οὕτω καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα. διαφέρει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀλλήλων, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἐπαγωγὴ λόγος ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῶν μερικῶν τὰ καθόλου πιστούμενος, τὸ δὲ παράδειγμα ἀπὸ τῶν μερικῶν τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους πιστοῦται.
>
> In the same way examples are analogous to induction. For as the latter has the character of "for the most part" and "likely", but not necessarily that of truth, so does the example. They too differ from one another, however, in that induction is an argument that confirms universals from particulars, while examples confirm individuals from particulars.

The demarcation lines are clearly stated – while philosophy deals with the true and the general, rhetoric operates with the probable and the individual: this focus on the partial and the individual affects both the truth of its reasoning and the nature of the examples employed, effectively preventing an ascent to the eternally (necessarily) true. Such a description supports and reinforces the clarity of the previously drawn division:

Philosophy	
Subject	**Instrument**
True	*syllogismos*
General	*epagōgē*

Rhetoric	
Subject	**Instrument**
Mostly true	*enthymema*
Individual	*paradeigma*

Still, some interesting features may be derived from the very location of the relevant discussion. Thus, given the specific proprieties of philosophy as stated in the preceding considerations, and most importantly the purity of its

theoretical nature as mentioned in 6.15–17 and the impact this purity has on the four Platonic definitions, it seems likely that the Aristotelian *kath' hyperochēn horismos* is to be seen not only as 'yet another' definition of philosophy, but, more importantly, as a natural result of those earlier observations. Significantly, Elias will insist that the *kath' hyperochēn* is also proper to philosophy alone, which naturally enough emphasises its peculiar standing among all disciplines of knowledge.[31] In defining philosophy as the ultimate knowledge, Ammonius' Aristotle emphasises its unique position with respect to other disciplines (*epistēmai*) and crafts (*technai*), a position that has been hinted at in the earlier comparison with medicine. The chief advantage of philosophical investigation lies in its focus on universal truth – indeed, it is owing to this focus that it is able to provide the *archai* to all other disciplines (7.13–14):

> πάσαις τοίνυν ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις καὶ τέχναις ἡ φιλοσοφία τὰς ἀρχὰς δίδωσι,
>
> Now philosophy gives their principles to all sciences and arts.

Ammonius supports this assertion with several examples, starting with geometry and the dangers it would face were it not for the contribution of philosophy, then moving on to the principles of medicine (in this, he notably accounts for a contribution to both an *epistēmē* and a *technē*).[32] His next examples are respectively *rhētorikē* and *grammatikē* – their emergence at this particular point mirrors the references made at the beginning of the prologue, while also unequivocally asserting philosophy's essential superiority and effectively subordinating a rhetorician to philosophical rule:

> 8.4–5: ἔτι μὴν καὶ ῥητορικῇ φιλοσοφία τὰς ἀρχὰς δίδωσιν.
>
> In addition, philosophy gives its principles to rhetoric as well.
>
> 8.17–22: οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ ῥητορικὴ παρὰ φιλοσοφίας τὰς ἀρχὰς εἴληφεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ κέχρηται τῷ καλῷ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι οὐκ εἰδὼς ποῦ ποτε θεωρεῖται τὸ δίκαιον, οὐδὲ εἰ ταὐτόν ἐστι τῷ συμφέροντι· ἔστι γὰρ ὅπου εἰς ταὐτὸν αὐτὸ κομίζουσι τῷ δικαίῳ, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ διαιροῦσιν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐναντίον τίθενται· δείκνυται δὲ ὅτι ταῦτά ἐστι καὶ ἀντιστρέφει.
>
> Thus, rhetoric too has taken its principles from philosophy, especially because the rhetor makes use of the beautiful, the just, and the expedient,

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[31] Cf. 8.3–4: ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς ὁρισμὸς ἴδιος τῆς φιλοσοφίας· μόνη γὰρ αὕτη ἐκ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς ὁρισμὸν ἔσχε τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐκ τοῦ συναμφοτέρου ὁριζομένων ("the definition from its superior nature is unique to philosophy – philosophy alone derives its horismos from the superiority while others, as I have already said, are defined through end and matter").

[32] The observation appears to confirm that Ammonius conforms to the general vision of philosophy's epistemic superiority, which is confirmed by the "Athenian" Simplicius when discussing the value of physical investigation. On the subject cf. Drake 1989.

> without knowing where the just is observed, nor whether it is the same as what is expedient. For there are times when they introduce it identical to the just, and others when they divide it and posit it as contrary.

Having similarly dealt with its contribution to grammatical lore (8.22–24), Ammonius also emphasises the fact that philosophy remains essential even to the *technai* one considers *banausoi*, and hence it is in a way unworthy of a serious man (8.24–25). It is with construction and carpentry that he concludes the relevant exploration, once again re-emphasising that (9.4–6):

> ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πάσας τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχούσας ἔστιν εὑρεῖν. ἔστιν οὖν ἡ φιλοσοφία τέχνη τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστήμη ἐπιστημῶν.
>
> Likewise, one can discover that all the other sciences and arts have their principles from philosophy. Thus, philosophy is the art of arts and the science of sciences.

One notes that the reasons for this peculiar position of philosophy return, in a slightly different form, in the commentary by Elias, for whom philosophy remains the *heuretis*, thus being actually responsible for the discovery and definition of other arts, including the very art of definition (ὁριστικὴ) and division (διαιρετική).[33] It is also Elias who provides yet another important remark on the issue at hand – when discussing (in clear emulation of Ammonius' own considerations) the three main types of definition, he significantly notes (6.27–31):

> δεῖ εἰδέναι ὅτι πάντα τὰ ὄντα ὑπόκεινται τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ, διὸ καὶ γνῶσις τῶν ὄντων ἐστὶν ὡς μόνη πάντα γινώσκουσα· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι τέχναι ἤγουν ἐπιστῆμαι περὶ ἓν καταγινόμεναι ἓν μέν τι γινώσκουσι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀγνοοῦσι, καὶ μᾶλλον ἄγνοιαί εἰσιν ἤπερ γνώσεις· ἡ δὲ φιλοσοφία μᾶλλον γνῶσις ὡς πάντα τὰ ὄντα ἐπαγγελλομένη εἰδέναι.
>
> It needs to be remembered that all things are subject to philosophy, for philosophy is knowledge of all that is, and philosophy alone is capable of knowing all; all other arts are knowledge of singular [subject], for they are capable of knowing this single subject while remaining ignorant of others – thus, they are ignorance rather than knowledge. Philosophy alone is true cognisance since as it says, it knows all that is.

The open assertion concerning philosophy's all-encompassing scope is in tune with the high position acknowledged in the *kath' hyperochēn* definition: also, Elias makes an express note of the crucial difference between philosophy and all other, far more limited (περὶ ἓν καταγινόμεναι ἓν μέν τι γινώσκουσι, πολλὰ δὲ ἀγνοοῦσι), fields of study.

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[33] Cf. Elias *In Isag*. 3.24–28 Busse. One notes the emphasis on the concept of *heurema* and on the particular status of philosophy as *heuretis* – on the importance of philosophy as (re)invention, cf. Boys-Stones 2001: 99–150.

PYTHAGORAS AND THE LOVE OF WISDOM

Having provided his reader with the *kath' hyperochēn* definition of philosophy, Ammonius moves to his final choice:

6. Philosophy is the love of wisdom (9.7)

As with the previous definition, this one is also not of Platonic origin. Instead, it comes from Pythagoras, the sage credited with the original definition of *sophia* as wisdom concerning true being (9.7–18):

> Ὁ μέντοι Πυθαγόρας φησὶ "φιλοσοφία ἐστὶ φιλία σοφίας" πρῶτος τῷ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοτέροις ἐπιστὰς ἁμαρτήματι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι σοφὸν ὠνόμαζον τὸν ἡντιναοῦν μετιόντα τέχνην, [...] μεθίστησι τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ὡς μόνον ἐκεῖνον καλεῖσθαι σοφόν, τὸν θεόν φημι, σοφίαν τε καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀιδίων ἔχοντα γνῶσιν.
>
> Pythagoras, however, says that "philosophy is the love of wisdom", and he was the first to notice the error of the ancients. For since they called 'wise' whoever practised any kind art [...] he [Pythagoras] shifts this appellation to god, for only he is called wise – God, I mean – in that he has wisdom and the perpetual knowledge of beings.

The final words of the above passage are in fact a reflection of those appearing in (2), with the obvious exclusion of *ta anthrōpina*. With divine wisdom being thus identified with the knowledge of things eternal (i.e. divine), one branch of philosophical subject-matter has been acknowledged. It remains to account for the other part, which indeed makes its appearance quickly enough (9.20–22):

> [...] προσαγορεύει τοὺς τὴν τῶν φυσικῶν θεωρίαν ἀσκοῦντας φιλοσόφους οἱονεὶ φιλοῦντας τὸν σοφόν, ὅπερ ἠξίου καλεῖν τὸν θεόν, τὴν δὲ τούτων γνῶσιν φιλοσοφίαν ἀναλόγως τὴν φιλίαν τῆς σοφίας·
>
> [...] he calls those who practise the consideration of natural things 'philosophers' as if loving the wise one, whom he thought fit to call God. And the knowledge of these things, analogously, the love of wisdom.

In summa, among the definitions provided by Ammonius, one finds four closely associated with Plato, one fathered by Aristotle, and one attributed to Pythagoras. As far as their respective structure is concerned, the collection starts with the three types outlined at the very beginning (*ek tou hupokeimenou, ek tou telous, ek (sun)amphoterōn / ex amphoin*), but continues with individual examples of the *kath' hyperochēn* and etymological *horismoi*. Also, one notes that in contrast with the care invested in the discussion of (1)–(5), the Pythagorean definition appears to stand out because of the extreme brevity of the considerations it provokes: in fact, it is neither included in the enumeration in 2.19–21, nor explained in form. Instead it comes across as a natural consequence of Pythagoras' semantic choices, a neologism perfectly designed to describe what was defined

in the preceding five. Thus, Ammonius sees no actual need to explain the form or the exact wording of (5): the fact is to some degree a correlate of the final nature of said definition: all the necessary explanations have been provided earlier, as the commentator sought to explain the cognitive focus of (1) and (2) and the more openly goal-oriented (3) and (4). Even the *kath' hyperochēn* definition (5) may be seen as important in the build-up process: being the *epistēmē epistēmōn* philosophy, the lore supplying *archai* to all other disciplines and arts, implies a pursuit and possession of wisdom (*sophia*) mentioned in (6). In fact, one may argue that (6) becomes fully comprehensible only after considering the other five *horismoi*. The fact that the six form an established sequence is confirmed by the commentary by Elias, who also highlights the final position of the *ek tēs etymologias* (7.29–30: ἡ δὲ τάξις αὐτῶν ἐστιν αὕτη· ἔσχατος πάντων ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἐτυμολογίας). In the *Prolegomena* of this later commentator, one also finds an interesting remark explaining the existence of six definitions through respective references to the notion of name (the existence of a name being seen as the reason for the emergence of the etymological definition) and existence (as first knowledge philosophy has its unique *kath' hyperochēn* definition, with its status as knowledge providing the other *horismoi*).[34] Elias' note is important in its acknowledgement of the immediate connection between term and etymological definition (or, in fact, of the link between priority and *to kath' hyperochēn*). The link remains without mention in Ammonius, the discussion of *onomata* and their nature being absent from his proem – nonetheless, one cannot help but appreciate that its introduction by Elias does in fact do justice to the elevated status of the lore.

CONCLUSIONS

Let us summarise: five definitions invoked by Ammonius stem more or less directly from three authors, each of them of paramount importance to the late Neoplatonism, namely Plato (or Platonic tradition), Aristotle, and Pythagoras,[35] while two are so well entrenched in the Platonic tradition as to appear, to all ends, Platonic in nature. Starting with anonymous though widely recognised definitions and Plato may be taken as emphasising the continuity of thought, while the *nominatim* reference to Aristotle and Pythagoras highlights the invaluable contribution of these two while simultaneously hinting at the underlying unity of seemingly different (and opposed) philosophical traditions. The inclusion of poetry, in turn, may be taken as fulfilling a double function: first, it may be taken as referring to the intrinsic continuity of Greek culture (inspired poetry

[34] Cf. Elias *In Isag*. 8.24–27.

[35] On the three in the philosophy of Ammonius cf. brief overview of Sorabji (1991: 3–5).

reflecting or even anticipating philosophical ideals),[36] second, on more technical grounds, it may be taken to look back on the aesthetic concepts of *poikilia* and *charis*. Certainly, as seen from the rhetorical point of view, the inclusion of poetic fragments in the prose exploration of relatively complex matter would be seen as appropriate and – even more significantly – attractive.[37]

As for the sequence of definitions itself: it seems interesting that while the much later Elias feels a need to comment on the very sequence of the definitions, Ammonius leaves the sequence unexplained. Even more strikingly, the Alexandrian openly recognises the complexities affecting the typology of definitions (1)–(3), which emerge as nearly impossible to classify under Porphyrian terms. Yet, his apparent reticence and explicit retractions notwithstanding, no doubt is ever raised concerning the sufficiency and properly exhaustive nature of the last, Pythagorean definition, i.e. *ek tēs etymologias*. Furthermore, the very structuring of the argument appears to highlight the comprehensiveness of the Aristotelian attempt at *horismos*: the introduction of re-evaluatory excursus on (1)–(4) sets the *kath' hyperochēn* and *kat' etymologian* definitions, i.e. (5) and (6), apart from the preceding four. The confusing nature of the Platonic formulae also looks forward to the debates concerning *to ainigmatōdes*, the obfuscatory aspect of Platonic exposition, thus making it more understandable why the analysis of Athenian's work forms the culmination of philosophical education.

In other words: it is by his preceding the definition with a re-evaluation of the seemingly easily characterised opening four that Ammonius makes the other two, and most emphatically the *kath' hyperochēn*, equipped with some additional discussion, stand apart. The final definition, when it comes, comes as a conclusion, almost as an afterthought, and the Alexandrian philosopher intensifies the effect of something added by concluding the respective considerations with reference to something which is apparently irrelevant at this point in the debate.[38] Moreover, this final definition emphasises the unique standing of Pythagoras in the history of philosophy, as the first man to rightly comprehend and aptly summarise the nature of theoretical endeavour, the one who stands at the dividing line between inspired poetry (and *to phantastikon*) and the elevated mind (and *to theōrētikon*). In coining the word φιλοσοφία as striving for divine

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[36] For Homeric poetry in particular the problem was considered in detail by cf. Lamberton 1992.

[37] One may think of the striking differences in the use of poetic quotations that may be noticed between three Plutarchean treatises against the Stoics: being most prolific in the declamation *Stoicos absurdiora*, it is far more limited in the dialogic *De communibus not.* and the strictly scientific *De Stoic. contrar.* On the genre classification of Plutarchus' works cf. Gallo 1996.

[38] As a matter of fact, Elias names two further *horismoi*: one defines philosophy as medicine of the soul (Elias *In Isag.* 9.6–27), the other, relying on the exposition in the *Phaedo*, equates philosophy with the most elevated form of music (9.38–10.6). On Elias' interest in medicine as such cf. Blumenthal 1981: 192.

knowledge, the sage of Croton anticipates all other definitions, hence establishing himself as the true predecessor of Plato (and by extension, of Aristotle). The three philosophers thus emerge as mutually supportive and as ultimately being in agreement with each other, thus paving the way to viewing Aristotle through a duly Platonic lens.

Yet, there is more. First, the Aristotelian *kath' hyperochēn* definition appears particularly in tune with the knowledge-based (1) and (2) – it emphasises philosophy's supremacy in horistic endeavour, elevating it above all other kinds of art or wisdom. Still, while the definition relies on notions of art and wisdom, the employed notion of supremacy, one notes, reflects philosophy's troubling elusiveness where simple *ek hupokeimenou* or *ek telous* is concerned. In short, the Aristotelian definition remains similar to (1) and (2) not only in the mere employment of hupokeimena, but also, quite significantly, in being able to reach further. Second, the Pythagorean *horismos* emphasises the difference between man and god, hence naturally relating to (3) and (4). While the Theaetetus definition speaks of assimilation to the divine, and the Phaedo hints at the manner in which such an assimilation may be achieved, the roots of the Pythagorean *horismos* lie in the recognition of the difference, in ascertaining the profound gap separating man and god. Still, as the difference lies with cognitive abilities, Pythagoras defines philosophy as a love for divine knowledge – hence, his definition remains a close equivalent of (3) if we supplement the latter with an explanation concerning the actual nature of the *homoiōsis* (as indeed provided by Ammonius).

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MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN ANTIQUITY: WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM IT?*

by

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ABSTRACT: Some ancient cultures included a second language and/or study of another culture in their education systems: why, and what difference did that make to their histories? And can ancient educational practices offer any useful lessons for the modern world? Based on seven examples of ancient language teaching (Latin speakers studying Greek, Roman-period Greek speakers studying Homeric Greek, Ptolemaic Egyptian speakers studying Greek, Greek speakers studying Latin, Gauls and Britons studying Latin, Akkadian speakers studying Sumerian, and Aramaic-speaking Jews studying Hebrew), this piece argues that ancient societies prioritised particular second languages for inclusion in the education system based largely on the importance to those societies of the texts composed in those languages. Although teaching a second language in school did not always lead to many adults having significant competence in that language, such teaching nevertheless allowed ancient societies to keep their identities intact and to ensure that their key texts remained important and relevant to successive generations.

KEYWORDS: multilingualism in antiquity, ancient language education, cultural identity, second-language learning

Today, we often see tensions between different goals for education. Should schooling give all children in a particular society a shared background in the language, literature, and culture historically associated with that society? Should it broaden children's understanding of the wider world by teaching them another language/literature/culture? If so, which language(s) and culture(s) should be prioritised, and why? How should school systems teach children with different linguistic and/or cultural backgrounds? How should school systems handle cultural change? These questions are not easy to answer, but insight into possible approaches and their possible results may be gained by investigating how ancient cultures handled such issues.

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Such an investigation, of course, starts with more questions. In which ancient societies was a second language and/or culture regularly taught in school? Why did those societies make that investment? (Even today, teaching a language in school requires a significant investment of time and energy that cannot then be allocated to other subjects – in antiquity, when most children spent fewer years in school,[1] the investment and its impact on other subjects was proportionally greater.) Which languages were taught in ancient schools, and can we understand why those languages were prioritised? And lastly, did the teaching of a second language and/or culture have any identifiable effect on the societies that made this investment – and if so, what effect?

LEARNING GREEK

An obvious ancient example of bilingual and bicultural education comes from Rome. Roman schools, at least those attended by members of the elite, taught children two languages, literatures, and cultures: Latin and Greek. Passage 1, from the Roman teacher and educational theorist Quintilian, writing in the first century AD, is a discussion of the age at which Roman children began learning Greek.[2]

> [1]
> A sermone Graeco puerum incipere malo, quia Latinum, qui pluribus in usu est, vel nobis nolentibus perbibet, simul quia disciplinis quoque Graecis prius instituendus est, unde et nostrae fluxerunt. Non tamen hoc adeo superstitiose fieri velim ut diu tantum Graece loquatur aut discat, sicut plerisque moris est. Hoc enim accidunt et oris plurima vitia in peregrinum sonum corrupti et sermonis, cui cum Graecae figurae adsidua consuetudine haeserunt, in diversa quoque loquendi ratione pertinacissime durant. Non longe itaque Latina subsequi debent et cito pariter ire. Ita fiet ut, cum aequali cura linguam utramque tueri coeperimus, neutra alteri officiat.
>
> I prefer a boy to begin by speaking Greek, because he will imbibe Latin, which more people speak, whether we will or no; and also because he will need to be taught Greek learning first, it being the source of ours too. However, I do not want a fetish to be made of this, so that he spends a long time speaking and learning nothing but Greek, as is commonly done. This gives rise to many faults both of pronunciation (owing to the distortion of the mouth produced by forming foreign sounds) and of language, because the Greek idioms stick in the mind through continual usage and persist obstinately even in speaking the other tongue. So Latin ought to follow not far behind, and soon

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[1] Cribiore 2001: 1–3.

[2] Quintilian 1.1.12–14 with translation of Russell 2001: 71.

> proceed side by side with Greek. The result will be that, once we begin to pay equal attention to both languages, neither will get in the way of the other.

Quintilian is far from the only source to say such things; the education he describes was evidently widespread in Rome, where Greek teaching was prioritised because knowledge of Greek language and culture was key to membership of the educated elite.[3] We even know how Roman children learned Greek: from bilingual textbooks presenting the story of a day in the life of a schoolboy in both Greek and Latin. For example, passage 2 is a vignette of a schoolboy getting out of trouble, composed by an ancient teacher who knew how to keep children interested in and focussed on their language learning.[4]

[2]		
Ἐχθὲς	Heri	"Yesterday
ἤργησας	cessabas	you slacked off
καὶ δείλης	et meridie	and at midday
εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν	in domum	at home
(ἔπαιζες)	(ludebas)	(you were playing)
οὐκ ἦς.	non eras.	you were not.
ἐγώ σε	ego te	I looked for you
ἐζήτησα	quaesivi	
καὶ ἤκουσα πάντα	et audivi omnia	and I heard everything
παρὰ τοῦ τροφέως σου,	ab alumno tuo,	from your nurse,
ἅπερ ἐποίησας.	quae fecisti.	what you did."
Ψεύδεται	Mentitur	"He's lying,
ὅ σοι εἰπών,	qui tibi dixit,	the one who spoke to you,
ἦγεν γάρ με	duxit enim me	for my father took me
ὁ πατήρ μου	pater meus	
εἰς τὸ πραιτῶριν	in praetorium	to the praetorium
μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ.	secum.	with him."

Was Rome unique in offering bilingual schooling, or can other ancient examples be found? Clearly Rome was very different from Classical Greece, where schools taught only Greek. But even within Greece, language and culture were not exactly monolithic, so that the question of how to define the education system may rest partly on how one chooses to define and divide languages and cultures. It has been said that a language is a dialect with an army and a navy,[5] and that definition works well in the modern world, where for example

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[3] See e.g. Kaimio 1979, Adams 2003, Weis 1992, Dubuisson 1992, Bonner 1977, Clarke 1971.

[4] *Colloquium Harleianum* 8a–9a, edited by Dickey 2012–15: II.23–24. The line divisions are original, and the two languages match line-for-line (this can be only partly replicated in the English), thus helping to compensate for the lack of word division in the original Greek. For more information on how Roman children learned Greek see Dickey 2022.

[5] The expression was first written down (in Yiddish) by Max Weinreich (1945: 13), who reported that he got it from an audience member at one of his lectures.

standard Norwegian Bokmål is more similar to standard Danish than it is to some Norwegian dialects – but nevertheless Bokmål and Danish are considered different languages, while the Norwegian dialects are not. In Classical Greece, however, nearly every city-state had its own army and navy, as well as its own dialect, its own alphabet, and its own festivals and traditions. Would we therefore want to call all the Greek dialects different languages, and say that the city-states had different cultures, despite the evidence that at least some Classical Greeks would not have agreed with that judgement?[6]

Fortunately we do not have to answer that, because Greek schools did not teach the dialects or cultures of other cities; Athenian children learned to write Attic and participate in Athenian culture, while Spartan children learned to write Doric and participate in Spartan culture. But the internal diversity of Greek still matters, because all Greek schoolchildren, regardless of when and where they lived, seem to have studied the Homeric poems. Already in the fifth century BCE Homeric language was archaic and the culture described in the poems had features alien to the daily lives of the children studying them, and the gulf between Homer and his readers widened steadily as time went on – by the imperial period the poems were about a thousand years old. By that time Homer had been joined on the school curriculum by Attic literature of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, which even if a few centuries younger was still old enough to be obscure.[7] (Some of it, such as the tragedies of Aeschylus, had arguably been obscure even when new.[8])

If one considers the education of Greek-speaking children in, say, second-century CE Egypt, the question of how many languages or cultures were involved does not have an obvious answer. On the one hand the children, their parents, and their teachers would all have said that there was only one language and culture: despite living far from Greece proper and in many cases having no ancestors who had ever lived there, culturally these were Greek children learning to write Greek and acquiring the literary and cultural background that would qualify them to function as adult members of Greek society. In this the Greek speakers of Egypt thought differently from contemporary Latin speakers in Italy, who studied the same language, literature and culture but did not claim it as their own heritage.

But on the other hand, the learning materials used to study Homer and Classical Attic at this period indicate that Geek-speaking pupils approached them like texts in foreign languages, with detailed commentaries, glossaries, and

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[6] E.g. Herodotus 8.144.

[7] For the Greek-speaking school curricula of the Hellenistic and Roman periods see Cribiore 2001 and Morgan 1998.

[8] Cf. Aristophanes, *Frogs*.

plot summaries.[9] For example, passage 3 is the beginning of a glossary to the *Iliad*, probably used in Egypt in a Greek-speaking school of the first or second century CE.[10] The first three lines of the *Iliad* contain seventeen words, of which this glossary explains thirteen (76%); the only ones omitted are Ἀχιλῆος "Achilles" (whose meaning is given in the gloss to the preceding word), ψυχάς "souls", ἥ "which", and δ' "and". Pupils who needed this level of help were not approaching Homeric Greek as if it were their native language – but nor were they needing glosses for every single word, as they would have if learning a completely new language.

[3]

	Α΄ Βιβλίου	Book 1
μῆνιν	χόλον, ὀργήν, θυμόν	wrath, anger, passion
ἄειδε	ᾄδε ὅς ἐστιν ὕμνει	sing, which is celebrate in a hymn
θεά	Μοῦσα	muse
Πηληιάδεω	Πηλέως υἱοῦ, πατρωνυμικῶς, λέγει δὲ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως	son of Peleus, as a patronymic, and he means "of Achilles"
οὐλομένην	ὀλεθρίαν	deadly
μυρία	πολλά	many
Ἀχαιοῖς	τοῖς Ἕλλησιν	the Greeks
ἄλγεα	κακά	bad things
ἔθηκεν	ἐποίησεν	did
πολλάς	πλείστας	very many
ἰφθίμους	ἰσχυροψύχους Ἀχαιῶν	strong-souled men of the Achaeans
Ἄιδι	τῷ Ἅδῃ	to Hades
προίαψεν	ἢ ἐξέβαλεν ἢ προδιέφθειρεν	either threw out or destroyed beforehand

Moreover, in order to write well, imperial-period Greek speakers were supposed to master the vocabulary of Classical Attic, as illustrated by the numerous Atticist lexica created to help koiné speakers find Attic equivalents for whatever they wanted to express.[11] And yet the Greek spoken in elementary schools was probably not Attic but koiné,[12] creating a school environment that could perhaps be described as bilingual.

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[9] For a catalogue of this material, see Cribiore 1996: 214–258.

[10] P.Mich.inv. 1588 = TM 60341, edited by Renner 1979: 313–321 and Montanari 2007. The text given here is based on both those editions and re-examination of the photograph; dots and brackets have been suppressed for legibility. The translation is mine, as are all other translations in this article when not otherwise attributed. For the text's school provenance, see Cribiore 1996: 253 no. 325.

[11] E.g. Phrynichus, Moeris, and the Antiatticist.

[12] Teaching materials are typically in koiné rather than Attic; for example in the glossary quoted above neither ἰσχυρόψυχος nor προδιαφθείρω is an Attic word. There is some evidence that at higher levels Atticism was a spoken as well as a written phenomenon (see Lucian, *Pro lapsu inter salutandum*, and Vessella 2018), but that level of refinement cannot have applied to the average primary school classroom in Roman Egypt.

The literature taught in these schools was deliberately alien to the culture in which the children lived; for example Aesop's fable 48 as taught in Greek-speaking Egypt was purged of the references to the Nile and a crocodile that it had originally contained, apparently to make it less Egyptian and more Greek.[13] Thus with culture as well as with language, there was a noticeable divide between what was taught in school and the children's experience outside school. Regardless of exactly how one defines 'language' and 'culture', the situation in Greek-speaking Egypt was different from that of Rome, for Greek-speaking schools had only one educational goal, not two. But the Egyptian situation was also different from that of Classical Athens, for the language and culture at the centre of Greek-speaking Egyptians' educational goal diverged significantly from the ones children encountered outside school.

Greek speakers were not the only inhabitants of Roman Egypt. In addition to a small number of Latin speakers (about whose children's education we know very little; since there is no evidence for Latin-speaking schools in Roman Egypt, perhaps the children of Latin-speaking families grew up bilingual and attended the Greek schools), the province was home to a substantial number of Egyptian speakers. On the whole these had their own separate schools (typically located in temples), which used not only a different language of instruction from the Greek schools but also a different curriculum.[14] Bilingual families with enough money to pay school fees could presumably choose to send a child to a Greek or to an Egyptian school.

The situation seems to have been different, however, in the early Ptolemaic period. Long before it was conquered by Alexander the Great and subjected to a Greek-speaking monarchy, Egypt had a well-developed, highly-organised society run via a complex bureaucracy functioning in the Egyptian language. The early Ptolemies (the first Macedonian kings of Egypt, who took control after Alexander's death) wanted to change the language of the bureaucracy to Greek, a language then spoken mainly by the small minority of residents who had come with Alexander's forces. As a result the government seems to have deliberately encouraged Egyptian speakers to learn Greek, since generous tax benefits for Greek speakers coincided with a sudden boom in the number of Greek primary schools, to a level far exceeding what the children of the Greek-speaking immigrants could have filled.[15]

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[13] Cribiore 2001: 180.

[14] These may sometimes also have taught some Greek, if recent scholars are right to conclude (against the opinion of the original editors: Pintaudi and Sijpesteijn 1993: 14) that the Narmouthis Greek and bilingual texts come from the temple school. See especially Blasco Torres 2015 but also Torallas Tovar 2014: 259; Martin 2010: 61; Nachtergael 2010; Rutherford 2010: 200–201; Bagnall 2007: 21. I am not confident enough of knowing how the Narmouthis ostraca were really used to include them in this study.

[15] Dickey 2024: 93; Thompson 1994: 75–78; Clarysse 1993.

Therefore during this period Greek-speaking primary schools probably taught children (or perhaps even adults? Might the existing bureaucrats simply have retrained?) who knew no Greek to begin with. How was that teaching done? There is no evidence to suggest that it was bilingual; no bilingual teaching materials have survived from such schools, and mentions of schools at this period do not distinguish among different kinds of Greek primary schools or suggest that some were bilingual while others taught purely in Greek.[16] Moreover, bilingual teachers would at this period have been in short supply, since most Greek speakers in Egypt had recently arrived. So although we cannot completely rule out some use of the pupils' native language, the most likely scenario is a Greek immersion programme: Greek-speaking teachers who knew little or no Egyptian simply ran normal Greek primary schools teaching Greek literature and culture via the Greek language, and Egyptian pupils did the best they could to understand it. This solution seems to have been strictly temporary; soon the number of Greek-speaking families in Egypt rose to a level capable of sustaining a Greek bureaucracy, and the number of Greek-speaking schools sank to a level suitable for teaching only their children.

Here we seem to have a third kind of teaching situation. Egyptian-speaking children in Greek schools were given one educational goal like Greek-speaking children, not two like Latin-speaking children. But if they were taught not in their native language like Greek-speaking children but in a language foreign to them, their single educational goal was transmitted in a more monolingual fashion. Of course, that transmission would not have been completely monolingual if (as seems likely) the school's spoken language was koiné Greek and the educational goal Homeric and Classical Greek, but from the perspective of an Egyptian speaker the difference between those two must have been smaller than from that of a Greek speaker.[17]

LEARNING LATIN

Greek speakers sometimes learned Latin, particularly during the Roman Empire. But only a small minority did so, and Latin was not taught to children in schools.[18] It did not have the social cachet of Classical Greek and was not used to gain membership of the educated elite in Greek-speaking regions.

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[16] For schools in Hellenistic Egypt see e.g. Cribiore 1996 and Cribiore 2001.

[17] The difference would probably have widened as time went on and the children gained more fluency in Greek. I studied Biblical Hebrew for two years with a teacher who spoke only modern Hebrew in class and expected the students to both speak and write the modern language while reading the ancient one; the distinction between Biblical and modern Hebrew caused little difficulty at first but by the end of the second year was a major challenge.

[18] Dickey 2024; Cribiore 1996: 29–30; Rochette 1997: 182, 210.

But Greek speakers who chose careers for which Latin was useful, such as law, studied the language as part of higher education and/or outside the regular school system.[19] Latin learning by Greek speakers is, after Greek learning by Greek speakers, the best-documented form of ancient language learning, because Egypt's dry climate has preserved many fragments of learning materials, while others have survived via the medieval manuscript tradition. Learners had access to bilingual dictionaries, bilingual easy readers (often the same ones that Roman children used to learn Greek, but with the columns reversed so that the Latin came first), paradigm tables, and grammatical explanations (most of these were solely in Latin, but some were accompanied by Greek translations).[20] For example, the papyrus fragment in passage 4 presents essentially the same passage as we saw in passage 2 used by Latin speakers to learn Greek, but now arranged for Greek speakers learning Latin.[21]

[4]		
[i]n ḍ[o]mụṃ	[εις την οικιαν]	"... at home
non eras	[ουκ ης]	you were not.
[a]udiui homnia	ηḳο[υσα παντα]	I heard everything
[ab] alumno· tuo	παρα τ[ου τροφεως σου]	from your nurse."
[me]ntitur	ψευδετ[αι]	"He's lying,
qụi tib[i dixit]	ο σοι ειπ[ων]	the one who spoke to you,
duxit [eni]m [[n]] mē	ηρεν γαρ με	For my father took me
[pa]t[e]ṛ [meu]ṣ	ο πατηρ μου̣	
[in] p̣[raetorium]	εις τ̣ο̣ [π]ραιτωρ[ιον]	to the praetorium
[s]ecum	μεθ εαυτ̣ο̣[υ]	with him."

The bilingual learning materials make clear that a significant amount of Greek was used in teaching Latin to Greek speakers: these pupils did not have Latin immersion classes. Since their Latin studies happened in a different educational setting from their Greek studies, in studying Latin these pupils had one language as their educational goal and another as their language of instruction – but when their entire educational experience is considered, they had two educational goals, first Classical and Homeric Greek and then Latin. Whether this second educational goal included culture as well as language is doubtful. Many of the dialogues in the bilingual easy readers composed for Greek speakers learning Latin involve characters with Roman names engaged in typically

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[19] For who learned Latin and why, see Dickey 2012–15: I.4–6; Dickey 2016: 1–4; and especially Rochette 1997.

[20] For overviews of these materials see Dickey 2015 and Dickey 2016.

[21] P.Prag. II.118 verso, ed. Dickey, Ferri 2012. Dots and brackets have been retained despite the impact on legibility, since the supplements come from the text already quoted and it is necessary to show what is actually present on this papyrus. Since the papyrus contains some ancient punctuation and diacritic marks, no modern ones have been supplied, but spaces have been added between words.

Roman activities such as public bathing, dinner parties with Roman beverages, or Roman magistrates conducting business.[22] But imperial-period Greek speakers were themselves Romans; they had their own Roman magistrates, enjoyed Roman baths and Roman beverages, and after 212 CE were all Roman citizens with Roman names. It therefore seems unlikely that they saw contemporary Roman culture as alien or felt that they were learning about it from their Latin textbooks. Indeed it is notable that these textbooks rarely include cultural elements that an imperial-period Greek speaker might have seen as foreign, such as Roman history, religious elements that never spread to the eastern Roman empire, the Roman Senate, or places in Italy.[23]

Greek speakers were not the only Latin learners in the ancient world. In the western empire, that is in areas such as Gaul, Britain and Spain, the population was not originally Latin-speaking but became so after the Roman conquest. Once that language shift had taken place, the usual Roman school system was evidently available for such portions of the population as attended school, with children learning to read and write in their native Latin and, for those at higher social levels, also in Greek.[24] But what happened at the very beginning of the language-shift process?

Ancient writers report that the Roman authorities set up Roman schools in recently-subdued provinces, sometimes as a deliberate promotion of Latin among those who had previously resisted it.[25] In passage 5, for example, Tacitus speaks of Agricola 'pacifying' first-century Britain.[26]

> [5]
> Iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent.

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[22] E.g. in Dickey 2012–15 colloquia ME 4d–e, 10, 11b–d; LS 8d–9b, 11a–c; H 21–22; Mp 14–16; C 55–64, 71–72.

[23] In the colloquia in Dickey 2012–15, Roman history appears only in a summary of the Trojan War that mentions Aeneas escaping to found Rome (S 34) and in a description of a friend as tracing his lineage from Romulus and Aeneas (Mp 4g); the Roman Senate only in the latter passage (Mp 4g), where the friend is also described as a senator of the Roman people; Italian topography appears only in mentions of Rome's Tigilline baths (Mp 14a) and *Lauretum* "laurel grove" (ME 6i), and of a *Tiburtinum* "Tivoli estate" (Mp 8a).

[24] Wolff 2023: 159–174 summarises the evidence for Roman schools in the Western provinces.

[25] It is unlikely that a significant portion of the Latin learning in the western provinces was due to deliberate language policy on the part of the Roman authorities; see Mullen 2023a. In the long run, indeed, much of that Latin learning must have been unconnected with schools, since a high proportion of the population never attended any type of school. But the focus of this discussion is purely on what happened in schools, and here I think Tacitus provides valuable information on the initial stages of schooling, even if the foundation he describes was not necessarily typical.

[26] Tacitus, *Agricola* 21; see also Plutarch, *Sertorius* 14.2–3. For the context see Mullen, Willi 2024 and Häussler, Pearce 2007.

> And now he trained the sons of their leading men in the liberal arts, and (encouraged them by saying that) he estimated the talents of the Britons more highly than the efforts of the Gauls, with the result that those who recently had been rejecting the Latin language conceived a strong desire for eloquence.

This passage has been interpreted in multiple ways. Wolff argues that because the children being educated belonged to the elite, the education provided was not elementary; the children would already have learned basic literacy and Latin at home.[27] In my view this argument does not follow, for even elite children have to begin at the beginning, and someone wanting to educate them successfully would surely have provided schooling that started at whatever level the children happened to be at. More convincing is Adams' interpretation: "Until now the provincials in question did not know Latin and even rejected it, but now it is the aim that they should aspire even to eloquence in that language. A twofold development seems to be envisaged here, both the teaching of Latin as a second language, and the learning of the art of rhetoric."[28]

How did these initial schools teach Latin? Via bilingual materials using the students' native language, the way Latin speakers learned Greek, or as an immersion class, the way Ptolemaic-period Egyptians probably learned Greek? We have no direct evidence; Roman Britain has preserved only very limited traces of educational texts, and none of those is likely to date to this early period.[29] Nevertheless some considerations suggest that an immersion class is more likely. Since the first schools were established at a point when very few people in Britain knew Latin, the teachers probably came from elsewhere. They would not have had a stock of bilingual teaching materials using the pupils' native language; in fact they may not even have known that language. And the first schools in the western provinces are presented by ancient sources as proper Roman schools teaching in the Roman way; as with Egypt there is no suggestion that the first schools were somehow different from subsequent ones, though overall the evidence is much less strong in the western provinces than in Egypt.[30]

Tacitus presents these first schools as being successful: the children became fluent enough in Latin to excel in rhetoric, and they embraced Roman culture as well as the Latin language. That presentation fits with other evidence indicating that very shortly after the western provinces were subdued, they started

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[27] Wolff 2023: 175.

[28] Adams 2003: 691.

[29] E.g. Vindolanda tablets II.118 and II.452.

[30] For the evidence see Wolff 2023: 159–174.

producing men and women whose Latin was at the level of educated native speakers.[31] Such people had probably been educated at the new Roman schools.

LEARNING OTHER LANGUAGES

The earliest second-language teaching known involved neither Latin nor Greek, but Sumerian. Sumerian, the language of the world's oldest surviving written texts, was once spoken in part of what is now Iraq. During the fourth millennium BCE Sumerian speakers began to write in cuneiform, a script combining signs for ideas with signs for syllables and normally written with a stylus on tablets of damp clay. Sumerians continued to use this script for well over a thousand years, recording a notable body of literature including the Epic of Gilgamesh as well as religious and historical works. Other nearby cultures eventually also began to use cuneiform to write their own languages, a development that required various adaptations to the script and made it even more complex and harder to use than it had originally been.

The best-known of these nearby peoples spoke a Semitic language, Akkadian, with a very different structure from Sumerian, making equations between the languages tricky. In the late third millennium BCE political control of the area inhabited by Sumerian and Akkadian speakers went back and forth between the two, but by around 1900 BCE Akkadian had permanently gained ascendancy, and around 1800 BCE Sumerian probably died out as a spoken language. However, for nearly 2000 years after that point it continued to be taught, learned, and used, making it the world's first "dead" scholarly language.[32] The importance of Sumerian to the speakers of Akkadian came not only from the greatness of its literature but even more from its age: Sumerian texts were believed to preserve the ancient wisdom on which rested the security of the king and of the state.[33]

The Akkadian speakers eventually acquired a large, powerful empire that lasted until the seventh century BCE. The empire was underpinned by an extensive bureaucracy; since cuneiform writing was so hard to master, both the bureaucracy and other written communication relied on professional scribes who

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[31] Dickey 2024: 93–4; Adams 1995: 129; Bowman 1994: 20–21, 91–92. Since some of the key people concerned belonged to the Roman army, one might wonder whether they learned Latin there rather than at school, but this is unlikely: Speidel 2023. Cooley (2023; cf. Wilson 2023) makes a convincing case for the importance of migrants from the Continent in spreading Latin in Roman Britain, but as the nearest parts of the Continent had themselves been recently Romanised, the Latin skills of these migrants are actually evidence of the success of Roman schools there. Note also Houten (2023) on the role of the local elites in the spread of Latin.

[32] Walker 1987.

[33] Veldhuis 2014: 379–382.

spent a significant part of their childhood at school learning how to read and write. Numerous school texts survive, revealing that the children regularly learned Sumerian as well as Akkadian, so that they could use and reproduce Sumerian literature.[34] Heirs to the throne also had to learn Sumerian, so that as kings they could have direct contact with the ancient knowledge it conveyed.[35]

The schooling of Akkadian speakers resembled Roman schooling in having two educational goals: children learned to read and write both languages and studied both literatures.[36]

School language-learning also took place in various Jewish cultures. Exactly what percentage of ancient Jewish children learned to read and write is debated, but some scholars argue that in some times and places most boys, at least, would have learned enough Hebrew to read the Bible; certainly some boys learned that much Hebrew.[37] At an early period, when most Jews spoke Hebrew at home, such learning would effectively have been basic literacy training in the children's native language and therefore have had practical as well as religious use, but by the Roman period many Jewish families spoke Greek or Aramaic. At least some of the Aramaic-speaking children learned Hebrew in school (via Aramaic) and studied the Bible; that school system may have been a continuation of one in use when children spoke Hebrew at home, but if so, its function had shifted to a purely religious one.[38] Given how old the Pentateuch was in the Roman empire, one might be tempted to claim that study of that work in that period was effectively the study of a different culture – but as some Jewish sects tried hard to replicate the earlier culture the pupils may not always have seen it as alien.

COMPARISON

If we compare these seven examples, some patterns emerge. Three examples – Ptolemaic Egyptian speakers learning Greek, imperial-period Greek speakers learning Latin, and people in Britain and Gaul learning Latin – were the result of military conquest. Conquest did not always result in languages being added to the education system; for example, there is no evidence for organised Latin

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[34] Gesche 2001; Veldhuis 2014.

[35] Veldhuis 2014: 382–385.

[36] For further information on these schools see Gesche 2001.

[37] Hezser 2001: 40–68.

[38] Alexander 1999; Hezser 2001. The Qumran community (from which the Dead Sea scrolls come) placed a very high importance on widespread Biblical literacy but may have been exceptional in that respect: see Brooke 2017, Stöckl ben Ezra 2016, and Wassen 2012.

teaching in Greece when Greece was conquered by Rome in the mid-second century BCE. But in these three cases conquest by a literate people with a significant literary tradition resulted in language learning of two different types. In the first type, in Egypt and in Gaul/Britain, there was a relatively short period in which some children of the conquered population were educated exclusively or primarily in the new language, literature, and culture introduced by the conquerors. Within a few generations they adopted that language and literature along with at least parts of that culture, so that future children from those families had a monolingual education in the new language. In the second type, the Greek speakers who learned Latin in Roman Egypt mostly did so long after the Roman conquest, were taught bilingually, and never switched languages to raise their own children in Latin. But for them as well the Roman literary tradition played a role in the decision to study Latin, since many of them appear to have learned that language in order to study Roman law, which was composed mainly in Latin.

Conquest could also have the opposite effect. In Mesopotamia and in Rome, conquest of a literate people with a significant literary tradition resulted in the conquerors introducing the language of the subordinated population to their own children's education. The resulting schooling was different from that which conquered peoples experienced: Akkadian speakers and Romans had bilingual schools with two educational goals, in which children studied the languages and literatures of both conquering and conquered cultures. And this schooling did not lead to language shift on the part of the conquerors; indeed during rule of Akkadian speakers it was Sumerian, not Akkadian, that ceased to be transmitted as a native language.

School language learning was not always the result of conquest or even of interaction between different cultures, since it could also involve heritage languages. Aramaic-speaking Jews and imperial-period Greek speakers both made an effort to preserve their own literary tradition and distinctive heritage by having children taught to read the language of that literary tradition in school. With their limited educational resources they prioritised the heritage language over the one spoken in their homes, and insisted that the next generation learn to read the culturally important texts in their original languages. Like other ancient peoples, these cultures must have been aware of translation as a way to ensure access to important texts in other languages: there were Latin translations of Greek literature, a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, and numerous koiné Greek summaries of Classical Greek texts.[39] The decision not to substitute

[39] Latin translations of Greek literature include the plays of Plautus, Livius Andronicus' (now largely lost) version of the *Odyssey*, the *Ilias Latina*, and Catullus 51; the Septuagint is a (Hellenistic) Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible; for later Greek summaries of Classical Greek literature see e.g. Rossum-Steenbeek 1998.

translation for studying the originals must have been in some sense a deliberate one. But, at least in the case of Greek, this type of school language learning, bilingual in the sense that the children studied a second language through the medium of their native idiom, evolved gradually rather than having a definite beginning like the language learning that resulted from conquest: children's spoken language gradually grew apart from the language in which the important literature was written.

Notable in all seven examples is the importance of literature (in the broad sense): systematic language teaching in the ancient world was usually motivated by the need to read important texts and occasionally by the need to write. In fact, second languages only became part of ancient education systems if they had texts important to the culture concerned.

Also notable is the consistent focus on a single privileged language and literature for learning at school. In many parts of the modern world, schools typically offer several foreign languages and allow students to choose which to study, and often different schools within a single city offer different combinations of languages, so that students may even choose their school based on its range of language offerings. I know of no parallels for such a range of offerings in antiquity: ancient schools taught at most two languages including the pupils' native language, and different schools within the same community would not have taught different additional languages.

The correlation between language shift and (probable) immersion education is interesting, but not decisive. The (probable) immersion education was evidently able to produce good enough language skills to enable language shift, but so was bilingual education: Cicero had an excellent command of Greek and would have been capable of using that rather than Latin with his children if he had wanted to. But like other Romans he did not want to give up Latin. That some Egyptians, Gauls, and Britons decided to switch to raising their children in a new language was probably not the direct result of their school experience, though the linguistic knowledge gained in school no doubt made such a switch easier.[40]

PURPOSE

Evidently different cultures prioritised the study of different languages for different reasons, and together these may be able to shed some light on the purpose of language learning, at least from an ancient perspective. Why did both Greeks and Romans consider it so important that their children learn to read the Homeric poems in the original? The Spartan king Agesilaos paradoxically said

[40] For the range of factors likely to have been involved see Mullen 2023b.

that children should learn what they will use as adults[41] – paradoxically, because that was obviously not the principle that really governed ancient schooling. Nor is it the principle that really governs modern schooling. Everyone who has been to school can remember learning many things they have never used since; indeed many schools teach things that none of the pupils are likely to use in adulthood.

But is childhood learning really pointless if not directly used in adulthood? Classicists are keenly aware that our subject is often placed in the pointless category, and many of us find that unjust. As we frequently have to point out, learning can be valuable as a training for the mind even if the actual facts learned are not themselves used later; this is after all a key justification for Humanities in general, not only for Classics. And study of the Humanities goes back to the ancient school system; indeed in passage 5 Tacitus spoke of *artes liberales* "liberal arts". The argument about training for the mind also goes back to antiquity. Passage 6 comes from Isocrates, writing in the fourth century BCE.[42]

> [6]
> Ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐριστικοῖς λόγοις δυναστεύοντας καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν μαθημάτων διατρίβοντας οὐ βλάπτειν, ἀλλ' ὠφελεῖν τοὺς συνόντας, ἐλάττω μὲν ὧν ὑπισχνοῦνται, πλείω δ' ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δοκοῦσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπειλήφασιν ἀδολεσχίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν μαθημάτων· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων οὔτ' ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν εἶναι χρήσιμον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς μνείαις οὐδένα χρόνον ἐμμένειν ταῖς τῶν μαθόντων διὰ τὸ μήτε τῷ βίῳ παρακολουθεῖν μήτε ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπαμύνειν, ἀλλ' ἔξω παντάπασιν εἶναι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἐγὼ δ' οὔθ' οὕτως οὔτε πόρρω τούτων ἔγνωκα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οἵ τε νομίζοντες μηδὲν χρησίμην εἶναι τὴν παιδείαν ταύτην πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ὀρθῶς μοι δοκοῦσιν γιγνώσκειν, οἵ τ' ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτὴν ἀληθῆ λέγειν. διὰ τοῦτο δ' οὐχ ὁμολογούμενον αὐτὸν αὑτῷ τὸν λόγον εἴρηκα, διότι καὶ ταῦτα τὰ μαθήματα τὴν φύσιν οὐδὲν ὁμοίαν ἔχει τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς διδασκόμεθα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τότ' ὠφελεῖν ἡμᾶς πέφυκεν ὅταν λάβωμεν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀπηκριβωμένους οὐδὲν ἂν εὐεργετήσειεν πλὴν τοὺς ἐντεῦθεν ζῆν προῃρημένους, τοὺς δέ μανθάνοντας ὀνίνησιν· περὶ γὰρ τὴν περιττολογίαν καὶ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς ἀστρολογίας καὶ γεωμετρίας διατρίβοντες καὶ δυσκαταμαθήτοις πράγμασιν ἀναγκαζόμενοι προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἔτι δὲ συνεθιζόμενοι μένειν καὶ πονεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ δεικνυμένοις καὶ μὴ πεπλανημένην ἔχειν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἐν τούτοις γυμνασθέντες καὶ παροξυνθέντες ῥᾷον καὶ θᾶττον τὰ σπουδαιότερα καὶ πλείονος ἄξια τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ μανθάνειν δύνανται.
>
> For I think that both those who are strong in debate and those who spend their time on astronomy and geometry and studies of that type

[41] Plutarch, *Moralia* 213d.

[42] *Antidosis* 261–5.

> do not harm their students but benefit them, on the one hand less than they claim to do, but on the other more than others think they do. Most people suppose that such studies are just blather and logic-chopping, for none of them is useful in either private or public life, and they do not even stay in students' memories for any appreciable time because of having no application to life and being no help in what people actually do, but rather being completely devoid of practical utility. But I neither agree with this nor completely disagree, but think both that those who consider such study to be entirely useless for ordinary life are right, and that those who praise it speak the truth. And I make this apparently contradictory statement because these studies have a different nature from others that we are taught. For the others benefit us once we have learned them, and these would not help those who have already learned them, except for people who choose them as a career, but they benefit those in the process of learning. For while students are spending time on the complexity and precision of astronomy and geometry, and while they are forced to concentrate on things that are hard to learn, and while they are becoming accustomed to focus and work on what is said and demonstrated and not to let their minds wander, having been trained and strengthened by such studies they become able to understand and learn more important subjects faster and more easily.

Was this, then, the real purpose of some ancient language learning? Did Roman children train their minds by studying Greek, thus turning themselves into the kind of adults capable of building and running the Roman empire? Unfortunately not, or at least that is not what Greek or Roman thinkers argued. Isocrates was justifying not studying languages, but studying astronomy and geometry. I am not aware of any substantial use of this argument to justify language learning.

A different reason for teaching children things that they may not use later in life is utility to society as a whole. Society definitely has a vested interest in what the next generation learns. This interest is most obvious in a democracy, where everyone benefits when voters are well informed and capable of weighing up competing arguments. But it is also present in other kinds of societies; even in dictatorships everyone can benefit from children being taught kindness to others, or piety, or the skills employers need, or whatever the society happens to value. When governments provide education or subsidise its provision, they can fairly easily make sure that what they see as society's needs are prioritised. For example, many modern societies want their citizens to be skilled in mathematics and therefore require all schoolchildren to learn a minimum amount of it; the fact that algebra is of no use to most adults does not mean that society is making the wrong choice here. When education is not directly provided by the government, enforcing the society's priorities may be harder, but it is by no means impossible. Concerted social pressure can be very effective. For example, modern government-funded education does not teach

children not to relieve themselves in public; we expect parents to impart that cultural taboo. If they do not impart it, social pressure ensures that both parents and child suffer, with the result that children do learn that rule long before adulthood.

Most ancient schooling was not government-funded, but it nevertheless reflected the needs and priorities of the societies concerned. For learning non-native languages and cultures, some of these priorities were practical: Ptolemaic Egypt needed Greek-speaking bureaucrats, and the Roman empire needed well-trained lawyers and well-Romanised provincial populations who would not want to rebel. One might even argue that Jewish groups' need to give their exacting God what he wanted and Akkadian speakers' need for continued access to the Sumerians' ancient wisdom were also in some sense practical. But those last two probably had non-practical components as well, and the prioritising of Homer and Classical Greek literature certainly cannot have been motivated by practical considerations for either Greek or Latin speakers.

The study of Classical Greek by imperial-period Greek speakers was clearly a matter of identity and status. Most of the Greek speakers concerned did not live in Greece, and many did not even have ancestors who had once lived there. Their identity as Greeks was based purely on linguistic and cultural knowledge – and that identity was very important to them, perhaps especially to ones living in places such as Egypt where the privileged class of Greeks contrasted itself with a significant non-Greek population. It mattered to Greeks that this class should continue and that their own children should be part of it, and therefore they were prepared to invest in giving those children the necessary knowledge. Latin speakers, despite not identifying as Greeks, adopted the Greek definition of the educated elite, and it mattered to them as a group that the Romans should not be inferior to the Greeks (whom, after all, the Romans had conquered). Therefore they too invested in schooling to preserve the society's identity and status. Similar factors were no doubt also relevant for the Jewish groups, whose identity was based on their relationship with their Bible, and the Akkadian-speaking kings, whose identity as rulers was based on their relationship with Sumerian wisdom.

We can now finally address our final question, of whether the decision to teach a second language in school had an effect on the histories of the societies that chose to do so. The answer is probably yes: that training, coupled of course with the social pressure that caused it to take place, had the effect of keeping the important texts important and relevant, and thus of maintaining the cultural identity that mattered to the society. Interestingly that effect seems to have taken place even when schooling was very limited: comparatively few adults must have attained a good command of the languages taught at school, but that apparently did not prevent schooling from having the desired effect. So teaching a language in school may not always lead to adults having a good command

of that language, but even without that, it can help a community preserve its identity, history, and important texts.[43]

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[43] Compare the attitude to learning ancient Greek expressed in the Dutch song 'Ik lees Homerus' by Peter Shepherd: the singer feels that the importance of his once having read Homer in Greek is not at all affected by his subsequently having forgotten his Greek. A recording with the lyrics written out is available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=jSxUOO3vREM.

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PHILOLOGISCHE KLEINIGKEITEN ZU ZWEI LATEINISCHEN JESUITENDRAMEN AUS POSEN*

von

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ABSTRACT: This article provides a critical evaluation of the 1971 *editio princeps* of two anonymous Jesuit dramas, the *Mauritius* and the *Belisarius*, which were written in Poznań (Posen) around 1600 CE. A new collation of the codex unicus Uppsala R 380, which is riddled with flaws, yields numerous new readings. But also the more precise consideration of metre, syntax, and thought logic allows many emendations to both works, which are indebted to Seneca's dramas both conceptually and in linguistic detail.

KEYWORDS: Jesuit theatre, Byzantine emperors, textual emendation, Senecan influence, Poznań

Dem europäischen Jesuitentheater ist durch die Kirchengeschichte des Baronius[1] die byzantinische Kaisergeschichte als Gegenstand des Bühnendramas vermittelt worden. Deren wohl berühmteste Stoffe, der Aufstieg und schicksalhafte Fall des Kaisers Mauritius bzw. des Feldherrn Belisar, sind auf allen Jesuitenbühnen dargestellt, darunter auch in zwei um 1600 entstandenen, anonym überlieferten Fassungen aus dem Kollegium Posen. Aus dem *codex unicus* Uppsala R 380 hat Z. Piszczek die beiden, offensichtlich vom gleichen Autor stammenden Tragödien in einer Erstedition 1971[2] vorgelegt und einen vorläufigen Versuch unternommen, die selbst bei einer nachlässig kopierten zeitgenössischen Abschrift doch relativ hohe Zahl von Abschreibefehlern zu beseitigen. Aber es bleiben noch sehr viele Defekte zu beheben, zum einen einfache

* Mein herzlicher Dank gilt dem anonymen Gutachter für seine äußerst genaue Durchsicht und förderliche Kritik.

1 Baronius 1597–1609.

2 *Tragoediae Mauritius Belisarius. E codice manu scripto Uppsaliensi R 380 edidit, praefatione, apparatu critico, annotationibus appendicibusque instruxit* Z. Piszczek, Wratislaviae–Varsaviae–Cracoviae–Gedani 1971 (Bibliotheca Latina medii et recentioris aevi, Band 18). Eine Reihe von Versen hat auszugsweise bereits A. Stender-Petersen (1931: 98–126, 211–239) in seiner einschlägigen Pionierarbeit abgedruckt und an einigen Stellen – von Piszczek übersehen – Korruptelen des *Uppsaliensis* gebessert. Die Tragödien und Komödien der heute in Uppsala liegenden Handschrift sind mittlerweile alle ediert, vgl. Maryks 2003: 323–404.

Lesefehler (mir liegt ein ausgezeichnet lesbarer Mikrofilm vor), zum anderen aber vor allem eine Vielzahl von Textdepravationen in der Handschrift selbst, die durch eine fehlerhafte Metrik, Grammatik oder Logik (häufig alle Komponenten zugleich) offenbart werden. Eine Hilfe zur Lösung bietet bisweilen das Vorbild unseres Autors, Seneca tragicus, den der Anonymus gelegentlich recht schematisch und sklavisch bis hin zur Übernahme von ganzen Versen imitiert. Metrik und Prosodie sind natürlich nicht mit senecanischen Maßstäben zu messen,[3] und häufig glaubt man, eher Senare als Trimeter zu lesen: Władysław Strzelecki, der die Kenntnis des senecanischen Trimeters entscheidend gefördert hat, hätte wenig Freude an den Versen seines Landsmannes gehabt. Um zu zeigen, daß eklatante metrische Defekte nicht immer dem Verfasser der Stücke, sondern einem sorglosen Abschreiber, des öfteren aber auch dem Erstherausgeber anzulasten sind, seien einige aussagekräftige Partien vorab behandelt, an denen eine fehlerhafte Metrik zugleich mit einem syntaktischen Schnitzer oder unverständlichen Gedankengang zusammenfällt.

Bel. 168–169 (Amalasunthas Rachepläne werden umgesetzt):

> saturata iam liquentis ora gurgitis
> adeo haud multa, manibus et hoc prodeat.

In Vers 169 ist *haud multa* metrisch defekt und inhaltlich als unverständlich anzusehen. Zu schreiben hat man natürlich *haud inulta*: „Nicht ungerächt werde ich jetzt, im Zorn gesättigt, die Unterwelt(sgewässer) aufsuchen“. Vgl. 1294 *ego perii, sed non inultus*, v.a. aber 1446 *adibo manes non inultus*.[4]

Bel. 1694–1696:

> Cur laurea, si digna gessimus, abfuit,
> nomen triumphi? ABL. obliquis obstitit dolor
> livoris.

Laureā ist Ablativ zu *digna*, demgemäß ist das Komma vor *laurea* zu setzen, das Komma nach *abfuit* (sc. *nomen*) zu streichen. In Vers 1695 ist inhaltlich offenbar *obliquus* gefordert: „Dem berechtigten Triumph stand der übelwollende Unmut der Mißgunst entgegen“, also *obliquus dolor livoris* im Sinne von (metrisch nicht möglichem) *obliqui dolor livoris*.

Bel. 3007–3010:

> ite ad planctus Elidis urbes,
> patriaque senis terra deserti,
> altrixque Ithaca saxea Ulyssei,
> Phtyaque viris maior et armis.

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[3] Jetzt einschlägig Blänsdorf 2019.

[4] Ähnlich *Maur.* 68 (von den Unterweltsschatten): *non inultus transeat noster cruor*.

Durch *diserti* gewinnen wir Metrum und Mythologem (gemeint ist Nestor aus Pylos, seit Hom. *Il.* 1.247–249 gerühmt für seine Eloquenz[5]), durch *Ithacē* (für überliefertes *Ithacae*) Metrum und (senecanische) Morphologie. Vgl. Sen. *Tro.* 857 *et nocens saxis Ithace dolosis*.

Manche metrische Schnitzer sind erst durch den Herausgeber eingeführt worden. So in *Bel*. 412–413:

> O [fortia] virorum corda, bellis Gothicae
> spectata genti

wo *fortia* eine konjekturale Ergänzung für eine offensichtlich unleserliche Buchstabenkombination darstellt. Ich erkenne auf dem Mikrofilm deutlichst ein metrisch korrektes *flos*, so daß wir die vergilische Junktur *flos virorum* (*Aen*. 8.500 *flos veterum virtusque virum*) gewinnen.[6]

Ein letztes Beispiel aus dem *Belisarius* (222–223):

> BEL. Hic aut cadendum Vitigi aut legionibus.
> VAL. Comites Marti bellicos casus, tuum est

Das metrisch monströse und inhaltlich unpassende, ja unkonstruierbare *comites* resultiert lediglich aus einem Lesefehler: Die Handschrift bietet ein tadelloses *committe*.

Auch für den *Mauritius* gilt Ähnliches. Ich begnüge mich damit, ein Beispiel anzuführen (*Maur*. 1682):

> Praesaga saepe mens male verum dedit.
> Parere sic nos iubent tempora sibi.

Für das metrisch falsche und unverständliche *male* ist *mali* (sc. *praesaga*) zu lesen. Vgl. – vom Herausgeber selbst angeführt – Sen. *Thy.* 957–958 *mittit luctus signa futuri / mens ante sui praesaga mali*.

Der metrische Schnitzer in 1683 geht wohl lediglich auf einen Druckfehler zurück. Überliefert ist – metrisch allein korrekt – *sic sic*.[7]

Ich beginne nun in fortlaufender Besprechung mit dem *Mauritius* und lasse dann den *Belisarius* folgen. Behandelt werden in der Regel nur Korruptelen

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[5] Vgl. Cic. *Brut*. 40. – Zur sprichwörtlichen *Nestorea eloquentia* Erasmus, *Adag*. 156: *Nestorea eloquentia.*] *Consimilem ad modum Nestoris Pyliorum ducis facundia in proverbium abiit, si quando senilem suaviloquentiam significamus. Nam huic Homerus ut tria secula, ita plus quam mellitam quandam facundiam affingit. Sic enim ait in Iliados α:* Τοῖσι δὲ Νέστωρ / Ἡδυεπὴς ἀνόρουσε λιγὺς Πυλίων ἀγορητής, / Τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή, id est : *Post hos assurgit Pylius dux ille disertus / Nestor, cuius ab ore fluit vox melle liquenti / Dulcior* (ASD II 1 p. 270, 351–361). Vgl. Otto 1890: Nr. 1224.

[6] Danach ist schwach zu interpungieren und das Komma nach *corda* zu tilgen.

[7] Vgl. *Bel.* 91 *sic, sic per artus agere nostros, o furor!*, Sen. *Hf.* 1218 *sic sic agendum est* und Vredeveld zu Erasmus *carm.* 2.83.

im Codex, während die Lese- (oder Druck)fehler der Erstausgabe sowie Änderungen der Interpunktionen jeweils im Anschluß zusammengestellt sind.

1. *MAURITIUS*

Maur. 21–22:

> Hic nostra cervix hausit ensem, fervido hic
> caesi cruore traximus nostro solum.

Der Sinn verlangt *tinximus*; vgl. Sen. *Phoen.* 256–257 *quas Cithaeron noxius / cruore saepe regio tinctas alit* und *OLD* s.v. 4.

Maur. 89:

> in te tonabit orbe convulsus Deus ...

Lies *convulso* (*i.e. concusso*, *ThLL* IV 819, 5 sqq.).

Maur. 120–122:

> Ibis nocentum perpeti poenas domos,
> petes silentium, Ditis invisi chaos
> impune claro perfrui indignus die.

In Vers 120 hängt *domos* in der Luft, in 121 paßt *silentium* nicht in den Vers. Beide Anstöße beseitigt die Tilgung eines Buchstabens: *domos / petes silentum* (vgl. *Bel.* 129–130 *silentium / domus*) nebst der Änderung der Interpunktion: Kommata nach *poenas* und *chaos* (Apposition zu *domos*). Die Junktur *domus silentum* begegnet nicht im Corpus der senecanischen Tragödien und, soweit ich sehe, auch sonst nicht in antiker Dichtung. Sie gehört demnach wohl dem Verfasser des *Mauritius* und *Belisarius*.

Maur. 218–219 (Abtritt der Wachen):

> Nos ecce Caesar ideo, sic puto, vocat.
> VUL. Eamus intro, redibimus cum Caesare.

Zum einen pflegt man die Ankündigung eines Abgangs nicht durch ein *ideo* mit dem vorangegangenen Gespräch zu verbinden, zum anderen wird *ideo* von unserem Anonymus gänzlich gemieden. Spieltechnik und Lexik sprechen also jeweils gegen *ideo*. Ich lese *intro*.

Maur. 256 (Alle Völker des Ostens müssen dem römischen Kaiser Tribut zollen):

> novit Barsanesi victus ex femina viro

Den Sinn dieses metrisch korrupten Verses erhellt ein Passus bei Baronius (*Hist. eccl.* 8, p. 40e–41a, zitiert bei Piszczek 1971: 219): *cum dux Persarum exercitus Barames male cum Romanis pugnasset ... rex in eum infensus ignominiae causa vestem ad eum muliebrem misit atque praefectura privans in ordinem redegit.* Für das überlieferte *Barsanes* (*Barsanesi* ist wohl Druckfehler) ist also *Barames* herzustellen.[8] Damit gewinnen wir die Kürze in der 2. Senkung, mit der trivialen Umstellung *femina ex viro* den erforderlichen Sinn.

Maur. 381–382:

> et ipse diro spiritu ferrum fremit,
> currit furenti similis ...

Natürlich *ferum fremit*; Inhaltsakkusativ, vgl. Sen. *Oed*. 570 (*valles*) *sonuere maestum*; Verg. *georg*. 3.239 *immane sonat*; Kühner/Stegmann 1.281 und Zwierlein 1986: 416 zu *HO.* 1595.

Maur. 402–411:

In dem Zwiegespräch, ob man mit Gewalt oder Tributleistungen sich eher der Avaren erwehren könne, ist in der Überlieferung die Rollenverteilung nicht gewahrt: Theodoctes, der Vertreter der kriegerischen Antwort, kann unmöglich die Verse 402[b]–403 sprechen, in denen mit *tamen etiam / putanda saepe fortitudo est temeritas* von der Gewalt abgeraten wird. Die Verse 402[b]–403 sind vielmehr seinem Widerpart Gordianus zu geben.[9]

Maur. 404:

et fortitudo – temeritas cum audacia führt in der überlieferten Form den Gedanken von 403 rein pleonastisch, aber schief fort, wenn die gegebene Definition *fortitudo temeritas* durch *temeritas cum audacia* direkt – aus unerfindlichen Gründen – wieder korrigiert wird. Da in 406–408[b] in Formulierungen wie *ense animam expirat* und *ferrum tuetur imperia* dem Schwert das Wort geredet wird, die Verse also auf jeden Fall dem Theodoctes zu geben sind, liegt es nahe, in 404 die unmittelbare Antwort des Theodoctes auf die Definition des Gordianus zu sehen. Vonnöten ist lediglich eine minimale Angleichung:

> putanda saepe fortitudo est temeritas.
> ⟨THEOD.⟩ E⟨s⟩t fortitudo temeritas cum audacia

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[8] So hat schon Piszczek 1971: 219 vermutet, der im Kontext der oben zitierten Baronius-Partie votiert: „nomen proprium perperam a scriba exaratum puto. Fortasse anonymus noster Baramem quondam tangit."

[9] Mit M. Beck sind wohl auch die zur Vorsicht ratenden Worte 399–401 dem Gordianus zu geben. Der Ausfall der Personensigle bei Sprecherwechsel ist in der Überlieferung häufigst anzutreffen: *Maur.* 69. 219. 361. 362. 386. 502. 597. 1013. etc. In der Stichomythie 1452–1463 sind die Siglen, die den achtfachen Sprechwechsel markieren, vergessen worden.

Daß *audacia* hier positiv als Kühnheit zu fassen ist, erweist die aus der Definition gefolgerte Handlungsmaxime *capienda rebus in malis praeceps via* (407).

Maur. 409–411: auch in 411 ist die Personensigle vom Schreiber der Hs. vergessen worden:

> ANDR. Auro fides perfringitur. Prosternere
> ignavus hostem quisquis auro non potest,
> sed viribus, nam robur auro plus valet.

411 kann nur Theodoctes, der Vertreter der militärischen Lösung, sprechen. Bewahrt hat die Hs. noch das korrekte Fragezeichen nach 410. Das die Revozierung in 411 einleitende *sed* ist demnach als *sed potius* aufzufassen.

Maur. 499–501 (Die Pest wütet unter den Soldaten):

> non signa fulgent purpurea, non candida.
> Pullata noctis ingerunt luentibus
> vexilla formam, vestis umbras iniicit.

Der Sinn erfordert *lugentibus*.

Maur. 594–595:

> non ille bellum redimit, at belli moras
> quantum Gaganus odit, potest tantum quoque.

Der Abschnitt wird erst verständlich, wenn man *belli moras* auf *redimit* bezieht, also nach *moras* einen Punkt setzt. Denn vor Augen hat der Verfasser Sen. *Phoen.* 458 *proinde bellum tollite aut belli moram* bzw. *Thy*. 484 *tantum potest quantum odit* (diese Stelle bereits bei Piszczek).

Maur. 914–917:

> sed fuisset quintuplex
> illis caput, toties ut animas perfidi
> ferro coactas expuissent! Haud satis
> est perfido satelliti semper mori.

Natürlich ist *semel* herzustellen.[10]

Maur. 1063:

> Sensus in animo conditi fere latent

[10] Der Iambus im fünften Fuß entspricht nicht Senecas Verstechnik, hat aber seine Parallelen, etwa in *Bel*. 183 *erit manus*, 195 *minus foret*, *Maur*. 896 *mali subis* oder 923 *quatit metu*.

Fere ist ein bloßer Lesefehler. Der Codex bietet *vere*, was leicht zu *veri* zu emendieren ist.

Maur. 1376:

> cui longa agresti promanet cultu coma

Lies *promanat.*

Maur. 1431 (Ende einer Klagerede):

> Iam post abite, temporis sunt hae vices.

Lies *spes*.

Maur. 1474–1475:

> iungunt favillae perditas primum faces,
> quas dedit habenas principis nostri favor

Am ersten Tag kann der Herrscher den Zorn seiner Soldaten durch Geld besänftigen, am zweiten Tag jedoch erhebt sich erneut die Flamme des Zorns: Lies *quīs*.

Maur. 1486–1488:

> gemitus et altum murmur et gelidus fluit
> sudor per artus, spumat et abluit minas
> ac mersus alte magnus exundat dolor

Der Sinn erfordert entsprechend den hier wortwörtlich ausgeschriebenen Versen Sen. *Oed.* 922–924 *volvit*.

Maur. 1547:

> violens in armis insonat ferrum Phocas

Natürlich wie in 381 (s.o.) *ferum*!

Maur. 1569–1572:

> NUNC. Auguste, Blachernas iam Phocas habet, imminet
> infestus urbi miles, ingruit ferus.
> Actum, peractum est, fata se nostra explicant.
> MAUR. Pro lux acerba, pro capax scelerum dies.

Vers 1571 ist ebenso dem Kaiser zu geben wie in der Vorbildszene des pseudosenecanischen *Hercules Oetaeus* der entsprechende Vers 1472 *habet, peractum est, fata se nostra explicant* nicht einer Nebenfigur, sondern dem tragisch stürzenden Titelhelden in den Mund gelegt ist. Es ist interessant zu sehen, wie

geschickt der Verfasser das in der Vorlage vorgefundene korrupte *habet* (*bene est* Axelson) durch *actum* schöpferisch ersetzt.

Maur. 1609:

> si spirat ira, sanguinem nescit premi

Es ist *nach sanguinem* zu interpungieren.

Der gleiche Fehler ist auch in *Maur*. 1933 *dum spirat, ira sanguinem nescit regi* zu korrigieren. Vor Augen hatte der Autor Sen. *Thy*. 504 *cum sperat ira sanguinem, nescit tegi* in der von einer Reihe jüngerer Hss. der A-Tradition gebotenen Fassung *spirat ... regi.*

Maur. 1643–1645:

> insonant tubae.
> Iam, iam prope aliquid efferum, immane, impium
> in innocentem culpa confertur

Aliquid ... impium ist Inhaltsakkusativ zu *insonant*. Der Punkt gehört nicht hinter *tubae*, sondern hinter *impium.*

Maur. 1693–1705 (Der Patriarch Cyriacus spricht zum neuen Kaiser Phocas):

> (CYRIAC.) Ecce virtuti tuae
> summae rependit praemia, simul cernere
> et providere convenit, quibus modis
> gratus lubensque gratiam referas Deo.
> Haec erit abunde, sceptra si donaverit.
> Quis tibi videbit, subditos si aequus reges,
> graviter furentes imperii, belli minas
> si militis cruore quam modico tui
> fuso sedabis, sique vecordes, malos,
> truces, scelestos, perfidos aequissima
> poena nec ultra, quam suum poscit scelus,
> arcebis extensa, scies pacem dare
> si patriae, si civibus, si Ecclesiae.

Der Vers 1697 ist Phocas zuzuweisen, dem dann wieder ab 1698 der Patriarch Cyriacus antwortet. In 1698 gewinnen wir mit *quis invidebit* eine sinnvolle Aussage, in 1699 muß *impii* (sc. *belli*) hergestellt werden (der Vers ist so komplett aus Sen. *Phoen*. 290) übernommen. In 1705 sollte ein Fragezeichen den Satz beschließen.

Maur. 1739–1742:

> Omne regnum est a Deo
> licet quietum et hostibus plenum licet,
> nec abnuendum, hoc si dat omnipotens Deus.
> hos si incruentus, mitis et animo geres

Worauf bezieht sich *hos*? Es sollte *hoc* in Wiederaufnahme des vorhergehenden *hoc* heißen. Vgl. Sen. *Hf.* 741–742 *et incruentum mitis imperium regit / animoque parcit*, wo Heinsius *gerit* für *regit* vorgeschlagen hatte. Auf den gleichen Gedanken ist also auch der Dichter des *Mauritius* verfallen. Man wird sich nicht verleiten lassen, aus Seneca *incruentum* herzustellen, denn dann hinge *et*, das *mitis* und *incruentus* verbindet, in der Luft (das Komma nach *incruentus* sollte gestrichen werden).

Maur. 1808–1809 (Die Gefangennahme des Mauritius):

> ora et siccum sanguine guttur
> strinxit, ferro vinxit armos

Die Konjektur *vinxit* (so Piszczek, überliefert ist *vinciit*) ist richtig, aber für den Anapäst benötigen wir *vinxit* ⟨*et*⟩ (oder *vinxit*⟨*que*⟩). Neben *strinxit* erwartet man die Angabe, mit welcher Waffe die Untat ausgeführt wurde: *ferro* (mit einem Dolch). Dementsprechend ist die Interpunktion zu ändern.

Maur. 1960–1962:

> et ne dolori desit aliquid, ne probris,
> malo pereat in oculis meis, occidat
> praesente me

Mauritius stellt sich vor, daß als äußerste Strafe für seine Verbrechen sein Sohn vor seinen Augen getötet würde. Der Vers 1961 ist unmetrisch, *malo* unverständlich,[11] und ein Subjekt zu *pereat* und *occidat* fehlt. Alle Anstöße beseitigt folgende Fassung: *male pereat in oculis meis* ⟨*puer*⟩*, occidat / etc.* Vgl. 2053–2055 (der wahre Sohn ist entdeckt)

> PAR. Praeda est reperta et amplius nos ludere
> non poterit, Auguste, simulator improbus;
> ecce tibi perdendam indolem. PHOC: Pereat male!

Das Vorbild gab Sen. *Thy*. 41 *liberi pereant male*.

Maur. 2023–2026 (Der Scherge des Phocas berichtet seinem Herrn, daß Mauritius leugne, sein Sohn sei entdeckt):

> negat natum suum
> hunc esse, quem nunc intimis tectis tuli.
> PHOC. Res tota iudicio tamen negotium
> totumque commissum tuo explora bene.

[11] Sen. *Ag.* 492 *nosse quo pereant malo* bildet natürlich keine Gegeninstanz.

In der überlieferten Fassung ist der Satz nicht konstruierbar. Die Ergänzung eines Buchstabens in Verbindung mit einer anderen Interpunktion löst das Rätsel:

> Res torta. Iudicio tamen ...

Maur. 2098:

> (PHOC.) Minimus necetur. SPICVL. Quis sequetur? PHOC. sunt caeteri.

Das unmetrische (und unsinnige) *sunt* ist zu tilgen.

24 Komma erst nach *suo*. – 32 Der Punkt nach *gurgitis* ist zu tilgen, erst mit 33 *effundentis* ist das Kolon zu schließen. – 33 *hoc*] *haec* (sc. *domus*; vgl. 52–53) und Komma nach 34 *domus*. – 47–48 Das Komma ist nach *viventibus* zu setzen, nach 48 *paratam* ist statt Fragezeichen ein Komma einzufügen. – 53 Komma nach *Tyranni*. – 67 nicht nach *obtestor*, sondern nach *testor* interpungieren. – 90 Semikolon statt Komma. – 103 Komma nach *sanguis* streichen (*uncia* ist *abl. pretii*!). – 138 Punkt nach *domui* tilgen; keine Interpunktion in der Hs. und richtigerweise bei Stender-Petersen (1931: 108), dem auch die Emendation *domui* für *domus* (so die Hs.) zuzuweisen ist. – 161 nach *causam* der Antithese wegen ein Komma setzen. – 162 *quae nunc ruinam nunciant* (Kumaniecki: *nunciabant* cod.) *imperii*] contra metrum, das überlieferte *nunciabant* ist tadellos. – 164 Komma vor *tale*. – 206 *nostrum Caesari parcet malum / silentium?*] *pariet* cod. recte: „Wird unser Schweigen dem Kaiser schaden?“ – 278 Komma nach *poli* tilgen (ohne Interpunktion die Hs.). – 290 nicht nach, sondern vor *prius* interpungieren. – 335 Das gegen die Hs. nach *desides* gesetzte Fragezeichen ist zu streichen, da *milites* 336 eines Attributs bedarf (vgl. 341 *ignavi viri*). – 338 *stupeo modo* ist als Parenthese abzutrennen. – 340 Das überlieferte *pereant male* (*-o* Piszczek) ist ohne Fehler und darf nicht aufgrund der Pseudoparallele Sen. *Ag.* 492 *pereant malo* geändert werden: vgl. Sen. *Thy.* 41 *liberi pereant male*, v.a. aber *Maur.* 2055 (an gleicher Position) *pereat male.* – Die Verse 386–94a hat Piszczek dem Theodoctes gegeben; sie gehören wohl eher dem Philippicus, der in dieser Szene am entschiedensten als Eisenfresser gezeichnet ist. – 389 Komma nach *patria* (*nomen* ist Objekt zu *serves*) tilgen. – 478 *sescepit*] *suscepit* cod. recte. –574 *expectandam*] *expetendam* cod. recte. – 705 *dabit*] *dabis* (vgl. *fundes* 707). – 742–750: Der ganze Abschnitt ist anders zu interpungieren: Der Punkt gehört nicht nach 745 *putant*, sondern 744 *solent* (*quod* in 745 ist eine Konjunktion!); das Komma nach 746 *longius* ist zu streichen, weil *quod absit longius / infestus hostis* als ein Kolon aufzufassen ist. – 774–777 gehören, wie das einleitende *im(m)o* beweist, einem anderen Sprecher aus der Gruppe der *consiliarii*, wohl dem Ablavius. – 781 *quaecumque loca cupitis*] *capitis.* – 808 *a⟨t⟩tolit*] *-tollit* cod. – 822 Punkt nach *periculum* durch Komma ersetzen. – 845 *in orbe vasto* gehört zu 844 *contigit*; dementsprechend ist zu interpungieren. – 847 Das Komma gehört vor *haud frustra.* – 895 *tunc*] vielmehr *time* cod. und auch Stender-Petersen (1931: 110) recte. – 953 *incerta parans ad quid haec* (sc. *umbra furiarum*) *membris venit?*] *aut*; zu ordnen ist: *aut quid parans haec incerta membris venit?* Vgl. Sen. *Med.* 963–964 *cuius umbra dispersis venit / incerta membris?* (das senecanische Vorbild hat Stender-Petersen [1931: 216] verzeichnet); sollte der Anonymus nicht auf *aut quid parans incerta membris haec venit?* gekommen sein? – 1095 *parcas haec viris*] Das überlieferte *parcius haec* ist tadellos, vonnöten ist lediglich eine andere Interpunktion: *viris da principem etc.* – 1155 *denegarit*] *-vit* cod. recte. – 1211 Komma nach *principe* (*sc. dignus loco*) streichen. – 1262 *quem* (Kumaniecki: *quam* cod.)] *quae* (Philippicus will sich dem Imperator unterwerfen, so daß ein *virtutis est domare, quem cuncti pavent* inhaltlich unpassend wirkt). – 1302 Die Hs. bietet eindeutig *iustum esse facile est cui vacat pectus metu* (= [Sen.] *Oct.* 441, wo *iusto* statt *iustum* steht). – 1313 *nam*] Die Hs. bietet ein allein sinnträchtiges *num.* – 1315 *solum*] überliefert ist vielmehr das passende *salum*. – 1439 *fortuna celeri volvitur vana rota*] Zu *celeri ... rota* fügt sich nur (die Fortuna) *varia*. – 1441 *quis impetens, heu, principem casus rotat?*] *impotens* ([Sen.] *HO.* 715). – 1442 *fare*] *-i* (Sen. *Phaedr.* 993).

– 1461 *pereant*] *-eunt* cod. recte (= Sen. *Tro.* 1062). – 1497–1498 *at me silenti sustulit timor pede / perferto famam*] *perferre*. – 1514 nach *time* ist Doppelpunkt zu setzen. – 1618 *hic*] *hinc*. – 1690 (dem Himmel wird für den neuen Kaiser gedankt, der angerufen wird) *concesse ⟨ex⟩ nostris arce votis syderum*] KUMANIECKIS Ergänzung ist metrisch unstatthaft und inhaltlich unnötig. – 1709 *illud*] *illuc* (Sen. *Med.* 222). – 1711 *rapit*] *rapiat* (Sen. *Med.* 223). – 1730–1731 *ut altius cunctas supra videns Deus / pervexit et levavit humanas opes / hoc se magis etc.*] *evexit* (vgl. Sen. *Tro.* 259–260. *quoque Fortuna altius evexit etc.*). – 1766 *melior* sc. *dies*! (also Komma nach *imperator*). – 1813 *turbaeque*] *turbaque* (auch *metri causa*). – 1824 *raro ... rarius*] Die Konjektur KUMANIECKIS kostet zwei Eingriffe und ist *contra metrum*, außer man setzt die Kürzung des *o*-finale bei *raro* an. Das überlieferte *rara ... rarior* scheint ohne Fehl. – 1834 Der Punkt nach *pectore* ist zu tilgen. – 1842 *referes*] unmetrisch: das geforderte *feres* von gleicher Hand in der Hs. gebessert. – 1854 *diadema Caesari / prisco sacratum, quod tegit tempora, caput*] so KUMANIECKI; das überlieferte *tempore* ist tadellos, man muß nur des Verständnisses wegen konstruieren: *diadema quod prisco tempore sacratum Caesari tegit caput*. – 1865 *poteris* PISZCZEK (*pateris* cod.)] Die Konjektur verstößt gegen Metrum und Grammatik. Lies *patiaris*. – 1902 *concilia*] Der Codex bietet vielmehr *consilia* (recte). – 1903 *sat*, *concordia*] *stat concordia* – 2007 *Molocho*] *Molosso* cod. recte. – 2030–2031 *os et oculus / similis parenti*] *oculos* cod. recte (Acc. resp.). – 2120 nach *Deus* fehlt ein Punkt. – 2131 *nunc*] *hinc* cod. recte. – 2176–2177 *iam nostra pars maior polo / recepta*] *melior*?

2. *BELISARIUS*

Bel. 65–68 (Amalasuntha vergleicht ihr unheilvoll-schauriges Auftreten mit dem Wirken der Luna):

> qualis laborans ora Corybantum excitat
> aut pallida means conscios ignes sacris
> Cereris ministrat, qua[12] inferis facie nitet.
> Nocitura venio.

Der schwindende Mond erregt nicht das Antlitz der Corybanten, sondern veranlaßt diese ihre Schellen und Trommeln ertönen zu lassen: *aera*: Vgl. Verg. *Aen*. 3.111 *Corybantiaque aera*. Im übrigen ist der Punkt nach 67 *nitet* durch ein Komma zu ersetzen.

Bel. 74–76:

> Vocanda tristis Tartaro manus, Deas
> Erebo diras. O adeste tristium
> umbrae Dearum!

Trotz PISZCZEKS Verbesserung *Erebo* für *crebro* sind weder Vers noch Syntax in Ordnung. STENDER-PETERSEN (1931: 216) hat stillschweigend (*crebro*) ⟨*invoco*⟩ ergänzt, aber das unpassende *crebro* stehengelassen und mit *invoco* unschön das vorhergehende *vocanda* wiederholt. Wir benötigen ein Synonym für *invoco*:

[12] So richtig die Hs. (PISZCZEK druckt ohne Angabe *quae*).

deas
Erebo ⟨cio⟩ diras.

Vgl. Belis. 2876 *has tibi diras cies?*

Bel. 151–152:

quem scelere vincas nullus est, te vincito,
de te trophaeum, euge viae expertae, est levis.

152 ist nicht zu konstruieren. *Viae* ist, wie eine Überprüfung am Mikrofilm ergab, Lesefehler: Zu lesen ist *i, via expertae est levis*. In der ersten Vershälfte vermißt man ein Prädikat, das *trophaeum* regiert: *de te trophaeum adde* (oder *aude*).

Bel. 215–217:

Non leviter urget Vitigem sors improba.
Ex quo referri verso retro coeperat,
graviore semper impetu in praeceps ruit

Eine idiomatische Ausdrucksweise *verso retro* existiert nicht. Lies *versus*.

Bel. 258–260:

Exortus ille manibus
pudor parentes prole non certa dedit,
confusa stirpe barbara Romana gens.

Inzest und Blutschande, Folgen von *pudor*? Selbstverständlich *furor*! Zugrunde liegt der Dialog der senecanischen Phaedra mit ihrer Amme: Vgl. *Phaedr.* 171–172 (NVT.) *miscere thalamos patris et gnati apparas / uteroque prolem capere confusam impio?*, worauf Phaedra 177–179 antwortet: *quae memoras scio / vera esse, nutrix; sed furor cogit sequi / peiora*.

Bel. 300–301:

Procede, miles, spissior
capite, sed ipsa fronte tenebis. Sistito.

Innerhalb der Anweisung zur Art des Aufmarsches ist *tenebis* unverständlich. Vonnöten ist ein Gegenbegriff zu *procede spissior*: *tenuis sistito*. Vgl. 295–296 *lunata rursum cornua acies explicet, / sed umbilico spissior*.

Bel. 322–323:

silere curas principum decet, suas
vulgus loquatur.

Natürlich *principem*; nur so gewinnen wir die notwendige Antithese zu *vulgus*.

Bel. 335–337:

> Admissus immensum dolor gliscit semel
> acerbis aditu, si sapis. VIT. Pauca fero,
> si surgat ex causa.

Acerbis ist kein Druckfehler, der Codex bietet dieses sinnlose Wort, das zu *arcebis* zu korrigieren ist (nach *semel* ist zu interpungieren). Schwierigkeiten bereitet *pauca*, das durch das Metrum und den fehlenden Anschluß zu *surgat* zwingend als korrupt ausgewiesen wird. Vonnöten ist ein Ausdruck wie z.B. *parvum* (sc. *dolorem*) oder *patiens fero*.

Bel. 359–361:

> Ignavus metu
> declinat, et sero, nam tergum premit
> pavor fugacis.

Allein schon das Metrum erfordert *et⟨si⟩* (eine banale Haplographie -*si se*-).

Bel. 369–370:

> Non sic cecidimus, surgere ut liceat cito;
> quem iam exitum fert, timeo, nostrae rei.

Fert ist unmetrisch und ungrammatisch. Also *quem iam exitum feram, timeo nostrae rei*. Vor Augen hatte der Anonymus Sen. *Phaedr*. 138 *quemcumque dederit exitum casus feram*.

Bel. 391–394 (Vitiges weigert sich gegenüber einem ängstlichen, Unheil befürchtenden Senator, dem Geschick zu weichen):

> Nunc fata terrent Vitigen iam Gotthica?
> Aut nostra? Cui evolvis astrorum potens
> arcana senex sempiternum et ordinem
> rerum futuri? Inanes, augur, has timor
> in pectus ingerit meum curas

Piszczeks Konjektur *senex* für *senem* (nebst der dann notwendigen Änderung von *evolvit* zu -*is*[13]) gewährleistet ein sprachliches Verständnis, scheitert aber am Metrum. Aber auch der Hiat *cui evolvis* darf nicht stehen bleiben: Entweder ist *cur evolvis* oder *cui revolvis* herzustellen. Schwieriger fällt eine Besserung für das korrupte *senem*. Vielleicht (mit Annahme einer Art Dittographie *senem sem*-) *arcana mundi*.

Futuri, der unschöne Genitivus 2. Grades, läßt sich leicht durch eine andere Interpunktion beseitigen: *futuri inanes ... curas* oder *futuri ... timor*.

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[13] Entgegen der adnotatio ist *evolvis* Konjektur, nicht überlieferter Wortlaut (*evolvit* cod.).

Bel. 398–400 (Vitiges grübelt über seine einstigen Erfolge nach):

> Potuine quondam tot ducum convertere
> retro catervas tergoque in fugam virum
> protectam scutis?

Trotz der beiden Änderungen (399 *in fugam* Kumaniecki: *in fuga* cod. bzw. 400, *protectam* Piszczek: *-a* cod.), deren zweite gegen das Metrum verstößt, vermag man dem Ganzen keinen befriedigenden Sinn abzugewinnen. Der entscheidende Fehler liegt vielmehr in *tergo*, wofür *terga* (sc. *convertere in fugam*) zu bessern ist.

Bel. 410–411:

> SEN. Agnosce robur Vitigis – vetus sua
> virtute – dignum[14] cordis et validi; notas?

Was verbindet *et* in 411? Unschön ist die nachklappende Frage *notas?* Also:

> agnosce robur Vitigis vetus, sua
> virtute dignum, cordis et validi notas!

Bel. 438–441 (Der byzantinische Feldherr Belisarius will die Goten vor Ravenna schlagen):

> Aequabo terrae culmina
> captiva; pubes sub corona irruet
> Ravennae, Thessalo igne subtexet polum,
> stabit favilla Gotthica, piger hic dies.

In Vers 439 ist mit *sub corona irruet* ein auffälliger Hiat zu konstatieren, aber der Ausdruck ist an sich schon unverständlich, erwartet man doch ein *sub corona venire*. In 440 fehlt einerseits zu *subtexet* ein Subjekt, andererseits ist *Ravennae* metrisch zweifelhaft, da auch bei dem Anonymus die Kürze in der zweiten Senkung bis auf wenige Ausnahmen obligatorisch ist. Um gleich die seltsame Interpunktion in 438 und 439 zu korrigieren, schreibe ich den ganzen Passus in der leicht zu erschließenden Gestalt aus:

> aequabo terrae culmina,
> captiva pubes[15] sub corona veniet,[16]

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[14] Entgegen Piszczek ist *dignum* in der Hs. deutlich zu lesen.

[15] So auch *Bel.* 641–42 *captiva pubes Rege cum suo palam / deducta sistatur* und nach dem Sieg in 1685 *captiva pubes, gaza, caesi exercitus*; vgl. auch 935 *captiva stirpis Gotthicae pubes*.

[16] Da diese Nebenform offenbar nur unsicher belegt ist (Neue, Wagener 1897: 326), versteht sich die Konjektur nur exempli gratia. Mit *corruet* wäre zumindest der Vers wiedergewonnen.

Ravenna Thessalo igne subtexet polum[17],
stabit favilla Gotthica piger hic dies.

Bel. 472:

Rape, rape signa, culmine ara summo ruit.

Abgesehen davon, daß von einem Altar auf der Feste bisher nichts zu hören war, ist schon metri causa *arx* zu schreiben (vgl. etwa 489 *ab arce, miles, abstine manum* und häufig *arces* ~ "befestigte Stadtanlagen", e.g. 110.451).

Bel. 474:

Fervor luetur capite divi militis.

Lies *diri*.

Bel. 492–493:

Qua voce possum {in} Romuli gentem palam
vicisse testor et Ducem Belisarium.

Vitiges war lediglich aufgefordert worden, die Tatsache selbst zu beschwören, nicht aber den Adressaten des Schwurs zu nennen; vgl. 490–491 *tu Rex fatere voce victorem tua, / fatere supplex vindicem Belisarium*. Die Praeposition erklärt sich wohl allein aus einer trivialen Dittographie *M/IN*.

Bel. 575–576:

Hac principes Divis reor sunt proximi,
quod iusta scribunt iura gentibus feris

Natürlich *hoc ... quod*.

Bel. 628–629:

et Mars secundus spes habet semper novas,
ni frena tandem accipiat et modum.

Dem Vers 629 fehlt ein ganzer Fuß: e. gr. *frena ⟨firma⟩*.

Bel. 767–771 (Die Siege über die Goten gipfeln in der Befreiung Roms):

Sat Lybicae dedimus palmae. Venit ecce canenda
clarior, Oenotrios dudum spectata per agros,

[17] Die Konstruktion und Position des Subjekts *Ravenna* im Vers entspricht 240–241 *subsidet illa Gott⟨h⟩ici spes roboris / Ravenna*; zu 438b vgl. 239 *aequabo terrae summa vel fastigia*.

captivum Tyberim cum vinclis exuit armis
aeternasque artes peregrino Marte gravatas
servitis exemit gentesque ad iura vocavit.

Die ewigen Künste? *Arces*! Vgl. 110 *rubris nec ambit Tyberis arces cornibus?* und v.a. 1595 *dum veteris arces vindico Romae*. In 771 legt nicht nur die Metrik nahe, *servitio* (vgl. Sil. 15.590 *servitio eripiat*; Mar. Vict. *Aleth.* 3.536) zu schreiben. Ob man in 769 *armis* zu *artis* (sc. *vinclis*) zu ändern hat, lasse ich dahingestellt.

Bel. 779:

vulnera duo pectore passi.

Im daktylischen Tetrameter allein schon *metri causa*: *duro*.

Bel. 798–800:

Frustra tepidus tenuit muros
miles, pavidae tenuis fugae
spes, ubi cecidit pectore virtus.

Natürlich *trepidus*.

Bel. 801–804:

Captus Vitiges vincula dextra
sensit invicti; regia cervix
submissa iugo didicit tumidos
ponere fastus

Invicti stellt eine metrisch falsche Konjektur für überliefertes *inciti* dar. Was wir brauchen, ist *inerti*. Vgl. 765–766 *sensi inerti / posito fastu vincula dextra* (wo Piszczek unnötigerweise zu *inertis* geändert hat, weil offensichtlich nicht der Bezug zu *dextra* erkannt wurde), 1234 *nos frustra inerti pila gerimus dextra* und Sen. *Ag*. 551 *inerti tela iaculantem manu*.

Bel. 873–881:

Fortuna Romae veteris orbem comparans
legibus verumque barbaros sceptris tuis
adiecit, omnis legibus, parce plagae (Piszczek: *plaga* cod.).
Qua sol Ibero lassus occumbit in mari (Piszczek: *ari* cod.),
qua torret Affricana tesqua ardoribus,
qua propior Urbis aspicit Romam caput,
qua primus[18] Eoo levatur gurgite –
felicitate victa Principis omnia.

[18] Die Erstausgabe hat *prinus*, wohl nur ein Druckfehler, obgleich der Codex hier nur undeutlich zu lesen ist. *Primus* (sc. *sol*) bezeichnet die aufgehende Sonne.

Der Passus weist eine fortlaufende Kette von Korruptelen auf, von denen leicht 875 mit *omnis legibus paret plaga*, 876 mit *occumbit mari* (*IN* / *M*) und 878 durch *orbis ... caput*[19] zu beheben sind. In Vers 874 aber ist *legibus* unmetrisch (und eine unschöne Vorwegnahme von 875). Man erwartet als Antithese zu *Romae veteris* einen Ausdruck wie *aetate nostra*. Aber das soll nur ein diagnostischer Hinweis sein.

Bel. 905–906 (Vitiges gibt sein Schicksal ganz in die Hände Justinians):

> servire liceat, ex vetere, superat unicum hoc,
> est faustitate.

In der dargebotenen Form ist der Text unmetrisch und unverständlich. Zu schreiben ist: *servire liceat: {ex} vetere superat unicum hoc / ex faustitate*.

Bel. 1057–1059:

> sagaci animo opus est,
> industrio hic servis; ut est nullus, solet
> tacere servilis ita iners crudelitas.

Industrio ist eine *vox nihili*, das ganze Kolon 1058a ist unverständlich; *nullus* in 1058b steht ohne Bezug; den Vergleichssatz wird niemand begreifen. Mit *industria hic servus ut est nullus* gewinnen wir die Aussage wieder: „Wie hier in Rom niemand freiwillig Diener ist, so pflegt hier die (typisch) hinterhältige Brutalität eines Sklaven keine Stätte zu finden."

Bel. 1128–1129:

> Admota propius fata pervenient? ABL. libenter
> vitam dabo patriae.

Das Metrum macht ein *libens* erforderlich – und genau das ist Lesart des Codex („*libenter* lego, lectio incerta" Piszczek). Vgl. 2068 *reddo quam dedit* (sc. *patria*) *vitam libens*, wo *libens* an gleicher Position im Vers erscheint.

Bel. 1133–1135 (Ablavius fordert den Sergius auf, ihm endlich den Todesstoß zu versetzen):

> Quid agis, anime? mors incubat, pares nisi;
> concitat pennas, iam quatit. Mittar neci
> necis metu?

[19] Vgl. *Bel*. 581 *orbis illud Roma concussa caput*.

Kumanieckis *concĭtat* verstößt gegen das Metrum. Das überlieferte *concīta* von (*concio*) ist tadellos, und man hat lediglich anders zu interpungieren:

> mors incubat pares nisi;
> concita pennas iam quatit.

Bel. 1265–1267:

> Generosa virtus fervidas iras habet,
> desidia lenes. LOG. Fortius magnas premit,
> minus – minores animus ingens.[20]

Doch wohl:

> fortius magnos premit,
> minus minores animus ingens.

Vgl. 1688 *mediocre magnos nil premit*. Der allgemeine Gedanke fordert ein *magnos*, wie in Sen. *Med*. 159 *Fortuna fortes metuit, ignavos premit*.

Bel. 1437–1439:

> Orbis quam patet late, audiet
> me non multum. En umbra victrix exeret
> tumulo caput.

Metrum und Sinn verlangen wie in *Bel*. 168–169 (s.o.) ein *inultum*.

Bel. 1517–1522 (Günstlinge politischen Glücks):

> Obliquus ille duplicat magnis metum
> Ablavius; Marcellus istius gregis
> et qui secundis uritur secessibus
> avidosque regnorum gerit animos miser.
> Hos signat oculis populis et dubia fides
> perspecta semper Principi, ratum facit.

Die Höflinge neiden dem Konkurrenten den Erfolg: *successibus*. Vonnöten ist des weiteren *populus* (Perseveranzfehler)[21] bzw. *iratos* (Haplographie) oder *ingratos*. Ein Ausdruck *alqm. ratum facere* existiert nicht.

Bel. 1598–1600 Die Goten werden in ihrem eigenen Land geschlagen:

> Veritus hostis Caesarem
> arvis iugulum patitur, en quiddam domi
> armis repertum dirius vel Gotthiis.

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[20] Vgl. Sen. *Tro.* 945 *vide ut animus ingens laetus audierit necem.*

[21] Vgl. 1506–1507 *plebs... / hunc signat oculis.*

Metrik und Sinn von Vers 1599 sind unergründbar: *iugum patietur. En quiddam* ... Vgl. Sen. *Hf.* 432 *regi servit et patitur iugum*.

Bel. 1614–1615:

> Quo, quo, anime, raperis? Aggravat nimius dolor.
> Par malo occurris tuo?

Metrum und Sinn empfehlen ein *⟨im⟩par* (mit Punkt oder Ausrufezeichen nach *tuo*).

Bel. 1646–1648 (Die immerwährenden Sorgen des Herrschers):

> curae acriter
> vigilant. Ibero Apollo vix tulit mundo iubar
> aequore, metus *sed excubat*.

Vix ... sed ergibt einen schiefen Gedanken, der durch *simul excubat* wieder ins Lot gebracht werden könnte.

Bel. 1687:

> Fortuna semper mole sua labat.

Dem Vers fehlt ein Fuß: Aus Vers 1514–1515 *suave mole nimia faustitas / laborat?* gewinne ich *Fortuna ⟨nimia⟩ semper mole sua labat*.

Bel. 1698–1700:

> Quid quod extortam mihi
> victoriam e manu aemulus Narses habet,
> spado efferatus?

„*efferatus* lego, vox incerta“ (Piszczek): Deutlich lese ich *ebiratus*, also *eviratus*, und dies ist das passende Attribut eines Eunuchen, wie Mart. 5.41.1 *spadone cum sis eviratior* ausweist.

Bel. 1707–1708:

> Hac patuit unus vulneri locus, hac eram
> petendus, innocens sui quam maxime.

Das überlieferte *qua*, das das zweimalige *hac* aufgreift, ist tadellos (*maxime* bezieht sich natürlich auf *innocens*). Aber *sui* ist natürlich unsinnig: *fui*!

Bel. 1752–1753 (Belisarius beteuert, niemals des eigenen Ruhmes wegen militärische Erfolge angestrebt zu haben):

> testor prioris inclytam sortis fidem,
> servitum honori Principis ...

Statt des ungrammatischen *servitum* ist *servatam* (sc. *fidem*) herzustellen (und entsprechend zu interpungieren).

Bel. 2130–2131:

> Nunc qua supremam torqueat, quaerit locum
> Fortuna plagam exhausta viribus suis.

Ein vernünftiger Gedanke entsteht erst durch *supremum* bzw. *plagae*.

Bel. 2151:

> in regia repertus hostis horrid[us] est.

Die Ergänzung erfolgte contra metrum. Der Codex bietet deutlich ein metrisch korrektes *horridum*, das als parenthetischer Ausruf zu fassen ist.

Bel. 2242–2244 (Iustinianus ruft Titan auf, das an ihm begangene Verbrechen allen zu offenbaren):

> retege scelus.
> Me vindicem Indis nuncio, si qua capitis
> tibi cura nostri est; ...

Nach *retege* und vor *tibi cura nostri est* fügt sich allein ein *nuntia* ein.

Bel. 2487–2489:

> nil est denegandum patriae.
> Opes salusque sortis et summae decus
> occurro, satis.

In der gebotenen Fassung wäre der zweite Satz nur in der Weise konstruierbar, daß die Reihe *opes – decus* als Vokativ gefaßt wird. Dies wäre jedoch gedanklich widersinnig, denn der Sinn verlangt das genaue Gegenteil: „Für das Vaterland werde ich alles aufgeben." Zudem hängt bei dieser Fassung unmetrisches *satis* völlig in der Luft. Dabei ist die Lösung trivial:

> nil est denegandum patriae:
> opes salusque sortis et summae decus,
> Occurro fatis.

Bel. 2567–2569 (Iustinian hält Belisarius für entlarvt):

> Tenetur author sceleris, emersit dolus.
> Delectus hostis, miles abruptus latus
> ducis reliquit.

Belisarius wird nicht zum Feind erwählt, vielmehr wird seine Täterschaft, die ihn zum Feind stempelt, offenbar: *detectus hostis*. In Anbetracht des in gleicher Sache 2241–2242 von Iustinianus geäußerten Wunsches *Titan ... retege scelus* wird man möglicherweise auch an *retectus* denken müssen.

Bel. 2803–2804 (Iustinian zwingt Belisar, sich zu rechtfertigen)

> Crimen negabo, diluas quot testium
> indicia firmant.

Natürlich *quod*!

Bel. 2820–2823:

> IUST. Servata Gotthis est fides, sed non mihi.
> BEL. Servata patriae et tibi, nec poenitet,
> fide prior vita fuit. IUST. Prior fuit
> per me petita, per latus meum et caput.

Das erste Kolon in Vers 2822 mit seinen zwei Ablativen ist unkonstruierbar bzw. bei Auffassung von *vita* als Nominativ metrisch defekt. Durch *fide⟨s⟩* sind Gedanke und Grammatik wiedergewonnen.

Bel. 2975–2977:

> Impia rursus saecula noctem et
> chaos aeternum metuunt mundi et
> fata ruentis

Ein *ewiges* Chaos wäre niemals vergangen und kann folglich auch nicht *wieder*kehren. Was man fürchtet, ist das *chaos antiquum*. Vgl. z.B. Ov. *met*. 2.299 *in chaos antiquum confundimur*, Lucan. 1.74 *antiquum repetens iterum chaos* und Galt. *Alex.* 4.590–592 *quantum si dissona mundi / in chaos antiquum rediviva lite relabens / machina corrueret*.

Daß die von Ovid, Lucan und Walter repräsentierte Vorstellung auch im 17. Jahrhundert bestens bekannt und rezipiert wurde, bezeugen die Verse 9–10 eines Gedichtes des Petrus Bacherius auf den Diplomaten Viglius: *ah metuo, nisi praestet ope opem vis inclyta dextrae / Austriacae, in priscum cuncta abitura chaos*.[22]

Bel. 3003–3006:

> Qua Cecropiam temperat urbis
> veteris Romae Princepsque novae –

[22] Abgedruckt in Coppens 1990: 308.

veniant Graiae pectora tunsae
sparsaeque comas pulvere matres.

Ein Adjektiv *Cecropiam* (Piszczek: *-ae* cod.) kann nicht als Akkusativobjekt firmieren. Also *Cecropiam ... urbem*.

86 *digna*] unmetrisch; *dignae* man. sec. Vonnöten ist *digne*. – 90 *inanis*] Lesefehler contra metrum: Die Hs. bietet ein korrektes *intimis.* – 123 *impia*] richtig, aber Konjektur, nicht Überlieferung (*impiae* cod.). – 129 *voluit*] *volvit* (und Komma nach 130 *domus*). – 134–135 *Cyclops ... aliti suae / negabis escas*] *negabit.* – 144–146 *sceptra per caedes petat*{,} */ haeres avita deterior et pessimo*{.} */ semper inludet*. – 161 *profundum* ist Attribut zu *Istrum*; somit ist mit der Hs. nach *Nilum* ein Komma zu setzen. – 192 *mea*] richtig, überliefert ist jedoch *meae.* – 210 *uni*] contra metrum: Die Hs. bietet weder *uni* noch *unis*, sondern ein tadelloses *viris*. – 265 *terrae*] richtig, aber *terra* cod. – 275 *pulchrum est, decorum fortia pati vulnera*] Natürlich mit Hor. *carm*. 3.2.13 *et.* – 291 *RELIQUI iuramus idem idem*] Die Hs. bietet *reliqui* nicht als graphisch abgesonderte Personensigle, sondern irrtümlich als Teil des Textes selbst. – 324 *rigor*] Die Hs. bietet eher *vigor*; damit wäre die Tautologie zu 325 *cervice rigida* aufgehoben. – 332 *clavum*] vom Editor als eigene Konjektur für *clanum* ausgegeben, aber Überlieferung. – 333 *obruet*] *obruat* cod. recte. – 356 *ni*[*mis*]] *nihil* cod. – 361 *dari*] *clari* cod. recte (sc. *tergum*). – 379 *forti*⟨*s*⟩ *saepe latitat moenibus.* – 425 *laetus*] *latus* cod. recte. – 430 *ritu*] *rabie* cod. recte. – 456 *scutis*] *scalis* cod. recte. – 462 *quo*] *qua* cod. recte. – 465 Vor *genus* in der Handschrift noch ein *i.* – 498 *tam ... possit*] *iam ... posset* cod. – 503 *tegant*] *legant* cod. – 586 *voluntatem* contra metrum] *robur suum* cod. recte. – 600–601 *omnia / frustrabimur*] *omina lustrabimur* cod. – 622 *premas*] *-es* cod. – 705 *vehunt*] richtig, überliefert ist aber *vehant.* Zudem ist, wie der anonyme Gutachter zu Recht anmerkt, das Komma nach *velis* zu streichen. – 720 *patriae*] *patria* cod. recte (sc. *Ausonia*). – 733 *equitis*] contra metrum: *equitisque* cod. recte. – 778 *principe*] Der Sinn erfordert den Vokativ *princeps* (vgl. 970); so wohl auch die hier schwer lesbare Handschrift. – 782 *utimus ille dies*] kein Druckfehler, sondern Überlieferung; natürlich *ultimus.* – 824 Komma nach *pubes* streichen; *strenua* 825 gehört zu *pubes*. – 1038 *hospes* contra metrum] *sospes* cod. recte. – 1054 *nescio* contra metrum] *scio*. – 1056 *tori*] eine ‚Korrektur' des überlieferten *thori* ist unnötig, hyperkorrektes ‚h' begegnet etwa auch 1096 *lethum.* – 1200 *vici*] contra metrum; *viae* cod. recte. – 1223 *divus Hannibal quatit muros*] *dirus*. – 1241 *hoc* ⟨*et*⟩ *Sergius* (metri causa); der Punkt nach *Sergius* ist zu streichen. – 1248 *patria*] *patriae* cod. recte. – 1285 Das handschriftliche *absumpta* gehört in den Text. Das metrisch fehlerhafte *sumpta* ist keine Verbesserung einer anderen Hand, sondern lediglich Resultat eines verdeckenden Schmutzfleckens. – 1288 *peris*] unverständlich und unmetrisch; die Hs. bietet ein in jeder Hinsicht tadelloses *pono.* – 1288–1289 *persequar / si, res patebit Principi; grandes veham / clades in orbem leviter etc.*] Natürlich ist abzutrennen *persequar, si res patebit Principi; grandes etc.* – 1293 *ite*, *impii, dira omnia et capite simul*] *omina*, vgl. 1511 *dirum, Deus, verte omen*. – 1367 *occidimus; uno pendet* ⟨*iam*⟩ *filo salus*. – 1469 Komma nach *maior* tilgen. – 1473 es ist abzutrennen: *nec temere futilis* (sc. *Antii regina*). – 1480 Komma nach *arente* (sc. *rictu*) streichen. – 1487 Komma nach *livor* streichen, da *tristia* Attribut zu *crementa* ist. – 1492 *fortuna favit bellica, fama viget* (sc. *Narsis*)] Das Metrum erweist *bellica* als Attribut zum Ablativ *fama*! Das Komma ist also zu streichen. – 1542–1543 *fortuna certa foedera colit, si fide / postrema primis paria spondent prospera*] *si fide* ist vielmehr Teil des *fortuna colit*-Satzes; *certa sc. fide*! – 1556 *adigas barbaros*] eine nicht angezeigte notwendige Konjektur des Herausgebers, überliefert ist *adigat barbarus*. – 1640 *recessum*] Die Hs. bietet das metrisch allein korrekte *recessus*. – 1644 Das Komma nach *sopor* ist mit dem anonymen Gutachter zu streichen. – 1719 Komma nach *perferre* tilgen (ohne Interpunktion cod.). – 1723 *non ille paveat cladibus te et subruat*] *paveat* ist eine nicht angezeigte Konjektur für überliefertes *pareat*. Herzustellen ist *parcat cladibus et te subruat.* – 1765–1767 Mit dem anonymen Gutachter ist nach *aevi* (1766) ein Punkt zu setzen. Schon die Handschrift fährt mit *Si* fort. *Liberis* (1767) ist contra metrum; *libens* cod. recte. – 1784 *non*] *an* cod. recte – 1841 *deletur*] *debetur* cod. recte (sc. *Orco*). – 1848 *multi* contra metrum] *inulti* (vgl. 1918). – 1918 szenischer

Titel nach 1918: *rumpent*] *irrumpent* cod. recte. – 2016 *huc ferventis me appulit tandem gravis*] Eine metrisch befriedigende Fassung gewinnt man durch eine einfache Umstellung *huc appulit ferventis me tandem gravis*. – 2037 *rotare*] „*rotare* lego, lectio incerta" (Piszczek)] Die Hs. bietet ein falsches *rotane*. – 2044 *utram* contra metrum] *utramque* cod. recte. – 2050 *soli*] *sibi* cod. recte. – 2053 *undae* contra metrum] *-as* cod. recte. – 2073–2075 *quae vestra, quondam barbara, cervix manu / cadat, hac in una civium quondam salus / steterat*] Natürlich *qua ... hac*. – 2089 *ab orbe spolia capto nunc sero*] *fero*. – 2165 *fides*] nicht angezeigte Emendation für *-is* cod. – 2189 *se luitur* contra metrum] *solvitur* cod. recte. – 2211 *nihil*] *nil* cod. p.c. – 2234 *huc*] *hac* (mit offenem *a*) cod. recte. – 2651 Mit der Hs. ist nach *captus* zu interpungieren; *ducum* ist Genetivattribut zu *manes*. – 2674 Komma nach *praevii* tilgen (keine Interpunktion in der Hs.). – 2675 *vindicem*] *-e* cod. (false). – 2692 *infernis*] *informis* cod. recte: zu konstruieren ist *informis lethi* (dementsprechend Fragezeichen erst nach *lethi*). – 2696 Interpunktion am Versende tilgen (ohne Interpunktion Hs.). – 2698 Komma statt Ausrufezeichen und Fragezeichen nach 2700 *sagittas*. – 2735 *avidae* contra metrum] *aridae* cod. recte. – 2784 *huic*] richtige Konjektur, nicht Überlieferung; die Hs. bietet *hius*. – 2789 *cassasset*] *cessasset* cod.; demnach (mit Bezug auf *vota*) *cessassent*. – 2815 *quod*] *quid* cod.; als Einleitung einer Frage hier vielleicht richtig. – 2839 der Eingriff *maius* (sc. *praeludium*) beruht auf einer falschen Lesung: Die Hs. bietet nicht *fui*, sondern *fuit*; also *maior* (sc. *palma*) *... fuit*. – 2846 *videbit ... videbit*] *violabit ... violabit* Hs. recte. – 2862 *violenti*] Lesung contra metrum; der Codex bietet das richtige *videnti*. – 2877 Interpunktion vor *nocens*. – 2919 *supplicio*] *-a* cod. false – 2936 *prior*] *puer* cod. recte. – 2946 *petebunt*] *patebunt* cod. recte. – 2993 *humectet* (Piszczek) *genas*] Nur das überlieferte *umecta* ergibt den Vers (zur Konstruktion vgl. *Bel.* 64 *genas cruore sparsa* (sc. *Phoebe*) – 3030 *iure*] *-i* cod. (false). – 3046 mit der Hs. kein Komma nach *faustis* setzen. – 3089 Komma nach *turba* tilgen (ohne Interpunktion Hs.). – 3121 nicht vor, sondern nach *pauperis* Komma. – 3136 *patron*[*um de*]*seram*] so eindeutig die Hs.! – 3151 Ein Engel hält den geblendeten Belisar zurück, sich von den Klippen zu stürzen: *quo, quo, periture, millies celeras gradum?*] *millies* gehört zu *periture*. – 3168 *cur*] *cui* cod.; richtig bei Stender-Petersen (1931: 120). – 3180 *furiens*] *favens* cod. recte. – 3231 *durave patiar pro scelere quodvis malum* ungrammatisch] *durare* cod.: Lies *diroque*.

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MILITARY TRIBUNATE IN THE CAREERS OF ROMAN SENATORS OF THE SEVERAN PERIOD. PART 5: MODELS OF CAREERS OF *TRIBUNI LATICLAVII* AND *TRIBUNI ANGUSTICLAVII*

by

DANUTA OKOŃ

ABSTRACT: This text presents model career paths for people who began their public service with the rank of military tribune (*tribunus militum*). Distinct career trajectories emerged based on the type of tribunate (*laticlavius* or *angusticlavius*) and the social origin of the tribune. Despite these differences, both paths ultimately aimed towards the same goal: attaining a consulship.

KEYWORDS: Severan Period, *cursus honorum*, *tribunus laticlavius*, *tribunus angusticlavius*

This article is the fifth in a series dedicated to the senatorial careers of former military tribunes of the Severan period. In the previous four articles (published in *Eos*),[1] I identified and analysed biographical entries for 123 such senators (*ordo*, *origo*, and *cursus honorum*). My in-depth analysis covered the circumstances and consequences of their being awarded a tribunate, the special distinctions received by tribunes (such as *dona militaria*, *adlectiones*, and *commendationes Augusti*), the higher military commands they held (including *legatus legionis*, *praepositus*, and *dux*), and the impact of the military tribunate on their later appointments to praetorian and consular governorships in provinces with or without the presence of legions. I also addressed the key research questions of how to define a *vir militaris* and whether the Roman army was commanded by dilettantes.

In this article, I aim to present and compare two models of careers: the senatorial model (*tribuni laticlavii*) and the equestrian–senatorial model (*tribuni angusticlavii*). I have developed these models based on analyses of all known

[1] Окоń 2019, 2020, 2021, 2023.

cursus honorum for military tribunes of the Severan period.[2] The offices outlined in these models reflect the full range of promotion opportunities within the public administrative structure, excluding religious offices and non-standard military positions such as *praepositus* and *dux*:

1. The senatorial model: *vigintivir*,[3] ***tribunus laticlavius***, *quaestor*, *tribunus plebis* / *aedilis* (*plebis* or *curulis*), *praetor* (with the *candidatus Augusti* option or *adlectio* in the case of magistracies), *curator* / *legatus legionis* / *proconsul provinciae* / *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae*, *consul suffectus* (or *ordinarius*), *curator* / *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae* / *proconsul provinciae*, *consul iterum – ordinarius* (after the first *suffectus*), *praefectus Urbi*.

2. The equestrian–senatorial model: equestrian stage – *tres* / *quattuor militiae*: *praefectus cohortis* – ***tribunus angusticlavius*** – *praefectus alae – praefectus alae milliariae*,[4] *procurator*, *adlectio in amplissimum ordinem* / awarding of *latus clavus*; senatorial stage – *quaestor*, *tribunus plebis* / *aedilis plebis*, *praetor* (with an *adlectio* option in the case of magistracies), *curator* / *legatus legionis* / *proconsul provinciae* / *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae, consul suffectus*, *curator* / *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae* / *proconsul provinciae.*

In both models, the tribunate was the second office in the *cursus honorum*, typically held at a similar age (19–24). For the *laticlavii*, it followed the *vigintiviratus*, a civil office held in Rome. For *angusticlavii* it came after their first *militia*. As the *vigintiviratus* was a non-military position, the *tribunatus laticlavius* marked the first appointment for the *laticlavii.* In contrast, the *angusticlavii* had previous military experience (for example, as the *praefectus cohortis*). Nevertheless, the status of *laticlavii* in a legion was higher due to their socio-economic origin.

After the military tribunate, *laticlavii* proceeded to the *quaestura*. Meanwhile, those so inclined might serve, for example, as legates to relatives holding posts in other parts of the Empire. The *angusticlavii*, by contrast, followed a more

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[2] I refer interested readers to Okoń 2017 (in addition to the four articles mentioned above). In the second volume (Okoń 2018) I included detailed analyses of the biographical entries of the senators who had been included in the first volume**.**

[3] Of 67 *laticlavii* tribunes of the Severan period whose careers are known, 55 (approximately 82%) are confirmed to have held the office of the *vigintivir*: 27 – *X viri stlitibus iudicandis*, 12 – *IIII viri viarum curandarum*, 7 – *III viri monetales*, 7 – *III viri capitales* and two tribunes with unspecified *vigintiviratus* due to lacunae in the inscriptions. This evidence contradicts R. Duncan-Jones' statement (2016: 21) that "Among vigintiviri the viocuri, although neither aristocratic nor very numerous, received military posts more often than most others."

[4] However, it is important to note that the *quarta militia* – the post of *praefectus alae milliariae* – was quite rare, as there were only 10 to 12 *alae milliariae* across the Roman Empire. See: Birley 1988: 106. The *quarta militia* could be replaced by an alternative office, rather than the prefecture of a thousand-man military unit (*ala milliaria*): for example, in the career of Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus, it was a post of *subpraefectus classis praetoriae Misenatium*.

formalised path (third and fourth *militiae*, procuratorial offices) seeking an *adlectio in amplissimum ordinem* or the awarding of the *latus clavus*,[5] and, subsequently, the senatorial magistracies (see below).

Dona militaria obtained during military service did not accelerate careers, since they were outside the official senatorial *cursus honorum*. However, distinctions earned during expeditions or wars could undoubtedly constitute an advantage, persuading patrons to provide support for various offices. This applied to both the *laticlavii* and the *angusticlavii*.

Adlectiones, which – unlike the *dona* – significantly accelerated administrative careers, were more common in the *cursus*. For *laticlavii*, these were typically internal: registration among former senatorial officials of a given rank without necessarily holding office. For *angusticlavii*, *adlectiones* were external: they involved registration among former senatorial officials of a specific rank combined with promotion to the senatorial order. For *laticlavii*, *adlectio* was due to the performance of various additional duties between the magistracies, while for *angusticlavii* it served to fill senatorial vacancies with *equites* who were distinguished in public service.

Laticlavii and *angusticlavii* (after promotion to the senatorial order) held the same sequence of magistracies: *quaestor*, *tribunus plebis* / *aedilis plebis*,[6] and *praetor*, in the same order.[7] In the case of *laticlavii*, those designated as *candidati Augusti* had a greater chance of securing magistracies. The endorsement of the emperor was more than a great honour: it all but guaranteed the appointment to a given office. In fact, there are no known cases in which a *candidatus Augusti* did not receive a magistracy.

Following the praetura, and en route to the consulship, *laticlavii* and *angusticlavii* generally held offices of similar rank (*curator*, *legatus legionis*, *proconsul provinciae* and *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae*). However, closer analysis reveals qualitative and quantitative differences in the *cursus honorum*. The *cursus honorum* of the *laticlavii* contained both imperial and senatorial offices. Meanwhile, *angusticlavii* were generally confined to imperial offices due to their lower socioeconomic origin and weaker ties in the Senate. Their earlier career experiences also led them to hold a greater number of military offices after the *praetura* (for example, legion legateships).

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[5] For the *adlectio* and awarding *latus clavus*, see, for example, Leunissen 1993, pp. 81–101, Chastagnol 1975, pp. 385 and 388, Coriat 1978: 4–27, Okoń 2018, pp. 40–41.

[6] The only difference at this level was the office of *aedilis curulis* which was typical for *laticlavii.* Patricians could omit it altogether.

[7] Since the time of Augustus, the minimum age limits for assuming offices were as follows: *quaestura* at 25, *aedilatus* / *tribunatus* at 27, and *praetura* at 30. The *adlectio* was possible in the event of a delay in the career.

Who could attain the consulship, and at what age, was largely determined by a person's socioeconomic origin. Patricians assumed the office (often *ordinarius*) at around the age of 32; representatives of the *gentes senatoriae* did so at around the age of 35. *Homines novi* secured the consulship later, of course – usually after the age of 40 – and most of these were suffect consulships. Thus, it is evident that *laticlavii* attained consulships at a younger age than *angusticlavii*.

For the majority of senators, regardless of background, the consulship was the final stage of their public career. This office confirmed not only the high social status of the individual thus honoured but also his entire *gens*. It should also be added that consulships were only ever attained by a quarter of senators, with the rest excluded from further career advancement.

Following a consulship, the career models of former *tribuni laticlavii* and *angusticlavii* included a similar number of offices of the same rank (*curator*, *legatus Augusti pro praetore provinciae*, *proconsul provinciae*). However, the second (*ordinarius*) consulship and the prefecture of the city were exclusively the preserve of the *laticlavii*. Even then, these honours were reserved for a select few. Only the descendants of those *angusticlavii* who had been promoted into the senatorial order could expect to enjoy equal standing with the members of the old *gentes senatoriae*. Ultimately, individual careers were determined by the support of the emperor, the person's socioeconomic origin, tradition, and the established customs of Roman political life.

It is worth adding that even after ending service in public administrative structures, former senators could still take part in the meetings of the Senate and in the religious life of the city and the local community as patrons, benefactors, and founders.

A member of either the senatorial or the equestrian order who decided to hold a military tribunate had a predetermined career path, one with the potential for promotion to the *viri militares*, that is, members of the professional command staff.

Understanding the principles of the Roman promotion system not only enables contemporary researchers to reconstruct individual career paths, but also to fill the gaps in honorific inscriptions with a high degree of accuracy.

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THE SOCIETY OF ROMAN CARTHAGE. AN EPIGRAPHIC STUDY*

by

MARTYNA ŚWIERK

ABSTRACT: This article is a summary of a doctoral dissertation that provides a comprehensive study of the social structure of Roman Carthage, based on epigraphic material. It explores the city's multicultural character, the endurance of Punic traditions alongside Roman influences, and the social and cultural dynamics of Carthage from its foundation under Caesar to the Vandal conquest in 429 CE.

KEYWORDS: Carthage, Roman Africa, epigraphy, society

The history of Carthage has long captivated scholars and history enthusiasts. A substantial body of literature focuses on the Punic era, examining the metropolis' political organisation and its role as a Mediterranean power that once challenged Rome's hegemony.[1] The recent syntheses of the history of the city by S. Aounallah and A. Mastino,[2] covering the Punic to Byzantine periods, also address Carthage under Roman rule. However, such broad surveys tend to be general; even when they address social or urban issues, they often offer only cursory overviews. Auguste Audollent produced a comprehensive study of the colony's administrative organisation, economic role, and aspects of daily life during the imperial period.[3] Published at the beginning of the twentieth century, this monumental work remains relevant and is still the only comprehensive account of the

* This paper is a summary of a PhD thesis defended on June 7, 2023 at the University of Wrocław's Institute of History. The work has been supervised by Professor Małgorzata Pawlak (University of Wrocław) and reviewed by Professor Danuta Musiał (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń) and Professor Leszek Mrozewicz (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań). My research for this paper was funded in whole by a grant of the National Science Center (Poland) UMO-2021/42/A/HS3/00421 'Epigraphic culture in the Mediterranean and the Middle East in antiquity: status, display, democracy, identity'.

1 E.g.: Picard 1951; Warmington 1960; Lancel 1995; Fantar 1997.

2 Aounallah, Mastino 2018; Aounallah 2020.

3 Audollent 1901.

city under Roman rule. However, many of Audollent's observations require revision in light of extensive twentieth-century archaeological excavations. In many respects, Roman North African society is now fairly well understood. The long-standing tendency to study ancient civilisations through urban life has been complemented by detailed studies that consider local specificities – for example, Cyrta[4] and cities of Tripolitania[5]. Despite its regional and imperial significance, Carthage has not yet been the subject of a systematic analysis of its social structure. Existing studies that address social issues have relied mainly on material from the city's best-documented area – the so-called necropolises of officials.[6] This narrow focus, however, yields an unrepresentative view of the urban population. The main goal of the doctoral dissertation was to address existing gaps in knowledge concerning the social structure of Carthage, a city of indisputable importance in the Mediterranean world. This was achieved through a comprehensive analysis of the city's epigraphic material, which allowed for the study of Carthaginian epigraphic culture and provided insight into multiple aspects of urban life, enabling as holistic a reconstruction as possible of the social structure of Roman Carthage and the factors shaping its distinctive features.

To present Roman Carthage's social structure comprehensively and account for influencing factors, this study draws on a wide range of epigraphic material. Through detailed inscriptional analysis, it was possible to investigate demographic aspects of the epigraphically attested population – such as life expectancy, gender distribution, and the variation of these factors across different social groups. Equally important were interrelationships within the community, which shed light on family ties. The peculiarities of Carthage as both a port and an important centre of imperial administration had a significant impact on the lives of those who inhabited the African metropolis. This is reflected in its occupational structure, which the dissertation reconstructs. Carthage was characterised by its multiculturalism, which was a defining feature of the city. Indigenous Libyan influences, the enduring Punic legacy, and Roman culture – with oriental elements typical of port cities – combined to shape the colony's cultural profile. Although tracing cultural transmission is difficult, the study identifies areas of daily life where traditions were most visible, the community's openness to Romanisation, and relations between traditional practitioners and Christians. This research also addresses the pivotal question of Carthage's condition between its decline and the foundation of the Roman colony. In particular, the analyses tackle the oft-repeated claim that, uniquely in antiquity, the remains

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[4] Bouchareb 2009.

[5] Mattingly 1994.

[6] Étienne, Fabre 1970: demographic research; Nichols 1985: the professional structure of the representatives of the Carthaginian *familia Caesaris*; Carlsen 2020a; 2020b; 2020c: a recent study based on an analysis of epitaphs.

of Kart-Hadasht were razed and ritually cursed, leaving a sociological void into which a new Roman city was founded. This claim, however, is contradicted above all by the evidence – presented in this dissertation – of the city's topography and the survival of Punic traditions in the religious sphere. The study's chronological framework spans from the foundation of *Colonia Iulia Carthago* under Caesar to the Vandal conquest in 429 CE, which marks the end of the Roman era for the city. This diachronic approach allowed the tracing of social processes visible in the city over nearly five centuries.

The source base comprises epigraphic material from Carthage – more than three thousand inscriptions in total. Each inscription was assigned to one of five categories: votive, honorific, funerary, other, and unknown. Given the material's condition and lack of access to monuments, independent palaeographic dating was not possible. Building on the work of scholars such as Jean-Marie Lassère[7] and on internal textual references that allow dating, this dissertation provides a comprehensive account of the chronological distribution of the epigraphic material and relates it to historical events and social processes in the city. This enables a detailed and nuanced understanding of Carthage's epigraphic culture. In the existing literature concerning a range of social issues, the topic of Christian civilisation is often treated as a discrete area of study. Thus, an important innovation was the incorporation of Christian inscriptions into the corpus – over 400 survive from Carthage. Beyond chronology, the principal objective was a comprehensive textual analysis of the inscriptions, including data on commemorated individuals and the dedicators. On this basis, the 1,121 individuals making up the epigraphic population of the city were identified. To reconstruct the community in detail, methods from demography and anthroponymy were employed.

It was not the intention of this doctoral dissertation to present a comprehensive study encompassing every archaeological monument in Carthage. Nevertheless, evidence on the urban layout and its vestiges – mosaic and sculpture fragments documented in literature and reports – made it possible to situate the study spatially. Drawing on the concept of "written space" as defined by G. Sears, P. Keegan, and R. Laurence,[8] which explores the relationship between inscriptions and the urban environments they occupy, as well as their social and political functions, the city was described and mapped, facilitating more precise answers to who commissioned or created inscriptions and where they were located in the metropolis.

Literary sources provided the backdrop for analyses focused on epigraphic material. Particular attention was paid to African authors who frequently referred to Carthage – such as Apuleius, Tertullian, and Saint Augustine. The writings of African authors were especially important for questions of provincial

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[7] Lassère 1973.

[8] Further in on the concept of "written space": Sears, Keegan, Laurence 2013.

cultural identity, since inscriptions rarely record explicit expressions of social identification.

Epigraphic material from the officials' necropolises has shaped the local epigraphic record, thereby limiting the scope of research and the resulting picture of Carthaginian society.

In particular, the material is dominated by individuals associated with the *familia Caesaris*, including a significant number of imperial slaves. The highest stratum of the capital's society is virtually absent from sepulchral epigraphy, which distinguishes Carthage from other regional cities. Moreover, members of this stratum rarely appear in honorific inscriptions. Most honorific inscriptions were commissioned by high-ranking imperial officials, who likely resided in the city only temporarily. The particularity of the epigraphic material leads to the opinion that there was a very wealthy and influential group of inhabitants in Carthage, forming the so-called "super stratum",[9] This group consisted of landowners, resident in coastal properties of the metropolis, for whom inscriptions were not a primary medium of self-representation. Inscriptions alone reveal little about the social composition of early Christian communities. In most cases inscriptions provide only the name of the deceased as known at baptism. It is therefore likely that Christians in Carthage, as elsewhere in the Roman Empire, were not a homogeneous group.

Anthroponymy served as a principal tool for classifying individuals appearing in inscriptions by social group. It also allowed some reconstruction of the community's ethnic composition over time. Traces of other cultural backgrounds appear vestigially – often in non-Latin *cognomina* – within an onomastic record dominated by Roman names. Examples of Libyan names are known, along with a relatively numerous amount of attested names described as "African" which, although linguistically Roman, were strongly associated with Punic traditions. In Carthage, a Greek *cognomen* may indicate the bearer's ethnicity rather than merely signalling slave status.

In contrast, although Carthage's religious sphere initially appears characteristically Roman, it reveals numerous references to diverse traditions, including Eastern cults such as Serapis and the Magna Mater. Punic rituals are particularly evident, though transformed and adapted to the Roman provincial context. The dominant role of deities such as Saturn and Caelestis in the Carthaginian pantheon provides compelling evidence of the continuity with the religion of the Phoenician colonisers. A limited number of Neo-Punic votive inscriptions have proven particularly significant for assessing the Punic cultural substrate. These inscriptions are notable for their unique emphasis on the role of Tanit, which effectively elevates her to a position of parity with Baal. Tanit was especially venerated by Punic inhabitants; in the Roman period her primacy is not apparent

[9] Hellström 2020, 26.

in regional epigraphic cultures outside Carthage. Punic traditions likely persisted for an extended period and manifested across various aspects of urban life. As archaeologists have observed, the Roman urban layout strikingly resembles the topography of Punic Carthage. If the accounts of the colony's razing are accurate, this resemblance would be a remarkable (though possibly coincidental) fact.

Carthage's epigraphic culture does not reflect the city's importance commensurately with its status as the provincial capital of Africa Proconsularis. Compared with other provincial cities, it is particularly deficient in both preservation and representativeness of the material. Carthage's prosperity under the Antonines is reflected in an increased number of honorific and building inscriptions associated with numerous public constructions. The category of epitaphs is determined by two major factors: the presence of necropolises of members of the *familia Caesaris* and the development of Christianity. The latter has been identified as the factor that fixes the peak of sepulchral epigraphy to the fourth century. This is evidenced by a significant rise in Christian stone inscriptions during this period, even as texts associated with Roman traditions continued to appear in the urban space.

Analyses drawing on Éric Rebillard's concept of "everyday Christianity"[10] demonstrate that, beyond documented instances of persecution, Carthaginians generally coexisted in relative harmony regardless of religious affiliation. Early Christians probably did not frequently display their beliefs openly in public spaces. Moreover, Christian identity did not preclude participation in most events and activities of urban life, as attested by ancient authors such as Tertullian and Saint Augustine.

It is evident that the events occurring within the social context of the city were not reflected in the epigraphic material. However, the phenomena observed in the inscriptions, such as the presence of visitors from outside the province associated with the city's important role as a prominent administrative centre and port in the African region, the coexistence of diverse religious cults, particularly evident in the votive texts, and the notable participation of Christian believers in the local community, not only shaped the epigraphic culture but also influenced the daily lives of the inhabitants of the capital of Africa Proconsularis over centuries. It is therefore evident that Carthage exhibited numerous characteristics of a prominent cosmopolitan centre during its Roman period while simultaneously retaining an African identity rooted in the robust foundations of the Punic tradition.

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[10] Rebillard 2016, 2017.

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C E N S U R A E L I B R O R U M

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LIQUID CONNECTIONS: WINE, RITUAL, AND CROSS-CULTURAL CURRENTS IN GANDHĀRA (A REVIEW ARTICLE)

by

OLGA KUBICA

Claudia Antonetti, Bryan De Notariis, Marco Enrico (eds.), Wine Cultures. Gandhāra and Beyond, Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari – Venice University Press, 2024, 311 pp., ISBN 978-88-6969-877-4 (print), ISBN 978-88-6969-816-3 (e-book), €74.00.

Wine Cultures. Gandhāra and Beyond, edited by Claudia Antonetti, Bryan De Notariis, and Marco Enrico, is the outcome of the interdisciplinary MALIWI project (*Making Libation of Wine from Golden Cups: Social, Ritual, and Ceremonial Use of Wine in the Gandhāran Area, from the Achaemenids to the Kushans*), supported by Ca' Foscari's SPIN initiative (*Supporting Principal Investigators*). Spanning 311 pages, the volume represents a significant scholarly contribution to the underexplored intersection of alcohol, ritual, and cross-cultural exchange in ancient South Asia and its broader Hellenistic context. The editors note that, aside from recent studies such as James McHugh's book[1] and De Notariis's own work on grape wine in Buddhist literature,[2] systematic research on wine in the South Asian context – particularly in Gandhāra – remains scarce. Drawing on a vast corpus of Indian, Chinese, and Greco-Roman sources, this collection addresses the ceremonial, symbolic, and sociopolitical roles of wine in textual traditions, religious practices, and artistic representations. The volume also serves as a key output of the 2023 international conference *Wine Culture: Gandharan Crossroads*, and is accompanied by a publicly accessible Zotero bibliography,[3] making it an indispensable resource for scholars of ancient religion, history, and intercultural contact. The main body of the book is divided into three parts – (1) "Indological Sources. Literature and Anthropology," (2) "Archaeology of Wine. Comparisons and Diachronies," and (3) "Gandhāra and Classical Sources. Imagery, Iconography, Epigraphy and Texts" – all preceded by an introductory chapter.

In this introductory chapter, "Intoxicating Nectars of Plenty," McHugh reflects on the complex cultural, religious, and economic dimensions of alcohol in ancient South Asia,

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[1] J. McHugh, *An Unholy Brew: Alcohol in Indian History and Religion*, New York 2021.

[2] B. De Notariis, *Where is Grape Wine? On Grapes and Wine in Pāli Buddhist Literature and Beyond*, JIABS 46 (2023), pp. 81–119.

[3] www.zotero.org/groups/4744246/wine_in_gandhara/library.

with particular attention to Gandhāra. Drawing a provocative comparison to Renaissance Venetian depictions of the wedding at Cana,[4] he emphasizes that representations of drinking – rather than direct evidence – form the primary basis for our understanding of alcohol in this period. McHugh critiques reductive readings of Gandhāran wine imagery as merely 'imported' Dionysiac motifs or documentary records of vinification, urging instead a contextual approach to these depictions. He situates Gandhāran wine culture within a broader South Asian spectrum of fermented drinks – made from grains, sugarcane, fruits like jackfruit and *jambu*, and often infused with *saṃbhāra* – noting that the premodern world lacked a unified concept of "alcohol" as a substance common to them all. Gandhāra's latitude and archaeological evidence support its long-standing suitability for viticulture, and the region's term for wine, *masu*, while Indic, may reflect influence from the reconstructed Iranian **madu*. While Hellenistic elements are superficially evident, McHugh suggests that internal South Asian actors may have significantly shaped Gandhāran wine culture, much like the Dutch or British impacted Bordeaux. He characterizes Gandhāra as a cultural 'horizon' between wine-centric and multi-beverage regions, and suggests that wine was likely not perceived as prohibited to monastics or laypeople. Notably, grape wine, consisting only of grapes and lacking *saṃbhāra*, could plausibly be interpreted as not violating Buddhist precepts. Finally, while Harry Falk proposed a model of quickly fermented wine consumed at festivals,[5] McHugh entertains the possibility of more careful production practices oriented toward storage and trade.

The first part of the book, "Indological Sources. Literature and Anthropology," opens with the chapter "The Gandhāric Roots of the Indian *Symposion* and Sympotic-like Elements in Buddhist Literature," in which De Notariis investigates how elements typically associated with the Greek *symposion* – alcohol, sex, and intellectual pursuits (following Kenneth G. Zysk[6]) – appear in early Buddhist texts, particularly within the Theravāda tradition. Drawing on Pāli sources such as the *Vinaya* and suttas like the *Upakkilesasutta*, De Notariis identifies instances where Buddhist monks and nuns engage in behaviour explicitly condemned by the doctrine yet closely resembling elite, private gatherings (*Vin*. II 9–10; II 267), thus attesting to the presence of sympotic-like practices. While these narratives serve to censure, they also inadvertently reveal cultural accommodations, suggesting that Buddhists at times followed the motto "When in Rome do as Romans do". He further argues that certain deities described in cosmological texts – *karoṭapāṇi*, *mālādharas*, and *sadāmattas* – represent drinking, sexual allure, and intoxicated joy, and may function as 'sympotic deities'. The chapter is commendable for its close engagement with primary sources and its incorporation of textual criticism, which substantially strengthens the argument. However, several aspects could be refined: the metaphor of Gandhāra as a 'grey area' is conceptually vague and analytically unhelpful; some notes are overly lengthy and might have been more effectively integrated into

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[4] While the author offers detailed descriptions of contemporary art, the absence of accompanying images limits the reader's ability to fully appreciate the analysis. Including visual material would have greatly enriched the discussion and made the argument more accessible.

[5] H. Falk, *Making Wine in Gandhara under Buddhist Monastic Supervision*, BAI 23 (2009), pp. 65–78, here at pp. 75–76.

[6] K.G. Zysk, *From 'Symposion' to* Goṣṭhī*: The Adaptation of a Greek Social Custom in Ancient India*, Studia Orientalia Electronica 9 (2021), pp. 83–111, here at p. 105.

the main text; and the proposed etymology of *asuras* as deriving from a lack (*a-*) of the intoxicant *surā* – used to imply a cultural valuation of alcohol – is speculative at best and requires more philological support.[7] Despite the chapter's strengths in textual analysis and iconographic insight, its central claim – that Gandhāra mediated Greek sympotic customs into Buddhist contexts – is more speculative than demonstrable. The material presented better supports a nuanced view of internal Buddhist tensions between ascetic ideals and worldly practices than any direct lineage from the Greek *symposion*.

In another chapter, "In Search of Regional/Local (*deśī*) Words for 'Intoxicant' in First-Millennium India," Andrea Drocco examines the semantic and linguistic diversity of terms for intoxicating substances in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan languages, with a particular focus on *deśī* (regional or local) vocabulary. Drocco traces the diachronic development from Vedic and Classical Sanskrit (OIA) through Prakrit (MIA) and Apabhraṁśa, the latter emerging as a literary idiom by the 5th–6th century CE. Central to the analysis is the tripartite classification of Prakrit lexicon into *tatsama* (Sanskrit loanwords), *tadbhava* (words evolved from Sanskrit), and *deśī* (non-Sanskritic, regional terms). While texts such as *Kuvalayamālā* and *Vivāgasuyaṃ* primarily contain *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words for intoxicants – e.g., *āsava*, *surā*, *madirā*, *sīdhu*, and *maireyaka* – Drocco highlights the presence of *deśī* terms like *jāī* and, notably, the extensive list in Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*, including obscure and understudied names such as *avakkarasa*, *kavisa*, and *piṭṭhakhaurā*. He further notes the Sanskritisation of originally Dravidian terms, as in *kallā* → *kalya*, underscoring the complex interlinguistic dynamics of the period. Despite their cultural and philological significance, Drocco stresses that *deśī* words remain a largely neglected area of study since the pioneering works of Georg Bühler,[8] John Beames,[9] Richard Pischel,[10] and others in the 19th century. His contribution thus revives and expands a crucial linguistic inquiry into the socio-ritual dimensions of intoxicants in early South Asia.

In the last chapter of this part, "Wine in India and Other Substances: An Anthropology of 'Entheogens'", Stefano Beggiora explores the ritual and cultural dimensions of psychoactive substances – commonly referred to as *entheogens* – across historical and contemporary South Asian contexts. Drawing on archaeological, textual, and ethnographic evidence, he situates fermented drinks such as wine and palm sap (known as 'toddy', or *kallu*) within broader traditions of sacred intoxication, from the Vedic *Soma* and Avestan

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[7] According to M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*, Oxford 1899, p. 121, word *asura* (असुर) is linked to the root *asu* (असु), which is interpreted as "life" or "vital breath"; A. Parpola, *The Roots of Hinduism: The Early Aryans and the Indus Civilization*, Oxford 2015, pp. 114–116 proposes that the Proto-Indo-Aryan term *asura* was borrowed into Proto-Uralic as *asera-*, conveying the meaning "lord" or "prince". This linguistic borrowing suggests early contact between Indo-Aryan and Uralic-speaking populations.

[8] G. Bühler, *The Deśīśabdasaṅgraha of Hemacandra*, Indian Antiq. 2 (1874), pp. 17–21.

[9] J. Beames, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India: To Wit, Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya and Bangali*, 3 vols, London 1872–1879.

[10] R. Pischel, *The Deśīnāmamālā. Edited with critical notes, a glossary, and a historical introduction by Richard Pischel and George Bühler.* Pt. 1: *Text and critical notes by Richard Pischel*, Bombay 1880.

Haoma to contemporary tribal practices among *ādivāsī* communities in Odisha, who ferment *salap* from *Caryota urens* using localized microbiological starters. The analysis also revisits classical narratives – such as the *samudramanthana* or 'churning of the ocean of milk' – interpreting them as metaphors for psychological and cosmogonic transformation, while engaging with broader anthropological and theoretical frameworks from Mircea Eliade,[11] Michael Harner,[12] and the proponents of 'entheogenic theory'. Of particular interest is the chapter's reflection on fermentation as a sacred, generative process, endowed with healing and metaphysical significance through concepts such as *ranu*. While Beggiora's approach is at times impressionistic – such as his symbolic reading of intoxication as cosmogony – the chapter offers a valuable synthesis of textual traditions and living ritual practices, and prompts renewed consideration of indigenous epistemologies in the study of intoxicants. One minor terminological issue worth noting is the author's use of *incipit* in the sense of "introduction", which diverges from its standard scholarly meaning – namely, the opening words of a text – and may cause confusion.

The second part, "Archaeology of Wine. Comparisons and Diachronies", opens with the chapter "The Archaeology of Wine in the Southern Caucasus: New Methods for an Old Tradition," in which Elena Rova traces the deep historical roots and cultural continuity of viticulture in Georgia and the broader Southern Caucasus. As a core region of early wine production, the Southern Caucasus boasts archaeological evidence dating to the 6th millennium BCE, particularly in Shulaveri-Shomu culture sites, where wine may have been made from wild grapes (*Vitis vinifera* subsp. *silvestris*). This tradition persisted through the Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages, aided by the favourable conditions of the 'Holocene climatic optimum'. Key finds such as the Areni-1 grape-crushing installation in Armenia – associated with ritual head burials – suggest that wine played a symbolic as well as practical role in early societies. The continuity of Georgian wine-making practices, especially in *qvevris*, has been recognized by UNESCO as intangible cultural heritage. Rova highlights the expansion of wine culture across the Kura-Araxes horizon and its elite associations in the Trialeti kurgans (3rd–2nd millennia BCE), culminating in the widespread symbolic and ritual use of wine from the 1st millennium BCE through Late Antiquity. The use of drinking horns (*rhyta*), banquet iconography (such as the Dionysian banquet depicted in the Dzalisa mosaic), and hybrid local-Achaemenid styles all underscore wine's embeddedness in cross-cultural identity and ritual. Richly illustrated with visual materials, the chapter demonstrates how archaeological and iconographic evidence can illuminate the *longue durée* of wine culture in this pivotal region. As such, it constitutes an important *comparandum* for exploring the presence and cultural semantics of wine in Gandhāra.

In the chapter entitled "An Assyrian Winery in Khinis, Ancient Khanusa (Kurdistan Region of Iraq)," Francesca Simi, Costanza Coppin, and Daniele Morandi Bonacossi present the first archaeologically attested wine production area in ancient Mesopotamia, located near the monumental complex of Khinis in the hinterland of the Assyrian capitals Nineveh and Khorsabad. This discovery, part of the broader *Land of Nineveh Archaeological Project* (LoNAP), sheds new light on elite and possibly ritualised

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[11] M. Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, Paris 1951.

[12] M. Harner (ed.), *Hallucinogens and Shamanism*, New York–London–Oxford 1973.

viticulture during the Neo-Assyrian period. The site features an extraordinary concentration of eighteen wine presses whose layout parallels other known viticultural installations, and is integrated into a monumental hydraulic infrastructure attributed to Sennacherib in the early 7th century BCE. The wine production complex is commemorated by cuneiform inscriptions and rock reliefs that link the practice to royal authority and divine sanction. Richly illustrated, the chapter also situates this winery within long-term regional traditions, arguing that contemporary winemaking among Christian Assyrian and Chaldean communities may trace its roots back to this imperial past. As such, the Khinis site provides an essential comparative case for contextualising the intersection of wine, power, and sacred landscape in other ancient settings, including Gandhāra.

With another chapter, we move into a neighbouring region of ancient Gandhāra, as Prabhjeet K. Johal's "Wine in Achaemenid Arachosia. An Imperial Network of Regional Wines" investigates the emergence and integration of viniculture in Arachosia, a southeastern satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire. Centred in the agriculturally favourable Arghandab valley, Arachosia is depicted on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis as a wine-producing region, with tribute bearers carrying distinctive drinking vessels. Although pre-Achaemenid evidence remains elusive, the chapter argues that imperial investment – particularly in irrigation infrastructure such as *qanats* – stimulated widespread viticultural development. Wine became central to courtly feasting and administrative practices, circulating as tribute and being consumed across a range of social strata, as suggested by standardized vessels and Aramaic documents recording large-scale wine storage and use. Johal thus positions Arachosian wine as a key commodity within the Achaemenid imperial network, tied to broader processes of cultural and economic integration.

The next chapter, "Wine in Gandhāra. Notes on a Mythical and Economical Geography," by Omar Coloru, Elisa Iori, and Luca M. Olivieri, stands out as the key contribution of the volume, offering a richly layered synthesis of myth, history, and archaeology to reconstruct the *longue durée* cultural and economic geography of wine in the highlands of Gandhāra – particularly the Swat, Bajaur, and Kunar/Chitral valleys, collectively forming a 'Wine Belt' that overlaps with what is today Greater Kafiristan or Peristan. Beginning with Alexander's campaign through these regions in 327 BCE, the authors unpack the politically motivated fabrication of a Dionysian presence in the area, tracing how local features such as wild vines, ivy, and mountain cults were woven into a Hellenistic narrative to justify conquest and establish ideological legitimacy. They argue convincingly that the myth of Nysa and the mount Meros, where Alexander reportedly engaged in Bacchic rites, was a diplomatic fiction emerging from mutual accommodation between Greek and local interlocutors. The itinerary of Alexander's march through the region, presented in the chapter, is especially useful and thoughtfully reconstructed, drawing on literary sources, topographic analysis, and firsthand archaeological experience. While the footnotes might initially seem too long, they are so interesting and rich in content that the reader cannot fault them – in fact, they are integral to the argument's depth and sophistication. The chapter then turns to the archaeology of wine, establishing a continuous tradition of viticulture and viniculture in Swat from the mid-2nd millennium BCE, with Dardic communities as the key agents in production and ritual consumption. The authors integrate material culture – from wine presses and funerary ceramics to satyr-like figures in Gandhāran art – to demonstrate that wine was not only a cultic and funerary medium, but increasingly, under Achaemenid and Hellenistic influence, an

urban symbol of social distinction. The chapter's broad chronological scope and interdisciplinary depth make it a pivotal contribution to understanding how local ecologies, imperial ideologies, and indigenous practices converged in the making of a Gandhāran wine culture.

The last part, "Gandhāra and Classical Sources. Imagery, Iconography, Epigraphy and Texts," opens with Cristiano Moscatelli and Anna Filigenzi's chapter, "Beyond the Form. Observations on Wine-Symbolism and Related Figurative Themes in Gandhāran Art," which offers a compelling exploration of how Gandhāran visual culture encoded layers of symbolic meaning rooted in local religious and pastoral traditions. Drawing on recent archaeological finds – including schist reliefs and figural representations such as the enigmatic male deity from Barikot – the authors argue that motifs like wine vessels, grape clusters, and goat-headed cornucopias reflect an ideological system centred on wine consumption and goat sacrifice, characteristic of the so-called 'Dardic' substratum. Ethnographic parallels with Nuristani and Kalasha practices underscore the persistence of an Indo-European pastoral ideology, which Buddhism did not displace but rather integrated through localised iconographies of tutelary couples, erotic pairs (*mithuna*), and revelry scenes. Such scenes, the authors suggest, may depict ritual festivities akin to the Kalasha New Year, revealing how Buddhist monuments visually assimilated indigenous cosmologies. Rather than static ornamentation, vine scrolls, *kantharoi*, and goat imagery served as vehicles for transmitting collective memory, religious value, and regional identity across centuries.

In the next chapter, "Wine, Women and Royalty in Gandhāra," Claudia Antonetti examines the symbolic and ideological intersections of female political authority, ritual libation, and kingship in the context of Alexander's encounter with the Assacenian kingdom. Focusing on the figure of Queen Cleophis – reputed to have negotiated with Alexander and possibly engaged in a romantic relationship with him – Antonetti treats this episode as a cultural construct rather than a factual account. Central to her analysis is a procession of noblewomen performing wine libations, which she uses to explore the broader significance of wine, gender, and power. The chapter traces the political and religious roles of royal women through numismatic and funerary evidence, highlighting figures such as Agathocleia and elite burials in the Swat Valley. Turning to material culture, Antonetti considers Gandhāran reliefs and ritual vessels, noting the predominance of *kantharoi* and cornucopias over the more classically Greek *phiale* or *patera*. Rare silver *phialai* – often lacking archaeological provenance but suggestive of elite ritual practices – hint at localized adaptations of Mediterranean traditions. Although the chapter draws on a wide and impressive range of sources, the interpretive thread remains somewhat diffuse, and the conclusion does not fully consolidate the insights developed throughout.

In the chapter devoted to "Wine in the Gandhāran Epigraphic Corpus," Stefan Baums investigates the sparse yet intriguing epigraphic traces of wine culture in ancient Gandhāra. Although evidence is limited, inscribed vessels – mostly *phialai*, goblets, and trays – attest to the ritual, commemorative, and possibly recreational use of wine-related paraphernalia. These objects, often made of silver and occasionally bearing elaborate dedications, originate from various sites, notably Taxila and several unprovenanced hoards likely associated with sanctuary contexts. One notable example is a bilingual dedication by the meridarch Kalliphon to a deity named "Khaos" or "Boa," revealing Greek and

Gāndhārī devotional vocabulary.[13] Elsewhere, inscriptions from Dasht-e-Nawur suggest communal wine-drinking rituals tied to local religious practices in the Kushan period. Baums also critically engages with Falk's interpretation that certain large bowls were used for wine in Buddhist monasteries,[14] arguing instead that they may have served more neutral functions, such as water vessels. While some vessels were likely used in ritual contexts, Baums questions previous claims about their role in Buddhist monastic settings, instead proposing that many were later repurposed for Buddhist ends, as with the famed Indravarma reliquary. Despite the evidence for wine consumption and gifting, the epigraphic record remains silent on viticulture itself in Gandhāra. In contrast, related terminology appears extensively in Central Asian documents from Niya and Kucha, pointing to a broader regional network of practices and vocabulary. Baums concludes that the Gandhāran wine culture was embedded in a culturally hybrid society where Greek, Iranian, Indian, and local elements intermingled – reflected in both the objects and the names of their donors.

In the final chapter, "Strabo on Wine in Ancient India," Marco Enrico explores how viticulture functions within the ethnographic and utopian frameworks of Strabo's *Geography*, focusing especially on the contested account of vine cultivation in the kingdom of Musikanos.[15] While Strabo generally classifies India as ἄοινος – lacking in wine – he reports that in Musikanos' domain, grapevines grew spontaneously and wine was produced, a detail attributed to Onesikritos and typical of Greek utopian tropes linking agricultural abundance to civilizational advancement. Enrico contextualizes these claims within a broader Greco-Roman literary tradition that idealized India, yet simultaneously positioned it within a framework of controlled marvels and 'civilized barbarism'. He highlights the tension between fantastical representations and archaeological evidence of actual wine production in regions such as Gandhāra, where viticulture long predated Greek contact. Enrico ultimately challenges the reading of these passages as merely utopian, arguing instead that even idealized features – like spontaneous vine growth – rest on tangible realities. While he suggests that the references to wine, wheat, and olive oil might have been intended as civilizational markers within the ethnographic narrative, in my opinion, this interpretation risks overstating their symbolic function in Greek accounts of India.

In conclusion, *Wine Cultures. Gandhāra and Beyond* stands as a valuable and ambitious contribution to the study of cross-cultural exchanges in antiquity, illuminating the manifold ways in which wine – as commodity, ritual substance, and cultural symbol – mediated interactions across regions, religions, and artistic traditions. The volume undoubtedly advances the state of research beyond the frequently cited article by Falk,[16] which was the first – and an ingenious – attempt to address the topic of wine in Gandhāra. The book's breadth, both geographical and disciplinary, is among its greatest

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[13] CKI 552 in S. Baums, A. Glass, *Catalog of Gāndhārī Texts* 2002, available at gandhari.org/catalog.

[14] Falk, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[15] Strab. 15.1.22 = *FGrHist* 134 F 22: ἐν δὲ τῇ Μουσικανοῦ καὶ σῖτον αὐτοφυῆ λέγει πυρῷ παραπλήσιον καὶ ἄμπελον, ὥστ᾽ οἰνοφορεῖν, τῶν ἄλλων ἄοινον λεγόντων τὴν Ἰνδικήν.

[16] Falk, *op. cit*.

strengths, even if its wide scope occasionally results in a lack of coherence or thematic closure.[17] Yet this very openness may be seen as an invitation to further inquiry rather than a limitation. By foregrounding wine as a mobile, multifaceted cultural agent, the editors and contributors open new pathways for thinking about connectivity, material culture, and religious practice across the wider Iranian and Indian worlds. This collection will be of considerable interest not only to specialists in Gandhāran studies but also to scholars of ancient religion, art history, and the archaeology of cross-cultural contact.

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[17] Other errors – such as spelling mistakes – are very few; for example, “Symposyum” (p. 31) and “Augustu” (p. 307, n. 37).

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Dennis Pausch, Christoph Pieper (eds.), ***The Scholia on Cicero's Speeches: Contexts and Perspectives***, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2023, VIII + 287 pp., ISSN 0169-8958, ISBN 978-90-04-51644-1.

The volume under review originates from the proceedings of a digital workshop on the Ciceronian scholia held at Leiden University in 2021. Thanks to funding from the Dutch Research Council (project Mediated Cicero) and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (project Invektivität. Konstellationen und Dynamiken der Herabsetzung), it has also been made available in open access. As the editors explain in the "Introduction" (pp. 1–21) – which includes a concise overview of the preserved corpus of scholia,[1] sections on "The Genre of (Ancient) Commentaries" and "The Ciceronian Commentaries and Scholia as Part of the Cultural Discourses of Their Times", along with summaries of the individual chapters – the idea of compiling such a volume arose naturally from a renewed scholarly interest in the scholia on Cicero's speeches, which, as they note, "have long been neglected in modern scholarship" (p. 3). In tracing this revival, they highlight a paper and two monographs published shortly before the workshop, whose authors also contribute to the volume under review.[2] Given this overlap, the dedication of an entire volume to the scholia indeed "seems timely" (p. 4), and I fully share the editors' confidence that "it will stimulate [...] future research" (p. 15). Beyond the "Introduction", the volume comprises ten chapters (one in German and the rest in English), followed by an Index Nominum and an Index Locorum. The chapters are grouped informally into four thematic sections: Chapters 1 and 2 provide general introductions to the scholia Ciceroniana and Asconius Pedianus; Chapters 3 and 4 address the didactic uses of Cicero's speeches; Chapters 5 and 6 consider the models on which the Ciceronian scholia may have drawn; and Chapters 7–10 present case studies that illustrate the potential of the scholia for research on Cicero and Roman Republican oratory.

The first contributor, Giuseppe La Bua (henceforth "LB"), in his chapter "Teaching Cicero through the Scholia: The 'Active Reader' in Late Antique Commentaries on Cicero's Speeches" (pp. 22–40), examines the pedagogical strategies embedded in the *scholia Ciceronis*. He shows how these commentaries reflect a collaborative practice between teacher and student in the interpretive process. Drawing on Jerome's *Apology against Rufinus* (1.16), LB introduces the concepts of a *variorum* commentary and the *prudens lector* ('prudent reader'), both of which underscore the didactic function

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[1] Their discussion is based on J.E.G. Zetzel, *Critics, Compilers, and Commentators. An Introduction to Roman Philology, 200 BCE–800 CE*, New York 2018, pp. 143–148, 257–259.

[2] C. Bishop, *Roman Plato or Roman Demosthenes? The Bifurcation of Cicero in Ancient Scholarship*, in: W.H.F. Altman (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Cicero*, Leiden–Boston 2015, pp. 281–306 (in the "Bibliography", for which there are separate entries for each chapter, they instead quote: C. Bishop, *Cicero, Greek Learning, and the Making of a Roman Classic*, Oxford 2019); T.J. Keeline, *The Reception of Cicero in the Early Roman Empire. The Rhetorical Schoolroom and the Creation of a Cultural Legend*, Cambridge 2018; G. La Bua, *Cicero and Roman Education. The Reception of the Speeches and Ancient Scholarship*, Cambridge 2019.

of the scholia. He situates Asconius' historical commentary, the *Scholia Bobiensia*, and the pseudo-Asconian commentary on the *Divinatio in Q. Caecilium* and the *Verrines* within this framework. Before turning to the scholia themselves, LB discusses a key passage from Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* (2.5.5–11),[3] which he regards as fundamental for understanding their didactic role. In this passage, Quintilian lays out step by step how a teacher should explain Cicero's rhetorical strategy and how the student should actively participate in the process. LB argues that the authors of the *Scholia Bobiensia* and *Scholia Gronoviana*, by employing the first person singular, adopt the persona of the teacher, while their use of the first person plural identifies them with their students, thereby inviting collaboration in reading and interpreting Cicero. Another technique used to foster "an active involvement of his [i.e., the scholiast's] readers in the learning process" (p. 32) was to present alternative interpretations and encourage reflection on the historical circumstances of each case. This pedagogical stance results in a kind of self-fashioning on the part of the scholiast, who positions himself as an exegetical guide for the ideal *prudens lector*. A further aim of "teaching Cicero" was to encourage aspiring orators to imitate him as the paragon of eloquence. According to LB, the scholiasts pursued this objective by commenting on Cicero's rhetorical strategies – such as manipulation of the *status causae*, *dissimulatio*, rhetorical irony, and wit. LB concludes that the "student envisaged in the scholia is" indeed "the 'active agent' of Quintilian's *Institutio*". Unlike Asconius, whose commentary is primarily historical, "the *Scholia Bobiensia* and the *Scholia Gronoviana*" are "eminently rhetorical commentaries, the purpose of which was to promote linguistic and rhetorical knowledge" (pp. 37–38).

The purpose of Q. Asconius Pedianus' commentary is the subject of the next paper, "The Working Methods of Asconius" (pp. 41–68) by Thomas J. Keeline (henceforth "K."). K. begins by scrutinising and challenging several widely accepted 'facts' about Asconius and his work, taking as his point of departure Peter Marshall's [4]*OCD* entry. On Asconius' dates, for instance, K. proposes simply "the first century CE" or, at the very least, "c. AD 3–88" (p. 44). Before turning to Asconius' working methods, K. cautions against accepting at face value some basic background information often repeated in handbooks – such as Asconius' place of origin, the title and date of his work, and its intended scope. Of particular interest to him (pp. 48–49) is the commonly held view that the commentary was written "for his two sons, in preparation for public life". K. rejects this interpretation as oversimplifying in some respects and outright erroneous in others. On the format of the work, he emphasises Asconius' consistency, selectivity, and, strikingly, his almost complete neglect of Cicero's rhetoric and diction. According to K., the commentaries can only be called 'historical' in the limited sense that they aim to clarify puzzles of chronology or prosopography (p. 51). K. then provides a detailed analysis of Asconius' notes on the *In Pisonem* and the *Pro Milone*, categorising them under headings such as 'dating', 'prosopography', 'other historical allusions', and 'topography'. From this typology, he distills five working principles: (1) solve puzzles, (2) defend Cicero and his text wherever possible, (3) get the details right, (4) cite sources, and (5) be selective. More speculatively, K. adds that Asconius' working methods suggest heavy reliance on Fenestella (whom he cites by name only in cases of disagreement), consultation of multiple sources when a point in Cicero intrigued him, and, remarkably, that "he

[3] On Quintilian's prescription for how to read a speech, cf. Keeline, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 22–28.

worked much more quickly than a typical modern commentator" (p. 61). K. concludes that Asconius' primary motivation was curiosity rather than pedagogy (though he does not entirely exclude the latter). His audience was probably not his sons or students – the address to *filii* at *Mil.* 43.27 C being a conventional formula – but rather, as a *scriptor historicus*, Asconius followed his own interests in much the same way as Pliny the Elder.

Fernanda Maffei's (henceforth "M.") contribution, "Cicero in Egypt: The Ciceronian Papyri and the Teaching of Latin in the East" (pp. 69–86), addresses a topic only tangentially related to the scholia: papyri from Egypt containing Ciceronian texts that were apparently used in teaching. Out of some 1,500 extant Latin papyri, M. has identified only 12 that transmit Cicero's writings, and just one of these predates the 4th century CE. A comprehensive overview is provided in a table (p. 71), listing their dates, format, material, contents, and typology. For detailed analysis, M. focuses on "the items which are immediately related to an educational environment due to their palaeographic and bibliological features" (p. 72). Among these is *P. Iand*. V. 90 (containing *Verr.* 2.2.3–4) from the Julio-Claudian era, which, with its punctuation marks (including *i longae* and *apices*), may have served schoolboys who were learning "how to declaim a speech in public" (p. 75). Equally notable is *P. Ryl*. III 477 from the 5th century CE (*Div. Caec.* 35–37, 44–46), the only Ciceronian papyrus with annotations. M. argues that such papyri were intended for intermediate-level students, who were often non-native speakers of Latin; the notes assist with prosopography, figurative language, and legal terminology. Four papyri dating from the mid-4th to 5th centuries CE (*P. Vindob*. G 30885 a+e + *P. Vindob*. L 17; *P. Vindob*. L 127; *PSI* Congr. 21.2; and *P. Ryl*. I 61), all containing the *Catilinarians*, include bilingual glossaries, some of which may have been prepared "for didactic use by a man born in the Eastern part of the Empire" (p. 79). A further example, *P. Monts. Roca* Inv. 129–149 + *P. Duke* Inv. 798, which transmits both Christian and pagan works (including *Cat.* 1.6–9, 13–33, and *Cat.* 2), provides evidence "for the interest in Cicero's speeches among Christians" (p. 81). Finally, a papyrus codex (*P. Oxy*. VIII 1097 + *P. Oxy*. X 1251 + *P. Köln* I 49) containing a seemingly random selection of Cicero's speeches may, in M.'s view, have been a teaching tool, allowing a schoolmaster to introduce students to different types of orations. M. concludes that after Diocletian's reforms, Cicero's orations became especially valuable as teaching texts for Latin as a second language in the Greek East. A comparison with Ps.-Asconius' commentaries further suggests that, in contrast to the West, Cicero was used in Eastern classrooms primarily for teaching Latin and Roman law rather than rhetoric.

Thomas Riesenweber (henceforth "R."), in his chapter "Ciceros Reden bei den *Rhetores Latini Minores*", examines how commentaries on Cicero and rhetorical handbooks such as Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* reflect broader trends in the use of Cicero's speeches in the Roman classroom. As comparative material, R. draws on a range of Latin rhetorical handbooks from the imperial period (2nd–6th centuries CE), collected and edited by Karl Halm in his 1863 *Rhetores Latini Minores*. R. begins with a summary of basic information about the authors of these handbooks, followed by a discussion of their structure, which broadly parallels Cicero's *De inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. He observes that authors most heavily influenced by Greek theory – such as Ps.-Augustine, Sulpicius Victor, Priscian, and to some extent Fortunatianus – draw on Cicero's speeches only sparingly. The *Rhetoric* attributed to Augustine (2nd/3rd century CE), for instance, derives from the precepts of his teacher Democrates, which were otherwise unknown.

Although the author occasionally substitutes Cicero for the original Greek examples (mainly Demosthenes), declamatory material predominates. A similar pattern is evident in Sulpicius Victor (4th century CE) and Consultus Fortunatianus (late 5th century CE). The former uses Cicero primarily to illustrate status theory, though he clearly knew the orations firsthand, while the latter cites Cicero chiefly for examples of the *exordium* and *narratio*. Priscian's *Praeexercitamina* – essentially a Latin translation of the *Progymnasmata* attributed to Hermogenes – contains only two Ciceronian examples (for *prosopopoeia* and *eidolopoeia*),[4] which replace the original Greek ones to suit a Roman readership. With Marius Victorinus (4th century CE) and the Latin commentaries on *De inventione*, R. identifies a turning point: Cicero's speeches begin to be used far more frequently as examples in rhetorical handbooks. Victorinus himself draws extensively on Ciceronian material (especially from the *Verrines*), though he struggles to find suitable illustrations for status theory. In Grillius' commentary, the frequency of Ciceronian examples nearly doubles (59 quotations over 97 pages, compared to 58 over 212 pages in Victorinus). The difference is also methodological: Victorinus is more concerned with philosophy and logic, whereas Grillius emphasises technical aspects of rhetoric. R.'s final group comprises the compendia and compilations of Iulius Severianus, Martianus Capella, and Iulius Victor (all from the 5th century CE). These works illustrate the growing reliance on Cicero's speeches in rhetorical pedagogy after the publication of Victorinus' commentary. In conclusion, R. argues that the true "rediscovery" ("Wiederentdeckung", p. 121) of Cicero's speeches for Latin rhetorical instruction came with Victorinus in the 4th century. The absence of status theory in Asconius Pedianus, and its appearance only in later scholia, can, however, be explained by the fact that Asconius had different aims, as Keeline has shown (cf. above). R. helpfully appends a table (pp. 122–125) listing all quotations of and allusions to Cicero's speeches in the *RLM*.

In his chapter "The Canonization of Cicero in Ancient Commentaries" (pp. 130–153), Joseph Farrell (henceforth "F.") develops ideas from his earlier research on Vergil's engagement with Greek scholarship on the poets he imitated, especially the Theocritean and Homeric scholia. There he argued that Vergil sought to attain canonical status comparable to his Greek models by pursuing "a scholarly reception that would be recognizably similar to theirs" (p. 130). Building on Caroline Bishop's recent work, F. suggests that Cicero, too, was engaged in a process of self-canonisation – one that "inspired Vergil's fashioning of his own career" (p. 131). F. begins with Cicero's playful remark that Atticus was the Aristarchus of his speeches (*Att*. 1.14.3), interpreting this as an allusion to Atticus' role in editing Cicero's orations in a manner analogous to the Alexandrian scholar's editorial work on Homer. He then considers Cicero's ambitions first to present himself as a Roman counterpart to Aratus and later, more seriously, as the Latin Demosthenes.[5] In this latter case, F. argues, Cicero had not in fact read the commentaries

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[4] On these rhetorical figures, cf. B. Dufallo, *The Ghosts of the Past. Latin Literature, the Dead, and Rome's Transition to a Principate*, Columbus 2007, p. 130, n. 16 and *passim*, and my discussion in D. Pierzak, *Ab inferis ad rostra. Przywoływanie zmarłych w retoryce rzymskiej okresu republikańskiego*, Katowice 2019 (esp. ch. 2, pp. 71–82).

[5] On Cicero's engagement with the commentary tradition on Aratus, as well as his reception of Demosthenes – both of which can be seen as strategies through which he sought to secure his own canonisation – see C. Bishop, *Cicero, Greek Learning, and the Making of a Roman Classic*...,

on Demosthenes or other Attic orators. Turning to reception, F. notes that the first true "Aristarchus" of Cicero's speeches was Asconius Pedianus, although Asconius' interests were almost exclusively historical. Unlike Vergil, who entered the canon of Roman poetry and whose works were already being commented on in his lifetime or shortly thereafter, Cicero – for largely political reasons – for a century remained little more than a symbol of eloquence. F. further contends that it was the exegetical and critical activity surrounding Vergil that, paradoxically, paved the way for a comparable scholarly reception of Cicero. In conclusion, F. highlights once again the dynamics of canonisation in both cases and tentatively characterises the relationship between Cicero and Vergil as at once complementary and competitive.

Caroline Bishop (henceforth "B."), whose work is frequently cited throughout the volume, contributes the chapter "The Influence of Greek Commentaries on the Bobbio Scholia to Cicero" (pp. 155–175). In her introduction, B. recalls Cicero's ambition to establish himself as a Roman "classical" author (cf. n. 5 above), comparable to the status Demosthenes enjoyed in Greece. In a discussion that partially overlaps with Farrell's contribution, she highlights the influence of the Homeric scholia on Vergilian commentary, proposing that the author of the Bobbio scholia on Cicero drew on commentaries on Demosthenes in a similar way. B. acknowledges, however, that the parallels are fewer and less direct for two main reasons: the different aims and character of poetic versus rhetorical exegesis, and the more fragmentary state of preservation of both the Ciceronian and Demosthenic scholia compared to the Vergilian and Homeric material (p. 158). She classifies the parallels into three groups: "lexical cross-references to other classical authors", "contextual cross-references", and "the use of specialized Greek rhetorical terminology to describe an orator's skill" (p. 160), illustrating each category with numerous examples. These, she argues, also reinforce her earlier conclusion that both the Ciceronian and Demosthenic scholia most likely originated in the same period, the 2nd century CE. In closing, B. maintains that "Cicero's commentator was familiar with the tradition of Greek rhetorical commentary, and that he subscribed to the Roman attitude that the classical texts of both cultures could and should be interpreted in the same fashion" (p. 174).

Gesine Manuwald (henceforth "M."), herself a prolific commentator on Cicero's speeches,[6] contributes the chapter "The Ciceronian Scholia and Asconius as Sources on Cicero and Other Republican Orators" (pp. 176–189). Her aim is to highlight the information the scholia provide about orators other than Cicero, on the assumption that a full appreciation of Cicero's rhetoric requires some knowledge of the practices of his contemporaries. As editor and translator of the *Oratory* volumes in the *Fragmentary Republican*

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pp. 41–84 and 173–217, respectively. Bishop shows how Cicero drew on the authority of Greek models and their scholarly reception to position himself within a comparable tradition of classical status.

[6] See G. Manuwald (ed.), *Cicero, Philippics 3–9*, Berlin–New York 2007; *eadem*, *Cicero, Agrarian Speeches. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Oxford 2018; *eadem*, *Cicero, Post reditum Speeches. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Oxford 2021. Cf. recent commentaries by other contributors to this volume: T.J. Keeline (ed.), *Cicero, Pro Milone*, New York 2021, and C. Schwameis, *Cicero, De praetura Siciliensi (Verr. 2,2). Einleitung und Kommentar*, Berlin–Boston 2019.

Latin series (Loeb Classical Library 540–542), M. is well positioned for this task. She observes that about twenty passages in the scholia (chiefly the *Scholia Bobiensia*) preserve *testimonia* and fragments for *ORF*/*FRL*. Of these, she focuses on two especially illuminating cases: one revealing Cicero's compositional practices through his borrowing from C. Sempronius Gracchus at *Sull.* 26, and another concerning the speech composed by M. Iunius Brutus as a rhetorical exercise connected with the trial of T. Annius Milo in 52 BCE. By comparison, Asconius' commentaries contain nearly forty such passages, which primarily provide historical detail and include "hardly any verbatim quotations" (p. 184). The few *testimonia* in Ps.-Asconius (all on the *Verrines*) offer some contextual background but little material of substance about oratory itself. Ultimately, M. concludes, the scholia and Asconius function mainly as supplements to Cicero's texts, but they nonetheless supply valuable evidence for aspects of Roman oratory that would otherwise have been lost.

In the chapter "'Cicero Cannot Be Separated from the State': In Search of Cicero's Political and Moral Exemplarity in Asconius Pedianus and the *Scholia Bobiensia*" (pp. 191–214), Christoph Pieper (henceforth "P.") examines how Asconius and the scholia portray Cicero's political and moral qualities, and whether these texts contribute to his enduring reputation as a statesman and ethical role model. At the outset, P. acknowledges his debt to La Bua's 2019 study (cf. above, n. 2), which suggested that these commentaries encouraged readers to emulate Cicero not only as an orator but also as a politician. P. begins with an overview of Cicero's posthumous reputation in the Imperial period, noting that he quickly became an exemplary figure. Yet because larger narratives such as Tiro's biography and Livy's books on the Late Republic are lost, surviving accounts tend to focus only on select episodes from Cicero's career. As P. argues, this gap in the tradition can be partially filled by the evidence of Asconius and the *Scholia Bobiensia*. He further suggests that these commentaries may once have covered all of Cicero's speeches in chronological order, and that they were possibly designed for use not only in rhetorical training but also in teaching history and politics. Several examples illustrate this claim: the scholiasts' remarks on Cicero's enemies and major political struggles, their tendency to whitewash his character, and their efforts to excuse his failings. Both Asconius and the Bobbio scholiast thus presuppose an implied reader willing to endorse Cicero's own project of self-fashioning. Moreover, the occasional criticisms of Cicero, as P. notes, ultimately reinforce his positive image by giving the impression of impartiality. Although some problems of chronology and composition remain unresolved, P. concludes that "Asconius and the *Scholia Bobiensia* contain enough elements of exemplary discourse[7] to be relevant evidence for the afterlife of Cicero as a political *persona* in Late Antiquity" (p. 211).

The paper by Christoph Schwameis (henceforth "S."), "*Deinceps haec omnia non dicta, sed scripta contra reum*: The Fictional *Verrines* in the Ciceronian Scholia and

[7] Although P. never clarifies his use of the term "exemplary discourse", I assume he employs it in a broad sense, similar to the definition offered by M. Roller in *The exemplary past in Roman historiography and culture*, in: A. Feldherr (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Historians*, Cambridge 2009, pp. 214–230 (at p. 216): "a (loosely) coherent system of symbols that organizes and represents the past in a particular way, and thereby facilitates a particular way of knowing it".

beyond" (pp. 216–242), tackles the crucial question of the fictional status of Cicero's longest extant oration.[8] Given the significance of the claim that the *Actio secunda* was never actually delivered, it is striking that the chief evidence for its fictionality derives from the scholia attributed to Asconius (now generally cited as 'Ps.-Asconius'). S. begins with a review of the evidence from other sources, including Pliny the Younger, Cassius Dio, and the *Scholia Gronoviana*, all of which he deems inconclusive since they provide no clear explanation for why the *Actio secunda in Verrem* would not have been delivered (p. 219). In contrast, S. argues that the testimony of Ps.-Asconius presents a more complex case. Their evidentiary value, he notes, has often been either overstated or downplayed depending on a scholar's position regarding the theory of fictionality. Before turning to the central issue, S. outlines the general character of these scholia, observing that their author – though often mistaken and poorly informed – nonetheless shows a degree of scholarly competence and occasionally cites sources which would have otherwise been lost. What distinguishes Ps.-Asconius from other witnesses is that, while closing his remarks on the *Actio prima*, he explicitly offers an explanation for the fictional character of the *Actio secunda*. Even if his phrasing sometimes merely paraphrases Cicero's own words about Verres' hypothetical absence, the claim itself is distinctive. In his analysis of the scholiast's introduction to the *Actio secunda*, S. underscores that "it is only with Ps.-Asconius that we find the assertion that Cicero had to invent this speech in order to gain oratorical renown and to bring an end to his career as an accuser at the same time" (p. 229). Beyond these extended passages, Ps.-Asconius also includes notes in the *enarratio* that highlight the points where Cicero cleverly misleads his readers into believing that the speech was actually delivered. In conclusion, S. draws an important distinction between ancient and modern notions of a "fictional" (i.e., undelivered) speech. For Ps.-Asconius, he argues, "the fictionality of the *Actio secunda* was apparently only a proof of how well Cicero succeeded in making the speech come across as genuine" (p. 234). At the same time, the scholiast presents himself as an expert keen to expose Cicero's art of illusion. S. closes his chapter with a discussion of Ps.-Asconius' later reception and his influence on modern scholarship and commentaries on Cicero's speeches.

The final chapter of the volume, "Reading the *Scholia Gronoviana*: Ambiguity and Veiled Language in the Interpretation of Cicero's *Caesarian Orations*" (pp. 243–266), by Giovanni Margiotta (henceforth "M."), examines the long-debated issue of figured speech (*oratio figurata*) in the *Caesarian Orations*. M. seeks to trace this debate back to the late antique commentary known as the *Scholia Gronoviana* and to "cast more light on the reception of" these speeches "in the rhetorical environments of Late Antiquity" (p. 245). Beginning with the *Pro Marcello*, M. analyzes the scholiast's introduction to the speech, which covers the *genus orationis*, the historical background, and its connection to status theory. Before turning to the key passages on *oratio figurata*, he surveys earlier Latin treatments of figured speech in Quintilian, Iulius Rufinianus, and Iulius Victor. The latter two, drawing on the *Institutio Oratoria*, likewise identify three main purposes for employing this figure: safety, decency, and elegance. According to the scholiast, many readers took the *Pro Marcello* as an example of rhetorical dissimulation, interpreting

[8] S. touches upon this subject in Schwameis, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 6–7. The topic has also been recently discussed by T. Ricchieri, *Prima della Sicilia. Cicerone, Verrine 2,1 (De praetura urbana), 1–102. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e commento*, Pisa 2020, pp. 24–31.

Cicero's praise of Caesar as covert invective. Yet the scholiast explicitly rejects this reading, insisting that it does not fit either the circumstances or the addressee. As M. shows, "the scholiast rejects a figured reading of the *Pro Marcello* although he is aware that behind Cicero's eulogies subtler political implications lurk" (p. 255). The discussion then moves to the *Pro Ligario* and *Pro rege Deiotaro*. Here the Gronovian scholiast shows more openness to rhetorical ambiguity. On the *Pro Ligario*, he comments extensively on irony, a related mode of expression, which Cicero strikingly employs in the *exordium* – precisely where one versed in rhetorical theory would least expect it. In the *Pro rege Deiotaro*, Cicero makes use of *insinuatio*, "another rhetorical device based on ambiguity and veiled language," to win his audience's goodwill indirectly (pp. 258–259). The scholiast perceptively compares Cicero's proem to the speech of Sinon in Book 2 of Vergil's *Aeneid*, a comparison M. further develops by noting that the composition of their audiences was also similar in certain respects. Taken together, the commentary on the *Pro Ligario* and *Pro rege Deiotaro* shows that, despite rejecting the figured-speech interpretation of the *Pro Marcello*, the Gronovian scholiast was highly attuned to Cicero's rhetoric of ambiguity. As M. concludes, "Cicero emerges as a brilliant orator who can resort to the sophisticated resources of his rhetoric [...]" (p. 262).

The volume as a whole has been edited with great care,[9] showing that a digital conference held during the COVID-19 pandemic (*temporibus covidianis*, as aptly phrased in the "Acknowledgements") could generate discussion every bit as fruitful as an in-person event. This success may owe something to the fact that, beyond the contributors themselves, numerous other specialists were able to participate remotely, and their input is duly acknowledged in the footnotes. Another strength of the book is that, despite its seemingly narrow focus, every chapter proves relevant, as the many cross-references between contributions make clear. While some of the arguments advanced may at times seem a little speculative, the authors are usually aware of this and present their ideas with due caution. This is hardly surprising, given that serious scholarly engagement with the Ciceronian scholia was rekindled only about a decade ago – a trend one hopes will continue. Overall, the volume is an excellent introduction to the subject, and I am confident it will stimulate further research in the years to come.

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[9] Apart from a few repetitions, e.g. p. 192: "he was an enemy of the (new powerful men in) the state," p. 193: "so that that it was only natural," p. 207: "This becomes visible in in the"; a misspelling (p. 74: "*Praefectus Egypti*"), and an incorrect accent (p. 78 should read ἀκατακριθείς instead of ἀκατακριθεῖς), I have not noticed any major typographical errors.

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Leonardo Galli, *Scienza e meraviglia in Lucrezio. Un commento a ‚De rerum natura' 6, 703–1089*, Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2024 (Testi e commenti 31), 423 S., ISBN: 978-88-7642-767-1, €30.00.

Gegenstand des vorliegenden Kommentars ist eine Passage aus dem sechsten Buch des lukrezischen Lehrgedichts *De rerum natura*, in der der Dichter im Anschluss an die atomistische Erklärung für meteorologische Erscheinungen, Erdbeben, Vulkanausbrüche usw. einige (weitere) Phänomene behandelt, die bei einem aus epikureischer Sicht unaufgeklärten Menschen Zweifel an der für die Seelenruhe unabdingbaren vollständigen Erklärbarkeit der Welt durch natürliche Vorgänge auf der Ebene der Atome säen könnten: die Nilschwemme, die *loca Auerna*, verschiedene insbesondere hinsichtlich ihrer Temperatur auffällige Wasserquellen und der Magnet – auch diese Erscheinungen werden einer naturwissenschaftlichen Erklärung zugeführt, die insbesondere die Suche nach übernatürlichen Ursachen überflüssig machen soll. Leonardo Galli (= G.) gliedert seinen ebenso konventionell aufgebauten wie konsequent ausgearbeiteten Kommentar in eine ausführliche Einleitung mit mehreren Unterkapiteln, eine knappe Einführung in den auf der Grundlage der Editionen von Bailey 1947 und Deufert 2019 hergestellten kritischen Text, die Präsentation desselben mit Apparat und Übersetzung, den eigentlichen Stellenkommentar im Umfang von nicht ganz 250 Seiten, gefolgt von einer umfangreichen Bibliographie und zwei Indizes: einem zu den verhandelten Lemmata und einem Sachindex; ein Stellenindex allerdings fehlt bemerkenswerterweise.

Im ersten Unterkapitel seiner Einleitung führt G. zunächst in den Aufbau des sechsten Buches ein. Ein tabellarisches Inhaltsverzeichnis desselben (S. 9–10) verschafft dem Leser einen Überblick über die dort verhandelten Themen. Ausgehend davon wird der thematische Schwerpunkt des Buches vor dem Hintergrund einer dyadischen Struktur des Gesamtwerks in Abgrenzung vom fünften Buch genauer bestimmt,[1] die Tradition dieser Abgrenzung auf Aristoteles zurückgeführt und die grundsätzlich ablehnende Haltung des in erster Linie an der Vermittlung der Voraussetzungen für die Erreichung der Seelenruhe interessierten epikureischen Dichters zu dieser rein auf die wissenschaftliche Erkenntnis abzielenden aristotelischen Systematisierung definiert;[2] der Rest des Unterkapitels (S. 14–20) ist dann entsprechend der Entfaltung des für das lukrezische Lehrgedicht zentralen Gedankens von der dienenden Funktion der naturwissenschaftlichen Erklärung

[1] „[...] il VI libro lucreziano riguarda quei fenomeni che si verficano nell'atmosfera e sulla terra, in opposizione complementare con le questioni di ordine cosmologico, cosmogonico et astronomico affrontate nel libro precedente" (S. 10).

[2] „Al poeta non importano le sottilizzazioni di carattere scientifico; gli preme, invece, evidenziare l'inevitabile concatenazione per cui gli uomini non comprendono razionalmente ciò que avviene nel cielo [...], e quindi si rifugiano nell'idea di divinità sovranaturali e onnipotenti che dalle loro sedi celesti governano l'armonico ordine cosmico e mandano sulla terra, quando adirati, fulmini, tempeste e terrimoti per punire gli uomini: il che, nella prospettiva epicurea, è palesemente falso" (S. 14).

im Hinblick auf die – für die epikureische Philosophie grundlegende – Befreiung des Menschen von Furcht, Staunen und religiösem Aberglauben gewidmet.

Das zweite Unterkapitel wendet sich der Begründung für den von G. für seinen Kommentar gewählten Ausschnitt zu: Erneut geht G. von Überlegungen zum Aufbau des sechsten Buches aus und unterteilt die Darstellung dann erneut unter Verweis auf die antike Tradition (Aristoteles, Aëtios, Plinius, Seneca) in diejenige von Phänomenen *in caelo* (bis V. 534) sowie diejenige von Phänomenen *in terris* (ab V. 535) (S. 22). Der Neuansatz in V. 703, mit dem G. seinen Kommentar beginnt, sei vom Dichter durch einen methodologischen Exkurs zur programmatischen Mehrfacherklärung markiert (vgl. S. 26) und auch thematisch dadurch zu bestimmen, dass von diesem Punkt an geographisch klar verortete Mirabilien behandelt würden;[3] die Abgrenzung vom unmittelbar zuvor beschriebenen Ätna mache allerdings insbesondere deutlich, dass die zweite Gruppe der Phänomene *in terris* sich von der ersteren darin unterscheide, dass sie sich im Gegensatz zur ersten der menschlichen Erkenntnis nicht grundsätzlich verschließe.[4]

Im Zentrum des dritten Unterkapitels steht die Definition des Wunderbaren durch Lukrez selbst, die G. anhand der zentralen Passagen (Lucr. 2.1023–1043; 5.97–103; 6.673–679) insbesondere durch den Charakter der Neuheit und der Überschreitung gewohnter Grenzen bestimmt (S. 32–37), weshalb es die Aufgabe einer jeden Philosophie sei, dem Betrachter das die Seelenruhe irritierende Staunen durch die Gewöhnung an das Wunderbare zu nehmen (S. 37 f.). G. weist die weite Verbreitung dieses Grundgedankens in verschiedenen Philosophenschulen nach (S. 38 f.), verweist aber auch auf die positive Bewertung des Staunens durch Platon und Aristoteles (S. 39) sowie die epikureische Gegenposition (S. 39–41) und erläutert die in dieser Schule entwickelten Methoden zur Erreichung des *nil admirari* (S. 41–43). Lukrez wende im Einklang mit diesen Methoden, aber auch in spezifischer Anverwandlung derselben zur Erreichung seiner philosophischen Ziele in erster Linie Analogien an, die auf strukturellen Gemeinsamkeiten beruhten,[5] wofür G. in der Folge instruktive Beispiele anführt (S. 44 f.). Dass Lukrez die angeführten Mirabilien nichtsdestoweniger mit allem rhetorischen und poetischen Ornatus ausgestaltet, führt G. auf die Verherrlichung Epikurs zurück, der die Menschheit aus ihren so naheliegenden Irrtümern dennoch habe befreien können;[6] die verbleibenden Überlegungen des Unterkapitels sind der wichtigen Unterscheidung zwischen der

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[3] „Il carattere eccezionale, locale e meravigliosa, che qualifica questi fenomeni come *mirabilia* e li connette alla tradizione paradossografica [...]“ (S. 27).

[4] „Il quadro si spiega con la differenza che intercorre, sul piano epistemico, tra i fenomeni discussi subito dopo questo paragrafo e i precedenti: i *caelestia* del V libro, i *sublimia* e il primo gruppo dei *terrena* del VI sono ἄδηλα o καθάπαξ ἄδηλα, la cui conoscenza ci è del tutto preclusa dal momento che si verificano in spazi da cui l'uomo è irrimediabilmente estromesso (il cielo o il sottosuolo), mentre il secondo gruppo dei terrena afferisce all'ambito dei προσμένοντα o ἄδηλα πρὸς καιρόν, la cui inconoscibilità è unicamente dovuta a un *deficit* dell'osservatore, impossibilitato soltanto dalle circostanze a condurre un'indagine più precisa“ (S. 30).

[5] „[...] dimonstrando come i medesimi meccanismi agiscano in realtà anche in altri fatti ordinari e communemente osservabili“ (S. 44).

[6] „[...] per Lucrezio, dunque, la *miratio* è ammissibile, ma solo ex post e solo per le conquiste del Maestro“ (S. 47 f.).

Ablehnung der irrationalen religiösen Ängste und der Bewunderung für die göttliche Rettungstat des *pater Epicurus* gewidmet (S. 48–51).[7]

Der Verortung der kommentierten Passage in der Tradition der Paradoxographie wendet sich das vierte und letzte Unterkapitel der Einleitung zu: G. verweist zunächst darauf, dass für die Behandlung der von ihm kommentierten Phänomene eine Quelle aus der Feder Epikurs nicht besonders wahrscheinlich sei,[8] und begründet damit seine Hypothese, Lukrez habe sich hier der hellenistischen Paradoxographie bedient (S. 54), deren Archegeten G. in Kallimachos sieht und deren Entstehungsbedingungen er ebenso kurz skizziert wie das römische Nachleben der Gattung bei Cato, Cicero, Varro, Seneca und Plinius (S. 54–57). Der Vergleich mit den beiden letztgenannten Verfassern naturwissenschaftlicher Untersuchungen auf der einen sowie den an einer spektakulären Darstellung interessierten eigentlichen Paradoxographen auf der anderen Seite erbringt dann zunächst den erneuten Hinweis, dass Lukrez sich für die Phänomene selbst nur zur Erreichung seines philosophischen Zwecks (des *nil admirari*) interessiert (S. 59 f.), bevor die mythologische Dichtung des Hellenismus als eigentliche Kontrastfolie zur epikureischen Aufklärung durch das lukrezische Lehrgedicht identifiziert wird (S. 61 f.).

Zu einer wertvollen Arbeitsgrundlage wird G.s Kommentar auch dadurch, dass er auf einem kritisch hergestellten Text beruht: Zwar geht der Verfasser bei dieser Herstellung durchaus pragmatisch vor und verweist für eine vollständigere Betrachtung auf die Dokumentation der Überlieferung in den Ausgaben von Diels und Deufert,[9] verzeichnet aber an relevanten Stellen auch die indirekte Überlieferung[10] und kürzt die Liste der vorgeschlagenen Emendationen nur selten durch den pauschalen Hinweis auf weitere Konjekturen ab.[11] Die Übersetzung in Prosa zielt auf eine Verständnishilfe und nicht auf den detaillierten Nachvollzug der poetischen Faktur ab: Wenn etwa die Verse 848 f. (*esse apud Hammonis fanum fons luce diurna / frigidus et calidus nocturno tempore fertur*) folgendermaßen übersetzt werden: „Si dice che presso il tempio di Ammone ci sia una fonte che è fredda di giorno e calda di notte“ (S. 81), löst G. einen Chiasmus, auf den der Kommentar eigens verweist (vgl. S. 212), in den zweifellos übersichtlicheren, sich aber von der lukrezischen Diktion durchaus ein Stück weit entfernenden Parallelismus auf.

G.s Vorbemerkungen zur Textherstellung fassen die Überlieferungsgeschichte der relevanten Zeugen (O, Q, G, V, U) sowie der in diesen enthaltenen Korrekturhände knapp zusammen (S. 63–65); eine Auflistung der Abweichungen von Deufert und Bailey verzeichnet 28 Einträge (S. 65 f.): In zehn Fällen stimmt G.s Text mit dem Deuferts

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[7] „Per Lucrezio il sublime, prima che una questione di stile, è un modello di vita che passa attraverso queste meraviglia intellettualistica“ (S. 51).

[8] „Allo stato attuale delle nostre conoscenze, insomma, non sembra che Epicuro abbia mostrato particolare interesse per questi fenomeni“ (S. 53).

[9] „Quello che qui fornisco è un apparato critico positivo senza pretese di completezza; per informazioni più puntuali, rinvio spec. All’edizione di Diels 1923, il cui apparato, ancorché ipertrofico e talora impreciso, resta il più dettaglio, e a quella, recentissima, di Deufert 2019“ (S. 64).

[10] Etwa auf Servius zu V. 736 oder Nonius zu V. 740 f. (jeweils auf S. 72).

[11] So etwa zum *locus conclamatus* V. 755 („*alii alia*“, S. 74).

überein, in sieben mit Bailey; die zwölf Abweichungen von beiden Ausgaben[12] stellen damit den ersten inhaltlichen Schwerpunkt des Kommentars im Bereich der Textkritik dar, zumal G. hier auf einschlägige Vorarbeiten aus seiner eigenen Feder verweisen kann: Von den zehn eigenen Publikationen, die G. in der Bibliographie anführt, sind immerhin sieben textkritischer Natur (vgl. S. 368 f.). Für sein auf der Grundlage des Eingriffs von Lambinus (*his* aus überliefertem *poteis* in QU bzw. *potis* in O) und der Begründung von Munros *forte his* durch Konrad Müller entwickeltes *posse his* in V. 762 führt G. die überzeugende Parallele Lucr. 5.890 f. an und verweist auf einen eigenen Aufsatz aus dem Jahr 2021[13] (S. 161); die Verteidigung des überlieferten *aqua* in V. 803 gegen die Humanistenkonjektur *aquam* dagegen bleibt ein überzeugendes positives Argument schuldig (S. 186) – wenn man auch einräumen muss, dass letztlich natürlich die Anfechter der Überlieferung den entsprechenden Nachweis zu führen haben. Ausführlich hergeleitet und gegen andere Lösungsversuche verteidigt wird die Versetzung der Verse 804 und 805 hinter V. 801 (S. 164–166);[14] für die in O gegen das *in apertum* von Q und U überlieferte Verbindung *in aperta promptaque caeli* führt G. ebenfalls eine engagierte Argumentation auf der Grundlage zahlreicher überzeugender Belegstellen (S. 194 f.). Erstaunlich kurz, aber selbst in dieser Kürze außerordentlich überzeugend fällt die Begründung der wahrscheinlich innovativsten Konjektur G.s, des *cadentes* in V. 838 für überliefertes *iacentes*, aus;[15] auf G.s Ablehnung einer auf der Grundlage des Zeugnisses von Serv. *ad georg*. 4.51 angesetzten Lacuna zwischen V. 839 und 840 (S. 207 f.) dagegen trifft *grosso modo* das oben zu seiner Verteidigung von *aqua* Gesagte zu. Die Verteidigung des überlieferten *conciliare* in V. 889 gegen das *conciliari* des Lambinus beruft sich auf die Häufigkeit der intransitiv-medialen Verwendung eigentlich transitiver Verben durch Lukrez und zum Nachweis derselben auf *oppilare* in V. 725 (S. 232; vgl. insbesondere die überzeugenden Ausführungen zu *oppilare* S. 126).

Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt des Kommentars stellen stilistische Analysen dar; allein der Index zur – freilich für Lukrez auch elementaren – Alliteration umfasst neun Unterkategorien und an die hundert Einträge (S. 415). Zuweilen weist G. auf die Alliteration lediglich hin (vgl. etwa S. 107 oder S. 114); häufiger jedoch wird sie für eine intensive stilistische Untersuchung der jeweiligen Stelle fruchtbar gemacht, wie sich beispielsweise an den Versen 717–720 (*et contra fluuium flantes remorantur et undas / cogentes sursus replent coguntque manere. / nam dubio procul haec aduerso flabra feruntur / flumine, quae gelidis ab stellis axis aguntur*) zeigt, wo G. die jeweils zentrale Alliteration zum Ausgangspunkt für weitere Beobachtungen zur Metrik, Versgestaltung, Syntax, Wortstellung und weiteren Wiederholungsfiguren macht, die der Kommentar

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[12] 743: *remigium* (Eichstätt 1801); 762: *posse his*; 803: *aqua* (OQU); 804–805 *post* 801; 815: *necessus* (Cartault 1898); 817: *aperta* (O); 838: *cadentes*; 839.840; 889: *conciliare*; 899: *natantes* (Edelbluth 1927); 972: *fronde uirescat* (Barigazzi 1946 *dub*.).

[13] BollClass 42, S. 65–75.

[14] Erneut unter Verweis auf einen eigenen, im Jahr 2022 in Maia 74, S. 542–555 erschienen Aufsatz.

[15] „Così corrego il tràdito *iacentes*, il cui valore statico è incompatibile con il sintagma *per inane*, sempre associato nel poema a una forma di movimento: *cado* viene predicato agli uccelli anche ai vv. 744, 823 e 827 e in combinazione con questa determinazione locale si legge in 2,222 (*caderent per inane profundum*)“ (S. 204).

zu einer überzeugenden Gesamtdeutung verbindet.[16] Die Sorgfalt, die G. der Funktion scheinbar reiner Stilistika widmet, zeigt beispielsweise auch die Auflösung vermeintlicher Pleonasmen wie etwa derjenigen in den Versen 1006 f. (*extemplo primordia ferri / in uacuum prolapsa cadunt coniuncta*), wo G. zu Recht zwischen dem Gleiten der einzelnen Atome innerhalb ihres Verbundes in eine bestimmte Richtung (*prolapsa*) und dem Überschreiten (und damit der Verschiebung) dieser Verbundgrenze (*cadunt*) unterscheidet.[17]

Auch intertextuelle Untersuchungen spielen eine wichtige Rolle für G.s Kommentar; so werden etwa in der allgemeinen Einführung zu den Versen 906–1089, in denen der Magnetismus beschrieben wird (S. 239–244), zahlreiche Parallelen etwa aus Platons *Timaios*, Philodems *De signis*, Plinius oder Augustinus angeführt (S. 239 f.), bevor dann in einer zweiten Einführung zum Abschnitt V. 906–916 konkreter festgestellt wird, dass der entscheidende Hypotext in Platons *Ion* zu finden sei;[18] der jeweils unterschiedliche Kontext von Vorbild und Nachahmung wird für die Deutung des spezifischen intertextuellen Verhältnisses zwischen dem platonischen Dialog und dem lukrezischen Lehrgedicht an dieser Stelle fruchtbar gemacht, indem G. darauf verweist, dass Platon durch den Magneten die göttliche Inspiration, Lukrez dagegen die atomistische Naturlehre illustriert.[19] Ähnlich aufgebaut ist die Untersuchung des Verhältnisses zwischen der Beschreibung des von Krähen gemiedenen Tempels der Stadtgöttin auf der athenischen Akropolis in den Versen 749–755 und Call. *Hec*. frg. 753–754 Hollis: Die intertextuelle Beziehung wird zunächst in der Einführung zu diesen Versen genannt (S. 148 f.) und als Kontrafaktur im Sinne der bereits in der Einleitung hervorgehobenen Kritik des epikureischen Dichters an der mythologischen Poesie des Hellenismus bestimmt,[20] bevor einzelne konkret auf das kallimacheische Vorbild zurückzuführende Anspielungen etwa

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[16] „L'effeto ostentativo e ritardante degli etesii è evocato dalla successione di spondei al v. 718 (interrotta soltanto dal dattilo in quinta sede), che hanno la funzione di rallentare iconicamente il ritmo: alla ‚leçon par l'exemple' (Marouzeau) contribuisce la ricercatezza della formulazione, con l'alliterazione sillabica *fluuium flantes*, fortemente espressiva, la vistosa ripetizione del preverbio in *remorantur* e *replent*, la *distinctio* o *traductio* in *cogentes* [...] *cogunt*" (S. 118); „Lo scontro tra gli etesii e il fiume viene enfatizzato dall'alliterazione, in clausola e a ponte dei due versi, e viene esemplificato, sul piano dell'ordo uerborum, dall'intarsio dei gruppi attributivi secondo lo schema AB, con il *rejet* dell'ultimo elemento (*flumine*) determinato dall'interposizione del verbo in clausola (*feruntur*)" (S. 120).

[17] „La frequente associazione del participio di *labor* (e composti) con *cado* è ritenuta pleonastica da Löfstedt, ma qui i due verbi non sembrano esprimere lo stesso concetto: gli atomi del ferro ‚scivolano in avanti' rispetto al perimetro del loro aggregato e dunque ‚cadono'" (S. 297 f.).

[18] „Il modello del passo è Plat. *Ion* 533d–e" (S. 244).

[19] „[...] un brano [...] che qui viene ripreso a fini polemici: il Socrate platonico, infatti, attribuisce al magnete una ‚forza divina' analoga a quella della Musa que ispira Ione attraverso Omero, mentre per Lucrezio l'attrazione magnetica è un fatto perfettamente spiegabile in termini scientifici, dovuto piutosto a un ‚patto di natura' (*foedere [...] / naturae*, vv. 906–7)" (S. 244 f.).

[20] „[...] il mito callimacheo, però, non può che essere rigettato, dal momento che nell'ottica epicurea è il luogo a essere per sua natura hostile alle cornacchie, come rimarca la correctio avversativa non [...] sed su cui poggiano i vv. 753–5" (S. 149, wo sich auch der Verweis auf die ausführlichere Untersuchung des intextuellen Verhältnisses in einem von G. in Lexis 42, S. 221–233 veröffentlichten Aufsatz findet).

in V. 750 (*Tritonidis*) oder V. 753 (*iras Palladis acris*) untersucht (S. 149 f. bzw. S. 151) und die Ergebnisse abschließend noch einmal auf einer höheren Erkenntnisebene zusammengefasst werden.[21]

Immer wieder weist G. auf typische Formeln bzw. deren Häufigkeit bei Lukrez hin (vgl. insbesondere den Eintrag im Sachindex, S. 418); häufig wird zudem auf die dieser Beliebtheit in *De rerum natura* zum Trotz grundsätzliche Seltenheit der Junkturen in der Dichtung verwiesen (vgl. z.B. S. 219 zu V. 861: *nimirum* [...] *quod*) und so auf der lexikalischen Ebene ein wichtiger Beitrag zur vertieften Kenntnis der lukrezischen Sprache geleistet. Dasselbe gilt für die Untersuchung von Archaismen, Kolloquialismen und anderen Eigentümlichkeiten (vgl. z.B. S. 105 zur Verwendung von *unde* in V. 704); zentrale Bezugsrahmen für G.s Arbeit an seinem Kommentar bilden gerade in sprachlicher Hinsicht der Kommentar von Bailey, die Grammatiken von Kühner-Stegmann und Hofmann-Szantyr, der *ThLL* und das *OLD* sowie die Standardwerke von Löfstedt und Axelson. Die Bibliographie des Kommentars präsentiert sich ebenso umfangreich (S. 349–407) wie ausgewogen; insbesondere die sonst häufig anzutreffende Fokussierung allein auf die angelsächsische Forschung und die ausschließliche Konzentration allein auf die Beiträge der letzten Jahre werden erfolgreich vermieden. Auf die äußerst hilfreichen Indizes wurde bereits verwiesen; das Fehlen eines Stellenindex wird durch die Verweise im auch die Autoren umfassenden und zumindest die Werktitel als Unterkategorien enthaltenden Sachindex teilweise aufgefangen.

Abschließend kann die Lektüre des Kommentars jedem am Werk des Lukrez Interessierten nur wärmstens ans Herz gelegt werden: Zwar sind G.s Überlegungen nicht immer ganz voraussetzungslos, sodass ein mit dem Werk des Dichters nur wenig vertrauter Leser vielleicht hin und wieder an seine Grenzen stoßen wird und das grundsätzliche Instrumentarium der Altphilologie auf Schritt und Tritt benötigt wird (so werden beispielsweise im Gegensatz zu den Gepflogenheiten in vielen Publikationen der letzten Jahre die umfangreich zitierten griechischen und lateinischen Parallelen nicht übersetzt); da die Konsultation eines spezialisierten Teilkommentars wie des vorliegenden jedoch bekanntlich in aller Regel erst auf eine etwas intensivere Einarbeitung in die Materie folgt oder von Anknüpfungspunkten an die jeweils verhandelte Thematik ausgeht, sollte beinahe jeder denkbare Benutzer von G.s gründlich erarbeiteten, (meist) übersichtlich präsentierten und stets durch umfangreiche Verweise auf die zentralen Parallelstellen sowie die wichtigsten Forschungsbeiträge abgesicherten Ausführungen profitieren können.

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[21] „[...] l'‚apologetic disclaimer' (Stinton) dipende dal fatto che nell'ottica epicurea è empio attribuire l'ira alla divinità, ma potrebbe anche alludere polemicamente all'episodio scabroso all'origine dell'αἴτιον callimacheo. Lucrezio, insomma, sembra attaccare Callimaco con le stesse armi di cui il poeta alessandrino si era munito, in un altro contesto, per non incorrere nell'ira della medesima dea" (S. 153).

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Jeffrey Murray, David Wardle (eds.), Reading by Example: Valerius Maximus and the Historiography of Exempla, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2022 (Historiography of Rome and Its Empire 11), XII + 352 pp., ISBN 978-90-04-49940-9, €120.84.

This valuable collective volume on the Tiberian author Valerius Maximus and his nine books of historical *exempla*, the *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, is yet another indication of the changing attitude in classical scholarship towards texts which have long been regarded as derivative and deserving our attention only in the context of *Quellenforschung* or as a treasure trove for researchers – but not as literary products worth studying for their own sake.[1] In the case of Valerius, an important turning point is 1992, in which year W. Martin Bloomer published his book-length study of this author, and another monograph on him, by Clive Skidmore, appeared a few years later.[2] Bloomer's book is particularly relevant to the volume here under review, because most of its twelve papers were originally delivered during a conference held at the University of Cape Town in October 2017 under the title "Valerius Maximus: 25 Years After Bloomer" and organised by the editors of this volume, Jeffrey Murray and David Wardle. The papers deal with various topics and they approach Valerius from various angles,[3] but most of them belong, in fact, to this new trend in research and offer new insights into the study of Valerius the author.

Apart from a brief *Introduction* (pp. 1–14) with useful summaries of the ensuing chapters, the book opens with David Wardle's *"Not Putting Roman History in Order?" – Regal, Republican and Imperial Boundaries* (pp. 17–46), arguably one of the most substantial contributions in this volume.[4] At the beginning of his chapter, Wardle recalls a question put to him many years earlier by Fergus Millar: "What would emerge if you placed Valerius Maximus' *exempla* in chronological order?"; the chapter supplies an answer to this question and the results obtained by this rearrangement are noteworthy.

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[1] Other such works include Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia* and Aulus Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*. Both have now been increasingly recognised as literary texts in their own right, the former especially since M. Beagon, *Roman Nature: The Thought of Pliny the Elder*, Oxford 1992; the latter since L. Holford-Strevens, *Aulus Gellius*, London 1988 (revised edition Oxford 2003). For Valerius Maximus in the context of *Quellenforschung* see e.g. C. Bosch, *Die Quellen des Valerius Maximus. Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der Litteratur der historischen Exempla*, Stuttgart 1929; R. Helm, *Valerius Maximus, Seneca und die 'Exemplasammlung'*, Hermes 74 (1939), pp. 130–154; A. Klotz, *Studien zu Valerius Maximus und den Exempla*, München 1942.

[2] W.M. Bloomer, *Valerius Maximus and the Rhetoric of the New Nobility*, London–Chapel Hill 1992; C. Skidmore, *Practical Ethics for Roman Gentlemen: The Work of Valerius Maximus*, Exeter 1996. For a sketch of modern scholarship on Valerius see J. Murray's introduction to the volume under review, pp. 1–3.

[3] They are divided into four parts: "Architecture and Order", "Roman History", "Values", "Reception and Tradition".

[4] As a scholar of Valerius, Wardle is best known for his commentary on Book 1 (*Valerius Maximus: Memorable Deeds and Sayings, Book 1*, Oxford 1998).

Out of a total of 707 Roman examples,[5] no more than 20 can be dated to the regal period and as many as 257 belong to the late Republic (133–44 BC); there are 50 *exempla* for the period 43 BC–AD 31, but, interestingly, if we put aside the Sejanus passage (11.11. *ext*. 4), the latest one refers to an event of AD 3.[6] Valerius' regal examples show that his treatment of Roman kings and the Roman monarchy itself is quite favourable: "no king appears as the exemplar of a vice – not even Tarquinius Superbus"; on the contrary, "the kings supplied examples of *religio* and *virtus*" (p. 22).[7] The language used by Valerius to describe the type of power wielded by the kings is also remarkable – the most common word is *imperium* and only once is it denoted as *dominatio*. On the other hand, *libertas* figures prominently in examples referring to the beginning of the republic, but the author eschews "any contentious use of *libertas* that might expose any difference between the 'Republic' and the system of his own day" (p. 28) and he characterises *libertas* as "inter virtutem vitiumque posita" (6.2 *praef*.), thus drawing attention to its ambiguous nature.[8]

In his section on the transition from the republic to the principate (pp. 30–42), Wardle generally follows those scholars who think that Valerius does not recognise any break between the former and the latter, insisting rather on the continuity of the Roman state; his aim, however, is to underpin this thesis by analysing Valerius' use of such terms as *res publica*, *status* and *princeps*. There are some very interesting observations about similarities between the language of Valerius and that of official and quasi-official documents of the early principate (is 9.15.1 an allusion to *RGDA* 34.1? – see p. 34); it is a pity, however, that Wardle fails to note the parallel between Val. Max. 8.13 *praef*.: "tranquillitatemque saeculi nostri, qua nulla umquam beatior fuit" and *Senatus consultum de Pisone patre* 13–14: "tranquillitatem praesentis status r(ei) p(ublicae), quo melior optari non potest" – although he quotes both passages separately (p. 38, n. 78 and p. 35, respectively). The chapter as a whole presents a valuable discussion of Valerius' view of Roman history and its constitutional developments; what becomes clear after putting his Roman *exempla* in chronological order is that, for the Tiberian author, the unity of Roman history and constitution is much more important than any divisions or demarcations.[9]

Sarah Lawrence's contribution (under the Monty Python title *And Now for Something Completely Different...*, pp. 47–72) discusses the role and significance of Valerius'

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[5] All in all, there are 1051 *exempla* in the collection; see p. 18 with n. 7 for a discussion.

[6] No more than 16 *exempla* deal with events of 31 BC or afterwards (p. 31, n. 49).

[7] There is a marked contrast here between Roman and foreign *exempla*: "non-Roman kings do appear as the exemplars of vice" (p. 26).

[8] Of course, in this context *libertas* is closer to *parrhesia* than to constitutional ("republican") freedom, but it would be unwise to sharply differentiate between the two.

[9] Some minor points: in Wardle's paraphrase of 6.2.11, Valerius "condemns his [Galba's] action as meriting his removal as a tribune" (p. 28) – but "ut a tribunali summoveretur meruerat" refers to Galba being removed from the speaker's platform, not from the tribuneship (as a patrician, he had never held this office). For "Ogilvie 1995" read "Ogilvie 1965" (p. 20, n. 11), for "*religio simulate*" read "*religio simulata*" (p. 21, n. 13), for "AD 19" read "AD 20" (p. 35) and insert "(2011)" after "Bloomer, W.M." (p. 43). In the bibliography, "Acera, F.M." is placed between Mallan and Martin – in fact correctly, because his full surname is Martín Acera (p. 45).

external *exempla* (are they in fact substantially different from the Roman ones?; and was Valerius a bigot?), but concentrates on just one chapter which contains, exceptionally for this collection, only non-Roman material (2.6). Her conclusion is that foreign peoples are not viewed by the author as morally inferior to the Romans, that "key virtues and vices are common to all peoples and that exposure to foreign *exempla* can impart valuable lessons as well as warnings" (p. 70). This may be so, but her results should be verified by a close study of Valerius' more typical chapters in which foreign examples are put side by side with their Roman counterparts.[10] Moreover, Lawrence's readings of individual episodes of 2.6, although interesting, are occasionally marred by her misunderstanding of Valerius' Latin. The well-known section on the suicide of a matron from the island of Ceos (2.6.8)[11] provides us with some examples: "Asiam cum Sex. Pompeio petens Iulidem oppidum intravi" is rendered as "I entered Asia with Sex. Pompeius en route to the town of Iulis" (the other way round, in real fact); "mortemque suam Pompei praesentia clariorem fieri magni aestimaret" is for Lawrence, who ignores the genitive of value in this passage, "her death would be more notable through the presence of that great man Pompeius"; and also the matron's crucial death-bed statement "reliquias spiritus mei prospero fine [...] permuto" is bizarrely mistranslated (pp. 55–56). It is a pity that such flaws[12] detract from Lawrence's otherwise, I reiterate, fine analysis of this and other sections; as for the matron episode, I find her observation that "the old woman of Cea has 'out-Romanned' the Romans" (p. 61) particularly accurate.[13]

In *Coriolanus as an Exemplar in Valerius Maximus* (pp. 75–93), John Atkinson has applied the methods of "content analysis", introduced into Valerian scholarship in the sixties of the previous century by T.F. Carney,[14] to discuss the portrayal of Coriolanus.

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[10] See G. Baroud's contribution to the volume under review for Valerius' prioritising domestic *exempla* on friendship over foreign ones (pp. 205–206).

[11] This is the only *exemplum* in the whole corpus which is based not on Valerius' reading, but on his own experience. "[I]t has been little studied", according to Lawrence (p. 56). But she misses an important paper by F. Römer, *Ein Glanzstück römischer Memorabilienliteratur (Val. Max. 2, 6, 8)*, Wiener Humanistische Blätter 31 (1989), pp. 52–65. When she calls attention to Valerius' "obstupefacti erant" instead of "obstupefacti eramus" (referring to the Roman witnesses' reaction to the woman's suicide) and suggests that "Valerius seems to distance himself to become an observer of both action and audience" (p. 60), she does not consider the possibility that Valerius was not present at the matron's bedside (it is quite likely that he was not, and that only Pompeius and some senior members of his retinue were admitted).

[12] I abstain from drawing up a full list, but her catalogue of Latin verbs used in reference to the matron of Ceos (p. 59, n. 26) must not be passed over without comment. Among them are the un-Latin *cogari* (i.e. *cogere – cogar* in the text) and *cohortator* (i.e. *cohortor – cohortata* in the text); also, *prospero* in the phrase *prospero fine* is evidently taken as a verb (*prosperare*).

[13] Some typos: for "*pallatus*" read "*palliatus*" (p. 62) and for "mines" read "mimes" (p. 68, n. 45). Irritatingly, there are four spelling errors in the only two German-language references cited in the bibliography ("*früehen*" instead of "*frühen*", "Dusseldorf" instead of "Düsseldorf" and "*Zum Zweiten*" instead of "*zum zweiten*") – which shows that at least some parts of the volume have been rather poorly copy-edited.

[14] His 1962 paper on Marius is particularly important: T.F. Carney, *The Picture of Marius in Valerius Maximus*, RhM 105 (1962), pp. 289–337. For "content analysis" as applied to Valerius, see now J. Murray, *Exemplary Biography: Reading Valerius Maximus Writing the Life of Cicero*, Mnemosyne 76 (2023), pp. 287–306 (at p. 290).

This early republican general is, admittedly, "a minor figure in Valerius Maximus' gallery of exemplars" (p. 75), as he is mentioned in only five *exempla* and he appears as the main character in only two of them, but Atkinson believes that he is relevant to the Tiberian context of Valerius' work. In particular, he suggests a link between Tiberius' Rhodian "exile" and that of Coriolanus in the land of the Volsci and perceives the latter's *pietas* towards his mother Veturia (5.4.1) as alluding to Tiberius and Livia. I remain sceptical: it would have been a very risky business for Valerius to associate the princeps with a man whom he describes as "funus ac tenebras Romano imperio minitantem" and whose *nefarium opus* he castigates (see 5.2.1). Be that as it may, by comparing Valerius' account with those of other sources Atkinson makes it clear that the Tiberian writer's choices in moulding his Coriolanus are deliberate; even Coriolanus' removal from an episode in which other texts do mention him (7.3.*ext*. 10) is part of his authorial strategy.[15]

In the next chapter, *Boundary Issues: Valerius Maximus on Rome's Italian Allies* (pp. 94–122), Roman Roth examines those passages which, from the point of view of Valerius' intended readership (i.e. Bloomer's "new nobility" of mainly municipal origin), may have been perceived as problematic, because the picture they draw of the Italian *socii* is not entirely favourable. When they appear together with the Romans, especially in the context of warfare, they may perform deeds of valour, but it is their Roman fellow warriors who usually fare better. The same applies, as a rule, to individuals: "Where it suits him, the lack of the Roman citizenship – however positive a historical figure might be portrayed in other ways – is for Valerius a suitable vehicle for character-assassination" (p. 104, in reference to the M. Perperna passage of 3.4.5).[16] In a separate sub-chapter (pp. 105–109), Roth discusses the *exempla* relating to the Campanians; they stress not only their *superbia* (which is a common topic in Roman literature), but also their *perfidia* (which likens them to the Carthaginians).[17] In this, and in other issues connected with the Italian *socii*, Valerius differs from his contemporary Velleius Paterculus, who is proud of his Campanian origins and speaks favourably of the allies' cause in the Social War (p. 118). There is a useful list of 35 *exempla* dealing with Rome's *socii* (pp. 119–121; one item is missing: 5.2.1b, discussed on p. 108).[18]

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[15] Also in this chapter, there are some errors and inaccuracies of translation. To take one instance: Coriolanus' statement at 5.4.1 is rendered as: "To her womb I give up this anger though it was so rightly deserved" (p. 84). However, in the sentence: "expugnasti [...] et vicisti iram meam, patria, precibus huius admotis, cuius utero quamvis merito mihi invisam dono", *invisam* refers to *patria*, not to *iram*; Coriolanus has every reason to detest his country, but nonetheless he is bestowing this country as a gift onto his mother's lap.

[16] Roth fails to note that Perperna's father, whose son reached consulship in 130 BC, could not have been condemned under the *lex Papia de peregrinis exterminandis* of 65 BC; "the testimony of Valerius Maximus is a tissue of falsehoods" (thus P.A. Brunt, *The Legal Issue in Cicero, Pro Balbo*, CQ 32 (1982), pp. 136–147, at p. 145).

[17] When examining the episode of Badius (5.1.3), Roth says that, according to Livy, he was killed by Crispinus (p. 109, n. 37). No, he was defeated by him, but he fled from the battlefield afterwards (Liv. 25.18.14).

[18] Numerous misprints, especially in Latin, are irritating: for "passis" read "passus" (p. 97), for "Papiria" read "Papia" (p. 102), for "*nobililissimum*" read "*nobilissimum*" (p. 103), insert "saeviendi" between "materiem" and "non" (p. 107), for "senator" read "senatore" (p. 111), for "opera" read "opere"

The quotation in the title of Simon Lentzsch's chapter (*"Others Took Money from That Victory, but He Took the Glory": Spoils of War in the 'Facta et dicta memorabilia'*, pp. 123–148) comes from the Valerian passage on Aemilius Paullus' *abstinentia* after his victory in the Third Macedonian War (4.3.8). Notwithstanding the imperator's personal continence, the Romans benefitted greatly in material terms from this and other victories and the chapter attempts to assess Valerius' treatment of such episodes, especially those in which heavy and savage looting (as we know from other sources) was involved. It appears that he has very little to say about this darker side of Roman victories; for example, in sharp contrast to Livy, he makes no mention of "the infamous spoils of Syracuse", although he dwells upon Marcellus' tears shed after the capture of the town (5.1.4, in the chapter on *humanitas et clementia*). A lack of final revision and careful copy-editing is visible also in this chapter. Many notes contain extensive translations from Latin which have already been given, in part or in full, in the main text (p. 124, n. 3; p. 125, n. 6; p. 126, n. 7 *et saepius*). A Latin quotation lacks the subject (p. 137, n. 51: *senatus*); in another one a word is cut off at the beginning which makes the meaning of the sentence unclear (p. 142, n. 70: *ad*); "Wardle 1998" (p. 143, n. 75) is not listed in the bibliography.

As Alain Gowing finely shows in his chapter (*Forgetting Germanicus: Reading Valerius Maximus through Tacitus' Tiberian Books*, pp. 148–164), using Tacitus "as a measuring rod" (p. 149) may be profitable in assessing what Valerius tends to "forget" rather than to "remember", especially from contemporary history. Despite appearances, these two authors have much in common; in particular they "both deploy '*facta et dicta*' explicitly in the service of exemplarity" (p. 151) and their ethical standards are also similar. However, whereas for Tacitus Germanicus' exemplarity is beyond question[19] and he plays a very prominent part in *Annals* 1–2, Valerius studiously avoids any reference, or even any allusion, to him (although he does mention Germanicus' father more than once). Gowing surveys four conceptual areas in the context of which Germanicus might have been introduced;[20] particularly revealing is his discussion (pp. 158–159) of the *exemplum* depicting Scipio Africanus' stay in Sicily in 204 BC (3.6.1), which calls to mind Germanicus' Egyptian journey (as Tacitus tells us in *Ann*. 2.59.1, he was walking there "pedibus intectis et pari cum Graecis amictu", in direct imitation of Scipio – and he was reproached by Tiberius for abandoning native custom).[21]

The following four chapters belong to the section on "Values" (see note 3 above). The first, by Rebecca Langlands, is devoted to Valerius' treatment of *patientia* (*Valerius Maximus' Engagement with Cicero's Tusculan Disputations on Virtue and the Endurance*

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and for "municipia" read "municipii" (both p. 114). There are also some typos in English, which I leave aside. A reference to Val. Max. "6.6.6" should be corrected to "6.9.6" (p. 105).

[19] "Although Tacitus embellishes him with some histrionics, Germanicus nonetheless proves to be skilled and savvy in dealing with a mutiny on multiple fronts" (p. 155). Few Tacitists, I suspect, would share this view.

[20] They are analysed in the following sections: "Military Discipline", "Triumph", "Religion" and "*Amicitia* and Alexander the Great".

[21] In this chapter, I have noticed only a few lapses. Tiberius died in AD 37, not 36 (p. 150). The correct reference to Germanicus' first mutiny speech is *Ann*. 1.34.4–35.1 (p. 156). "For" has to be inserted between "importance" and "Valerius" in the second sentence on p. 161.

of Pain, in 3.3 De patientia, pp. 167–196). In her view, the Tiberian author deserves recognition not only as a writer, but also as an ethical thinker.[22] Although his debt to Cicero is evident, it would be wrong to regard him as a mere rewriter of Cicero's ideas; in particular, his chapter *De patientia* "constitutes philosophical response to Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*" (p. 167): he recognises some weak points and contradictions in his predecessor's opinions (e.g. is philosophy really useful if even uneducated people can endure pain bravely; should strong emotions be wholly discarded as a motivation for virtuous acts) and puts forward his own solutions. And these may not only be clear-cut solutions, but also "food for thought" for his audience: "what this sequence of *exempla* does is to open up the debate by providing provocative material on which the reader may reflect" (p. 194). This is an insightful and well-argued chapter but, once again, it suffers from the lack of careful proofreading. The following list is by no means exhaustive: for "inutile" read "inutili" (p. 168), insert "*Torquatum*" between "*ne*" and "*quidem*" (p. 184; *ne ... quidem* must always be separated), for "*inhonestum et inutile adfectum*" read "*inhonestus atque inutilis adfectus*" (p. 186; the noun's gender is masculine, not neutral), for "*studiossimi*" read "*studiosissimi*" (p. 187), for "*delectate*" read "*delectet*" (p. 188).

The "provocative" aspect of Valerius' treatment of *exempla* plays a major role in George Baroud's *Amicitia and the Politics of Friendship in Valerius Maximus* (pp. 196–232); in his opinion, the stories selected by the Roman author to illustrate the working of friendship (4.7) "contain contradictory, troubling, extreme, or morally ambiguous *exempla* deliberately to provoke" (p. 219).[23] Should we, for instance, really regard Blossius' steadfast loyalty to Tiberius Gracchus as commendable? On the face of it, Valerius' position appears to be at odds with that of Cicero (cf. Val. Max. 4.7.2 with Cic. *Amic*. 37), but a critical reading leads us to quite different conclusions (p. 220). Baroud also makes an intriguing point about the (hidden) presence of Sejanus in the chapter on friendship: "it is impossible to talk about *amicitia* under Tiberius without raising the spectre of Sejanus" (p. 224). Once again, he thinks that the Tiberian author offers us no easy answers and that, consequently, we should not be tempted by the notion of either "the subversive Valerius" or "Valerius the loyalist". Valerius, instead, leaves it to his readers to reflect on whether the tension between public and private loyalty (of which he has spoken at length in his domestic section, adducing examples that have been exclusively taken from the late republican period of civil unrest) is still present in the time of imperial peace. But perhaps Baroud pays too little attention to the Laelius and Agrippa passage (4.7.7): in their case, there was no such tension and it appears that, in Valerius' eyes, it is Laelius and Agrippa who may be offered as examples worth imitating under the rule of the princeps.[24]

Valerius' work also deals with negative values: according to the statistics provided by Jeffrey Murray in his chapter (*Valerius Maximus on Vice*, pp. 233–260), there are 145

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[22] For this view, see also R. Langlands, *Roman Exempla and Situation Ethics: Valerius Maximus and Cicero 'de Officiis'*, JRS 101 (2011), pp. 100–122.

[23] Also: "Roman *exempla* [...] do not tell readers *what* to think, but set out to teach them *how* to think" (p. 219, original emphases).

[24] In this chapter, I have found only a few misspelt Latin words: read "adulatione", not "adulationi" (p. 202); "*deseruerun*t", not "*deserverunt*" (p. 207); "*fidelius*", not "*fidielius*" (p. 211); "*mutua*", not "*mutual*" (p. 215, n. 46).

vicious examples (some 13.8% of the total number) and among them 94 episodes are Roman and 51 are foreign;[25] most of them may be found in Book 9 (p. 234).[26] One of the topics discussed by Murray is the possible contemporary relevance of Valerius' catalogue of vices: many of them (e.g. *superbia*, *libido* and *crudelitas*) belong to the rhetorical tradition of characterising tyrants and have been applied to Tiberius by post-Tiberian authors. However, Valerius seems to be very careful in his choice of specific *exempla*; none of them may be construed as containing hidden criticism of the emperor. Two vices are examined in this chapter in more detail, namely avarice and revenge (which is also mentioned elsewhere than in Book 9 and, interestingly, is presented there in a positive or neutral light). Valerius' treatment of revenge may have some contemporary relevance (Piso in AD 20 and Sejanus in AD 31).[27]

The chapter by Emma Brobeck (*Efficacior Pictura: Morality and the Arts in Valerius Maximus*, pp. 261–284), which begins by emphasising the crucial role played in Valerius' narrative by *enargeia* or vividness, consists of two parts which, in my opinion at least, stand somewhat apart. The first examines two Valerian chapters which deal with artwork, 3.7 and 8.11; Valerius' idea of *artes* is a broad one, so only some of his *exempla* refer to the visual arts, which is Brobeck's focus here. One of her points concerns the relation between literary and visual arts; it appears that the former takes precedence over the latter. The second part of this chapter discusses two *exempla* that feature a young daughter breastfeeding her imprisoned parent (5.4.7–*ext*. 1) – an anonymous Roman mother in the first case (cf. Plin. *HN* 7.121) and a certain Cimon in the second (his daughter's name is Pero). Importantly, when presenting the Pero and Cimon story, Valerius refers to a painting illustrating this event and, in the conclusion to this section, he approaches the question of whether visual or literary representation is more effective (here we have the *efficacior pictura* from the chapter's title). Valerius' Latin here is unclear, but, in Brobeck's view, he portrays the impact made on the audience by "the painting of letters" (*pictura litterarum*) as more profound.[28] She concludes that it is literature alone (including, or even especially, Valerius' own work) that is not only able to reproduce an image, but also to teach a (moral) lesson; thus the final sentence of the Pero and Cimon episode should be viewed "as a guide for reading the *Facta et dicta* as a whole" (p. 282).

The last two contributions in the volume concern "Reception and Tradition". Diederik Burgersdijk argues in his chapter (*Valerius Maximus' 'Facta et dicta memorabilia' and the Roman Biographical Tradition*, pp. 287–315) that it would be profitable to look upon

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[25] "Roman examples consistently outnumber foreign ones – Romans behave just as badly as their Greek, Persian, Carthaginian, and Egyptian counterparts" (p. 244).

[26] Murray's Cape Town doctoral dissertation of 2016 is a commentary on the first eleven chapters of this book.

[27] This chapter has been carefully proofread, but correct "*occultam*" to "*occultum*" (p. 240) and "*acceptem*" to "*acceptum*" (p. 255). Both "Stevenson 1992" (p. 246, n. 49) and "Jonca 2004" (p. 253, n. 75) are missing from the bibliography; the latter paper is M. Jońca, *Blood-Revenge and Murder Trial in the Early Roman Law*, Eos 91 (2004), pp. 44–51.

[28] "Quod necesse est animo quoque evenire, aliquanto efficaciore pictura litterarum vetera pro recentibus admonito recordari". But the text may be corrupt. In his Loeb edition, D.R. Shackleton Bailey identifies a lacuna between *litterarum* and *vetera* and inserts *monumentis*; on this reading painting is more powerful than literature. Brobeck discusses the issue on p. 279.

Valerius' literary undertaking in the context of biography, and especially the Roman variety portraying *viri illustres*. Thus he discusses some similarities between Valerius and Nepos but, curiously, only after devoting some five pages to this topic does he remind us (and himself) that Nepos' literary output includes not only the *De viris illustribus*, but also the lost *Exempla*.[29] The second part of Burgersdijk's chapter examines Valerius' presence in the biographical tradition of Late Antiquity, especially in the *Historia Augusta*. Among the issues he tackles there is the possible influence of Valerius on the *HA*'s programmatic statements (such instances are tabulated on p. 303 and quoted in full in the Appendix on pp. 305–313; *HA Max*. 31.4: "longum est omnia persequi", which Burgersdijk connects with Val. Max. 6.2 *praef*.: "persequi propositum est", has a much closer parallel in Nep. *Att*. 11.2: "difficile est omnia persequi"). Also, following Jacques Schwartz, he regards it as probable that *HA Cc*. 6.2–3 imitates Val. Max. 9.2.*ext*. 5 (p. 300). But note that Valerius names his Egyptian king "Ptolomaeus Physcon", whereas the *HA* passage has "Ptolomaei Euergetis, qui octavus hoc nomine appellatus est"; either the author of the *HA* drew from another source or he correctly identified this Ptolemy as Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Physcon – which I find less likely.[30]

Finally, Kyle Conrau-Lewis picks up two case studies from the late mediaeval reception of Valerius, an author whose importance in the Middle Ages can hardly be overestimated (*Preaching Ancient History: Valerius Maximus and His Manuscript Reception*, pp. 316–342). In the first part of her chapter, she discusses some 14th- and 15th-century manuscript indexes to the *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, in which Valerius' *virtutes* and *vitia* are, for the benefit of preachers, listed alphabetically (from *Abstinencia* to *Ypocritas*) and sometimes also reinterpreted.[31] Her second case study deals with the commentary on Valerius by Conrad von Waldhausen, a 14th-century Augustinian friar active in Vienna and Prague. Conrad's favourite method is that of *allegare* or *applicare*, that is to say to

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[29] Thus his claim that Nepos' "influence has not been properly assessed in modern research on Valerius" (p. 288) needs to be modified. On p. 292 he says: "Unlike Nepos [...], Valerius Maximus gives greater weight to Roman examples..." (than to Greek ones). Yet, for one thing, we do not know how these two groups were represented in the *Exempla* and, for another, we should not be misguided in our judgement by the randomness of survival (the only whole book of Nepos' biographical collection that we possess is about foreign generals).

[30] Seneca the Elder never mentions Valerius and, what is more, a dictum allegedly referring to him (which, in fact, has a general character) is not by Seneca but by an orator whom he quotes, Votienus Montanus (p. 290, n. 7). Ammianus' books 14–25 do not treat "the years up to Julian's emperorship in AD 361" but up to his death in AD 363 (p. 295). Insert "*quae*" between "*digna*" and "*apud*" (p. 291), read "*quoque*" instead of "*quodque*" (p. 292, n. 12), insert "the character" between "particulars" and "can" (p. 297, n. 29), read "Schwartz" instead of "Schwarz" (p. 300), "*ne ... quidem tacendum est*" instead of "*ne tacendum est*" (p. 303) and "conspicuus" instead of "conspicuous" (p. 308, one of many spelling errors in this volume which stem from not checking the abuses of English-language AutoCorrect. "Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?").

[31] The mediaeval reinterpretation of Valerius is sometimes amusing. The Augustinian monk Michael de Massa Marittima adduced Valerius' story about Dionysius I not allowing even his adult daughters to shave him (9.13.*ext*. 4, from the chapter *De cupiditate vitae*) in order to point out that Christians should also be suspicious of men and trust only in God (p. 322). For the connection between preaching and alphabetical indexing in the Middle Ages, see D. Duncan, *Index, A History of the: A Bookish Adventure from Medieval Manuscripts to the Digital Age*, London 2022, ch. 2.

point to similarities between Roman and Christian themes and to "apply" the former to the latter – "however tenuous, incongruous or disturbing the juxtaposition may seem" (p. 334).[32]

As with many such volumes, the quality of the papers is uneven but, on the whole, high – and each of them offers at least a few interesting insights into Valerius Maximus' work and thought (my top five are, in alphabetical order, Baroud, Gowing, Langlands, Murray and Wardle). The book's most noticeable shortcoming is its rather miserable copy-editing, numerous instances of which I have registered while discussing individual chapters. But this, of course, is not as serious a *vitium* as to merit being included among the vices castigated by Valerius himself in Book 9 (he has no chapter *De neglegentia*).

To conclude: now thirty-three years after Bloomer, Valerius Maximus is no longer "Mr. Footnote"[33] – and the collection here under review makes this fact patently clear. As Jeffrey Murray informs me *per litteras*, another Valerian volume is underway (also in Brill), a product of a conference held at the University of Fribourg in December 2022.[34] More light on this long neglected author is most desirable.

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[32] To take a funny example: commenting on the story of how Gaius Gracchus, while delivering speeches, modulated his voice in accordance with a melody played on an ivory flute by a slave (8.10.1), Conrad says: "Applica ad auxilium beate Virginis Marie, que est ebur candens castitatis" (p. 335).

[33] This designation comes from R. Langland's unpublished doctoral dissertation of 2000. I quote after Murray's introduction to the volume under review (p. 5, n. 13).

[34] For the conference programme, see: www.academia.edu/90175088 (accessed on 3/3/2025).

C O M M E N T A R I I

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REPORT ON THE 17TH CONGRESS OF THE *FÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES ASSOCIATIONS D'ÉTUDES CLASSIQUES* (7–11 JULY 2025, WROCŁAW, POLAND)

Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques is an international umbrella organisation established in 1948, gathering most major national classical associations worldwide. Between 7 and 11 July 2025, the 17th International Congress of the *FIEC* was held in Wrocław (fiec2025.ptf.edu.pl), organised by the Polish Philological Association and the Institute of Classical, Mediterranean and Oriental Studies of the University of Wrocław. The event brought together over four hundred participants from thirty eight countries, not only from across Europe, but also from both Americas, Africa, Asia, and Oceania, becoming an important forum for the exchange of ideas and experiences in the field of classical studies.

BACKGROUND

The organisational work began as early as six years ago. In July 2019, the *FIEC* Board approached the Polish Philological Association with the proposal that the 2025 congress be held in Poland. Although our Association is one of the fifteen founding members of the Federation, it had never before hosted a *FIEC* congress. The Board of the Polish Philological Association gladly accepted this honourable invitation and entrusted the organisation of the event to its Wrocław Branch.

ORGANISATION

The Organising Committee of the Congress consisted of a team of scholars representing various disciplines within the field of classics, all affiliated with the University of Wrocław and the Polish Philological Association. It was composed of: Dr hab. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma (Institute of Classical, Mediterranean and Oriental Studies, University of Wrocław) – Chair; Dr Joanna Pieczonka (Institute of Classical, Mediterranean and Oriental Studies, UWr) – Secretary;

Prof. Gościwit Malinowski (Classical Philology – Institute of Classical, Mediterranean and Oriental Studies, UWr); Prof. Krzysztof Nawotka (Ancient History – Institute of History, UWr); Prof. Artur Błażejewski (Archaeology – Institute of Archaeology; Vice-Rector for Research of the UWr); Dr Sławomir Torbus (Director of the Institute of Classical, Mediterranean and Oriental Studies, UWr); Dr Katarzyna Ochman (President of the Board of the Polish Philological Association). Together, they oversaw the academic, organisational, and ceremonial aspects of the congress, ensuring its scholarly quality and smooth coordination across all events and sessions.

The organisation and logistics of the congress were supported by a dedicated team of forty volunteers, primarily graduates and students of the Institute of Classical, Mediterranean and Oriental Studies, along with participants from the University of Toruń and even some secondary school students, whose work was expertly co-ordinated by Mr Kacper Bekieszczuk. Their commitment, professionalism, and enthusiasm played an essential role in ensuring the smooth running of the event and in creating a welcoming and collegial atmosphere throughout the congress.

The congress was held under the honorary patronage of His Magnificence, the Rector of the University of Wrocław; the Mayor of Wrocław; the Voivode of Lower Silesia; the Marshal of the Senate of the Republic of Poland; and the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, which also provided partial funding. Lufthansa Group offered *FIEC* participants airline tickets at promotional rates.

OPENING CEREMONY

The opening ceremony took place in the 17th-century Aula Leopoldina, one of the most representative halls of the University of Wrocław. The event was led by Dr hab. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma, Chair of the Organising Committee and Deputy Director of the Institute of Classical, Mediterranean and Oriental Studies at the University of Wrocław. The ceremony began with a formal welcome to distinguished guests and participants. Among those present were Mr Rafał Grupiński, Deputy Speaker of the Senate of the Republic of Poland; His Magnificence Prof. Robert Olkiewicz, Rector of the University of Wrocław and host of the event; Prof. Artur Błażejewski, Vice-Rector for Research; Prof. Jesús de la Villa, President of the *FIEC*; Prof. Justyna Ziarkowska, Dean of the Faculty of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures; Prof. Marcin Cieński, Dean of the Faculty of Philology; Prof. Paweł Klint, Dean of the Faculty of Historical and Pedagogical Sciences; Dr Katarzyna Ochman, President of the Polish Philological Association and organiser of the congress in Wrocław; and Dr Łukasz Kamiński, Director of the Ossolineum National Institute, a key organisational partner. The opening addresses were delivered by the distinguished guests present. Mr Rafał Grupiński

expressed appreciation for the congress's role in promoting classical scholarship in Poland and internationally. He reflected on the richness of the symposium's programme and shared a personal anecdote from the period of martial law in Poland, when even underground publishing dared to include translations of ancient Greek and Latin literature. Drawing on a touching letter from Fronto to Marcus Aurelius, he contrasted "white bread" with "brown bread" as metaphors for easy gain versus the demanding work of preserving culture. He thanked the scholars present for choosing the harder path – protecting poetry, philosophy, and the heritage of antiquity – and wished them a fruitful intellectual feast. His Magnificence Prof. Robert Olkiewicz, Rector of the University of Wrocław, welcomed the participants on behalf of the hosting institution. Prof. Justyna Ziarkowska greeted the attendees on behalf of the Faculty of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures, and Dr Katarzyna Ochman, as President of the Polish Philological Association, spoke about the significance of hosting the congress in Wrocław and the collaboration between academic and cultural institutions. Prof. Jesús de la Villa, President of *FIEC*, highlighted the international scope of the Federation and the importance of such meetings in fostering unity within the community of classical scholars. Although Mr Jacek Sutryk, Mayor of Wrocław, was unable to attend in person, his letter of greeting and support for the event was read to the assembly. The Mayor emphasised the significance of the congress as an important contribution to the international dialogue on the values shaping European culture and intellectual identity. He congratulated the organisers on hosting an event of such scope and distinction, noting the symbolic setting of the Aula Leopoldina as a testament to cultural continuity.The ceremony concluded with the formal declaration of the opening of the Congress by His Magnificence the Rector, Professor Robert Olkiewicz, marking the beginning of five days of scholarly exchange and international collaboration.

PROGRAMME

Over the five days of the congress, plenary lectures were delivered by: Eleanor Dickey on *Multilingual and multicultural education in antiquity: What can we learn from it?*, Gesine Manuwald on *The study of early Latin textual fragments and its relevance for Roman literary history*, Edith Hall on *Classics at the Crossways*, and Ivana Petrovic on *Epiphanies, ancient and modern: Apollo in Apollonius' 'Argonautica'*. Alongside the plenary sessions, 96 thematic panels were held, organised into ten parallel streams and representing the full breadth of contemporary Classical Studies. The panels showcased the extraordinary diversity of current research: from cutting-edge digital humanities projects such as 3D reconstructions of ancient theatres, to literary, linguistic, and philosophical analyses ranging from Homeric epic and Hellenistic poetry to Byzantine treatises and early modern receptions of Greek texts. Historical and archaeological sessions examined subjects

including Roman–indigenous interactions around the Red Sea, the social and institutional history of the Roman Republic and Empire, and new approaches in papyrology and legal history from Byzantine Egypt. Particularly innovative were panels devoted to quantitative and computational methods in epigraphy, which explored the potential of statistical analysis and AI-assisted inscription studies to reveal new patterns in ancient societies.

In total, 294 papers were presented, ranging from deeply specialised case studies to broad methodological reflections, demonstrating both the richness and interdisciplinarity of current classical scholarship. A particularly welcome and refreshing feature was the poster session, which attracted considerable interest and highlighted emerging research directions. The scholarly character of the congress was further emphasised by the presence of representatives of leading academic publishers, including De Gruyter–Brill, Cambridge University Press, and Oxford University Press, who presented their most recent publications and engaged with participants.

Overall, the scope and variety of the thematic panels and posters illustrated the vitality of Classical Studies today, its methodological expansion, and the continued global engagement of scholars working across philology, history, archaeology, philosophy, reception studies, digital humanities, and beyond.

A special highlight of the programme was the jubilee session marking the 75th anniversary of *FIEC*, which offered a reflective and forward-looking overview of the Federation's history, development, and future directions. Prof. Thomas Schmidt opened with a comprehensive survey of *FIEC*'s origins, mission, organisational structure, membership, and international collaborations, followed by Prof. Paul Schubert, who provided a concise and critical account of the Federation's formation in the post–Second World War period and its evolution over the subsequent decades. Drawing on more than 35 years of involvement, Prof. Gunhild Vidén shared personal insights into the internal workings and changing character of *FIEC*, after which Prof. Jesús de la Villa concluded the session by outlining the major challenges currently facing Classical Studies and presenting prospective new areas of activity for the Federation. On the same day, the *FIEC* General Assembly was held, during which the new board was elected. Prof. Andreas Fountoulakis (Greece) was chosen as the new President, and Prof. Katarzyna Marciniak from Warsaw was elected as Vice-President. The Assembly also approved the proposal of the Slovenian Society for Ancient and Humanistic Studies to host the 2028 *FIEC* Congress in Ljubljana.

ACCOMPANYING EVENTS

The organisers prepared a rich and thoughtfully designed cultural and social programme. Participants enjoyed a dinner cruise on the ship *Wratislavia*, which

offered a scenic journey along the Odra River and the chance to appreciate Wrocław from the water in a relaxed and convivial setting. In addition, guided tours of the city allowed congress attendees to discover Wrocław's historic architecture and cultural heritage, providing an engaging complement to the academic programme and fostering informal exchange among scholars.

The musical programme of the congress was equally rich and carefully curated, offering participants three distinct concerts that showcased the breadth of European musical heritage. The first performance followed the inauguration and featured the *Continuo* string quartet, whose programme of classical and popular works added splendour to the opening ceremony and created a warm, celebratory atmosphere.

A particularly well-received event was the Baroque concert in the *Oratorium Marianum*, performed by Elżbieta Burdzań (baroque cello) and Debora Kramarek (baroque violin). Their programme, featuring works by Vivaldi, Bach, and Matteis, highlighted the expressive possibilities of period instruments and drew a large and appreciative audience.

The musical offerings concluded with solemn Gregorian vespers sung in Latin at St. Adalbert's Church, performed by students of Classical Studies of the University of Wrocław. Rooted in the medieval chant tradition and inspired by the musical heritage of ancient Greece and Rome, the vespers created a deeply atmospheric moment of contemplation, enhanced by the setting of the nearly 800-year-old chapel.

As part of a partnership initiative, the Ossolineum National Institute prepared a special exhibition entitled *Ossoliniana Classica: Early Printed Books from Greek and Roman Antiquity in the Ossolineum*, curated by Dr Konrad Szymański. The display featured rare 15th- and 16th-century editions that mark the beginnings of the Renaissance revival of antiquity, including early prints of Tacitus, Ptolemy, Aristotle, Livy, Celsus, and Horace, as well as works by humanists such as Angelo Poliziano and Justus Lipsius. The exhibition also highlighted early printing techniques, original bindings, and the emergence of Renaissance critical editions, alongside notable items from the history of Polish printing, offering congress participants a concise yet illuminating glimpse into the material foundations of early classical scholarship.

The Manuscript Department of the University Library in Wrocław also contributed to the congress by making selected items from its collections available through a series of special presentations delivered in Latin by Dr Antoine Haaker. Prepared specifically for the *FIEC* participants, these sessions offered small groups of classicists the opportunity to examine some of the library's most valuable Greek and Latin manuscripts, providing an exceptional insight into the richness of Wrocław's manuscript holdings.

An additional artistic highlight of the congress was the exhibition of paintings by Agnieszka Pieczonka, a student of the Eugeniusz Geppert Academy



Delegates to the *FIEC* General Assembly 2025 following the election of the new Board
(photo by Kacper Bekieszczuk)



Eleanor Dickey delivering the keynote lecture at the 17th Congress of the *FIEC*
(photo by Kacper Bekieszczuk)



University of Wrocław Library staff presenting rare Greek and Latin manuscripts to the participants of the *FIEC* Congress (photo by G. Pawlik)



Congress participants at the reception following the 75th Anniversary Session of the *FIEC* (photo by A. Kotlińska-Toma)

of Art and Design in Wrocław and the author of the Isis-Aphrodite painting that served as the basis for the event's visual identity system.

CONCLUSION

The closing ceremony on 11 July in the Aula Leopoldina marked the formal conclusion of the congress that brought together an exceptionally broad and international community of scholars. The final session summarised the results of the poster presentations, expressed thanks to all organisers, volunteers, and participants, and recognised the congress as a milestone in strengthening global cooperation among researchers of the ancient world. *FIEC* congresses traditionally serve as opportunities for disseminating research and for bringing several hundred specialists together across continents, and the Wrocław meeting fulfilled this mission with renewed energy.

Beyond the formal closure, the congress encouraged broader reflection on the state and future of the discipline. Numerous panels highlighted both the vitality and diversity of current Classical Studies – from digital reconstructions of ancient theatres to innovative approaches in Classics education, interdisciplinary research, and quantitative epigraphy. Taken together, the week's discussions, presentations, and exchanges demonstrated not only the richness of research in Classical Studies today, but also the intellectual responsibility shared by scholars internationally. As President Jesús de la Villa noted in his welcome address, the congress placed "special emphasis on the challenges for our studies at the present time", encouraging participants to think collectively about the future of the field in a rapidly changing world. The Wrocław congress thus served not merely as a venue for presenting new research, but as a space for renewing disciplinary identity, reinforcing international ties, and reaffirming the enduring relevance of the ancient world for contemporary scholarship.

Katarzyna Ochman

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CX ZJAZD POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO (KRAKÓW, 25–27 WRZEŚNIA 2025)

CX Zjazd Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego został zorganizowany przez Oddział Krakowski. Zjazdowi towarzyszyła konferencja naukowa pt. „*Antiquitati studere*... Kierunki, metodologie, narzędzia badań nad antykiem i jego recepcją". Zjazd i konferencja poświęcone były panu prof. dr. hab. Jerzemu Styce z okazji jego przejścia na emeryturę. Wydarzenie było także połączone z jubileuszem 45-lecia odtworzenia klasy klasycznej w I LO im. Bartłomieja Nowodworskiego w Krakowie.

Część naukowa Zjazdu obejmowała następujące odczyty:

CZWARTEK (25 WRZEŚNIA 2025)

1. Prof. dr hab. Tomasz Sapota (UŚ), *Makrobiusz pyta: Po co czytać dawnych pisarzy? Po co słuchać starych ludzi?*
2. Dr hab. Magdalena Stuligrosz, prof. UAM (UAM), Μᾶτερ ἐμά, (...) χρύσασπι Θήβα. *Pochwała Teb w poezji Pindara*
3. Prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak (UŁ), *Jak dawny jest mit o Edypie i zagadce Sfinksa?*
4. Dr hab. Tomasz Mojsik, prof. UwB (UwB), *Mitografia antyczna i nowe kierunki badań nad mitami greckimi*
5. Dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar (UJ), *Mitologia na nowe czasy: współczesne retellingi w ujęciu transmedialnym*
6. Dr hab. Rafał Toczko, prof. UMK (UMK), *Wykorzystanie AI w badaniach nad antykiem na przykładzie 'Database of Ancient Invective'*
7. Prof. dr hab. Marian Andrzej Wesoły (AJP w Gorzowie Wlk.), *Poezja versus filozofia w grecko-rzymskim antyku. Zbieżności, odrębności i napięcia*
8. Dr hab. Miron Wolny, prof. UWM (UWM), *Samobójstwo Hannibala – antyczne narracje literackie i współczesne reminiscencje*

PIĄTEK (26 WRZEŚNIA 2025)

1. Mgr Zdzisław Koczarski (UPWr), *Jana Długosza zainteresowania klasyczne*
2. Mgr Klaudia Oczachowska (UWM), *Heroizm i tragizm. Achilles w literaturze antycznej jako personifikacja konfliktu pomiędzy mitem wojny a losem ofiary*

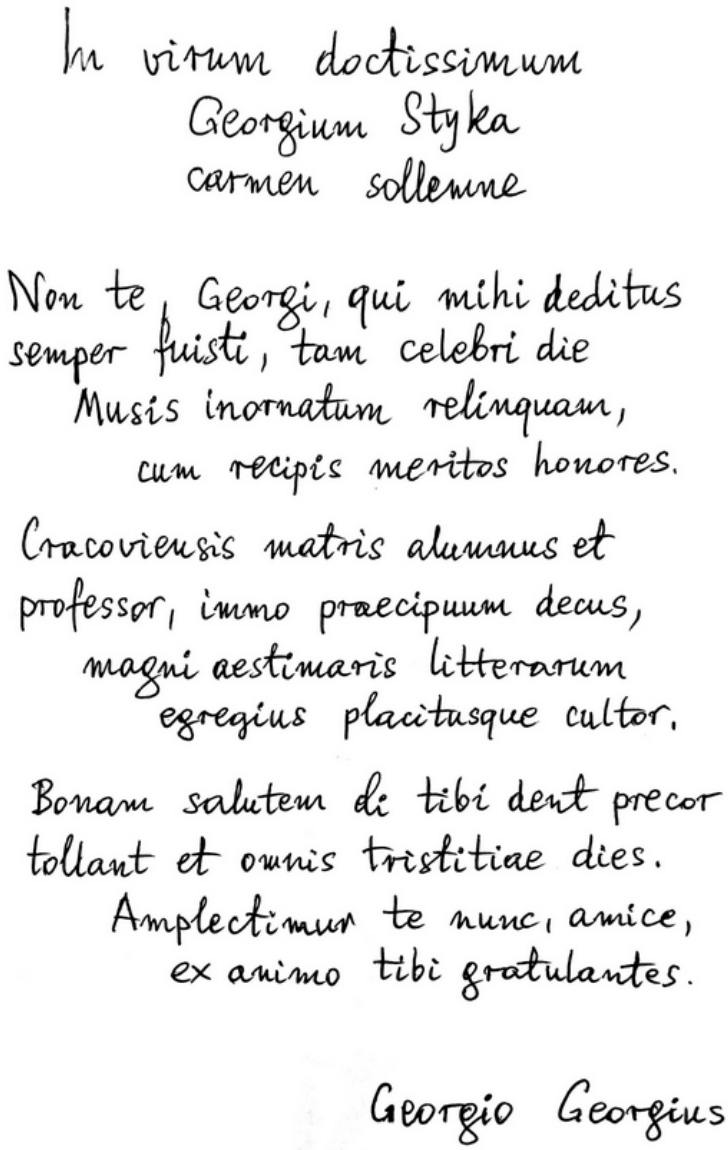
3. Dr Małgorzata Cieśluk (USz), *Geografia wyobrażona w badaniach nad antyczną powieścią grecką. Przypadek Kallirhoe Charitona*
4. Dr hab. Rafał Rosół, prof. UAM (UAM), *„Lexicon of Oriental Words in Ancient Greek" jako narzędzie do badań kontaktów językowych w starożytności*
5. Mgr Anna Borowy (UJ), *Łacina bałkańska – współczesne problemy i możliwości badawcze*
6. Cyryl Potulski (UG), *Zastosowanie metod językoznawstwa kognitywnego w opisie języka greckiego – wyrazistość semazjologiczna i opis sieci radialnych na podstawie kategorii δίκη w dialogach Platona*
7. Dr hab. Iwona Słomak, prof. UŚ (UŚ), *Literatura antyczna w perspektywie krytyki feministycznej – stan badań, obszary i perspektywy*
8. Dr Joanna Pieczonka (UWr), *Z badań nad cyklicznością poezji Marcjalisa – 'negare' w epigramach erotycznych*
9. Prof. dr hab. Piotr Bering (UAM), *Genologiczne wędrówki od antyku do renesansu*
10. Dr Anna Pająkowska-Bouallegui (UG), *Cesarz rzymski Julian Apostata i jego Mowa IV – 'Mowa pocieszająca samego siebie po wyjeździe znakomitego Salustiosa'*
11. Dr Bartosz Kołoczek (UJ), *'Dzieła wszystkie' Klaudiusz Klaudian, polski przekład wraz z opracowaniem*
12. Dr hab. Joanna Janik (UJ), *Libanius i klasyczna paideia u schyłku klasycznego świata*
13. Dr hab. Marek Hermann (UJ), *Konrad Celtis i jego krakowska działalność retoryczna*
14. Dr hab. Monika Szczot, prof. UAM, *Między szkolną regułą a twórczą wyobraźnią. Próba odczytania 'Herodis furiae et Rachelis lachrymae...' Andreasa Gryphiusa*
15. Mgr Emilia Herok (IBL PAN), *(Nie)obecność – badania nad kanonami autorów klasycznych w średniowieczu*
16. Dr hab. Katarzyna Janus, prof. UJD, *Dialogiczność cyklu 'Vita Mariae' Benedykta Schwalbego (1460–1521)*
17. Dr Jakub Kuciak (UJ), *Ἡ ποντοναῦται τῶν ταλαιπώρων βροτῶν – uwagi do jednego z fragmentów 'Skyryjczyków' Sofoklesa (Stob. IV 17, 3 = TrGF IV 555, ww. 1–6)*
18. Mgr Piotr Osiński (UW), *Odkrywanie toposu. Postać „mędrca-głupca" (*μωρόσοφος*) jako 'locus communis' w literaturze antycznej*
19. Mgr Marek Sławiński (UJ), *Uczeń filozofów czy zaciekły wróg filozofii? O stosunku współczesnej historiografii filozoficznej do Ambrożego z Mediolanu*
20. Dr Damian Pierzak (UŚ), *Sen Eteoklesa (Stacjusz, 'Tebaida' 2.89–133). Próba nowego odczytania*
21. Dr Magdalena Garnczarska (UJ), *Czy Konstantynopol upadł z braku pojętnych uczniów greki w Italii? O trudach Manuela Chrysolorasa – nauczyciela i dyplomaty*



Pan profesor Jerzy Styka podczas uroczystości laudacyjnych w Collegium Paderevianum UJ, 25 września 2025 (fot. M. Szarek)



Jubileusz 45-lecia odtworzenia klasy klasycznej w I LO im. Bartłomieja Nowodworskiego w Krakowie, 27 września 2025 (fot. K. Ochman)



In virum doctissimum
Georgium Styka
carmen sollemne

Non te, Georgi, qui mihi deditus
semper fuisti, tam celebri die
Musis inornatum relinquam,
cum recipis meritos honores.

Cracoviensis matris alumnus et
professor, immo praecipuum decus,
magni aestimaris litterarum
egregius placitusque cultor.

Bonam salutem di tibi dent precor
tollant et omnis tristitiae dies.
Amplectimur te nunc, amice,
ex animo tibi gratulantes.

Georgio Georgius

Carmen scripsit atque die 25° m. Septembris a. MMXXV Cracoviae in Conventu Societatis Philologae Polonorum recitavit Georgius Danielewicz Posnaniensis.

22. Mgr Roksana Maria Łajkosz (UWr), *Antyczny look, czyli grecko-rzymska tradycja w modzie – wizualna narracja i metody analizy*
23. Mgr Karol Wapniarski (UAM), *Łacina i edukacja klasyczna w twórczości klasyków literatury francuskiej: od Rabelais'go do Baudelaire'a*

SOBOTA (27 WRZEŚNIA 2025)

1. Dr Patrycja Matusiak (UŚ), *O pożytkach i niebezpieczeństwach z czytania komiksów o antyku płynących*
2. Mgr Romana Lipońska (XI LO Poznań), *Dobór i ewaluacja materiałów dydaktycznych w nauczaniu języka łacińskiego w klasie o profilu biologiczno-chemicznym*
3. Dr Janusz Ryba (UJ), *(Nie)nowoczesne nauczanie języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej?*

PROTOKÓŁ Z WALNEGO ZGROMADZENIA DELEGATÓW POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO (KRAKÓW, 26 WRZEŚNIA 2025)

Walne Zgromadzenie Delegatów Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego odbyło się 26 września 2025 r. o godzinie 9:30 w Collegium Paderevianum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

W posiedzeniu udział wzięli:

1. dr Tomasz Babnis (Kraków)
2. prof. dr hab. Piotr Bering (Poznań)
3. dr hab. prof. UMK Barbara Bibik (Toruń)
4. mgr Krzysztof Banaszak (Wrocław)
5. dr Małgorzata Cieśluk (Szczecin)
6. dr Anna Głodowska (Toruń)
7. mgr Maciej H. Dąbrowski (Wrocław)
8. dr hab. Marek Hermann (Kraków)
9. prof. dr hab. Katarzyna Jażdżewska (Warszawa)
10. mgr Zdzisław Koczarski (Wrocław)
11. dr Jakub Kuciak (Kraków)
12. dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar (Kraków)
13. dr Olga Kubica (Wrocław)
14. mgr Romana Lipońska (Poznań)
15. mgr Roksana Łajkosz (Wrocław)
16. dr hab. prof. UwB Tomasz Mojsik (Białystok)
17. prof. dr hab. Przemysław Nehring (Toruń)
18. dr Katarzyna Ochman (Wrocław)
19. mgr Jan Oko (Wrocław)
20. mgr Piotr Osiński (Warszawa)
21. dr Anna Pająkowska-Bouallegui (Gdańsk)
22. dr Joanna Pieczonka (Wrocław)
23. dr hab. prof. UWr. Jakub Pigoń (Wrocław)
24. dr Damian Pierzak (Katowice)
25. dr Dawid Piwowarczyk (Kraków)
26. dr Jacek Pokrzywnicki (Gdańsk)
27. dr Janusz Ryba (Kraków)
28. dr hab. prof. UAM Magdalena Stuligrosz (Poznań)
29. mgr Maria Szarek (Kraków)
30. prof. dr hab. Mikołaj Szymański (Warszawa)
31. dr hab. prof. UMK Rafał Toczko (Toruń)
32. prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Witczak (Łódź)

Porządek obrad był następujący:

CZĘŚĆ PIERWSZA – SPRAWOZDAWCZA:

1. Otwarcie obrad przez prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF.
2. Przyjęcie porządku obrad.
3. Uczczenie pamięci zmarłych członków PTF.
4. Wybór protokolanta obrad.
5. Głosowanie w sprawie nagrania audio posiedzenia.
6. Wybór komisji skrutacyjnej.
7. Wniosek Zarządu Głównego PTF o nadanie tytułu członka honorowego prof. Jerzemu Styce; głosowanie nad wnioskiem.
8. Dyskusja i głosowanie nad uchwałą w sprawie zmian statutowych.
9. Sprawozdanie merytoryczno-finansowe z działalności Zarządu Głównego PTF.
10. Dyskusja i głosowanie w sprawie uchwały o przyjęciu sprawozdania ZG PTF.
11. Sprawozdania z działalności Oddziałów Terenowych PTF.
12. Sprawozdanie redaktora naczelnego „Eos".
13. Sprawozdanie przewodniczącego Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego
14. Sprawozdanie z działalności Fundacji *Traditio Europae*.
15. Sprawozdanie Komisji Rewizyjnej.
16. Dyskusja i głosowanie w sprawie uchwały o przyjęciu sprawozdania Komisji Rewizyjnej.
17. Wniosek Komisji Rewizyjnej w sprawie absolutorium dla ZG PTF.
18. Dyskusja i głosowanie nad uchwałą w sprawie absolutorium dla ZG PTF (głosowanie bez udziału członków ZG PTF).

CZĘŚĆ DRUGA – WYBORCZA:

19. Wybór przewodniczącego obrad.
20. Dyskusja i głosowanie w sprawie zatwierdzenia list kandydatów na prezesa, członków Zarządu, członków Komisji Rewizyjnej i członków Sądu Koleżeńskiego.
21. Głosowanie nad wyborem prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF.
22. Ogłoszenie wyników głosowania nad wyborem prezesa ZG PTF.
23. Głosowanie nad kandydaturami do Zarządu Głównego PTF.
24. Ogłoszenie wyników głosowania nad kandydaturami do Zarządu Głównego PTF.

PRZERWA – Krótkie zebranie nowo wybranego Zarządu Głównego w celu ustalenia podziału funkcji.

25. Głosowanie nad przyjęciem uchwały w sprawie wyboru ZG PTF.

26. Głosowanie nad kandydaturami do Komisji Rewizyjnej PTF.
27. Ogłoszenie wyników głosowania nad kandydaturami do Komisji Rewizyjnej PTF.
28. Głosowanie nad przyjęciem uchwały w sprawie wyboru Komisji Rewizyjnej PTF.
29. Głosowanie nad kandydaturami do Sądu Koleżeńskiego.
30. Ogłoszenie wyników głosowania nad kandydaturami do Sądu Koleżeńskiego.
31. Głosowanie nad przyjęciem uchwały w sprawie wyboru Sądu Koleżeńskiego.
32. Wystąpienie nowo wybranego prezesa ZG PTF; przejęcie przewodniczenia obradom.
33. Interpelacje i wolne wnioski.
34. Zamknięcie obrad przez prezesa ZG PTF.

Obrady otworzyła prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF dr Katarzyna Ochman. W pierwszej kolejności pani prezes poprosiła o uczczenie pamięci tych, którzy odeszli od nas w ciągu ostatnich dwóch lat, zarówno członków PTF, jak i innych osób, które zasłużyły się dla realizacji celów Towarzystwa. Byli to: prof. dr hab. Józef Korpanty (zm. 11 września 2021), dr hab. prof. UAM Wita Szulc (zm. 11 października 2021), dr Barbara Drewniewska-Idziak (zm. 10 stycznia 2022), prof. dr hab. Michał Bednarski (zm. 18 lutego 2022), mgr Urszula Knapczyk (zm. 20 lutego 2022), dr Jerzy Mańkowski (zm. 21 marca 2022), mgr Jerzy Roman Kaczyński (zm. 8 lipca 2022), dr hab. Joanna Rybowska (zm. 28 października 2023), prof. dr hab. Dariusz Brodka (zm. 2 stycznia 2024), prof. dr hab. Jerzy Wojtczak-Szyszkowski (zm. 22 lutego 2024), prof. dr hab. Robert Chodkowski (zm. 22 maja 2024), mgr Stanisław Skała (zm. 29 sierpnia 2024), prof. dr hab. Krystyna Stawecka (zm. 27 października 2024), mgr Lech Bobiatyński (zm. 29 listopada 2024), prof. dr hab. Henryk Podbielski (zm. 6 marca 2025), mgr Dariusz Gwis (zm. 26 kwietnia 2025), prof. dr hab. Aleksander Krawczuk (zm. 27 stycznia 2023), Wojciech Jakub Wilczyński (zm. 25 czerwca 2022), dr Magdalena Łaptaś (zm. 23 kwietnia 2025), dr Maciej Staniszewski (zm. 11 lipca 2025).

Następnie pani prezes wyznaczyła na protokolanta obrad panią dr Małgorzatę Cieśluk. Odnotowano obecność 29 osób (spośród 37 uprawnionych do udziału w Walnym Zgromadzeniu) i stwierdzono *quorum*. Pani prezes poprosiła o zgłaszanie kandydatur do komisji skrutacyjnej. Zgłoszono następujące kandydatury: dr hab. prof. UMK Barbara Bibik, dr Tomasz Babnis, dr Olga Kubica, mgr Zdzisław Koczarski. Wobec braku sprzeciwu komisja skrutacyjna ukonstytuowała się w ww. składzie.

Pani prezes w imieniu Zarządu Głównego wystąpiła do Walnego Zgromadzenia z wnioskiem o nadanie panu profesorowi Jerzemu Styce godności członka honorowego Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego. Wniosek został przyjęty przez aklamację.

Następnie pani prezes omówiła projekt uchwały wprowadzającej zmiany statutowe, umożliwiające, po pierwsze, powoływanie delegata na Walne Zgromadzenie przez oddział terenowy liczący mniej niż 10 członków, oraz, po drugie, organizację Walnych Zgromadzeń, posiedzeń Zarządu Głównego oraz Walnych Zebrań członków oddziałów za pośrednictwem środków komunikacji elektronicznej. Pan dr Janusz Ryba zaproponował, aby przeprowadzić osobne głosowania nad każdym ze zmienianych paragrafów Statutu. Uchwała została przyjęta jednogłośnie (§ 21: 29 głosów za, 0 przeciw, 0 wstrzymujących się, § 19: 29 głosów za, 0 przeciw, 0 wstrzymujących się, § 28: 29 głosów za, 0 przeciw, 0 wstrzymujących się, § 37: 30 głosów za, 0 przeciw, 0 wstrzymujących się).

Pani prezes przedstawiła sprawozdanie merytoryczno-finansowe z działalności Zarządu Głównego w latach 2021–2025. Sprawozdanie zostało przyjęte jednogłośnie.

Następnie pani prezes zaprezentowała nowy logotyp PTF oraz projekt identyfikacji wizualnej Towarzystwa wraz z księgą znaku. Logo ma klasyczny kształt nawiązujący do pieczęci i przedstawia boginię Eos, którą założyciele naszego Towarzystwa bardzo stosownie wybrali na tytułową patronkę czasopisma będącego organem PTF. W związku z tym wydaje się rzeczą właściwą, aby to właśnie postać Eos stała się centralnym elementem identyfikacji wizualnej całego Towarzystwa. Propozycja spotkała się z akceptacją zgromadzonych.

Kolejnym punktem przewidzianym w programie posiedzenia było odczytanie sprawozdań z działalności Oddziałów Terenowych PTF, jednak na życzenie Delegatów sprawozdania zostały przekazane do protokołu. Następnie pani dr hab. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma przedstawiła sprawozdanie Redakcji „Eos", pan dr hab. prof. UMK Rafał Toczko – sprawozdanie Komitetu Głównego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego, a pani dr hab. prof. UMK Barbara Bibik – sprawozdanie z działalności Fundacji *Traditio Europae*.

Pani dr Anna Głodowska przedstawiła sprawozdanie z działalności Komisji Rewizyjnej. Sprawozdanie zostało przyjęte jednogłośnie. Następnie przeprowadzono głosowanie nad uchwałą w sprawie udzielenia absolutorium ustępującemu Zarządowi Głównemu. Uchwała została przyjęta jednogłośnie.

Następnie pani prezes zaproponowała kandydaturę pana prof. dra hab. Przemysława Nehringa na przewodniczącego drugiej części posiedzenia. Kandydatura ta została przyjęta przez aklamację. Pan prof. Nehring przejął przewodniczenie obradom i omówił kolejność oraz tryb głosowań w wyborach nowych władz Towarzystwa. Następnie zaprosił zebranych do zgłaszania kandydatur na prezesa PTF. Zgłoszone zostały dwie kandydatury: dr hab. prof. UŚ Janek Kucharski i dr hab. prof. UMK Rafał Toczko, przy czym jedynie pan prof. Kucharski wyraził zgodę na kandydowanie (zaocznie, poprzez złożenie pisemnego oświadczenia). Pan prof. Nehring poprosił o zgłaszanie kandydatur na członków Zarządu Głównego. Zgłoszone zostały następujące kandydatury:

dr Małgorzata Cieśluk, prof. dr hab. Agnieszka Dziuba, dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar, dr hab. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma, dr Jakub Kuciak, dr Katarzyna Ochman, dr Janusz Ryba, dr hab. prof. UAM Magdalena Stuligrosz, dr hab. prof. UMK Rafał Toczko. W dalszej kolejności zgłoszono kandydatury do Komisji Rewizyjnej: dr Anna Głodowska, prof. dr hab. Joanna Janik, dr Jacek Pokrzywnicki, dr Maria Szarek, oraz do Sądu Koleżeńskiego: prof. dr hab. Piotr Bering, prof. dr hab. Katarzyna Jażdżewska, dr Joanna Pieczonka, dr hab. prof. UWr Jakub Pigoń, prof. dr hab. Mikołaj Szymański. Wszyscy zgłoszeni wyrazili zgodę na kandydowanie (nieobecna prof. Kotlińska-Toma poprzez złożenie pisemnego oświadczenia). Przewodniczący obrad złożył wniosek formalny o zamknięcie list kandydatów. Wobec braku sprzeciwu przystąpiono do głosowań, których wyniki przedstawiały się następująco:

– Głosowanie w sprawie zatwierdzenia list kandydatów na prezesa, członków Zarządu, członków Komisji Rewizyjnej i członków Sądu Koleżeńskiego:
  – 100% (31 głosów za, 0 przeciw, 0 wstrzymujących).

– Głosowanie nad wyborem prezesa Zarządu Głównego PTF:
  – dr hab. prof. UŚ Janek Kucharski: 96,8% (30 głosów za, 0 przeciw, 1 wstrzymujący).

– Głosowanie nad kandydaturami do Zarządu Głównego PTF:
  – dr hab. prof. UMK Rafał Toczko (Toruń): 96,8% (30 głosów)
  – dr Katarzyna Ochman (Wrocław): 87,1% (27 głosów)
  – dr hab. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma (Wrocław): 77,4% (24 głosy)
  – dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar (Kraków): 74,2% (23 głosy)
  – dr hab. prof. UAM Magdalena Stuligrosz (Poznań): 71% (22 głosy)
  – dr Janusz Ryba (Kraków): 67,7% (21 głosów)
  – dr Małgorzata Cieśluk (Szczecin): 48,4% (15 głosów)
  – dr Jakub Kuciak (Kraków): 38,7% (12 głosów)
  – prof. dr hab. Agnieszka Dziuba (Lublin): 32,3% (10 głosów).

Po ogłoszeniu wyników tego głosowania osoby, które uzyskały powyżej 50% głosów udały się do osobnego pomieszczenia, w którym połączyły się za pośrednictwem wideokonferencji z prof. Jankiem Kucharskim oraz prof. Agnieszką Kotlińską-Tomą w celu ustalenia podziału funkcji w ramach Zarządu Głównego. Proponowana obsada funkcji została następnie przedstawiona Walnemu Zgromadzeniu i poddana głosowaniu:

– Głosowanie nad przyjęciem uchwały w sprawie wyboru ZG PTF w składzie: dr hab. prof. UŚ Janek Kucharski – prezes; dr hab. prof. UAM Magdalena Stuligrosz i dr Janusz Ryba – wiceprezesi; dr Katarzyna Ochman – sekretarz;

dr hab. prof. UMK Rafał Toczko – skarbnik; dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar i dr hab. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma – członkowie Zarządu
  – 90,3% (28 głosów za, 0 przeciw, 0 wstrzymujący)

– Głosowanie nad kandydaturami do Komisji Rewizyjnej PTF:
  – mgr Maria Szarek (Kraków): 100% (31 głosów)
  – dr Anna Głodowska (Toruń): 96,8% (30 głosów)
  – prof. dr hab. Joanna Janik (Kraków): 96,8% (30 głosów)
  – dr Jacek Pokrzywnicki (Gdańsk): 87,1% (27 głosów).

– Głosowanie nad przyjęciem uchwały w sprawie wyboru Komisji Rewizyjnej PTF w składzie: dr Anna Głodowska, prof. dr hab. Joanna Janik, dr Jacek Pokrzywnicki, mgr Maria Szarek:
  – 90,3% (28 głosy za, 0 głosów przeciw, 1 głos wstrzymujący)

– Głosowanie nad kandydaturami do Sądu Koleżeńskiego:
  – prof. dr hab. Piotr Bering (Poznań): 96,8% (30 głosów)
  – dr Joanna Pieczonka (Wrocław): 96,8% (30 głosów)
  – dr hab. prof. UWr Jakub Pigoń (Wrocław): 96,8% (30 głosów)
  – prof. dr hab. Mikołaj Szymański (Warszawa): 93,5% (29 głosów)
  – prof. dr hab. Katarzyna Jażdżewska (Warszawa): 87,1% (27 głosów).

– Głosowanie nad przyjęciem uchwały w sprawie wyboru Sądu Koleżeńskiego w składzie: prof. dr hab. Piotr Bering, prof. dr hab. Katarzyna Jażdżewska, dr Joanna Pieczonka, dr hab. prof. UWr Jakub Pigoń, prof. dr hab. Mikołaj Szymański:
  – 93,5% (29 głosów za, 0 głosów przeciw, 1 głos wstrzymujący).

Po zakończeniu głosowań nowowybrany prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF pan prof. Janek Kucharski połączył się z zebranymi poprzez wideokonferencję i przejął przewodniczenie obradom. Pan prezes podziękował za powierzenie mu funkcji i wobec braku wolnych wniosków zamknął posiedzenie.

Sekretarz Zarządu Głównego PTF
dr Katarzyna Ochman

Protokołowała
dr Małgorzata Cieśluk

SPRAWOZDANIE Z DZIAŁALNOŚCI ZARZĄDU GŁÓWNEGO POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO ZA OKRES OD 18 WRZEŚNIA 2021 DO 26 WRZEŚNIA 2025

I. Działalność administracyjna

Polskie Towarzystwo Filologiczne składa się z trzynastu Oddziałów Terenowych i liczy 498 członków. Prezesem honorowym PTF jest prof. dr hab. Marian Szarmach, a członkami honorowymi: mgr Ewa Pobiedzińska, prof. dr hab. Krystyna Stawecka, prof. dr hab. Jerzy Styka, prof. dr hab. Alicja Szastyńska-Siemion, mgr Stanisław Wilczyński. W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Główny działał w następującym składzie: prezes Zarządu Głównego – dr Katarzyna Ochman; wiceprezesi Zarządu Głównego – prof. dr hab. Mikołaj Szymański, dr hab. prof. UMK Rafał Toczko; skarbnik Zarządu Głównego – dr Małgorzata Cieśluk; sekretarz Zarządu Głównego – dr Olga Kubica; członkowie Zarządu Głównego – dr hab. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma, dr hab. prof. UAM Magdalena Stuligrosz.

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyły się cztery posiedzenia Zarządu Głównego: 5 lipca 2022 r., 6 listopada 2023 r., 26 kwietnia i 22 września 2025 r. Członkowie Zarządu pozostawali ze sobą w stałym kontakcie za pośrednictwem środków komunikacji elektronicznej.

Zarządzeniem JM Rektora Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego nr 159/2021 z 19 października 2021 r. Polskie Towarzystwo Filologiczne (w szczególności: Zarząd Główny PTF, Redakcja „Eos" oraz Oddział Wrocławski PTF) uzyskało oficjalną zgodę na wskazywanie adresu Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego jako adresu siedziby i adresu do korespondencji. Towarzystwo korzysta także z adresu ePUAP (identyfikator: societasphilologa). W związku z tym, że serwis ePUAP jest coraz częściej zastępowany przez e-Doręczenia, 25 marca 2025 utworzony został dla PTF adres w nowym systemie: AE:PL-21894-89374-JAHCT-17.

W listopadzie 2024 r. zakupiono licencję systemu księgowego WFirma, co umożliwiło sprawne wystawianie faktur bez angażowania w tym celu pani księgowej. We wcześniejszych latach faktur było niewiele (ok. 20 dokumentów rocznie), dotyczyły one wyłącznie sprzedaży „Eos" i były wystawiane w programie Excel przez osobę zajmującą się dystrybucją czasopisma. Począwszy od roku 2024 w związku z Kongresem FIEC i rosnącym zainteresowaniem warsztatami łacińskimi liczba faktur zwiększyła się dwudziestokrotnie. Włączenie tego zadania w obowiązki pani księgowej wymagałoby zwiększenia jej wynagrodzenia. Zakup licencji programu księgowego umożliwił powierzenie fakturowania jednemu z członków ZG, dzięki czemu zadanie to nie wiąże się z żadnymi kosztami poza opłatą licencyjną za korzystanie z programu.

W celu ułatwienia Zarządowi Głównemu realizacji statutowego obowiązku prowadzenia rejestru członków Towarzystwa zamieszczono na stronie internetowej PTF formularz aktualizacji danych członków PTF. Jest to kwestionariusz mający na celu aktualizację danych osobowych i kontaktowych. Jest on przeznaczony dla obecnych członków PTF – jego wypełnienie jest znacznym ułatwieniem w pracy Zarządu. Ponadto w dalszym ciągu wykorzystywany jest internetowy formularz wniosku o przyjęcie w poczet członków Towarzystwa, z którego w okresie sprawozdawczym skorzystało 68 osób.

II. Działalność naukowa

W okresie sprawozdawczym PTF złożyło dwa wnioski o finansowanie badań naukowych:

1. Projekt pt. „Maresza: Malowane zoo w hellenistycznej Idumei", kierownik: dr Maja Miziur-Moździoch, konkurs Opus, nr wniosku: 2023/49/B/HS3/01736, wnioskowana kwota: 927 130 zł. Projekt nie uzyskał finansowania.
2. Projekt pt. „Monumenta Poloniae Lithuaniaeque Latina", kierownik: prof. dr hab. Gościwit Malinowski, konkurs Nauka dla Społeczeństwa II, nr wniosku: NdS-II/SN/0150/2024/01, wnioskowana kwota: 2 000 000 zł. Projekt uzyskał finansowanie w kwocie 1 403 000 zł. Raport z realizacji pierwszego roku projektu otrzymał pozytywną ocenę zespołu eksperckiego i został przyjęty przez NCN.

III. Działalność wydawnicza

W okresie sprawozdawczym Redakcja „Eos" przeszła szereg zmian osobowych. Do grudnia 2023 r. Komitet Redakcyjny tworzyli: dr hab. Prof. UWr Jakub Pigoń jako redaktor naczelny oraz prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Nawotka. W skład Rady Redakcyjnej wchodzili: prof. dr hab. Jerzy Axer, prof. dr hab. Małgorzata Borowska, prof. dr hab. Sylwester Dworacki, prof. dr hab. Zofia Głombiowska, prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Korus, prof. dr hab. Leszek Mrozewicz, † prof. dr hab. Henryk Podbielski, prof. dr hab. Jerzy Styka, prof. dr hab. Marian Szarmach oraz dr Katarzyna Ochman (*ex officio*, jako prezes PTF). Funkcję sekretarza Redakcji pełnili kolejno: dr Piotr Głogowski oraz dr Olga Kubica (od 2022).

1 stycznia 2024 r. nastąpiła zmiana na stanowisku redaktora naczelnego „Eos": funkcję tę objęła dr hab. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma. Drugim redaktorem pozostaje prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Nawotka.

W okresie sprawozdawczym ukazały się roczniki 2020/1–2, 2021/1–2, 2022/1–2, 2023/1–2 i 2024/1–2 czasopisma. Ze względu na brak finansowania ze strony MNiSW i konieczność obniżenia kosztów produkcji były to

zeszyty łączone. Aby jeszcze bardziej zredukować koszty wydania poszczególnych roczników, cała Redakcja czasopisma zrzekła się wynagrodzeń osobowych. Utrzymanie ciągłości wydawniczej było możliwe dzięki wsparciu finansowemu, którego udzieliły: Wydział Filologiczny UWr, Rada Dyscypliny Literaturoznawstwa UWr, Instytut Studiów Klasycznych, Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych UWr, Wydział Nauk Historycznych i Pedagogicznych UWr, J.M. Rektor Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, J.M. Rektor Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, J.M. Rektor Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Ostatnie dwa roczniki ukazały się dzięki dwóm dotacjom udzielonym przez Fundację Lanckorońskich, które pokryły 63% kosztów wydawniczych. W ramach oszczędności zmniejszono nakład czasopisma do 250 egzemplarzy. Redakcja nie wyklucza, że w przyszłości obniży nakład o kolejne 80 egzemplarzy ze względu na dostępność tytułu online.

Większość nakładu wciąż trafia do bibliotek na całym świecie oraz jest dystrybuowana w ramach wymiany czasopism, ale rysuje się wyraźna tendencja do rezygnacji z wersji papierowych w bibliotekach europejskich ze względów ekologicznych oraz z powodu trudności z magazynowaniem. Także wymiana czasopism podlega ciągłym ograniczeniom, ponieważ część tytułów przeszła do dużych koncernów wydawniczych lub zdecydowała się na formę online.

W czerwcu 2024 r. Polskie Towarzystwo Filologiczne zawarło porozumienie o współpracy wydawniczej z Wydziałem Nauk Historycznych i Pedagogicznych UWr, dzięki któremu zagwarantowane zostało dofinansowanie w wysokości do 70% kosztów wydania ośmiu fascykułów „Eos" (do rocznika 2027 włącznie) w przypadku braku innych źródeł finansowania. Pozwoli to zarazem na powrót do wydawania czasopisma w tradycyjnej postaci dwóch osobnych fascykułów.

Od marca 2023 r. funkcjonuje nowa strona internetowa czasopisma w osobnej subdomenie: eos.ptf.edu.pl. Dzięki realizacji w ISKŚiO UWr projektu pt. „Opracowanie, digitalizacja i udostępnianie kolekcji Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego (1946–2018)" wszystkie zeszyty „Eos" za lata 1946–2018 zostały zeskanowane i zamieszczone w Bibliotece Cyfrowej UWr. Poszczególne fascykuły są też dostępne w postaci plików pdf na stronie internetowej czasopisma. Rozpoczęto proces zamieszczania archiwum „Eos" w serwisie books.google.com. Karencja na wolny dostęp do artykułów naukowych wynosi obecnie dwa lata. Sprawozdania oraz recenzje książek, a także spis treści i abstrakty ukazują się równocześnie z drukiem.

Począwszy od rocznika 2024 Redakcja „Eos" zawiera z autorami umowy licencyjne na przekazanie praw autorskich oraz umowy dotyczące zobowiązań prawnych i finansowych stron.

W opublikowanym 5 stycznia 2024 r. ministerialnym wykazie czasopism naukowych punktacja „Eos" wzrosła z 70 do 100.

We wrześniu 2025 r. czasopismo przeszło pozytywnie weryfikację i znalazło się na liście indeksacyjnej portalu Copernicus.

W dalszej kolejności Redakcja podjęła kroki zmierzające do dostosowania czasopisma do wymogów ERIH PLUS oraz Web of Science, co wiąże się m.in. z koniecznością wprowadzenia zmian w Radzie Redakcyjnej (zróżnicowanie geograficzne uczonych zasiadających w tym gremium), zmian w zapisach umów licencyjnych, wprowadzenia umów z recenzentami oraz zaopatrzenia artykułów w metadane zgodne z wytycznymi. Część wymogów technicznych została już spełniona wraz z budową nowej strony internetowej. Szczególne wyzwanie stanowi jednak uzupełnienie opublikowanych już artykułów z ostatnich dziesięciu roczników o metadane w formacie html. Na wprowadzenie koniecznych zmian Zarząd Główny PTF wyraził zgodę na posiedzeniu w dniu 22 września 2025 r.

Łącznie w latach 2020–2024 w „Eos" ukazało się 57 artykułów naukowych, 3 sprawozdania, 3 „Summaria" i 28 recenzji książek.

Struktura zawartości roczników 2020–2024:

Rocznik	Artykuły naukowe	Sprawozdania	Summaria	Recenzje książek
2020	9	2	–	4
2021	8	–	1	11
2022	14	–	1	5
2023	12	1	1	5
2024	14	–	–	3

W latach 2019–2024 średnio około 65% recenzentów czasopisma stanowili badacze zagraniczni. Łącznie recenzenci reprezentowali dziesięć ośrodków naukowych w Polsce oraz dziewiętnaście z innych krajów (Niemcy, Austria, Francja, Włochy, Grecja, Cypr, Czechy, Belgia, Węgry, Bułgaria, Finlandia, Islandia, USA, Kanada, Australia, Chiny, Izrael, Wielka Brytania oraz Hiszpania).

W opublikowanych w tym okresie sprawozdawczym rocznikach ukazały się teksty 94 autorów. Większość publikujących badaczy była afiliowana w Polsce, reprezentując siedemnaście ośrodków naukowych (najwięcej tekstów nadesłali pracownicy UAM, UW, UWr i UJ). Uczeni zagraniczni stanowili 30% wszystkich piszących.

W okresie sprawozdawczym rozwiązana została trudna sytuacja polegająca na tym, że sądowy Rejestr Dzienników i Czasopism z niewiadomych przyczyn zawierał błędny wpis dotyczący „Eos", wskazujący w rubryce „Wydawca" Polską Akademię Nauk zamiast Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego. Obecnie Rejestr zawiera poprawne i aktualne dane.

IV. Olimpiada Języka Łacińskiego

W latach 2021–2025 przeprowadzono pięć edycji Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego (XXXIX–XLIII). Edycje XXXIX i XL zostały przeprowadzone z dostosowaniem do warunków pandemicznych. W edycji XLI powrócono do formuły stacjonarnej.

Liczba uczestników jest stabilna: co roku w konkursie bierze udział ok. 300 uczniów, spośród których 120–160 przechodzi do etapu okręgowego, a 40–45 – do centralnego. Warto podkreślić, że w OJŁ uczestniczą nie tylko licealiści, ale także uczniowie szkół podstawowych. W 2021 r. uczeń VIII klasy uzyskał nawet tytuł finalisty.

Spośród finalistów co roku wyłanianych jest od pięciu do siedmiu osób, które uczestniczą następnie w Certamen Ciceronianum Arpinas. Niestety w roku 2022 wysłanie uczniów do Arpino okazało się niemożliwe ze względu na zmianę terminarza przez włoskich organizatorów. Warto odnotować wysokie osiągnięcia uczniów z Polski w tym międzynarodowym konkursie: w 2024 r. Kacper Guziak zajął II miejsce, w 2023 r. Michał Kowalski – VI miejsce, zaś w 2025 r. Patryk Trybulec uzyskał wyróżnienie.

W okresie sprawozdawczym Olimpiada przeszła szereg zmian organizacyjnych: wprowadzono standardy ochrony nieletnich, uściślono regulaminy, dodano nowe publikacje do listy lektur, wprowadzono ankiety ewaluacyjne, a także przyjęto zasadę, że każda osoba zakwalifikowana do finału otrzymuje tytuł finalisty. Najważniejszą zmianą było zmniejszenie – począwszy od roku szkolnego 2023/2024 – liczby okręgów z dotychczasowych siedmiu do pięciu (Kraków, Łódź, Poznań, Warszawa, Wrocław). Etapy konkursu pozostają bez zmian: etap szkolny odbywa się w listopadzie (tłumaczenie tekstu łacińskiego, 90 minut), etap okręgowy – w styczniu (tłumaczenie, test gramatyczny, część ustna), etap centralny – w marcu w Toruniu (tłumaczenie oraz część ustna).

W 2025 r. Komitet przygotował wniosek konkursowy o finansowanie organizacji Olimpiady w kolejnych trzech latach szkolnych. Dzięki zwiększonej puli środków na organizację olimpiad oraz dzięki wysokiej punktacji przyznanej naszemu wnioskowi pozyskaliśmy kwotę 500 700 zł (z wnioskowanych 588 240 zł) na lata 2025–2028. Jest to zasadnicze zwiększenie budżetu w stosunku do poprzedniej edycji konkursu, kiedy otrzymaliśmy niespełna 400 000 zł.

Partnerami wspierającymi Olimpiadę są ośrodki akademickie: IFK UJ, IFK UW, IFK UAM, KFK UŁ, KFK UMK, ISKŚiO UWr oraz KUL (w latach 2021–2022). Sponsorami edycji 2024/2025 byli ponadto: Schola Latina „Ad fontes" (dr Marcin Loch), Latinitium (Daniel Pettersson ze Szwecji), Wydawnictwo Homini, Fundacja Traditio Europae oraz Dział Promocji UMK.

V. Łacina w szkole

W styczniu 2022 r. Biuro Ministra Edukacji i Nauki zwróciło się do Zarządu Głównego PTF z prośbą o konsultacje w sprawie możliwości nauczania języka łacińskiego jako drugiego języka obcego w liceach oraz w 7–8 klasach szkół podstawowych. W wyniku kilkumiesięcznych rozmów i analiz MEiN podjęło decyzję o utworzeniu nowego przedmiotu „Język łaciński" realizowanego jako drugi język obcy w zakresie podstawowym i rozszerzonym (niezależnie od istniejącego przedmiotu „Język łaciński i kultura antyczna" w zakresie podstawowym

i rozszerzonym). Warto podkreślić, że pomysł wprowadzenia łaciny do szkół podstawowych był inicjatywą samych przedstawicieli Ministerstwa, którzy zapowiedzieli nawet, że w dalszej perspektywie rozważany jest także powrót do nauczania języka greckiego.

Członkowie PTF wzięli udział w opracowaniu podstaw programowych do nowego przedmiotu. Rozporządzenie w sprawie możliwości wyboru języka łacińskiego jako drugiego języka obcego zostało podpisane w lutym 2023 r., a nowy przedmiot wszedł do szkół we wrześniu 2023 r. Warto zaznaczyć, że od samego początku przedstawiciele MEN przyjmowali, że dla nowego przedmiotu nie będzie organizowany osobny egzamin maturalny. W związku z tym Zarząd Główny PTF nie zabrał głosu w dyskusji nad projektem Ustawy o zmianie ustawy – Prawo oświatowe oraz niektórych innych ustaw (nr UD220, legislacja.rcl.gov.pl/projekt/12399356), skierowanym do opiniowania publicznego w sierpniu 2025 r.; zapisy tego projektu – nagłośnione w mediach jako „usunięcie matury z łaciny" – były jedynie konsekwencją wcześniejszych ustaleń i w żaden sposób nie dotyczyły starego przedmiotu „Język łaciński i kultura antyczna"[1], który jest główną (choć niestety już szczątkową) formą obecności języka łacińskiego w polskich szkołach.

W październiku 2022 r. MEiN ponownie zwróciło się do PTF, tym razem z prośbą o pomoc w zorganizowaniu seminarium dydaktycznego dla nauczycieli języka łacińskiego w ministerialnym Centrum Szkoleniowym w Sulejówku. Seminarium, sfinansowane w całości przez MEiN, odbyło się 2–3 grudnia 2022 r. i zgromadziło ok. 25 osób. Wygłoszone zostały następujące wystąpienia:

– Dr Artur Górecki (dyrektor Departamentu Kształcenia Ogólnego i Podstaw Programowych w MEiN): Otwarcie spotkania i powitanie uczestników.
– Dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar (IFK UJ) i dr Janusz Ryba (IFK UJ oraz I LO im. B. Nowodworskiego w Krakowie): Praca z uczniem zdolnym w świetle podstawy programowej przedmiotu język łaciński i kultura antyczna (zakres rozszerzony) i serii podręczników „Homo Romanus" – warsztaty.
– Dr Katarzyna Ochman (UWr): Główne założenia podstawy programowej do nauczania języka łacińskiego jako drugiego języka obcego.
– Dr Anna Maciejewska (UŁ): Czego jeszcze uczymy na zajęciach z łaciny: polski dla słabozaawansowanych.
– Dr Marcin Loch: Matura z „nowej łaciny" 2027.
– Dyskusja: Nauczyciel języka łacińskiego we współczesnej szkole – wyzwania, problemy i dobre praktyki (moderator: dr hab. Rafał Toczko, prof. UMK).

[1] We wrześniu 2025 r. Zarząd Główny PTF ze zdziwieniem przyjął informację, że matura z języka łacińskiego jako drugiego języka obcego została mimo to opracowana przez zespół ekspercki CKE, chociaż od początku było wiadomo, że egzamin taki nie będzie przeprowadzany.

Kolejnym zagadnieniem dotyczącym obecności łaciny w szkołach, z którym Zarządowi Głównemu PTF przyszło się zmierzyć w minionej kadencji, były pojawiające się w mediach informacje, jakoby „nie było komu uczyć łaciny". W związku z tym 8 lutego 2023 r. Polskie Towarzystwo Filologiczne uruchomiło internetowy Cenzus Latynistów, dzięki któremu zebrane zostały informacje statystyczne o nauczycielach języka łacińskiego w Polsce, a także dane teleadresowe, które służą do ułatwienia kontaktów między szkołami a potencjalnymi nauczycielami. W cenzusie wzięło udział 228 osób, wśród których 71,5% to magistrzy filologii klasycznej, a 15,8% ma doktorat z filologii klasycznej. 77,2% respondentów ma uprawnienia pedagogiczne do nauczania języka łacińskiego. Tylko 7,5% respondentów to aktywni nauczyciele języka łacińskiego, którzy nie biorą pod uwagę zwiększenia liczby godzin pracy. 20,6% uczy języka łacińskiego i chętnie zwiększyłoby wymiar godzin. Aż 56,1% respondentów to osoby, które są gotowe podjąć się nauczania łaciny w liceum od najbliższego roku szkolnego, jeśli pojawiłaby się taka możliwość; dalsze 22,4% deklaruje chęć powrotu do nauczania łaciny w liceum w dalszej przyszłości. Aż 48,2% uczestników ankiety bierze pod uwagę możliwość pracy w charakterze nauczyciela łaciny w szkole podstawowej. Pozwala to stwierdzić, że nauczycieli języka łacińskiego w Polsce nie brakuje – ci, którzy w ostatnich latach masowo tracili możliwość pracy w zawodzie, przekwalifikowali się, są jednak gotowi wrócić, jeśli szkoły zaoferowałyby im taką możliwość. Milczącym założeniem jest tu oczywiście zapewnienie godnych warunków pracy – jest to jednak problem, który dotyczy wszystkich nauczycieli, nie tylko latynistów. Zadaniem dla kolejnych Zarządów PTF jest monitorowanie warunków i statystyk nabywania przez absolwentów filologii klasycznej uprawnień pedagogicznych, aby nie dopuścić do zwiększania się luki pokoleniowej w grupie nauczycieli języka łacińskiego, co mogłaby w przyszłości uniemożliwić powrót łaciny do szkół.

Na marginesie tej dyskusji warto też odnotować zaskakującą statystykę, która uwidoczniła się przy okazji zawartej w cenzusie marginalnej deklaracji: „Jestem/Nie jestem członkiem Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego" – otóż okazuje się, że aż 75,9% filologów klasycznych nie należy do PTF. Spośród nich jedynie kilkanaście procent to osoby, które po prostu nie ukończyły (jeszcze) studiów filologii klasycznej i nie miały okazji pomyśleć o wstąpieniu w nasze szeregi; pozostałe 60–65% to absolwenci filologii klasycznej, którzy mimo pięciu lat studiów i codziennego kontaktu z naszym środowiskiem nie zdecydowali się poprosić o przyjęcie do PTF. Nasuwa się stąd wniosek, że w minionych dziesięcioleciach członkostwo w PTF stało się bardzo mało atrakcyjne dla przedstawicieli grupy zawodowej, którą Towarzystwo ma ambicję (i statutowy obowiązek) reprezentować. Należy pilnie podjąć działania, które doprowadzą do zwiększenia widoczności i atrakcyjności PTF zwłaszcza wśród studentów i młodych absolwentów filologii klasycznej.

Jednocześnie z cenzusem uruchomiony został ogólnopolski adres mailowy szukam.latynisty@ptf.edu.pl, na który mogą zgłaszać się zarówno szkoły, jak i osoby prywatne poszukujące nauczyciela języka łacińskiego.

VI. Promocja i popularyzacja

W latach 2021–2023 przedstawiciele PTF byli zapraszani przez MEiN do wzięcia udziału w organizowanych na Zamku Królewskim w Warszawie Kongresach Edukacji Klasycznej, podczas których wygłosili następujące odczyty:

– Prof. dr hab. Gościwit Malinowski, Sztuki wyzwolone w curriculum edukacji europejskiej (24 listopada 2021).
– Dr Katarzyna Ochman, Kulturowe i edukacyjne znaczenie łaciny (24 listopada 2021).
– Dr hab. prof. UMK Rafał Toczko, Cui bono? O (nie)obecności łaciny w polskiej edukacji (16 listopada 2022).
– Mgr Andrzej Hołowiński, Powrót do ogrodu. Nauczanie kultury klasycznej w polskiej szkole (20 września 2023).

Kongresy Kultury Klasycznej były znakomitą okazją do opowiedzenia o nauczaniu łaciny osobom, które w innych okolicznościach nie zainteresowałyby się tą tematyką; licznie obecni byli m.in. kuratorzy oświaty, dyrektorzy szkół, młodsi pracownicy Ministerstwa czy dziennikarze.

Począwszy od 2022 r. odbywają się międzynarodowe warsztaty języka łacińskiego *Scholae Latinae Wratislavienses*, które zastąpiły wakacyjne szkoły organizowane wcześniej przez wiele lat na Uniwersytecie Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu przez pana doktora Marcina Locha. W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyły się cztery edycje letnie (dwutygodniowe) i trzy zimowe (pięciodniowe) szkół wrocławskich. Na listopad 2025 r. zaplanowana jest pierwsza edycja weekendowa. We wrocławskich warsztatach wzięło dotychczas udział ok. 170 osób, wiele z nich po kilka razy. Około połowa uczestników jest z Polski, a pozostali reprezentują nie tylko prawie wszystkie kraje Europy, ale nawet państwa tak odległe jak Stany Zjednoczone, Kanada, Meksyk, Brazylia, Korea Południowa, Chiny, a nawet Nepal. Warsztaty oferują zajęcia z języka łacińskiego prowadzone nowoczesnymi metodami immersyjnymi. Jest to intensywny kurs językowy na kilku poziomach zaawansowania: od zupełnie początkujących po wytrawnych filologów klasycznych. Uczestnikom proponowane są również dodatkowe zajęcia tematyczne, takie jak paleografia, prawo rzymskie, historia liturgii czy kompozycja poezji metrycznej – wszystkie prowadzone wyłącznie w języku łacińskim. Podczas edycji letniej część uczestników organizuje się w trupę teatralną, która przygotowuje i wystawia przedstawienie w języku łacińskim, specjalnie na tę okazję napisane. Wrocławskie Scholae mogą odbywać się dzięki zaangażowaniu energicznego zespołu młodych, ale już bardzo doświadczonych lektorów. Należą do niego: dr Elżbieta Górka,

mgr Krzysztof Banaszak, mgr Krzysztof Bekieszczuk, mgr Anna Rogowska-Wandowicz, mgr Karolina Szula – członkowie Oddziału Wrocławskiego PTF. Do prowadzenia zajęć zapraszani są także specjaliści z kraju i zagranicy: dr Radek Černoch, dr Antoine Haaker, dr Marcin Loch, mgr Cecilie Koch, mgr Paolo Pezzuolo, mgr Tomáš Weissar. Warsztaty mają swoją osobną stronę internetową: wratislavia.ptf.edu.pl, która odnotowuje już bez mała jedenaście tysięcy wyświetleń.

8 listopada 2023 r. Polskie Towarzystwo Filologiczne podpisało porozumienie o współpracy z Zakładem Narodowym im. Ossolińskich. Porozumienie formalizuje wieloletnią nieoficjalną współpracę naszych instytucji i nakreśla ramy dalszej wspólnej działalności na polu organizacyjnym, badawczym, wydawniczym i popularyzatorskim. Prezes Ossolineum, pan doktor Łukasz Kamiński, trafnie określił ten akt jako „porozumienie podpisane o sto lat za późno". Pierwszymi owocami porozumienia były: wspólna organizacja publicznej lektury *Sejmu kobiet* Arystofanesa w ramach *Festival Européen Latin Grec* (22 marca 2024 r.) oraz wystawa starodruków łacińskich i greckich pt. „Ossoliniana classica: Early Printed Books from Greek and Roman Antiquity in the Ossolineum Collection" (kurator: dr Konrad Szymański) przygotowana specjalnie z okazji Kongresu *FIEC* (zob. pkt VII).

Kongres *FIEC* ogromnie przyczynił się także do popularyzacji i promocji PTF. W związku z jego organizacją zintensyfikowano prace nad przygotowaniem profesjonalnego systemu identyfikacji wizualnej Towarzystwa. Kilka różnych wersji logotypów było testowo wykorzystywanych i poddawanych ocenie międzynarodowej i polskiej opinii publicznej. Ostateczna wersja logotypu wraz z księgą znaku została zaprezentowana podczas Zjazdu PTF w Krakowie.

W marcu 2025 r. do Zarządu Głównego PTF zwrócił się wicemarszałek Senatu RP, pan Rafał Grupiński, z prośbą o pomoc w organizacji w Senacie RP konferencji poświęconej doniosłości języków klasycznych. Konferencja jest zaplanowana na marzec 2026.

We wrześniu 2025 r. rozpoczęto także prace nad zupełnie nową, bardziej profesjonalną i uwspółcześnioną wersją strony internetowej Towarzystwa (pod dotychczasowym adresem: www.ptf.edu.pl, który odnotował już 45 tysięcy wyświetleń). Profil PTF w serwisie Facebook jest obecnie obserwowany przez ok. 2 100 osób (wzrost o 500 osób przez 4 lata). Po przerwie wznowiono promocję PTF w serwisie Instagram, a także założono profil na TikToku.

VII. Współpraca międzynarodowa

Od 7 do 11 lipca 2025 r. we Wrocławiu odbywała się siedemnasta edycja międzynarodowego kongresu Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques (*FIEC*, zał. 1948). Polskie Towarzystwo Filologiczne należy do piętnastu organizacji założycielskich Federacji, jednak nigdy wcześniej nie było gospodarzem kongresu.

Kongres zgromadził ponad 400 osób (w tym 298 zarejestrowanych uczestników) z 38 krajów, nie tylko z Europy, ale także z obu Ameryk, Afryki, Azji i Oceanii.

Prace organizacyjne rozpoczęły się już sześć lat temu: w lipcu 2019 r. Zarząd *FIEC* zwrócił się do Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego z propozycją, aby kongres w 2025 r. odbył się w Polsce, ze szczególnym wskazaniem na Wrocław. Zarząd Główny PTF z radością przyjął tę zaszczytną ofertę i powierzył organizację wydarzenia Oddziałowi Wrocławskiemu PTF. Powołany został Komitet Organizacyjny, na czele którego jako przewodnicząca stanęła pani dr hab. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma (ISKŚiO UWr). W skład Komitetu wchodzili także: dr Joanna Pieczonka (ISKŚiO UWr) jako sekretarz, dr hab. Gościwit Malinowski, prof. UWr (filologia klasyczna – ISKŚiO UWr), prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Nawotka (historia starożytna – IH UWr), dr hab. Artur Błażejewski, prof. UWr (archeologia – IAr UWr, prorektor ds. naukowych UWr), dr Sławomir Torbus (p.o. dyrektor ISKŚiO UWr) oraz dr Katarzyna Ochman (prezes Zarządu Głównego Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego).

Kongres uzyskał patronaty honorowe Jego Magnificencji Rektora Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Prezydenta Wrocławia, Wojewody Dolnośląskiego, Marszałek Senatu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, oraz oraz Ministerstwa Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego.

Szczegółowa merytoryczna relacja z Kongresu została zredagowana w języku angielskim (zob. wyżej, s. 267–273). W tym miejscu chcemy odnotować ogromne trudności związane z pozyskaniem finansowania ze środków publicznych. Wniosek złożony przez PTF w konkursie „Doskonała Nauka II – Wsparcie konferencji naukowych" (KONF/SN/0464/2024/02) został rozpatrzony negatywnie bez podania uzasadnienia, pomimo pozytywnych recenzji i rekomendacji ekspertów. Zarząd PTF kilkukrotnie bezskutecznie odwoływał się od decyzji MNiSW. Dopiero 7 lipca 2025 r., czyli w sam dzień rozpoczęcia Kongresu, podpisana została umowa, na mocy której Ministerstwo zobowiązało się do zwrotu kosztów organizacji w wysokości do 129 000 zł. Łączny budżet Kongresu wyniósł 299 971,16 zł.

Pomimo tych (i innych) trudności wydarzenie przebiegło bardzo dobrze zarówno pod względem technicznym, jak i merytorycznym. Ogrom pracy, jaką w organizację Kongresu włożyły przez sześć lat przewodnicząca dr hab. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma i sekretarz dr Joanna Pieczonka, jest niewyobrażalny. Należy też podkreślić wielkie zaangażowanie zespołu ok. czterdziestu młodych wolontariuszy (w większości absolwentów i studentów ISKŚiO UWr, ale także IFK UMK oraz uczniów wrocławskich liceów), których koordynatorem był pan Kacper Bekieszczuk.

Podczas pięciu dni Kongresu odczyty plenarne wygłosiły: prof. Eleanor Dickey (UK), Gesine Manuwald (UK), Edith Hall (UK) i Ivana Petrovic (USA/Serbia). Odbyło się 96 paneli tematycznych podzielonych na dziesięć sesji

równoległych: łącznie wygłoszono 294 odczyty. Nietypowym dla naszej dyscypliny urozmaiceniem była sesja posterowa, która cieszyła się dużym zainteresowaniem. Poziom naukowy Kongresu podkreślała również obecność przedstawicieli wiodących wydawnictw akademickich, takich jak De Gruyter Brill, Cambridge University Press oraz Oxford University Press.

Ważnym punktem programu była także sesja jubileuszowa z okazji 75-lecia *FIEC* oraz Walne Zgromadzenie *FIEC*, podczas którego wybrano nowe władze Federacji (na wiceprezesa została jednogłośnie wybrana pani prof. dr hab. Katarzyna Marciniak).

Uczestnicy Kongresu brali również udział w wydarzeniach towarzyszących: koncertach, wystawach i wycieczkach z przewodnikiem. Na potrzeby bankietu konferencyjnego organizatorzy wynajęli trzypokładowy statek „Wratislavia", który zabrał uczestników Kongresu w wieczorny rejs po Odrze.

FIEC 2025 International Congress był jednym z najważniejszych międzynarodowych wydarzeń naukowych w obszarze studiów klasycznych. Zgromadził wybitnych badaczy z całego świata, reprezentujących takie dziedziny jak filologia klasyczna, historia, archeologia, historia sztuki, filozofia, bizantynistyka, neolatynistyka. Organizacja tej prestiżowej konferencji stanowiła doskonałą okazję do promocji polskiego środowiska badaczy starożytności oraz umocnienia pozycji naszego kraju na międzynarodowej arenie naukowej.

Prezes Zarządu Głównego PTF
dr Katarzyna Ochman

SPRAWOZDANIA Z DZIAŁALNOŚCI ODDZIAŁÓW TERENOWYCH POLSKIEGO TOWARZYSTWA FILOLOGICZNEGO ZA OKRES OD 18 WRZEŚNIA 2021 DO 26 WRZEŚNIA 2025

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU GDAŃSKIEGO

Od okresie objętym sprawozdaniem (wrzesień 2021–wrzesień 2025 r.) działalność Oddziału Gdańskiego Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego skupiała się – jak w poprzednich latach – na organizowaniu prelekcji i spotkań, zarówno dla członkiń i członków, jak i wszystkich osób zainteresowanych popularyzacją wiedzy o antyku grecko-rzymskim. Zarząd Oddziału – w miarę możliwości – pamiętał również o współpracy ze szkołami (zwłaszcza niższego szczebla).

Wśród przygotowanych i przeprowadzonych spotkań dla osób dorosłych wymienić należy:

1. Dr Agata Chrobot (UJK), *Querela Jerzego Sabinusa o zdobyciu Rzymu przez Karola V* (22 listopada 2021, online).
2. Dr Jacek Pokrzywnicki (UG), *Tropiąc Himeriosa. Międzynarodowa perspektywa badań tekstologicznych Gottlieba Wernsdorfa* (20 grudnia 2021, online).
3. Dr hab. Anna Marchewka, prof. UG, *Współczesne próby wskazania przynależności gatunkowej listów Ksenofonta oraz Listów Sokratesa. Pomiędzy powieścią a nowelą* (14 lutego 2022, online).
4. Dr Michał Golubiewski (UG), *Morze, nasze morze – motywy antyczne w nazewnictwie morskim* (9 maja 2022, hybrydowo).
5. Dr hab. Andrzej Wypustek, prof. UWr, *„Homoseksualiści" w epoce grecko-rzymskiej. Orientacja seksualna, trzecia płeć, męska projekcja?* (13 czerwca 2022, hybrydowo).
6. Dr hab. Andrzej Wypustek, prof. UWr, *Rzymskie „orgie". Między mitem, dyskursem a realiami* (13 czerwca 2022, hybrydowo).
7. Dr Ałła Brzozowska (UWr), *'Rex iustus in bello iusto'. Obraz wojny sprawiedliwej w poemacie Samuela Wolfa* (24 października 2022, online).
8. Dr hab. Tomasz Mojsik, prof. UB, *Czy w starożytności istniały Góry Pieryjskie i gdzie należy ich szukać. Kilka słów o antycznej wiedzy geograficznej i geografii wyobrażonej oraz literaturze w tym zakresie* (23 stycznia 2023, online).
9. Dr Magdalena Wolf (UWr), *„O bogach i wierzeniach dawnych Litwinów, Żmudzinów" Jana Łasickiego oraz Jana Sandeckiego-Maleckiego – okiem tłumacza* (6 marca 2023, online).

10. Dr Agnieszka Witczak (UG), *Antyk na usługach rajców gdańskich* (3 kwietnia 2023, online).
11. Prof. dr hab. Marian Szarmach, *Maksymos z Tyru jako przedstawiciel drugiej sofistyki* (26 kwietnia 2023).
12. Mgr Dawid Lipiński, *Pole semantyczne łacińskich czasowników oznaczających składanie ofiary* (24 maja 2023, hybrydowo).
13. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska (UAM), *Owidiusz – poeta tajemniczy* (26 października 2023, hybrydowo).
14. Dr Zbigniew Brzostowski (ASPG), *Architektura i rzeźba bazyliki św. Jakuba w 'Liber sancti Iacobi' ks. V 9 – dwunastowiecznym przewodniku po Santiago de Compostela* (24 stycznia 2024, hybrydowo).
15. Dr hab. Maria Chantry, prof. UWr, *Jak sobie radzić w czasach kryzysu. Pomysły Macieja Kazimierza Sarbiewskiego* (19 marca 2024, online).
16. Dr hab. Karol Zieliński, prof. UWr, *Świat homerycki jako obraz kultury oralnej* (23 kwietnia 2024, hybrydowo).
17. Dr hab. Bartosz Awianowicz, prof. UMK, *Samurajowie czy legioniści? Męczennicy z Nagasaki w 'Orator sacro-civilis' Andrzeja Michała Temberskiego* (5 listopada 2024, hybrydowo).
18. Dr hab. Beata Gaj, prof. UKSW, *Genologia antyczna dziś, czyli: 1. Różne 'tryby' diatryby. 2. O genethliakonie słów kilka* (8 stycznia 2025, hybrydowo).
19. Dr hab. Andrzej Wypustek, prof. UWr, *Orgia romana. Grupowe zachowania seksualne w świecie grecko-rzymskim* (4 czerwca 2025, hybrydowo).

W ramach współpracy ze szkołami w Trójmieście Przewodnicząca Oddziału Gdańskiego PTF przeprowadziła wykład okolicznościowy pt. *Bogowie i herosi w popkulturze* w Zespole Szkół Administracyjno-Ekonomicznych w Gdyni (1 grudnia 2021).

Dla studentów filologii klasycznej UG (Wydział Filologiczny, Instytut Studiów Klasycznych i Slawistyki) dr hab. Andrzej Wypustek, prof. UWr, poprowadził w dniu 4 czerwca 2025 r. warsztaty z czytania rzymskich graffiti; pobyt wykładowcy finansowany był ze środków Oddziału Gdańskiego PTF.

Aleksandra Hołomej
Przewodnicząca Oddziału Gdańskiego PTF

Jacek Pokrzywnicki
Sekretarz Oddziału Gdańskiego PTF

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU KRAKOWSKIEGO

I. Zarząd

W okresie sprawozdawczym od 6 grudnia 2022 r. Oddział działał w następującym składzie: dr Janusz Ryba – przewodniczący, dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar – wiceprzewodnicząca, mgr Maria Szarek – sekretarz i skarbnik. Komisja Rewizyjna: dr Jan German, mgr Marta Wierzbicka, mgr Piotr Wolski.

II. Działalność naukowa i statutowa

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się dziewięć zebrań naukowych, podczas których wygłoszono następujące odczyty:

1. Dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar (UJ), *Park mitologii w Zatorze: recepcja antyku między edukacją a komercją* (6 grudnia 2022).
2. Dr Janusz Ryba (UJ), *Język łaciński jako L3: warunki organizacyjno-programowe* (26 października 2023).
3. Dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar (UJ), *Pokonany agresor i pogromca smoka. Aleksander Wielki w 'Kronice polskiej' Wincentego Kadłubka* (29 lutego 2024).
4. Mgr Piotr Wolski (IJP PAN; UK w Pradze), *'Synonima Apothecariorum'. Nieznane średniowieczne leksykony przyrodoznawcze i ich polska recepcja w perspektywie przyszłości filologii klasycznej* (21 marca 2024).
5. Dr hab. Andrzej Gillmeister, prof. UZ, *'Septemviri epulones' a 'redemptive hegemony' w religii rzymskiej* (23 maja 2024).
6. Dr Krzysztof Mogielnicki (UZ), *Kiedy 'hostia' staje się hostią. 'Probatio' w religii rzymskiej* (23 maja 2024).
7. Dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar (UJ), *Gry starożytnych Greków i Rzymian* (12 grudnia 2024).
8. Dr Janusz Ryba (UJ), *Projekt dydaktyczny w nauczaniu języka łacińskiego i kultury antycznej* (10 kwietnia 2025).
9. Dr Tomasz Babnis (UJ), *Co wiemy o biografii Klaudiana? Kilka nowych propozycji* (29 maja 2025).

III. Działalność popularyzatorska

Członkowie Oddziału powołani do Okręgowej Komisji Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego: dr hab. Antoni Bobrowski – przewodniczący, mgr Elżbieta Wolanin – sekretarz, oraz członkowie Okręgowej Komisji Egzaminacyjnej: mgr Beata Babnis, dr Tomasz Babnis, mgr Wiesława Hajda, dr hab. Agnieszka Heszen, dr hab. Joanna Janik, prof. UJ, dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar, mgr Alicja Marczewska (od 2023), dr Dariusz Piwowarczyk, mgr Maria Szarek, prof. Stanisław Śnieżewski, dr hab. Hubert Wolanin, prof. UJ, przeprowadzili eliminacje I i II etapu XL, XLI, XLII i XLIII Olimpiady.

Oddział Krakowski był współorganizatorem razem z I Liceum Ogólnokształcącym im. B. Nowodworskiego w Krakowie „Dnia antycznego w No-

wodworku" (21 kwietnia 2023), podczas którego wygłoszono następujące wykłady:

1. Dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar (UJ), *„Ale głupi ci Rzymianie..." Dziwne rzymskie zwyczaje i obyczaje.*
2. Dr Natalia Chwaja (UP), *Szczury, gangi i wielkie piękno. Rzym współczesny.*

IV. Działalność ekspercka

1. Prace członków Oddziału Krakowskiego PTF w zespołach eksperckich Centralnej Komisji Egzaminacyjnej, Okręgowej Komisji Egzaminacyjnej w Krakowie, Okręgowej Komisji Egzaminacyjnej w Łodzi, Ministerstwa Edukacji Narodowej, Ministerstwa Sprawiedliwości.
2. Współpraca z instytucjami edukacyjnymi: Ośrodkiem Rozwoju Edukacji, Instytutem Badań Edukacyjnych.

V. Obecnie Oddział liczy 35 członków; w okresie sprawozdawczym 7 osób zapisało się do oddziału.

Przewodniczący Oddziału Krakowskiego PTF
dr Janusz Ryba

Sekretarz Oddziału Krakowskiego PTF
mgr Maria Szarek

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU LUBELSKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym Oddział liczył 44 członków (w tym 10 emerytowanych Pracowników).

W skład zarządu 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 wchodzili: dr hab. Jolanta G. Malinowska – przewodniczący, dr hab. Krzysztof Narecki, prof. KUL, dr Marian Babiński – członkowie Komisji.

W okresie sprawozdawczym pożegnaliśmy spośród naszego grona zmarłych: prof. Roberta Chodkowskiego, prof. Krystynę Stawecką i prof. Henryka Podbielskiego.

Zebranie wyborcze obecnego Zarządu Oddziału Lubelskiego PTF miało miejsce 16 czerwca 2021 r. na platformie MS Teams. Głosowanie odbyło się za pośrednictwem aplikacji Ankiety Lime Survey. Został utrzymany dotychczasowy skład Zarządu i Komisji Rewizyjnej.

W okresie sprawozdawczym Oddział prowadził działalność statutową w następujących formach:

I. Posiedzenia Zarządu i Członków Oddziału połączone z odczytami naukowymi (w czasie zagrożenia epidemicznego działalność Koła uległa znacznemu ograniczeniu):

1. Ks. Michał Łukaszczyk, *Recepcja literatury antycznej w myśli Ojców Kościoła* (24 lutego 2021, online).
2. Dr Marek Łoś, *Jan Stanisław Łoś – mój ojciec*; prof. dr hab. Maciej Jońca, *Jan Stanisław Łoś jako historyk starożytności – posiedzenie połączone z promocją zbiorów esejów Jana Stanisława Łosia pt. 'Szkice z historii kultury' oraz 'Recenzje i polemiki'* (28 listopada 2023).
3. Ks. dr Karol Adamczewski, *Świadkowie w procesie Chrystusa* (22 marca 2023).
4. Dr Edward Gigilewicz, *'Słowa dla godła biskupiego', czyli o dewizach herbowych episkopatu polskiego w czasach PRL* (26 kwietnia 2023).
5. Dr Natalia Turkiewicz, *Hoc inscribitur ob rei memoriam. Sekrety ksiąg metrykalnych* (23 maja 2023)
6. Prof. Mikołaj Szymański, *Adagia Erazma – uwagi edytora* (12 czerwca 2023).
7. Dr Irmina W. Stodulska, *Auspicja. Kilka uwag historyka prawa* (28 czerwca 2023).
8. Prof. Maciej Jońca (USz), *Nominativus cum invinitivo, ubóstwiony Hadrian i wyrok, którego nie było (D. 48.9.5)* (11 października 2023).
9. Prof. Piotr Kochanek (KUL), *Patrystyczne reminiscencje w schemacie arki Noego Michała Anioła z Kaplicy Sykstyńskiej* (6 grudnia 2023).
10. Prof. Mikołaj Szymański (UW), *Kalendarz rzymski. Problemy i osobliwości* (12 marca 2024).
11. Dr Artur Turowski (KUL), *Wybrane starogreckie podręczniki do wojskowości – geneza, treść, wartość praktyczna* (17 kwietnia 2024).
12. Prof. Jan Kwapisz (UW), *Zagadnienie lirycznego epigramatu* (15 maja 2024).
13. Prof. Henryk Wąsowicz (em. KUL), *Intelektualne zabawy z czasem* (19 czerwca 2024).
14. Prof. Adam Łukaszewicz (UW), *Rzymianie nad Nilem* (22 października 2024).
15. Ks. dr Michał Łukaszczyk, *Czy Hieronim był (chrys-)t(e)ologiem? Próba zrozumienia Hieronima na podstawie jego 'Listów'* (13 listopada 2024).
16. Dr Daniel Próchniak (em. KUL), *Surb Hripsime. Tufowa wycinanka i fantazje Agathangelosa* (11 grudnia 2024).
17. Dr Agata Łuka (KUL), *Poetycki zbiór 'Echo e Polonia Romam tendens' (1670) – anagramy czy quasi-anagramy* (19 lutego 2025).
18. Mgr Justyna Horbowska (KUL), *O argumencie na rzecz nieśmiertelności dotyczącym duszy jako substancji w ujęciu Damaskiosa* (2 kwietnia 2025).
19. Dr hab. Anna Palusińska (KUL), dr Małgorzata Siwicka (KUL), *Św. Grzegorz Palamas – hezychasta, teolog, filozof* (21 maja 2025).

II. Działalność translatorska i edycyjna

Prace translatorskie i edycyjne członków Oddziału Lubelskiego zostały docenione przez Kapitułę Stowarzyszenia Wydawców Katolickich FENIKS. W 2021 r. nagrodę w kategorii „Tłumacz" za przygotowany z mistrzowską dbałością o czystość przekazu treści oryginalnego utworu i uwzględniający potrzeby i wymagania współczesności przekład *Odysei* otrzymał Prof. Robert Chodkowski (Homer, *Odyseja*, przełożył, wstępem i przypisami opatrzył Robert R. Chodkowski, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL). W 2022 r. w tej samej kategorii po laur sięgnęli dr Agnieszka Strycharczuk, ks. dr hab. Tadeusz Gacia i ks. dr hab. Jarosław M. Marczewski, autorzy publikacji *Maioris ad limina templi... Poezja epigraficzna epoki karolińskiej. Badania i przekłady* (Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL), docenieni za dociekliwość badawczą i artyzm językowy. W kategorii „Edytorstwo" natomiast przyznano wyróżnienie *Ilustrowanej Biblii Pierwszego Kościoła* ks. prof. dra hab. Remigiusza Popowskiego (Oficyna Wydawnicza VOCATIO). W 2023 r. FENIKS w kategorii „Tłumacz" ponownie trafił do prof. Chodkowskiego, tym razem za przekład *Iliady* (Homer, *Iliada*, przekład i oprac. Robert R. Chodkowski, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL), zauważony jako wzorzec połączenia kunsztu translatorskiego i literackiego.

III. Współpraca z innymi uniwersytetami i działalność popularyzatorska

Członkowie Oddziału rokrocznie prowadzili wykłady i różnorodne zajęcia dotyczące kultury antycznej i nauczania języków klasycznych podczas Lubelskiego Festiwalu Nauki, który na stałe wpisał się do kalendarza najbardziej inspirujących wydarzeń miasta Lublina.

Sekretarz Oddziału, dr Natalia Turkiewicz, prowadzi cykl warsztatów genealogiczno-językowych pt. „Rodzina w źródłach. Warsztaty historyczno-genealogiczne". Projekt jest skierowany do uczniów szkół podstawowych (kl. VI–VIII), szkół ponadpodstawowych, nauczycieli oraz instytucji kultury. Warsztaty skupiają się wokół specyfiki źródłowej ksiąg metrykalnych i mają na celu wyposażenie uczestników w narzędzia umożliwiające odczytywanie i interpretację tego typu źródła. Do tej pory, w latach 2022–2025, odbyło się 15 spotkań, w których wzięli udział nauczyciele i uczniowie szkół z Lublina (m.in. XIV Liceum Ogólnokształcące w ZSO nr 1 im. Zbigniewa Herberta) oraz z terenu województwa lubelskiego (m.in. I LO im. Stanisława Staszica w Hrubieszowie, II Liceum Ogólnokształcące im. Marii Konopnickiej w Zamościu, Zespół Szkół w Krasnobrodzie, Zespół Szkół w Białej Podlaskiej, Akademia Młodych Humanistów KUL).

Przewodnicząca Oddziału, dr Agata Łuka, prowadziła warsztaty poetyckie i interpretacyjno-translatorskie w formie telekonferencji, m.in.: w ramach seminarium prof. Mikołaja Szymańskiego (IFK UW) warsztaty: *„Tu ne cede malis", czyli nie bój się chcieć* (15 czerwca 2022), *„Nox erat...", czyli jak Horacy napisałby „Słówko o księżycu w stawie"* (24 maja 2023), „*Księżyc szalony*

skoczył na chmurę", czyli wędrówki Merkurego (5 czerwca 2024), *Lemur, ara i sum? Nie, merci! – czyli Seminarium Mercuriale zaprasza na wykład o XVII-wiecznych anagramistach, połączony z warsztatami pisania anagramów* (30 kwietnia 2025), a także – jako gość seminarium studencko-doktoranckiego „Hybryda" (WPIA US) – warsztaty tłumaczenia i pisania fraszek: *Saturnalia tuż-tuż. Warsztaty z łaciny dla prawników i nie tylko* (16 grudnia 2022) i *Memento mori. Warsztaty z łaciny dla prawników i nie tylko* (17 marca 2023).

Lubelski Oddział Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego odgrywa istotną rolę w popularyzacji filologii klasycznej oraz szeroko pojętej humanistyki. Skupia zarówno pracowników naukowych, doktorantów, jak i pasjonatów języków i literatury starożytnej Grecji oraz Rzymu.

Działalność oddziału obejmuje zatem przede wszystkim:

1. Organizację cyklicznych wykładów naukowych – zapraszani są wybitni filolodzy, historycy, filozofowie oraz kulturoznawcy z ośrodków naukowych w całej Polsce, którzy dzielą się wynikami swoich badań dotyczących antyku, recepcji tradycji klasycznej oraz metodologii badań filologicznych.
2. Współorganizację konferencji i sympozjów naukowych – członkowie oddziału biorą czynny udział w przygotowywaniu ogólnopolskich i międzynarodowych spotkań naukowych, takich jak zjazdy PTF czy interdyscyplinarne sesje poświęcone dziedzictwu antyku w kulturze europejskiej.
3. Wspieranie młodych badaczy – oddział aktywnie promuje rozwój naukowy studentów i doktorantów, m.in. przez umożliwienie młodym naukowcom wystąpień podczas spotkań oddziału.
4. Publikacje naukowe – członkowie oddziału regularnie publikują artykuły i monografie naukowe w renomowanych czasopismach i wydawnictwach, a także współpracują przy wydawaniu serii związanych z badaniami nad literaturą i kulturą antyczną.
5. Działalność popularyzatorska – Lubelski Oddział PTF angażuje się również w szerzenie wiedzy o antyku poza środowiskiem akademickim, współpracując z lokalnymi szkołami, bibliotekami i instytucjami kultury. Prowadzi otwarte wykłady oraz warsztaty dla uczniów i nauczycieli.

Dzięki zaangażowaniu jego członków, Lubelski Oddział PTF pozostaje ważnym ośrodkiem filologii klasycznej w Polsce, dbającym o zachowanie i rozwój tradycji badań nad dziedzictwem świata starożytnego.

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU ŁÓDZKIEGO

I. Zarząd

W okresie sprawozdawczym (od 9 listopada 2023 r.) Zarząd Oddziału działał w następującym składzie: dr Adriana Grzelak-Krzymianowska – przewodnicząca, prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak – wiceprzewodniczący,

dr Anna Maciejewska – sekretarz, dr Sylwia Krukowska – skarbnik (powołana 14 grudnia 2023). Aktualna przewodnicząca przejęła funkcję po wieloletniej prezesce, zmarłej w 2023 r., dr hab. Joannie Rybowskiej. W 2025 r. zmarł też wieloletni członek PTF, mgr Dariusz Gwis, pracownik Centrum Języków i Certyfikacji UŁ, który corocznie brał udział w organizacji szkolnego i okręgowego etapu Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego. Aktualnie Łódzkie Koło PTF liczy 25 członków.

II. Działalność naukowa

Należy zaznaczyć, że z powodu nagłej sytuacji pandemicznej i choroby Przewodniczącej, działalność Towarzystwa była przez jakiś czas wstrzymana. W części naukowej spotkań uczestnicy wysłuchali następujących referatów:

1. Prof. Krzysztof T. Witczak, *Mityczna strażniczka Tartaru Kampe w literaturze i sztuce antycznej* (14 grudnia 2023).
2. Dr Marcin Komorowski, *Henologia, agatologia, teologia Proklosa. Pogańska propozycja uprawiania filozofii u schyłku antyku* (25 kwietnia 2024).
3. Prof. Piotr Stalmaszczyk, *Kornwalia i język kornicki: od starożytności do współczesności* (4 kwietnia 2024).
4. Prof. Krzysztof T. Witczak, prof. Mikołaj Rychło, *Czy Pyteasz z Massalii odwiedził Wyspy Brytyjskie i Islandię?* (09 maja 2024).
5. Martyna Kowalska, *Religijna i artystyczna funkcja tajemniczych rozmów z bóstwem w 'Fasti' Owidiusza* (13 marca 2025).

III. Działalność popularyzatorska

1. Członkowie Oddziału powołani do Okręgowej Komisji Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego (19 grudnia 2024 r.): dr Aneta Tylak – przewodnicząca, dr Sylwia Krukowska – sekretarz, dr hab. Idaliana Kaczor, dr Adriana Grzelak-Krzymianowska, oraz członkini Okręgowej Komisji Egzaminacyjnej: dr hab. Hanna Zalewska-Jura, prof. UŁ, przeprowadzili eliminacje I i II etapu XLII i XLIII Olimpiady. Dr Adriana Grzelak-Krzymianowska reprezentowała Oddział podczas etapu centralnego w latach 2021–2024.
2. 21 listopada 2024 r. Oddział Łódzki PTF współorganizował seminarium studenckie pt. *De lingua Latina Lodziae vivente* wieńczące projekt realizowany przez Koło Młodych Klasyków, podczas którego zaprezentowano trzy odczyty oraz odbyła się premiera wydania specjalnego numeru czasopisma studenckiego KAPITOL zrealizowanego w ramach grantu „Łódź akademicka – naukowa, kreatywna, wielokulturowa 2024".
3. Czterokrotnie zorganizowano Ogólnopolski Konkurs Języka Łacińskiego, który przeznaczony jest dla uczniów szkół średnich na poziomie słaboza-awansowanym. Konkurs początkowo odbywał się nieregularnie i w różnych formułach, w obecnej formie i corocznie od czwartej edycji (2015). Najpierw miał zasięg regionalny (województwo łódzkie i świętokrzyskie),

ogólnopolski jest od ósmej edycji (2019). Organizatorkami konkursu są: dr Anna Maciejewska (Centrum Języków i Certyfikacji UŁ), dr Sylwia Krukowska (KFK UŁ) (www.filologiaklasyczna.uni.lodz.pl/polskie-towarzystwo-filologiczne/ogonopolski-konkurs-jezyka-lacinskiego).

4. Organizacja *Concilium Latinum Lodziense*:

– *CLL* XVII „Post negotium otium" (4 czerwca 2022);
– *CLL* XVIII „Ex navicula navis" (20 maja 2023);
– *CLL* XIX „*Rure ego viventem, tu dicis in urbe beatum* – de hominum sedibus variis" (25 maja 2024);
– *CLL* XX „Festa, iubilaea, sollemnitates" (30–31 maja 2025).

W 2025 r. świętowaliśmy 20 lat naszej latynistycznej konferencji (hwww.filologiaklasyczna.uni.lodz.pl/polskie-towarzystwo-filologiczne/concilium-latinum-lodziense).

5. 21 listopada 2022 r. – Organizacja warsztatów na Wydziale Filologicznym UŁ i wykład dr Adriany Grzelak-Krzymianowskiej dla uczniów klasy 8 Szkoły Podstawowej nr 1 w Konstantynowie Łódzkim pt. *Z łaciną przez wieki*.
6. 24 listopada 2023 r. i 19 stycznia 2024 r. – Organizacja warsztatów na Wydziale Filologicznym UŁ z KMK dla uczniów IV LO w Łodzi na temat dramatu antycznego.

Przewodnicząca Oddziału Łódzkiego PTF
dr Adriana Grzelak-Krzymianowska

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU POZNAŃSKIEGO

I. Zarząd

W okresie sprawozdawczym Oddział działał pod egidą zarządu w następującym składzie: dr hab. Magdalena Stuligrosz – przewodnicząca, dr Teodozja Wikarjak – wiceprzewodnicząca, dr Aleksandra Arndt – sekretarz, dr Marlena Puk – skarbnik, członkowie Zarządu: dr Łukasz Berger, Komisja Rewizyjna: prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartol, prof. dr hab. Elżnieta Wesołowska, dr hab. Radosław Piętka, prof. UAM.

II. Działalność naukowa i statutowa:

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 21 zebrań naukowych, na których wygłoszono tyleż referatów, w tym: 9 z literatury antycznej, 8 z literatury nowołacińskiej, 1 z filozofii starożytnej, 1 z prawa starożytnego, 1 z recepcji antyku, 1 z popularyzacji antyku.

Autorami wygłaszanych referatów byli członkowie naszego Oddziału (9), goście z innych ośrodków i instytucji w Polsce (9) oraz z ośrodków zagranicznych (3).

1. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska, *Tezeusz w Owidiuszowych Heroidach* (16 listopada 2021).
2. Prof. dr hab. Jakub Urbanik (UW), *Co nowego u Dionizji i Chairemona? P.Oxy. II 237 i stosowanie prawa w Egipcie rzymski*m (15 marca 2022).
3. Dr Andrea Mariani (Instytut Historii UAM), *Łacińskie źródła z Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu i ich wartość do badań historycznych* (12 kwietnia 2022).
4. Dr Dariusz Kacprzak (Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie), *Antyczne korzenie Europy. Heinrich Dohrn i jego kolekcja brązowych kopii i rekonstrukcji rzeźb starożytnej Grecji dla Muzeum Miejskiego w Szczecinie (Museum der Stadt Stettin)* (17 maja 2022).
5. Prof. dr hab. Piotr Bering, *Komputer w służbie klasyka. Narzędzie, czy coś więcej?* (15 listopada 2022).
6. Dr hab. Bartosz Awianowicz, prof. UMK, *'Monita privata Societatis Iesu' a deliberatywna utilitas* (24 stycznia 2023).
7. Dr Dawid Barbarzak, *Epistula de Polonicis commessationibus, czyli uczty antyczne i renesansowe w liście Stanisława Reszki (Wenecja, 1588)* (21 marca 2023).
8. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska, *Kilka sekretów Owidiusza* (18 kwietnia 2023).
9. Dr Szymon Hiżycki (OSB), *Terminologia grecka w pismach Jana Kasjana* (16 maja 2023).
10. Prof. dr hab. Krystyna Rutkowska (Uniwersytet Wileński), *Początki postyllografii na Litwie – od dzieł przekładowych do utworów oryginalnych* (17 października 2023).
11. Dr Anna Lasek, *Studium pijaństwa w Dionysiaka Nonnosa z Panopolis* (21 listopada 2023).
12. Mgr Romana Lipońska, '*Tabula memorialis' opactwa cystersów w Lądzie* (16 stycznia 2024).
13. Dr hab. Piotr Pokora, prof. UAM, *Starodruki z Biblioteki Raczyńskich – charakterystyka zbioru* (19 marca 2024).
14. Dr Elisa Frei (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt/Boston College), *Litterae Indipetae: The Hidden Voices of Jesuit Missionaries in the Early Modern World* (9 kwietnia 2024).
15. Dr hab. Tomasz Mojsik, prof. UwB, *Od Hyginusa do Stranger Things, czyli po co nam mitografia?* (21 maja 2024).
16. Dr Anna Lasek, *Problemy zdrowotne kobiet na podstawie dzieła Metrodory z Bizancjum* '*O chorobach kobiet i ich leczeniu*' (15 października 2024).
17. Prof. dr hab. Zofia Głombiowska (UG), *Prooemium bez eposu i optymistyczna heroida, czyli polityczne elegie Filipa Buonaccorsiego Kallimacha* (19 listopada 2024).
18. Prof. dr hab. Przemysław Marciniak (UŚ), *Kiedy mrówki walczyły z wszami. Mikroświat bizantyńskich insektów* (21 stycznia 2025).

19. Prof. dr hab. Marian Wesoły, *Poezja versus filozofia w grecko-rzymskim antyku. Zbieżności, odrębności i napięcia* (18 marca 2025).
20. Prof. dr hab. Elżbieta Wesołowska, *Topografia cierpienia w literaturze antycznej* (15 kwietnia 2025).
21. Prof. dr. Daniele Miano (University of Oslo), *The Relics of Livy: holiness, embodiment and Roman history in 14th and 15th century Italy* (27 maja 2025).

Odbyły się też trzy spotkania świąteczno-noworoczne połączone z wieczorem translatorskim *Scripta Polonice reddita* (w grudniu 2021, 2022, 2023 i 2024).

III. Działalność popularyzacyjna:

1. Członkowie Oddziału powołani do Okręgowej Komisji Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego: dr hab. Magdalena Stuligrosz, prof. UAM – przewodnicząca, dr Sławomira Brud – sekretarz (w roku akademickim 2024/2025 p.o. przewodnicząca Okręgowej Komisji), dr Aleksandra Arndt (od roku akademickiego 2024/2025 dr Marlena Puk), dr Teodozja Wikarjak, oraz członkowie Okręgowej Komisji Egzaminacyjnej: dr Łukasz Berger, dr Anna Lasek przeprowadzili eliminacje I i II etapu XL, XLI, XLII oraz XLIII Olimpiady.
2. Członkinie Oddziału: dr Justyna Zaborowska-Musiał i dr Marlena Puk pod egidą IFK UAM zorganizowały w latach 2021/22, 2022/23, 2023/2024 oraz 2024/25 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 pracownicy naukowi IFK.
3. Członkini Oddziału dr Justyna Zaborowska-Musiał koordynowała współpracę IFK ze szkołami. W latach 2021–2025 pracownicy naukowi i dydaktyczni IFK UAM angażowali się we współpracę z klasami humanistycznymi liceów ogólnokształcących z województwa wielkopolskiego, lubuskiego i łódzkiego, w ramach współpracy ogólnowydziałowej (Wydziału Filologii Polskiej i Klasycznej UAM) i instytutowej (Instytutu Filologii Klasycznej), prowadząc wykłady online oraz stacjonarne (w siedzibie WFPiK UAM i w liceach współpracujących), warsztaty retoryczne (stacjonarnie w IFK UAM) a także lekcję pokazową starożytnej greki (stacjonarnie w IFK UAM).
4. Oddział Poznański PTF współorganizował z Instytutem Filologii Klasycznej UAM Dni „Króla Edypa" (marzec 2022), Dni „Eneidy" (marzec 2023), Dni Arystofanesa (marzec 2024) oraz Dni Seneki (marzec 2025) w ramach *Festival Européen Latin Grec*, podczas którego odbyło się publiczne czytanie tekstów antycznych oraz towarzyszące wydarzenia.

IV. Działalność organizacyjna:

W dniach 28–29 września 2023 roku prof. dr hab. Krystyna Bartol, prof. dr hab. Jerzy Danielewicz, dr hab. Radosław Piętka, prof. UAM, dr hab.

Magdalena Stuligrosz, prof. UAM, reprezentowali Oddział na CX Zjeździe PTF w Toruniu.

V. Obecnie Oddział liczy 47 członków i członkiń; w okresie sprawozdawczym 4 osoby zapisały się do oddziału, 2 osoby złożyły rezygnację, 1 osoba zmarła.

dr hab. Magdalena Stuligrosz, prof. UAM
przewodnicząca Oddziału

dr Aleksandra Arndt
sekretarz Oddziału

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU TORUŃSKIEGO

W okresie sprawozdawczym Oddział miał 18 członków. Od 2017 r. do 12 grudnia 2024 r. prezesem był dr hab. Bartosz Awianowicz, prof. UMK. Na spotkaniu wyborczym 12 grudnia 2024 w drodze wyborów prezesem Oddziału została dr Marta Szada.

Od października 2019 r., dzięki podpisaniu umowy pomiędzy Oddziałem a Książnicą Kopernikańską w Toruniu, wykłady, a zarazem spotkania Oddziału Toruńskiego PTF, odbywały się w głównym gmachu Książnicy przy ul. J. Słowackiego 8 w ramach cyklu „Piątków z antykiem":

1. Dr hab. Rafał Toczko, prof. UMK, *Epidemie, religia i szukanie kozłów ofiarnych w antyku i wczesnym chrześcijaństwie* (7 czerwca 2021, online).
2. Dr Marta Szada, *Śladami humanistycznego czytelnika w XVII-wiecznym Elblągu: historia pewnych marginaliów* (15 listopada 2022).
3. Prof. dr Robert Maryks, *Łacińska literatura antyjezuicka wokół tumultów w Toruniu w 1614 (sic!)* (13 grudnia 2022).

W dniach 28–29 września 2023 członkowie Oddziału zorganizowali w Collegium Maius UMK CX Walny Zjazd PTF, który po raz pierwszy miał charakter nie konferencji, lecz trzech paneli dyskusyjnych na temat współczesności edukacji szkolnej i uniwersyteckiej w zakresie języków klasycznych i kultury antycznej, oraz wyzwań, jakie stoją przed instytutami i katedrami filologii klasycznej w Polsce.

W kolejnych latach akademickich 2022/2023 oraz 2023/2024 zebrania odbywały się w Collegium Maius UMK. Towarzyszyły im następujące wystąpienia:

1. Dr Marta Szada, *Wyidealizowany obraz kleru w Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum i jego funkcje* (6 grudnia 2023)
2. Mgr Tomasz Bednarek, *Wartość języka figuratywnego i rozumowania analogicznego w myśli platońskiej, judeohellenistycznej i wczesnochrześcijańskiej* (5 czerwca 2024).

3. Dr hab. Rafał Toczko, prof. UMK, *Gry literackie we wczesnochrześcijańskich inwektywach* (8 marca 2024).
4. Dr Sławomir Poloczek, *Specyfika „zoologicznej" inwektywy u Epifaniusza z Salaminy* (24 kwietnia 2025).

Pod egidą Oddziału Toruńskiego PTF w Collegium Maius UMK odbyło się również 16 maja 2025 r. spotkanie z prof. Florianem Stegerem związane z promocją jego wydanej w języku polskim książki *Asklepios. Medycyna i kult* oraz dnia 19 maja 2025 r. wykład prof. Bronwen Neil *Leading the church through crises in Late Antiquity: Augustine's reputational management in Confessions and his letters*.

W dniach 7–11 lipca 2025 r. wielu członków Oddziału (dr hab. Bartosz Awianowicz, prof. UMK, dr hab. Barbara Bibik, prof. UMK, dr hab. Rafał Toczko, prof. UMK, dr Marta Szada) brali udział w XVII Kongresie *Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques* (*FIEC*) we Wrocławiu.

dr Marta Szada
przewodnicząca Oddziału

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU WARSZAWSKIEGO

I. Informacje osobowe

W okresie sprawozdawczym zmarli zasłużeni członkowie Oddziału: dr Barbara Drewniewska-Idziak (zm. 10 stycznia 2022), pracownik Biblioteki Narodowej; dr Jerzy Mańkowski (zm. 21 marca 2022), wykładowca w Instytucie Filologii Klasycznej UW; mgr Jerzy Roman Kaczyński (zm. 8 lipca 2022), nauczyciel w II LO im. St. Batorego w Warszawie; prof. dr hab. Jerzy Wojtczak-Szyszkowski (zm. 22 lutego 2024), profesor w Uniwersytecie Warszawskim; mgr Stanisław Skała (zm. 29 sierpnia 2024), wykładowca w Instytucie Filologii Klasycznej UW i na Wydziale Prawa Kanonicznego UKSW; mgr Lech Bobiatyński (zm. 29 listopada 2024), kustosz Biblioteki Instytutu Filologii Klasycznej UW.

Zarząd Oddziału działał w następującym składzie: dr hab. Jan Kwapisz, prof. UW – przewodniczący, prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański – przewodniczący honorowy, dr hab. Katarzyna Jażdżewska – zastępca przewodniczącego (do 19 maja 2023), dr Magdalena Zawadzka – zastępca przewodniczącego (do 19 maja 2023), prof. Myrosław Trofymuk – zastępca przewodniczącego (od 19 maja 2023), mgr Jan Laskowski – sekretarz, dr Magdalena Popiołek – skarbnik, mgr Maria Poszepczyńska – przewodnicząca Sekcji Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku. Do 19 maja 2023 Zarząd tworzyli również dr Julia Doroszewska, dr Krzysztof Łapiński, prof. dr hab. Adam Łukaszewicz, mgr Monika Mikuła

(skład zarządu uległ zmniejszeniu w nowej kadencji za sprawą zmiany przepisów). Komisja Rewizyjna działała w składzie: mgr Ludmiła Bohdanowicz (do 19 maja 2023), mgr Agnieszka Jakubik (od 19 maja 2023), mgr Monika Mikuła (od 19 maja 2023), dr Anna Szymańska-Budzińska, prof. dr hab. Mikołaj Szymański.

II. Wykłady i zebrania

W okresie sprawozdawczym odbyło się 12 spotkań seminarium poświęconego poezji hellenistycznej, zorganizowanego wspólnie przez Oddziały Krakowski, Warszawski i Wrocławski, a także nadzwyczajne wydarzenie z tej serii z udziałem gości zagranicznych w Instytucie Filologii Klasycznej UW (przy wsparciu Centrum Badań nad Cywilizacjami Starożytnymi UW) – ta część działalności Oddziału została szczegółowo opisana w osobnym sprawozdaniu. Odbyły się także trzy wykłady przeznaczone dla uczniów szkół licealnych i podstawowych w ramach cyklu Laboratorium Filologii Klasycznej, zorganizowane wspólnie z Instytutem Filologii Klasycznej UW, a ostatni z nich także we współpracy z XV LO im. N. Żmichowskiej w Warszawie:

1. Dr hab. Krzysztof Łapiński (Wydział Filozofii UW), *Rozmyślania Marka Aureliusza jako dziennik ćwiczeń stoickich* (10 marca 2023).
2. Dr Michał Piekarski (Instytut Historii Nauki PAN), *Cóż poczne bez Eurydyki? Wątki antyczne w operze od XVII do XIX wieku* (12 maja 2023).
3. Dr hab. Beata Spieralska-Kasprzyk (Instytut Filologii Klasycznej UW), *Jak powstaje średniowieczna książka* (26 marca 2024).

Ponadto odbyły się następujące zebrania Oddziału:

1. 19 maja 2023 – zebranie wyborcze, wieczór poświęcony pamięci dr. Jerzego Mańkowskiego, na którym wspomnienia przedstawili mgr Inga Grześczak, pani Barbara Opała (córka dr. Mańkowskiego), mgr Dorota Sutkowska, prof. dr hab. Jerzy Wojtczak-Szyszkowski;
2. 5 grudnia 2024 – wybory członków Komitetu Okręgowego Olimpiady Języka Łacińskiego;
3. 6 marca 2025 – wybory delegatów na Zjazd PTF; obchody 80-lecia „Meandra": prof. dr hab. Juliusz Domański – *O „Meandrze", czyli mojej w nim obecności i nieobecności*; ks. prof. dr hab. Marek Starowieyski – *Od łaciny do patrologii*; prof. dr hab. Mikołaj Szymański – *Perypetie z Pawłem i Gawłem i parę niemiłych listów*.

III. Działalność Sekcji Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku

W okresie sprawozdawczym praca Sekcji koncentrowała się na organizowaniu i prowadzeniu kursów języka łacińskiego i greckiego oraz konkursu kultury klasycznej dla uczniów szkół podstawowych województwa mazowieckiego.

Kursy języków klasycznych organizowane od wielu lat są prowadzone przez studentów i absolwentów filologii klasycznej. Kursy przeznaczone dla wszystkich chętnych cieszą się zainteresowaniem osób w różnym wieku, od uczniów gimnazjów po emerytów. Oddział nie pobiera opłat od uczestników, a osoby prowadzące wykonują swą pracę społecznie. W roku akademickim 2021/2022 wznowiono kursy zawieszone w marcu 2020 z powodu pandemii koronawirusa. W roku akademickim 2024/2025 w ofercie znalazł się kurs kaligrafii średniowiecznej. W okresie sprawozdawczym kursy prowadzili: rok akademicki 2021/22 – język łaciński: Wojciech Pach, Martyna Gil; język grecki: mgr Maria Poszepczyńska; rok akademicki 2022/23 – język łaciński: Wojciech Pach, Martyna Gil; język grecki: mgr Maria Poszepczyńska; rok akademicki 2023/2024 – język łaciński: Maria Zbierska; język grecki: Laura Kubacz; rok akademicki 2024/2025 – język łaciński: mgr Maria Poszepczyńska; język grecki: Laura Kubacz; kaligrafia średniowieczna: dr hab. Beata Spieralska-Kasprzyk.

Konkurs Kultury Klasycznej (KKK) dla uczniów szkół podstawowych województwa mazowieckiego jest organizowany przez Oddział oraz Mazowieckie Kuratorium Oświaty od 2005 r. W okresie sprawozdawczym przeprowadzono: XVII, XVIII, XIX oraz XX edycję KKK. Mazowiecki Kurator Oświaty corocznie zatwierdza regulamin konkursu oraz osobnym pismem powołuje członków Wojewódzkiej Komisji KKK. W okresie sprawozdawczym Komisja działa w składzie: mgr Grażyna Kania – przewodnicząca, mgr Maria Poszepczyńska – sekretarz, członkowie: prof. dr hab. Barbara Milewska-Waźbińska, mgr Agnieszka Puchała, mgr Joanna Pudzianowska, Przedstawiciel Kuratorium wyznaczany corocznie przez Kuratora. Opiekę merytoryczną sprawuje przewodniczący Oddziału.

Konkurs należy do grupy „konkursy interdyscyplinarne", finaliści i laureaci otrzymują dodatkowe punkty przy rekrutacji do liceów. Stałym mottem KKK są słowa *Antiquitas magistra et amica nostra.* KKK ma strukturę trzystopniową. I stopień jest przeprowadzany w szkołach. Najpierw uczniowie przygotowują w domu pracę pisemną na zadany temat. W wyznaczonym dniu rozwiązują w warunkach kontrolowanych test, który jest sprawdzany przez Szkolną Komisję KKK. Do Wojewódzkiej Komisji KKK są przesyłane wyniki testów oraz prace pisemne tych uczniów, którzy zdobyli odpowiednią ilość punktów. Po sprawdzeniu prac pisemnych, zsumowaniu punktów i rozkodowaniu prac jest ogłaszana lista uczestników kolejnego etapu. II stopień jest przeprowadzany w warunkach kontrolowanych w Instytucie Filologii Klasycznej UW. Zadanie uczniów polega na rozwiązaniu testu i napisaniu eseju na zadany temat. III stopień to odpowiedź ustna przed WK KKK.

Temat XVII KKK: *Homo ab animalibus ratione, orationeque differt – Człowiek różni się od zwierząt rozumem i mową.* I stopień szkolny: Ludzie i zwierzęta w świecie starożytnym; temat eseju: *Jakiej wiedzy na temat*

starożytnych Greków i Rzymian dostarczają dawne teksty i wizerunki zwierząt? Rozważ kwestię na podstawie przeczytanych lektur oraz ikonografii. Liczba uczestników: 38 z 7 szkół. II stopień rejonowy: Fantastyczne stwory mitologiczne i biblijne; temat eseju: *Czemu mogły służyć obrazy nierzeczywistych stworów w dziełach antycznych i w Biblii: wyrażeniu i pobudzeniu fantazji, umocnieniu wiary, pokonaniu strachu...? W odpowiedzi nawiąż do przeczytanych tekstów oraz do ikonografii.* Liczba uczestników: 17. III stopień wojewódzki: Symbolika zwierząt na przestrzeni wieków. Liczba uczestników: 11.

Temat XVIII KKK: *Mundus caelumque sideribus conformatum est omnium naturae rerum conceptio summa (Vitruvius 9,2) – Świat i niebo przybrane gwiazdami jest istotą całej natury*. I stopień szkolny: Ku niebu i słońcu. Kosmos (wrzechświat) starożytnych; temat eseju: *Od chaosu do kosmosu. Co dawne wizje o początkach i budowie Wszechświata mówią o ludziach, którzy je tworzyli?* Liczba uczestników: 25 z 9 szkół podstawowych. II stopień rejonowy: Ku gwiazdom. Mitologia i astrologia; temat eseju: *Pod tym samym niebem. Które z dawnych wyobrażeń astronomicznych i astrologicznych przetrwały wieki i nadal obecne są w kulturze współczesnej? Odpowiedź uzasadnij w nawiązaniu do przeczytanych lektur oraz do ikonografii*. Liczba uczestników: 8 na 10 zakwalifikowanych; III stopień wojewódzki: Między niebem a ziemią. Astronomia w dobie nowożytnej. Liczba uczestników: 4 na 5 zakwalifikowanych.

Temat XIX KKK: *Vita rustica et honestissima, et suavissima est – Życie wiejskie jest i najzacniejsze, i najmilsze*. I stopień szkolny: Kraina wiecznej szczęśliwości – antyczne obrazy idealnego bytowania w zgodzie z przyrodą; temat eseju: *Czy literackie wyobrażenia raju, złotego wieku, krajobrazu sielankowego, które symbolizowały dawniej tęsknotę za szczęściem, mogą nadal stanowić ideał życia dla ludzi współczesnych?* Liczba uczestników: 30 z 7 szkół podstawowych. II stopień rejonowy: Kraina ciężkiej pracy – życie na wsi w świecie starożytnym; temat eseju: *Czy zgadzasz się z twierdzeniem, że starożytni Rzymianie byli przede wszystkim ludem rolniczym, a dopiero potem narodem wojowników i zdobywców? W pracy odwołaj się do lektur oraz do ikonografii*. Liczba uczestników: 14 na 16 zakwalifikowanych. III stopień wojewódzki: Kraina ucieczki i odpoczynku. Liczba uczestników: 10.

Temat XX KKK: *Totus mundus agit comoediam – Cały świat odgrywa komedię*. I stopień szkolny: Śmiech to zdrowie. Dowcip i żart w świecie starożytnym; temat eseju: *Śmiech zamiast powagi. Czy żartobliwa forma wypowiedzi wyłącznie zniekształca rzeczywistość, czy może pozwala również poznać lepiej świat antyczny i żyjących wówczas ludzi? W odpowiedzi nawiąż do przeczytanych lektur oraz do ikonografii*. Liczba uczestników: 27 z 7 szkół podstawowych. II stopień rejonowy: Śmiech zaprawiony goryczą. Ironia, satyra i parodia w świecie starożytnym; temat eseju: *Czy satyryczne wypowiedzi autorów starożytnych tylko śmieszą, czy także przed czymś przestrzegają? W odpowiedzi odwołaj się do treści przeczytanych utworów i do źródeł ikonograficznych*.

Liczba uczestników: 13 na 14 zakwalifikowanych. III stopień wojewódzki: Śmiech do rozpuku. Żartobliwa tradycja antyku wczoraj i dziś. Liczba uczestników: 7.

Przewodniczący Oddziału Warszawskiego PTF
dr hab. Jan Kwapisz, prof. UW

Sekretarz Oddziału Warszawskiego PTF
mgr Jan Laskowski

Przewodnicząca Sekcji Popularyzacji Wiedzy o Antyku
Oddziału Warszawskiego PTF
mgr Maria Poszepczyńska

SPRAWOZDANIE ODDZIAŁU WROCŁAWSKIEGO

Oddział liczy 59 członków. W okresie sprawozdawczym Zarząd Oddziału pracował w następującym składzie: dr Joanna Pieczonka – przewodnicząca, mgr Krzysztof Bekieszczuk – sekretarz; na pozostałych stanowiskach są obecnie wakaty. Kadencja Zarządu w wymienionym wyżej składzie rozpoczęła się 7 września 2022, podczas gdy poprzedni Zarząd zakończył swoją kadencję 27 czerwca 2021 (z powodu pandemii działalność Wrocławskiego Oddziału PTF została na rok wstrzymana).

W okresie sprawozdawczym Oddział Wrocławski prowadził działalność statutową w następujących formach:

I. Spotkania naukowe Oddziału z odczytami:

1. Dr hab. Emilia Żybert-Pruchnicka, *Antoninus Liberalis: metamorfozy tekstu i mitu* (22 października 2022).
2. Dr Ałła Brzozowska, *Rex iustus in bello iusto. Obraz wojny sprawiedliwej w poemacie Samuela Wolfa* (16 listopada 2022).
3. Prof. Ľudmila Eliášová Buzássyová (Uniwersytet Komeńskiego w Bratysławie), *Bilingual and Multilingual Latin Grammar Books Known as "Donats" from the Region of Contemporary Slovakia* (18 stycznia 2023).
4. Dr hab. Jakub Pigoń, prof. UWr, *Habilitacje z filologii klasycznej na Uniwersytecie Lwowskim do 1939 r.* (15 marca 2023).
5. Mgr Krzysztof Bekieszczuk, *Schola nova w Belgii – studium przypadku. Czy edukacja klasyczna ma przyszłość poza szkolnictwem prywatnym?* (19 kwietnia 2023).
6. Dr Kamila Wysłucha, *Zabytki instrumentów muzycznych z Pompejów* (17 maja 2023).
7. Mgr Maciej H. Dąbrowski, *Inskrypcje łacińskie Legnicy. Zarys projektu i przykład kościoła św. Jana Chrzciciela* (18 października 2023).

8. Prof. dr hab. Michał Wojciechowski, *Chrześcijanin czyta Greków* (22 listopada 2023).
9. Mgr Elżbieta Górka, *Dobry władca, zły władca i inne problemy natury moralnej, czyli kilka słów o XV-wiecznym eposie 'Tezeida' autorstwa Galassia Vicentina* (17 stycznia 2024).
10. Dr Mariusz Plago, *Spotkanie Antoniego z centaurem. Heroizacja świętego w Antoniadzie Maffea Vegia* (20 marca 2024).
11. Prof. Konstantinos Apostolakis (Uniwersytet Kreteński), *Attic Comedy and Political Satire* (8 maja 2024).
12. Mgr Karolina Szula, *Humoralna mapa mózgu w średniowiecznej uroskopii na przykładzie traktatu 'De iudiciis urine' XIV-wiecznego lekarza Tomasza z Wrocławia* (12 czerwca 2024).
13. Dr Antoine Haaker*, Adamus Lewharticzenus i jego przyjaciele w starodruku Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu. O nieznanych listach czeskiego renesansu* (16 października 2024).
14. Dr Olga Kubica, *Przedstawienie Gandhāry w 'Żywocie Apolloniusza z Tyany' autorstwa Filostrata* (27 listopada 2024).
15. Dr Nina Budziszewska, *Tchnienie życiowe – porównanie koncepcji filozoficznych* (22 stycznia 2025).
16. Dr Mariusz Plago, *Od hagiografii do epiki – renarracja i reinterpretacja mowy św. Antoniego przed jaskinią św. Pawła w Antoniadzie Maffea Vegia* (12 marca 2025).
17. Prof. Zofia Głombiowska, *Andrzej Krzycki o Gdańsku* (21 maja 2025).

II. Spotkania jubileuszowe związane z członkami Oddziału Wrocławskiego PTF:

1. Spotkanie wspomnieniowe poświęcone pamięci Pani Profesor Janiny Ławińskiej-Tyszkowskiej w dziesiątą rocznicę śmierci (14 czerwca 2023).
2. *Conventiculum in honorem Professoris Iacobi Pigoń habendum* – spotkanie, podczas którego wyraziliśmy naszą wdzięczność Panu Profesorowi Jakubowi Pigoniowi za dwadzieścia lat niestrudzonej pracy na stanowisku Redaktora Naczelnego czasopisma *Eos. Commentarii Societatis Philologae Polonorum* (23 kwietnia 2024).
3. Spotkanie jubileuszowe w związku z przypadającymi na 16 kwietnia 2025 r. 90-tymi urodzinami Pani Profesor Alicji Szastyńskiej-Siemion. Spotkanie z referatem: Prof. Emilia Żybert-Pruchnicka, *Ni pies, ni niedźwiedzica: Kynosura w Fajnomenach Aratosa z Solów. Dla Pani Profesor Alicji Szastyńskiej-Siemion* (23 kwietnia 2025).

III. Inne:

1. Siłami członków Oddziału Wrocławskiego organizowane są dwa razy do roku *Scholae Latinae Wratislavienses*. W związku z tym, że jest to

przedsięwzięcie o skali ogólnopolskiej, a nawet międzynarodowej, informacje o nim zostały zawarte w sprawozdaniu z działalności Zarządu Głównego.
2. Decyzją Zarządu Głównego PTF (uchwała z 8 grudnia 2021) księgozbiór Oddziału Wrocławskiego został włączony do katalogu Biblioteki Instytutu Studiów Klasycznych, Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego. Przedsięwzięcie zostało przeprowadzone pod nadzorem prof. Jakuba Pigonia.
3. W latach 2023 i 2024 członkowie Oddziału włączyli się w międzynarodowy *Festival Européen Latin Grec*, w ramach którego we współpracy z ISKŚiO UWr i Zakładem Narodowym im. Ossolińskich zorganizowano publiczne czytanie *Eneidy* Wergiliusza i *Sejmu kobiet* Arystofanesa.

Przewodnicząca Oddziału Wrocławskiego PTF
dr Joanna Pieczonka

KRAKOWSKO-WARSZAWSKO-WROCŁAWSKIE SEMINARIA PTF POŚWIĘCONE POEZJI HELLENISTYCZNEJ

Pandemia COVID-19 i związane z nią restrykcje spowodowały, że część oddziałów Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego zdecydowała się przenieść spotkania do przestrzeni wirtualnej. Umożliwiło to członkom PTF z całego kraju udział w interesujących ich wydarzeniach bez konieczności wyjazdów do innych ośrodków. Ograniczenia pandemiczne wpłynęły jednak znacząco na możliwości tradycyjnych kontaktów naukowych w formie kongresów, sympozjów i wizyt indywidualnych. W tej sytuacji, w odpowiedzi na dotkliwie odczuwaną potrzebę wymiany intelektualnej, członkowie PTF z Krakowa, Warszawy i Wrocławia powołali do życia serię seminariów online poświęconych poezji hellenistycznej.

Cykl zainaugurowała 25 marca 2021 r. dr hab. Emilia Żybert-Pruchnicka referatem *Podwójność bis, czyli dublowanie słów w poematach 'Aleksifarmaka' i 'Theriaka' Nikandra*. W kolejnych miesiącach odbywały się regularne spotkania, podczas których swoje referaty wygłosili między innymi: dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar (UJ) – *Kobiety i mężczyźni w hellenistycznych lamentach na śmierć Adonisa*; dr hab. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma (UWr) – *Kallimacha fragment 488 Pf., czyli co ma pysk konia do poezji hellenistycznej (i rzymskiej)*; dr hab. Jan Kwapisz (UW) – *AP XIII 1 – klucz do zapomnianego skarbca greckiej liryki*. W grudniu 2021 r. dr hab. Tomasz Mojsik (UwB) wystąpił z odczytem pt. *Posejdippos 118 A–B i rola Sitz im Leben w interpretacji: komentarz do wybranych aspektów utworu*, a na kolejnym spotkaniu dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar zaprezentowała analizę pt. *Pan K. w drodze na Parnas. Próba interpretacji carmen 105 Katullusa*. W marcu 2022 odbyło się seminarium, podczas

którego dr hab. Aleksandra Klęczar mówiła o *Białej wyspie herosów. Leuke/Wyspa Węży w antycznej tradycji kulturowej*, a mgr Jakub Zbądzki (UWr) przedstawił referat pt. *Batrachomyomachia odczytywana na nowo. Hellenistyczne tło poematu i granice jego interpretacji*. 10 czerwca 2022 dr hab. Tomasz Mojsik wygłosił wykład pt. *Jak odróżnić prawdziwe Muzy od fałszywych? Wskazówki dla czytelnika literatury antycznej na kanwie Owidiuszowych* '*Metamorfoz*' *(5.294–678)*.

8 grudnia 2022 dr hab. Emilia Żybert (UWr) zaprezentowała referat *Heteroiumena (Przeistoczenia) Nikandra z Kolofonu: w poszukiwaniu straconego oryginału*. W marcu 2023 dr Ewa Orłowska (UWr) wygłosiła odczyt pt. *Woda zimniejsza niż hiperborejski śnieg. Motyw picia zimnej wody w epigramach Leonidasa z Tarentu*. Na początku czerwca tego samego roku dr hab. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma przedstawiła wystąpienie pt. *„Jeśli jeszcze tylko zabijemy starca...". Farsa kryminalna w teatrze grecko-rzymskim w Egipcie (P. Oxy. 314 verso)*.

W kwietniu 2024 odbyło się spotkanie, podczas którego dr hab. Emilia Żybert (UWr) omówiła temat *Osy i wozy: obrazowanie dubletów w* '*Fajnomenach*' *Aratosa*, natomiast dr hab. Jan Kwapisz (UW) wystąpił z referatem *Co jest białe jak bielmo (P. Vindob. G 40611 kol. VI 21)*. 6 czerwca 2024 dr hab. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma zaprezentowała wykład pt. *Córki polis – kobiety jako obywatelki w poezji i dramacie hellenistycznym*. Z kolei 20 listopada 2024 dr hab. Emilia Żybert wygłosiła odczyt pt. *Złote blaszki orfickie jako źródło inspiracji w utworach Kallimacha*.

Kulminacją cyklu było międzynarodowe spotkanie 4 czerwca 2025, zorganizowane w formie hybrydowej w Warszawie przez dr hab. Jana Kwapisza pod egidą *Seminarium Mercuriale* Instytutu Filologii Klasycznej UW i krakowsko-warszawsko-wrocławskich seminariów hellenistycznych, przy hojnym wsparciu finansowym Centrum Badań nad Cywilizacjami Starożytnymi (CRAC) UW. Warsztaty te zgromadziły prelegentów z Polski i zagranicy. Matthew Chaldekas (Uniwersytet w Tybindze) mówił o *Lessons from Love Poetry: Erotic Magic and Epicurean Philosophy in Philodemus AP 5.132*, Laurens van der Wiel (UW) przedstawił referat pt. *Aphrodite's Characterization and Poetic Play in Moschus' 'Runaway Eros'*, dr hab. Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma (UWr) wystąpiła z tematem *In Quest of Coherence: New Reflections on the Anthology of P.Strasb. W.G. 304–307 verso*, a dr hab. Emilia Żybert (UWr) omówiła zagadnienie *(Not) Chasing One's Own Tail, or Hellenistic Poets' Intertextual Play with Compound Endings* -ουρις/-ουρος. W tym seminarium w formie hybrydowej brali udział dyskutanci i słuchacze z całego świata.

Opracowała Agnieszka Kotlińska-Toma

SPRAWOZDANIE FUNDACJI *TRADITIO EUROPAE* ZA OKRES OD 18 WRZEŚNIA 2021 DO 25 WRZEŚNIA 2025

I. Zgodnie ze statutem organami Fundacji są: Rada Fundacji i Zarząd Fundacji. W skład Rady Fundacji wchodzą następujące osoby: prof. dr hab. Marian Szarmach, UMK – fundator, prof. dr hab. Przemysław Nehring, UMK – przewodniczący, dr hab. Tomasz Sapota, prof. UŚ – wiceprzewodniczący, dr Alicja Brusewicz, UMK – sekretarz, mgr Genowefa Malicka (VII LO w Toruniu), prof. dr hab. Kazimierz Korus (UJ), prof. dr hab. Zbigniew Nerczuk (UMK). W skład Zarządu Fundacji wchodzą następujące osoby: dr hab. Barbara Bibik, prof. UMK – prezes, dr hab. Bartosz Awianowicz, prof. UMK – wiceprezes, dr hab. Rafał Toczko, prof. UMK – sekretarz, dr Marta Szada – skarbnik, mgr Magdalena Awianowicz – członek Zarządu.

II. Opis działalności statutowej w wyznaczonym okresie:

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 r. Od I do XIII edycji konkurs adresowany był do młodzieży z województwa kujawsko-pomorskiego. Rokrocznie do udziału w Lidze starożytniczej zgłaszało się 150–250 uczniów z całego regionu (do jedenastej edycji konkursu w roku 2017/2018 zgłosiło się natomiast niemal 300 uczniów). Ze względu na wybuch pandemii i związanymi z nią ograniczeniami w ramach XIII edycji przeprowadziliśmy wyłącznie cztery z siedmiu spotkań. Z tego też powodu jesienią 2020 r. zdecydowaliśmy o organizacji XIV edycji konkursu (w roku szkolnym 2020/2021) w formie zdalnej. Od XIV edycji konkurs ma formę zdalną i adresowany jest do uczniów z całej Polski. Do konkursu zgłasza się się około 100 uczestników. Obecnie przygotowujemy XIX edycję konkursu.
   Od roku 2009 rokrocznie konkurs otrzymuje dotację z Urzędu Marszałkowskiego Województwa Kujawsko-Pomorskiego, a także jest obejmowany honorowym patronatem Kujawsko-Pomorskiego Kuratora Oświaty. Konkurs objęty został też patronatem Dziekana Wydziału Humanistycznego UMK.
2. Od września 2010 r. prowadzimy cykliczny projekt pt. „Toruńskie warsztaty numizmatyki antycznej". Projekt organizowany jest we współpracy z Oddziałem

Toruńskim Polskiego Towarzystwa Numizmatycznego i Wydziałem Humanistycznym UMK. Patronat nad warsztatami obejmuje Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte (Universität Wien) oraz Zarząd Główny Polskiego Towarzystwa Numizmatycznego. Kolejne edycje warsztatów organizowane są rokrocznie, dwa razy do roku i cieszą się dużym powodzeniem wśród numizmatyków z całej Polski. Od 2014 r. jesienne edycje warsztatów odbywają się w Krakowie, we współpracy z Muzeum im. Emeryka Hutten-Czapskiego, Instytutem Archeologii UJ i Gabinetem Numizmatycznym Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie. Ze względu na wybuch pandemii w 2020 r. warsztaty się nie odbyły, natomiast w 2021 r. odbyły się w formie zdalnej w terminie 21–22 maja jako *The 1st E-Conference of the Toruń Workshops in Ancient Numismatics*.

3. Od 2022 r. we współpracy z Funduszem ZDOLNI (dawniej Krajowym Funduszem na rzecz Dzieci) i Katedrą Filologii Klasycznej UMK organizujemy rokrocznie trzydniowe Warsztaty starożytnicze dla uczestników Programu ZDOLNI. Warsztaty skierowane są do osób zainteresowanych starożytnością (zwłaszcza późną), ale też do tych, którzy dopiero chcieliby poznać bliżej tę ważną tradycję. W programie znajdują się wykłady, warsztaty (w podziale na grupy: historyczną i filozoficzną), warsztaty w Sekcji Zbiorów Specjalnych (Dział Rękopisów i Starych Druków) Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, projekcja filmu lub spektaklu oraz spacer po Toruniu.
4. Rokrocznie (z wyjątkiem 2021 i 2022 r.) włączamy się w międzynarodowe obchody czytania tekstów starożytnych, w 2023 *Eneidy* Wergiliusza, w 2024 *Sejmu kobiet* Arystofanesa, a w 2025 – *Medei* Seneki, organizowane przez *Festival Europeen Latin Grec* (festival-latingrec.eu). Wspólna lektura tekstów odbywa się w kawiarni „Wejściówka" w Toruniu. Oprócz języka polskiego i łacińskiego/starogreckiego teksty są czytane również w innych językach, np. włoskim, czeskim, esperanto, bułgarskim, angielskim, francuskim, niemieckim, portugalskim, kaszubskim, hiszpańskim, rosyjskim, chińskim, tureckim.
5. Fundacja prowadzi działalność promocyjną na portalu społecznościowym Facebook (facebook.com/traditioeuropae).

III. Działalność gospodarcza

Fundacja nie prowadzi działalności gospodarczej.

Opracowała Barbara Bibik

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