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## Od Uredništva

Ljubaznošću organizatora i učesnika konferencije »Contextualizing Classics«, održane juna 2007. na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu, u ovoj svesci *Lucida intervalla* publikujemo autorske verzije izlaganja koja su se čula na tom uspelom i dobro posećenom skupu. Izuzetak čine tekst Sandre Šćepanović, koji će se objaviti u nekoj od sledećih svezaka ovog časopisa, i tekst Vojina Nedeljkovića, koji će biti štampan u *Illinois Classical Studies* 31 (2006), a ovde se objavljuje drugi prilog istog autora.

Елия Маринова  
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## Palamedes: The Victim and the Hero of Letters

*Abstract.* The ancient interpretations of Palamedes' life and death convey an old intuition that letters may be a dangerous gift, a destructive power which may cause damage or death to the inventor, or even create confrontation with the community. The mythical figure of Palamedes, a hero absent in the Iliad, attracted the attention of several genres and époques because of his important inventions and his tragic death. This paper is a kind of diachronic portrait of the *πρωτος εϋρετης*, recognized subsequently as a victim or a hero of the letters.

*Key Words:* Palamedes, Greek myths about the origins of the alphabet, Function of letters, Cyclic poems, Attic tragedy, Sophistics.

The idea of the huge importance of alphabetic literacy is present in many ancient myths proclaiming the sacred origin of letters. In Babylon, the gods were constantly recording reality; in Egypt, Thoth was a god-scribe who had a magic power over the human fate. In contrast, it was exclusively mortal men in the Greek mythological tradition who were said to be inventors of the letters or keepers of written records. Amongst the Olympic gods normally indifferent to writing, after his identification with Thoth, Hermes was the only deity to whom invention of the letters and scriptural practices has been attributed. In the following paper, we shall try to find out the features of the mortal *πρωτος εϋρετης* and to reflect upon the particular mythopoietic function of letters and literacy in the Greek tradition.

The ambivalent notion of the origin or the place of adaptation of the Greek alphabet has been reflected in the controversial literary tradition surrounding the personality of the alphabet-bearer.<sup>1</sup> The story of the invention of the letters by the Phoenician Cadmus is to be explained by the memory of the Greeks of the geographical origin of the alphabet. This legendary account is familiar to us through Herodotus' report on the Phoenician Gephyraeans, who came with Cadmus and brought to

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<sup>1</sup> The adapter, according to the suggestion of B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet*, Cambridge 1991, 12.

Hellas the alphabet, which had been unknown to the Greeks.<sup>2</sup> Other ancient authors – Pythodor, Anaximander and Hecataeus<sup>3</sup> – presented both Cadmus and Danaus as rivals in the invention of letters. The last Greek epos of the antiquity – *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus of Panopolis credited explicitly Cadmus with bringing the gift of letters from Egypt to Argos. In a comparative portrait of the heroes Cadmus and Danaus and their achievements for mankind the poet wrote that Greece benefited more from Cadmus' invention: "But he, bringing gifts of voice and thought for all Greece, made tools that echoed the tongue, mingling vowels and consonants in a row of integrated harmony. He rounded off a graven model of speaking silence, having learned the ancestral mysteries of the divine art, the Egyptian wisdom..."<sup>4</sup>

There is another figure who is mentioned in the Greek tradition as the *πρῶτος εὐρετής* of the alphabet.<sup>5</sup> It is Palamedes, son of Nauplius, the king of Euboea, and grandson of Poseidon and the Danaid Amymone. He is said to have been born in Euboea, the birthplace of Greek literacy.<sup>6</sup> Stories about Palamedes were in wide circulation in antiquity, reaching at least as far back as the date of the cyclic poem *Kypria* (seventh century BC), which traced the origin of the Trojan War down to the point where

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<sup>2</sup> Hdt. 5.58–61.

<sup>3</sup> *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis artem grammaticam* 183.1–9 Hilgard. Hecataeus (FGrH IF20) champions the view that Danaus brought writing from Egypt.

<sup>4</sup> P. Chuvin (ed.), *Nonnos de Panopolis, Les Dionysiaques*, t. II, Paris 1976. 4.259–265:

...αὐτὰρ ὁ πάση  
Ἑλλάδι φωνήεντα καὶ ἔμφρονα δῶρα κομίζων  
γλώσσης ὄργανα τεῦξεν ὁμόθροα, συμφύεος δὲ  
ἀρμονίης στοιχηδὸν ἐς ἄζυγα σύζυγα μείξας  
γραπτὸν ἀσιγήτιο τύπον τορνῶσατο σιγῆς,  
πάτρια θεσπεσίης δεδαημένος ὄργια τέχνης,  
Αἰγυπτίης σοφίης...

<sup>5</sup> The following studies treat more or less directly the subject of Palamedes' invention: L. G. Koniaris, "Alexander, Palamedes, Troades, Sisyphus: a Connected Tetralogy?", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 77, 1973, 85–124; J. A. Clua, "El mite de Palamedes a la Grècia antiga: aspectes canviants d'un interrogant cultural i historic", *Faventia*, 7:2, 1985, 69–93; M. Detienne, *The Writing of Orpheus: Greek Myth in Cultural Context*, transl. by J. Lloyd, The John Hopkins UP 2003, 125–131.

<sup>6</sup> Eudox. 321 Blass; Greg. Naz. *Or.* 4.107.

Iliad begins. According to this poem, in order to avoid going to Troy, Odysseus had pretended that he was mad. But Palamedes, by placing the infant Telemachus in front of his father's plow, exposed Odysseus as a liar and so forced him to enlist.<sup>7</sup> On several occasions it was Palamedes who saved the Greeks by organizing the distribution of rations and the disposition of the army, or by predicting a famine, and so he aroused the jealousy and hatred of Odysseus and Diomedes, who killed him during a fishing expedition.<sup>8</sup> But *Kypria*, as far as we know, makes no mention of the invention of letters. This fact makes it difficult to explain the following mention in Stesichorus' *Oresteia*, unless we presume that the great sixth-century remodeller of myths enriched the original tale with the letters motif: Στησίχορος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὀρεστείας... τὸν Παλαμήδην φησὶν εὐρηκέναι τὰ στοιχεῖα.<sup>9</sup>

In the Homeric corpus, the absence of the great hero and benefactor of the Achaean army raised a lot of questions already in the antiquity. Strabo believed that Palamedes is a fictional character created by later authors. Flavius Philostratus explained the "silence" of Homer with the possible discrediting of Odysseus. The Byzantine lexicon Suda explicitly connected Palamedes with Homer, saying that Palamedes was an epic poet and that Homer envied him for his poetic powers.

Palamedes' absence in the Iliad is not so extraordinary, if we examine the topos of the *πρῶτος εὐρετής* as a post-Homeric development of sixth- and fifth-century rationalism and historical research. Beginning with the sixth century several genres recorded the story of Palamedes and his exploits. The most popular version of the myth which appeared at the time referred to the story of his tragic death. It is preserved in fab. 105 of the first-century author Hyginus which reproduces the content of a lost Euripidean tragedy. We have no papyrus fragments from this play but only quotations found in Greek authors and a parody of an event in the play mentioned in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousae*, 770ff. According

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<sup>7</sup> *Procl. Chr.* = Allen, *Hom. Op.* 5.103.

<sup>8</sup> This version of the myth is recorded in Pausanias 10.31.1 Παλαμήδην δὲ ἀποπιγιῆναι προελθόντα ἐπὶ ἰχθύων θήραν, Διομήδην δὲ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα εἶναι καὶ Ὀδυσσεά.

<sup>9</sup> Stesichoros fr. 34 B (= PMG 213 Page).

to Hyginus, Odysseus looking forward for revenge falsely accused Palamedes of betraying the Greek cause and of having become a spy for the Trojans. For that purpose he gave a Phrygian captive a forged letter describing the bribery of Palamedes by Priam. The letter was conveniently discovered on the murdered Phrygian, and innocent Palamedes was brought to trial. The prosecutor, Odysseus, asked for the death penalty, which was eventually carried out after Palamedes' apology failed to undermine the falsified evidence against him.

The scholium of the *Thesmophoriazusae*, giving the details of Aristophanes' parody, says that Euripides made Palamedes' brother Oeax carve the story of his death on ships, and likewise upon oars, which he cast into the sea in the hope that their father, Nauplius, might learn from them how Palamedes had met his end. In order to get revenge on the Greeks for his son's unjust execution, Nauplius caused, through deceptive fire-signals, the destruction of a large part of the Greek fleet among the cliffs of the promontory Caphereus in the southeast coast of Euboea.

The false accusation, trial, and condemnation of Palamedes in the last year of the Trojan War represented a favorite topic of Attic tragedy: in addition to Euripides, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Astydamas the Younger are each known to have composed a *Palamedes*, while we know of four different tragedies that staged the revenge of Palamedes' father Nauplius. A staple of these plays appears to have been Palamedes' cataloguing of his beneficial inventions as part of his self-defense.

What is noteworthy about these plays is that they explicitly connect Palamedes with writing. In the preserved fragments of Attic tragedy the emphasis is put on the cultural mission of Palamedes, a reception normal for the time when the great institutions in Athens started to depend more and more on literacy as an instrument of memory and guardian of justice. It was in this context that writing acquired a crucial measure of autonomy: the idea of *isonomia* took the shape of equality before the written law. The subject of Palamedes, varying in detail, was extensively treated by tragedians not only because he devised a way to write down Greek speech or made changes to a preexisting writing,<sup>10</sup> but because he was said to have invented numbers and to have recorded laws.

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<sup>10</sup> Judging from most evidences in Greek and Latin texts, we may take the tradition to

This could explain why Euripides saw the achievement of the hero not in the invention of letters but in putting them in order, in the synthesis of the elements, so that they could serve as a mnemonic device: “It was me, who unassisted created remedy for the oblivion, making syllables out of consonants and vowels, I taught men how to write...”<sup>11</sup> This is completely in line with the notion of the mythological figure as a Promethean type of hero – a founder of a rational model of cosmos, a bearer of new cultural and social norms, who established a new classifying system in which each element, στοιχειῶν, is connected to the others. The same idea is present in his name, a derivative from the Indo-European *medh-*, which means “reflecting, foreseeing”, as well as “measuring, setting of standards”, and *παλα-*, usually linked to *παλάμη*, the word for the inventive hand that takes hold of and makes things, which conveys an idea of the hero’s skill. The lost play of Aeschylus, *Palamedes*, must also have presented the hero as the one who taught writing to the Greeks or established the order of the letters. In the preserved fragment 470, Palamedes, as he lists his inventions, speaks not just as a benefactor, but as a cultural hero who considers his work to be a borderline between civilization and barbarians, a modeling of the world through the number and the letter: “I invented for them the number, that most eminent of discoveries, as well as the synthesis of letters, the memory that stores everything, the mother of the Muses”.<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, the treatment of Palamedes’ subject in Attic

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mean that Palamedes invented Greek writing by making changes to the Phoenician system. According to Hyginus, *Fab.* 277, he added eleven new letters to a preexisting seven invented by the Moirai; that is, apparently, Palamedes added consonants to the seven vowels Α Ε Η Ι Ο Υ Ω. Similar reports (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 7.56.192) say that Palamedes added four letters to the sixteen invented by Kadmos.

<sup>11</sup> Eurip. frg. 578. A. Nauck (ed.), *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, Lipsiae 1926, 542:

τὰ τῆς γε λήθης φάρμακ' ὀρθώσας μόνος,  
ἄφωνα φωνήεντα συλλαβὰς τιθεῖς  
ἔξηϋρον ἀνθρώποισι γράμματ' εἰδέναι.

<sup>12</sup> Aesch. frg. 470. Nauck, 59–60: “Versus tres qui in Prometheo leguntur (459–461) καὶ μὴν ἀριθμὸν ἕξοχον σοφισμάτων/ ἔξηϋρον αὐτοῖς γραμμάτων τε συνθέσεις,/ μνήμην ἀπάντων, μουσομήτορ' ἐργάνην... in Palamede primitus extitisse con. Kiehl. ad eandem fabulam adesp. fr. 470 rettulit C. Wachsmuth.”



tragedy led one to reflect upon the mental capacities unleashed by the invention of the Greek alphabet and the potentialities of writing in general. The earliest text which records the motif of the written forgery which constitutes evidence against the innocent Palamedes is Euripides' tragedy *Orestes*.<sup>13</sup> By the time letters appear in Euripides, we may assume that writing and reading had become familiar enough concepts in everyday urban life. The epistolary genre figured at the heart of the speech in praise of writing that Palamedes made before a court where he appeared, charged with high treason: "Anyone who is away and has crossed the expanse of the seas can know exactly what is happening far away, in his own house".<sup>14</sup> He was referring to the missive-letter, a mute thing that could make its voice heard as far away as was desired. Another product of letter writing was the will, known as a disposition, and particularly the unilateral will, a sealed, written text, as was commonly used in the fifth century, and which could remain secret until it took effect after the writer's death: "A dying man can let his sons know, in writing, how he is dividing up his fortune, and each heir knows what he is receiving".<sup>15</sup> Finally Palamedes foretold the peace-making omnipotence of writing: "The misfortunes provoked by quarrels and disputes can be ended by a tablet, a tablet that rules out lies".<sup>16</sup>

But the man who thus professed his absolute faith in the truth of letters and writing was to die a victim of false writing. Euripides took up the challenge of staging the paradoxical nature of the letter, which could – in the complex ethical context of tragic drama – disseminate mis-

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<sup>13</sup> *Schol. Orest. Eurip.* 432 mentions γραφὲν πινάκιον... Φουγίους γράμμασι. Cf. E. Schwartz (ed.), *Scholia in Euripidem*, vol. I, Berolini 1887, 148. However, a variant of the myth involving a letter as an actual agent of the events must have been popular by that time. A post-Homeric version of the mission of Odysseus and Menelaus to Troy to get back Helen through persuasion places Palamedes in their company as a carrier of a letter from Clytaemnestra to Helen (*Tzetz. Proleg. Alleg. II.* 405).

<sup>14</sup> Eurip. *Palamedes* frg. 578: ὥστ' οὐ παρόντα ποντίας ὑπὲρ πλακὸς  
τάκει κατ' οἴκους πάντ' ἐπίστασθαι καλῶς...

<sup>15</sup> *ibidem*: παισίν τ' ἀποθνήσκοντα χρημάτων μέτρον  
γράφαντας εἰπεῖν, τὸν λαβόντα δ' εἰδέναι.

<sup>16</sup> *ibidem*: ἃ δ' εἰς ἔριν πίπτουσιν ἀνθρώποις κακὰ  
δέλτος διαιεῖ, κούκ' ἔᾱ ψευδῆ λέγειν.

information as readily as information. At the same time as Odysseus uses the medium of a letter to dishonor Palamedes, the hero's brother in desperation writes a plea for help on oar-blades which he then tosses out to sea. But in its intention to punish the betrayers, this aroused all the violence (the crash of the Greek fleet near Euboea) that accompanies any form of deception, including writing that lies. And, if the irony is a stranger to the mythopoietic conscience, the literary versions of Palamedes' story produce irony almost unwillingly. The key point in the reception of the image of Palamedes – the inventor of letters – is exactly the deceptive (false or misrepresenting) nature of the written word. The persuasiveness of Odysseus' blame shows clearly enough that letters do not always rule out lies. Ironically, the inventor of the letters could not cope with the consequences of literacy, being destroyed physically and morally by a forged letter and becoming a victim of his own creation. So the Attic tragedy became the genre which transformed the variety of local legends about Palamedes into one literary myth about the sharing of the knowledge and its inherent tragic ambiguity.

As of the fourth century BC the fate of the hero provided a common subject in rhetorical schools. The sophists saw in Palamedes' story merely a juridical case and paid attention not so much to the huge potential of the word – true or false – as to the ethical aspect of the defense of Palamedes. Gorgias, in his speech set in defense of Palamedes, has the hero claim to be a great benefactor of the Greeks and all mankind because of his many inventions – the weights and measures, the number, the signals, and *pestoi* as a harmless pastime for leisure: "Who else could have made human life resourceful from resourceless and ornamented from unadorned, by inventing written laws as guardians of justice, and writing as instrument of memory...?"<sup>17</sup> In the catalogue of Palamedes' inventions each one represents a symbolic signifying system – written laws structure the customs of the city, weights, measures, and number regulate material property, fire signals communicate messages over long distances, and finally, there is a kind of civic symbolism inherent in the

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<sup>17</sup> Gorgias frg. B 11a30 DK: τίς γὰρ ἂν ἐποίησε τὸν ἀνθρώπειον βίον πόριμον ἐξ ἀπόρου καὶ κεκοσμημένον ἐξ ἀκόσμου, ... εὐρῶν νόμους τε γραπτούς φύλακας τοῦ δικαίου, γράμματά τε μνήμης ὄργανον...

structure of the games of order (*pestoi*). As Gorgias' rhetoric makes it clear, all these inventions have a positive moral value and clearly show a connection to the order of the Greek polis. So, all inventions of Palamedes seem to have represented the egalitarian tradition supporting the newly emergent polis as its source of authority. In this way, Palamedes reborn in the sophistics would illustrate the civic appropriation of the Trojan War story and the attempt to remodel the concept of the hero.

One might notice, however, that Palamedes "the Sophist" in the speeches of Gorgias and Pseudo-Antidamas marked as much the climax in the vindication of the hero, legally speaking, as the fading away of the original message of the myth. By the end of the second century, Palamedes had assumed the features of a universal culture hero. Euhemeristic interpretations like *De excidio Troiae* of Dares the Phrygian presented Palamedes as a commander-in-chief of the Achaean army in a clumsy attempt to revise the story of the *Iliad* and to undo the evil caused to the hero. And yet, not all late antique reconstructions of the forgotten myth followed the trivial way of the historic interpretation. For a last time, Palamedes was reborn in a new mystical context in the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* and the *Heroicus* of Flavius Philostratus.<sup>18</sup> The author credited Palamedes with a greater importance than any other hero of the Trojan War, but what is more important, he rather took an interest in the sacred character of his invention, the letters, than in the ethical and legal aspect of Palamedes' fate. One of the most striking episodes in the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* is the story of how Palamedes was brought back to life: Apollonius with his pupils found the forgotten tomb of Palamedes on the Mysian coast of Asia Minor opposite Lesbos and dug out his statue. They recovered the sanctuary of the hero, put the statue to face the passing ships and let the inscription ΘΕΙΩΙ ΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΕΙ, "Dedicated to the Holy Palamedes", be carved into its base. Then, Apollonius spoke his prayer at the grave of the hero who has forgotten the wrath that he once felt toward the Achaeans. The exact way of how he addressed Palamedes

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<sup>18</sup> *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* is certainly a work of Philostratus the Athenian (170–247), while the *Heroicus* has been more commonly attributed to his nephew, Philostratus the Lemnian.

conveys the image of a more spiritual, more exalted Martyr of the Truth as the Second Sophistics would like to see it: "Palamedes, who made words, who made the Muses, who made me!"<sup>19</sup> There are apparent reasons why the personality of the unduly ignored hero attracted the interest of the aretology. The development of this idea has been anticipated already in the famous phrase "I pity you, o Truth, who died before me!" (according to Euripides (*Schol. Or.* 432) and quoted by Socrates as a jibe at Athenian democratic justice (*Pl. Apol.* 41b)). But it was not the martyrdom and the posthumous vindication of Palamedes which came to the fore in late antique texts. According to the Greeks, writing was not only invented but also inventive. This fascination about the inventiveness of letters and the autonomy of writing is clearly reflected in a story occurring in *Heroicus*. Odysseus, being jealous because of the reputation of wisdom which Palamedes enjoyed in the Greek camp, blamed him for stealing the invention of letters from the migrating cranes. The answer of Palamedes suggests the idea that he had been chosen to be a mediator of the heavenly gift, and that he had been given the power to understand the alphabetic secret represented by the cranes' flight: "I did not invent the letters, rather, they found me; in times gone they have dwelt at the home of the Muses, waiting for a man like me; indeed, gods reveal such things with the help of wise men".<sup>20</sup> The idea of "the chosen mediator" passes over to the next reincarnations of the hero as a constant part of his character. In the *Life of Apollonius* Iarches pointed to a stripling of about twenty years of age, who excelled everyone in his natural aptitude for philosophy, and yet in spite of all these advantages detested philosophy. In fact, he must have been once Palamedes of Troy, who did not meet with any praise from Homer, and was outwitted by Odysseus in spite of his innocence, so that he developed an aversion to the wisdom, which was of no use to him. And yet, in spite of his ill-luck

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<sup>19</sup> Flavius Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, vol. I, London, 1948. *Vita Ap.* 4.13 ναὶ Παλάμηδες, δι' ὃν λόγοι, δι' ὃν Μοῦσαι, δι' ὃν ἐγώ.

<sup>20</sup> *Heroicus*, ed. L. de Lannoy, Teubner 1977, 42: "ἐγὼ γράμματα οὐχ εὑρον" εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν εὐρέθην· πάλαι γὰρ ταῦτα ἐν Μουσῶν οἴκῳ κείμενα ἐδεῖτο ἀνδρὸς τοιοῦτου, θεοὶ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα δι' ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν ἀναφαίνουσι."

this estranged boy was still “Palamedes, for indeed he can write without having learnt the letters”.<sup>21</sup>

In order to explain the unique place of Palamedes among many other inventors – mythological and historical figures like Prometheus, Linus, Musaeus, Symonides from Keos, we should go through the catalogues of Palamedes’ characteristics and contributions in the ancient sources.<sup>22</sup> One way of approaching Palamedes’ personality is to set letters and literacy in the context of other inventories of his, which seem to have enjoyed a peculiar popularity in the fifth and fourth centuries. He was the first to plan the positions of the army beneath the wall of Troy and to organize the night watch, he introduced the troops to Phoenician letters and used them to organize the distribution of rations, he invented the games of draughts, an early form of backgammon and the first dice, played with cubes inscribed with letters, and ingenious numbering. The common thread that unites all elements in this complex image is the theme of putting things in order, often by means of careful measurement, and reducing them to their essential elements. In this way, the common factor behind an alphabet, counters, and series of numbers lies not only in Palamedes’ active intelligence but also in certain deep affinities that, for the Greeks, linked objects which seem to belong to different categories. The “atomic” character of the alphabetic signs as reflected by the Latin word *elementa* and the Greek word στοιχειᾶ, explains why Palamedes, to whom early epic attributed discoveries of the most diverse nature, was recognised by the tragedians of the fifth century and by the sophists as the πρῶτος εὐρετής and founder of the legal regulations. The betrayed ally of the Achaeans could, like Prometheus, claim to have imposed order upon an existence till then confused and out of hand.

At the same time, the myth of Palamedes shows this hero of inventive intelligence too normative, too reflective and tragic when set in contrast to his rival in cleverness, Odysseus. Till the end of the antiquity the interpretations of his story retain a memory of the very old intuition that

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<sup>21</sup> *Vita Ap.* 3.22 ἔστι δὲ οὗτος Παλαμήδης, ὃς καὶ γράφει μὴ μαθὼν γράμματα.

<sup>22</sup> A comprehensive description of Palamedes’ inventions in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1898, Bd. III, Abt. 1, 1264–1273.

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letters may be a dangerous gift, a destructive power which may cause damages and death to his inventor/bearer or even may place him in opposition to the community. It is not by coincidence that in many myths the motif of the letter/letters is matched by the motif of the isolation of the hero from his usual surrounding. Letters, like other “dangerous gifts” in Greek mythology, endow the mortal man with a new mental flexibility, but endanger his place in the human world as well. They may serve as means of integration, and of isolation, according to circumstances. This explains why the interest in Palamedes’ fate fluctuated in different époques depending on what his invention seemed to represent – an elitist or an egalitarian tradition.

In the story of the first inventor two notions of the magical function of letters meet: they may be a foundation of a rational model of the cosmos, but they may be exploited for their potential of miscommunication as well. An investigation along these lines might shed some light on the specific features of the figures whom the Greeks regarded as inventors of writing. It would bring us nearer to the understanding of the meaning of letters beyond their formal, material aspect – as an element of the mythopoietic system and a magic technology which exceeds the human control.

Dragana Dimitrijević

## References to Epicurus in Cicero's *In Pisonem*

*Abstract.* The aim of this paper is to shed more light on references to Epicurus in Cicero's oration *In Pisonem* as a part of his rhetorical strategy. Cicero used Roman ethnic biases and ethnical considerations in the portrait of Piso's immoral personality.

*Key Words:* Cicero, Greek Philosophy, Epicurus, Biases, Rhetorical Strategy.

It has already been observed that there are many links between Cicero's philosophy and his oratory<sup>1</sup>. Yet links between the two best preserved and most influential genres of Cicero's work have so far attracted a relatively scant scholarly attention. Investigations of this kind could, on one hand, shed more light on a practical employment of Cicero's, i.e. originally Isocrates' idea of strong links between philosophy and rhetoric<sup>2</sup>, and on the other, show differences in Cicero's representations of various philosophical doctrines and philosophers in his philosophical works and in his orations. Namely, as it is successfully argued by Clarke, the atmosphere of the speeches is largely different from that of Cicero's philosophical works - the spirit of the latter is Greek, and of the former is Roman, one of sentiment and love of tradition<sup>3</sup>.

One of the problems that is to be explored is the question of Cicero's references to Greek philosophers. This question does deserve special investigation on account of the generic character of Cicero's orations and the many different factors to which Cicero appeals to indicate his opponent's immorality. The aim of this paper is to investigate the ways and reasons for Cicero's use of references to Epicurus in his oration *In Pisonem*. Our study focuses on some well-known passages from this oration which may have not been sufficiently explored. A sociological, psychological and linguistic problem stands at the crux of the discussion:

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<sup>1</sup> See Introduction to MacKendrick 1989.

<sup>2</sup> Hubell 1913: 23-24.

<sup>3</sup> Clarke 1956: 18.

the manner in which Cicero used Roman ethnic biases<sup>4</sup> and ethical considerations. Cicero knew that Romans' picture about Greeks, about philosophy and philosophers, and finally, about Greek philosophers and Epicurus in particular was full of stereotypes and he decided to use them. Namely, the first serious threats to Roman ways of thought came from Greek philosophers a century before Cicero's generation. Cato the Censor and the Senate made attempts to stem Greek philosophers and Greek thought, but without success<sup>5</sup>.

Cicero maintains that his oratory is founded in philosophy and that his orations are full of philosophic maxims<sup>6</sup>. However, the maxims of Cicero's orations derive not so much from his own studies in philosophy as from the conventional morality of the rhetorical schools<sup>7</sup>. Thus it is seldom that we come across in orations any remarks that bear a stamp of philosophical influence. So far as the speeches of Cicero show any philosophical influence it is that of Stoicism, a philosophy whose ideas could be assimilated without great difficulties to the Roman tradition. It went hand in hand with the prevailing tone of the speeches, which was a moral one. When Cicero, addressing Caesar in *Pro Marcello*, claims that generosity and wisdom are not only the highest but the sole goods, one is reminded of Stoic doctrine<sup>8</sup>. Also when in the *Philippicae* he lays down that law is nothing but right reason derived from the divine power, the influence of Stoicism is obvious<sup>9</sup>. But when he refers to Epicureanism<sup>10</sup> he rejects it.

There are direct references to Greek philosophers only in four extant speeches of Cicero. These are the following: the *Pro Murena* (63 BC), *In*

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<sup>4</sup> As Vasaly argues: 'Cultural ethnocentricity provided the orator of ancient Rome – as it has provided orators in every culture – with a familiar topos: "them and us".' See Vasaly 1993: 137.

<sup>5</sup> In 173 two Epicureans had been expelled from Rome, and in 161 the expulsion of philosophers and rhetoricians took place. See Scullard 1951: 223.

<sup>6</sup> Cic. *N.D.* 1.6.

<sup>7</sup> For example, compare Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 75 with *Ad Her.* 2.34, and *Sest.* 47-8 with *Ad Her.* 4.54f.

<sup>8</sup> *Marc.* 19.

<sup>9</sup> *Phil.* 9.28.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. *Red. Sen.* 14, beside the *In Pisonem* that is the subject of our investigation.



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*Pisonem* (55 BC), *Pro Scauro* (54 BC) and *Pro Rabirio Postumo* (54 BC). In the orations Cicero refers to the following philosophers: Pythagoras<sup>11</sup>, Socrates<sup>12</sup>, Plato<sup>13</sup>, Aristotle<sup>14</sup>, Zeno<sup>15</sup>, Epicurus<sup>16</sup> and Diogenes Cynic<sup>17</sup>.

The simple fact that Cicero, as we can judge from his extant speeches, only on a few occasions referred to Greek philosophers, when he was speaking in public, is significant enough. Cicero did not want to take a risk and to employ the names of Greek philosophers more often than he did, for he was probably afraid that it would have not been well-known to his audience. Philosophy was not a subject which was learned in Roman schools and even the main theses of various philosophical doctrines were not well-known to ordinary people. Thus, Cicero probably found it inappropriate to cite Greek examples in front of Romans<sup>18</sup>. The question of an audience is of a great importance. None of the orations which include the names of Greek philosophers was delivered to the people, only one in the Senate (the *In Pisonem*), and three orations mentioned above in front of the jurors. It seems that there is strong evidence that Cicero, as any other Roman, would have behaved more reserved in front of members of other classes than among his own class<sup>19</sup>. The investigation of Cicero's speeches has shown a strong link between Cicero's stylistic freedom and his audience.

In accordance with the rare use of references to Greek philosophers, the employment of the words 'philosopher' (*philosophus*) and 'philos-

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<sup>11</sup> Scaur. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Scaur. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Mur. 63; Scaur. 4, 5; Rab. Post. 23.

<sup>14</sup> Mur. 63.

<sup>15</sup> Mur. 61.

<sup>16</sup> Pis. 20, 37, 59, 69.

<sup>17</sup> Mur. 75.

<sup>18</sup> The same case was with Greek quotations. Namely, Cicero rarely employed poetic quotations in his speeches, and when he did that, he exclusively used quotations from Roman poetry. On the other hand, we know that many Cicero's letters to Atticus were reach in quotations from certain Greek authors.

<sup>19</sup> Adams has argued that Cicero more freely used sexual allusions in his addressing to the senators than to the people. See Adams 1982: 222.

ophy' (*philosophia*), both of Greek origin, is also relatively rare in Cicero's oratory<sup>20</sup>. It is highly probable that Romans were more familiar with these words than the certain names of Greek philosophers. The word *philosophus* and the word *philosophia* were already a part of the vocabulary of ordinary people. However, it can by no means be regarded as an exception when they had a negative connotation. Of course, Cicero knew it and used it to discredit his opponents. Furthermore, it is probable that in employing these words Cicero was influenced by the same practice of Greek orators. The fourth century Attic oratory could give us a clue. It turned out that only Isocrates had employed the word φιλόσοφος and the word φιλοσοφία. Actually, he had used them rather often in his speeches<sup>21</sup>. Maybe Cicero meant that the employment of these words could be a useful tool in his oratory, and in the same time was aware of the fact that Isocrates employed these words in his orations. On the other hand, none of the great fourth century Attic orators mentioned any Greek philosopher in his extant orations. It should be borne in mind that after Plato's furious attack on sophists, a gap between rhetoric and philosophy became much deeper. In all extant Greek and fragmentary Roman earlier and contemporary oratory we cannot find a model for Cicero's practice of referring to Greek philosophers. Of course, it does not necessarily mean that he did not have one. There is also a possibility that the old Attic comedy, particularly Aristophanes' critique of philosophers, in the first place Socrates, had some influence on Cicero's tactic of using the word *philosophus* and the word *philosophia* with the negative connotations<sup>22</sup>.

In spite of the opposition, Greek thought had been familiar at Rome from the beginning of the second century BC. After the great systems of Plato and Aristotle two philosophical doctrines endured for centuries and had a profound influence on the Romans. These were Epicureanism and Stoicism. Cicero rejected the first and was much attracted to the second, but he profited from both<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. Arch. 26; Sest. 23, 110; Pis. 56, 58, 65, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72; Scaur. 4; Phil. 5.13.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Isocr. *Ad Demonicum*, 3, 4, 40, 66; *De pace*, 145; *Busiris*, 1, 22, 28, 30, 48, 49, etc.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Aristoph. *Ecclesiazusae*, 571.

<sup>23</sup> In addition there was also the New Academy, whom Cicero often followed, in order to refuse dogmatism.

In many ways Epicurean moralizing approached that of the Stoics. The theoretical difference remained, but the attitude to life was fundamentally the same. Stoics and Epicureans alike condemned avarice, ambition, luxury and desires of various kinds. 'Pleasure', exclaims the Epicurean spokesman in *De Finibus*, 'so far from being a matter of voluptuous and effeminate self-indulgence, is austere, self-controlled, severe'<sup>24</sup> Even Cicero when he writes as a moralist in the *Tusculans* is ready to forget polemics and hold up Epicurus as an example of a philosopher free from desires and fears<sup>25</sup>. However, Cicero's representation of Epicurus and his philosophy is completely different in the *In Pisonem*.

The invective starts as follows<sup>26</sup>:

Iamne vides, **belua**, iamne sentis quae sit hominum querela frontis tuae?  
Nemo queritur Syrum nescio quem de **grege** noviciorum factum esse  
consulem. Non enim nos color iste servilis, non pilosae genae, non dentes  
putridi deceperunt: oculi supercilia frons voltus denique totus, qui sermo  
quidam tacitus mentis est, hic in fraudem homines impulit, hic eos quibus  
eras ignotus decepit fefellit induxit. (*Pis.* 1)

It seems that behind this first passage lies the belief that an individual possesses a permanent set of expressions<sup>27</sup>. Thus, Piso's danger to the state resists in his ability to change features of his face<sup>28</sup>. In Roman public sphere the physical appearance of an individual had great importance and it could contribute to an assessment of one's moral character<sup>29</sup>. Thus, Piso posed a particularly difficult rhetorical problem – his exterior appeared to convey the qualities of a severe Roman. Cicero's primary task was to assert that Piso attempted to conceal from the citizens of Rome his base internal character. Furthermore, the word *belua* and the word *greges*, beside their connection with the world of animals and slaves, may refer to Epicurus and Epicureans, whom Cicero recalls in the

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<sup>24</sup> Cic. *Fin.* 1.37.

<sup>25</sup> Cic. *Tusc.* 5.88-9.

<sup>26</sup> In these quotations from the *In Pisonem* I rely on the text of Nisbet. See R.G.M. Nisbet (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis In L. Calpurnium Pisonem Oratio*, Oxford, 1961. I have placed the name of Epicurus in bold type in the interests of clarity.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Cic. *Leg.* 1.27.

<sup>28</sup> Corbeill 1996: 31.

<sup>29</sup> Corbeill 1996: 169.

portrait of Piso that follows<sup>30</sup>. Thus here it functions as a some kind of prologue for the wider treatment of the same idea which will come later in the speech.

The next step in our investigation is the question of position of Cicero's references within the speech. In the *In Pisonem* they are in the middle.

After having quickly dispensed with some matters pertaining to the Piso's governorship in Macedonia (*Pis.* 15-19), Cicero turns emphatically to Piso's personality. The first reference to Epicurus in the *In Pisonem* is the following:

Quod mihi igitur certamen esset huius modi? cum C. Mario scilicet aut cum aliquo pari, an cum altero **barbaro Epicuro**, cum altero Catilinae lanternario consule? (*Pis.* 20)

The 'barbarus Epicurus' is Piso and the 'Catilinae lanternarius' is Gabinius. They were consuls in the year of Cicero's exile and thus responsible for Cicero's misfortune. The adjective 'barbarus' refers to Piso's alleged Gallic ancestry and his lack of 'humanitas'. As it often implies 'non-Greek', it makes an oxymoron with 'Epicurus'.

Next association to Epicurus and his followers is just a passage later. Cicero says:

Quid ego illorum dierum epulas, quid laetitiam et gratulationem tuam, quid cum tuis **sordissimis gregibus** intemperantissimas perpotationes praedicem? quis te illis diebus sobrium, quis agentem aliquid quod esset libero dignum, quis denique in publico vidit? ...hic ... iacebat in **suorum Graecorum** foetore atque vino; quod quidem istius in illis rei publicae luctibus quasi aliquod Lapitharum aut Centaurorum convivium ferebatur; in quo nemo potest dicere utrum iste plus biberit [an vomuerit] an effuderit. (*Pis.* 22)

First, by the words 'sordissimi greges' Cicero explicitly compares Piso and his Epicurean friends with animals. Epicureans were often compared with animals, especially pigs. For example, Horatius says 'Epicuri de grege porcum'<sup>31</sup>. Namely, Epicureans pointed to animals to show that the primary aim of all creatures was ἡδονή. Thus their enemies accused them of putting men on a level with the beasts. Second, the equation of Greek way of life and immorality feeds into popular biases concerning

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<sup>30</sup> Cic. *Pis.* 22.

<sup>31</sup> *Epist.* 1.14.16.

the attitude toward non-Romans<sup>32</sup>. In addition, this passage introduces a network of ideas suggesting that Greek culture, both philosophy and mythology, could serve as the basis of improper behaviour. The behaviour of Piso and his friends provides a counterpoint to the activities of a proper Roman citizen. Cicero and other Roman authors find in the banqueting motif fertile material for invectives<sup>33</sup>. It is a common motif that one who frequents the banquet is unaccustomed to daylight<sup>34</sup>. Furthermore, the allusiveness of the description of banqueting provokes the listeners' imagination and unable them to imagine the details of the event. The orator himself is forced to present it in bare outline, in order not to be associated with the activity. Banqueting themes were frequent in Cicero's oratory, for Roman believed that banquets reflected a Greek or Eastern way of life that would have destroyed old Roman virtues<sup>35</sup>.

Now, we will turn to the next reference to Epicurus in the speech:

Valebis apud hominem volitantem gloriae cupiditate vir moderatus et constans, apud indoctum eruditus, apud generum soccer. Dices enim, ut es homo factus ad persuadendum, concinnus perfectus politus ex schola: 'quid est, Caesar, quod te supplicationes totiens iam decretae tot dierum tanto opere delectent? in quibus homines errore ducuntur, quas di neglegunt; qui ut noster **divinus** ille dixit **Epicurus**, neque propitii cuiquam esse solent neque irati'. (Pis. 59)

The allusion to Piso's philosophical education demonstrates Cicero's ability to anticipate Piso's evil nature from his noble exterior. Namely, wide education was not always desirable, particularly philosophical education proved to be a two-edged sword – it could undermine, when used wisely, as well as bolster one's authority. Standards of discretion affect the orator's choice of expression. If Cicero had used too much detail in describing Epicurean doctrine, he would have risked losing his own respectability. There is a point to be made before we return to Cicero's text. We have noticed that in the cited chapter Cicero uses the adjective 'divinus' for Epicurus. What could be a reason for this? Is it a

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<sup>32</sup> Corbeill 1996: 101.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.92-94; *Pis.* 42 ; *Phil.* 2.104-5; *Sal. Cat.* 13.3, etc.

<sup>34</sup> Cic. *Fin.* 2.23.

<sup>35</sup> Corbeill 1996: 128.

normal employment of the adjective or rather an irony? Nisbet argues that it is a malicious touch<sup>36</sup>. Namely, Epicureans thought that gods were remote from mankind and in the same time believed that their founder was a god. It was paradoxical and Cicero probably wanted to make fun of it. However, it is also probable that this use of the adjective 'divinus' was meant to make a sharp divide between highly respected Epicurus and his unintelligent and immoral followers, with Piso, as an example.

The last reference to Epicurus in the *In Pisonem* is the following:

Itaque admissarius iste, simul atque audivit voluptatem a **philosopho** tanto opere laudari, nihil expiscatus est: sic suos sensus voluptarios omnis incitavit, sic ad illius hanc orationem adhinnivit, ut non magistrum virtutis sed auctorem libidinis a se illum inventum arbitraretur. **Graecus** primo distinguere et dividere, illa quem ad modum dicerentur; iste, 'claudus' quem ad modum aiunt 'pilam', retinere quod acceperat, testificari, tabellas obsignare velle, **Epicurum** disertum decernere. Et tamen dicit, ut opinor, se nullum bonum intellegere posse demptis corporis voluptatibus. (*Pis.* 69)

In this chapter Cicero explains that Piso made no investigations into Epicurus's real meaning. Thus he did not have a real knowledge about Epicurean philosophy, but rather wrong believes and opinions.

We can easily see that by appealing to Roman stereotypes of Greek philosophers in general, and about Epicurus and Epicureanism in particular, Cicero tries to provoke an animosity toward his opponent. Namely, Piso's concern for Greek philosophy harmonizes well with Roman stereotypes of non-Romans. The power of the orator's rhetoric lies in a clever manipulation of xenophobia. Furthermore, Cicero's references to Epicurus in the *In Pisonem* serve to give a characterization of Piso and his behaviour, and thus to help Cicero to make a schematised picture of his enemy. Thus they work as a tool of schematisation within the speech.

In the conclusion of the speech Cicero describes the effects the speech has had on his opponent. The invective disabled its target and marked him as unfit for human society. The powerful language reduces Piso to a timid and quivering beast<sup>37</sup>. The cumulative technique used here recalls passages from other Cicero's orations in which he represents all of

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<sup>36</sup> Nisbet 1974: 121.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Cic. *Vat.* 1.

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Roman society as hostile to his opponent<sup>38</sup>. Thus the language of *In Pisonem* does more than expose Piso's immorality. It makes Piso the object of all Rome's contempt, a man deprived of the attributes proper to a free Roman citizen. As Corbeill wisely argues, 'Cicero becomes the society's moral spokesperson'<sup>39</sup>. The orator constructs the network of his statements and assumptions not out of whole cloth but in accordance with prejudices and biases already present in Roman society.

It has much been disputed about the originality of Cicero's thought. Many who admire Cicero as an orator would deny him the name of thinker. However, it is probable that Cicero was among the first, or really the first Roman orator who put the names of Greek philosophers in his speeches and used them as a tool within the framework of his rhetorical strategy.

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<sup>38</sup> Cf. Catil. 1.17; Vat. 39.

<sup>39</sup> Corbeill 1996: 53.

## Резиме

### Навођење Епикуровог имена у Цицероновој беседи *In Pisonem*

Питање повезаности Цицеронових филозофских дела и његовог беседништва ретко је заокупљало пажњу истраживача. Један од проблема чије би расветљавање допринело бољем разумевању Цицеронове реторске стратегије и технике јесте навођење имена грчких филозофа у његовим беседама. Наиме, судећи према сачуваним изворима, у Цицероновим беседама следећи грчки филозофи наведени су поименце: Питагора, Сократ, Платон, Аристотел, Зенон, Епикур и Диоген. Имена наведених филозофа налазе се у четири Цицеронове беседе, настале у периоду између 63. и 54. године п.н.е, од којих су три изговорене на суду (*Pro Murena*, *Pro Scauro*, *Pro Rabirio Postumo*), а једна у Сенату (*In Pisonem*). Дакле, ни у једној беседи изговореној пред народом Цицерон, колико знамо, није навео име неког грчког филозофа. Стога, видимо да је беседников језички избор условљен психо- и социо-лингвистичким разлозима. Наиме, није било прикладно разметати се филозофским знањем пред светињом која није готово ништа знала о филозофима и филозофији.

У овом раду истражује се навођење Епикуровог имена у беседи *In Pisonem* изговореној 55. године у Сенату. Ова беседа је, дакле, изговорена пред римском елитом, која је додуше имала основна знања о грчким филозофима, али су она била испреплетана бројним предрасудама. Управо такво стање ствари послужило је Цицерону као погодан материјал за напад на бившег конзула Пизона, поборника епикурејства. Дакле, Цицерон је вешто искористио етничке и културолошке предрасуде Римљане о Грцима и о грчким филозофима, а посебно о Епикуру. На крају, Цицерон приказује Пизона и остале Епикурове присталице као сасвим недостојне свог знаменитог учитеља, неспособне да разумеју, па тиме и следе његова упутства.

Цицерон инвектива против Пизона представља релативно верну слику о томе како је један Римљанин размишљао и говорио о Грцима и грчкој филозофији.



Vesna Dimovska

## Teorijski i praktični aspekti ironije kod Cicerona

*Apstrakt.* Tekst predstavlja rezime opširnijih proučavanja ironije u Ciceronovim retoričkim dijalozima i u desetak Ciceronovih beseda. Bavi se problemima teorijskog definisanja i klasifikacije različitih pojava modaliteta retoričke ironije, kao i analizom njene zastupljenosti i načina funkcionisanja u besedama iz različitih perioda Ciceronove besedničke karijere.

*Ključne riječi:* retorika, besedništvo, ironija.

Ciceronova dela, i ona teoretsko-retorička, a još više korpus pedesetak njegovih sačuvanih govora već više od dve hiljade godina predstavljaju izazov za analize sa najrazličitijih aspekata. Gotovo isto možemo reći o fenomenu *ironije*, koji zahvaljujući svojoj polisemiji, višeslojnosti i raznovrsnosti, ali zahvaljujući i različitim pristupima i kriterijumima beleži dugu i bogatu istoriju tumačenja i proučavanja koja teže da prerastu u *ironologiju*. Sužavanje proučavanja na područje verbalne ironije, i još uže, na polje retoričke ironije neminovno upućuje na konsultovanje tradicionalnih, antičkih *libri rhetorici*, ali i savremene stilistike.

Znači, iz starih *libri rhetorici* znamo da se pod retoričkom ironijom pre Cicerona podrazumevao način izražavanja kad govornik misli jedno, a govori suprotno, kad kaže nešto pretvarajući se da to ne kazuje, rugajući se i ismevajući sagovornika (protivnika), izazivajući srdžbu ili smeh kod slušalaca. Nesporne novine koje je Ciceron uveo u koncepciju retoričke ironije su sledeće:

1. Ciceron je prvi napravio jasnu distinkciju između ironije koja je način ponašanja, životni stav, svojevrsna *prospoiesis* (paradigma je, naravno, Sokrat) i ironije koja je retorička kategorija, stilska figura, sredstvo govornika-ironičara: *de Graecis autem dulcem et facetum festivoque sermonis atque in omni oratione simulatorem, quem εἰρωνία Graeci nominarunt, Socratem accepimus (De offic. I, 30); ita cum aliud diceret atque sentiret, libenter uti solitus est ea dissimulatione, quam Graeci εἰρωνείαν vocant (De orat. II, 270).*

2. Zatim, Ciceron je proširio definiciju ironije određenjem da postoji ironija i onda kada govornik kaže nešto drugo, što ne mora biti suprotno

onome što misli: *urbana etiam dissimulatio est cum alia dicuntur ac sentias, non illo genere, de quo ante dixi, cum contraria dicas, ut Lamiae Crassus, sed cum toto genere orationis severe ludas, cum aliter sentias ac loquare* (*De orat.* II,269). Potonji vekovi pokazuju da je ovo proširenje definicije bilo prihvaćeno i da je postalo njen neodvojivi deo, kao što znamo da i savremena retorika ili stilistika više i ne sumnjaju da su osnovni principi ironije istovremeno i princip suprotnosti i princip drugosti.<sup>1</sup>

3. Ne manje značajna novina je uobličavanje teze o svrsishodnosti upotrebe ironije u besedi, koja je izložena u poznatom ekskursu – teoriji smeha i smešnoga u drugoj knjizi dijaloga *De oratore*.<sup>2</sup>

Ove je novine i dopune Ciceron podupro uvođenjem novih, latinskih termina vezanih za pojam ironije, kojima je dodelio specifično, retoričko značenje: *simulatio, dissimulatio, dissimulantia, urbanitas, inversio verborum, illusio* i drugi. Najintrigantniji u odnosu na svoju semantičku valentnost svakako su termini *simulatio* i *dissimulatio* i njihovi glagolski pandani *simulare* i *dissimulare*, o kojima postoje različita nerešena pitanja i suprotstavljena mišljenja. Da li i jedan i drugi jednostavno označavaju ironiju, odnosno da li su ravnopravni među sobom? Da li ih je možda Ciceron smatrao sinonimima? Ako nije, da li su nijanse u njihovom značenju dovoljno velike, da bismo ih smatrali dvema različitim vrstama ironije? Ova pitanja su bila, ali i dalje jesu predmet proučavanja. Naime, neki smatraju da su i *simulatio* i *dissimulatio* ravnopravni nosioci istog značenja 'ironija'. Po drugima,<sup>3</sup> to su dve vrste ironije, od kojih jedan ili drugi

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<sup>1</sup> Definicija da je retorička ironija »kad se govori jedno, a misli nešto drugo (ili suprotno) i kad se kudi pohvalom ili hvali pogrdom« nastavila je svoju istoriju po retoričkim priručnicima Julija Rufinijana, Tiberija Retora, Marcijana Kapele, Isidora, Bede i tako dalje, udaljavajući se sve više od starijeg, aristotelovskog poimanja ironije kao prividnog samounižavanja govornika.

<sup>2</sup> Znamo da po Ciceronu, a tako misli i Kvintilijan, uspeh govornika u najvećoj meri zavisi od njegovog umeća psihagogije, od sposobnosti da pobudi kod publike naklonost, da izazove osećanja (ljubav, žalost, srdžbu, saučešće, mržnju) već prema potrebama određenog predmeta i da je naročito važan izbor sredstava kojima će to postići. Među tim sredstvima Ciceron posebno preporučuje šale, duhovite dosetke i ironiju, a više puta podvlači koliko je ona korisna govorniku zato što najlakše od svih stilskih figura prodire u ljudsku dušu, te utiče i na publiku i na sudije i vodi govornika ka njegovom cilju.

<sup>3</sup> Turasiewicz (1983) s. 60, 61.

predstavlja ekvivalent »prave« ironije. Potom, na to se nadovezuju i problemi u vezi sa svrstavanjem ironije (ma kako se ona zvala) u trope, figure reči ili figure misli.

Kako bismo dobili jasniju predstavu i širi okvir u kojem možemo tragati za izvornim značenjem koje je Ciceron bio namenio ovim terminima, možemo pozvati u pomoć Kvintilijana koji u IX knjizi *Institutio oratoria* izražava neslaganje sa Ciceronom u vezi sa adekvatnošću imenice *dissimulatio*, za koju smatra da ne izražava u potpunosti sadržaj ironije i time objašnjava zašto na više mesta i dalje preferira upotrebu grčkog termina<sup>4</sup>. I uistinu, Kvintilijan često koristi latiniziranu ili izvornu grčku imenicu – *ironia* i εἰρωνεία, kao i grčki pridev. U VI knjizi (3, 85-86) opet, nastoji da objasni razliku između *simulatio* i *dissimulatio* i to na sledeći način: Kvintilijan, naime, tvrdi da ove dve figure izazivaju najviše smeha, da su vrlo slične, s tim da *simulatio* predstavlja određeni tip ponašanja, kada se pretvaramo da imamo određeno mišljenje, a *dissimulatio* kada se pretvaramo da ne razumemo tuđe mišljenje i navodi po jedan primer za obe figure. Ako pogledamo malo pažljivije kontekst i mesta karakteristična za upotrebu ovih termina kod samoga Cicerona, zaključićemo sledeće:

Latinizirani oblik grčke imenice, *ironia*, Ciceron upotrebljava pet puta i to kad govori o Sokratu ili Scipionu Emilijanu (*Brut.* 292,7; *De orat.* II, 270, 4), kada objašnjava u kom slučaju jeste, a u kom nije umesno služiti se ironijom (*Brut.* 292, 19 i 293, 8) i kada govori o »pravoj« ili »čistoju« ironiji (*Brut.* 296, 11).

Terminom *simulatio* Ciceron se služi češće<sup>5</sup>, ali samo ga jedanput (*De orat.*) koristi u kontekstu u kojem bi eventualno mogao imati značenje figure ironije: *magna vis est earum sententiarum, atque eorum locorum, quos agas tractesque dicendo, nihil ut opus sit simulatione et fallaciis*. Međutim, smatramo da bi imenicu *simulatio* ovde pre trebalo prevesti rečju 'pretvaranje', pošto se misli na simulaciju emocija, stvaranje lažnog utiska da govornik oseća mržnju, zavist ili ljutnju. Znači, nije reč o iskazu, frazi ili

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<sup>4</sup> *Inst. orat.* IX, 2, 44: *Εἰρωνείαν inveni qui dissimulationem vocarent: quo nomine quia parum totius huius figurae vires videntur ostendi, nimirum sicut in plerisque, erimus graeca appellatione contenti.*

<sup>5</sup> Tri puta u retoričkim spisima i devet puta u *De Officiis*.

misli, nego o generalnom raspoloženju, o slici emotivnog stanja govornika. Oba odlomka iz dijaloga *Brutus* u kojima se Ciceron služi terminom *simulatio* odnose se na 'stvaranje privida', 'poprimanje lika' ili 'ostavljanje utiska' – znači, sasvim je jasno da se radi o pritvornom ponašanju, o nameri govornika da se predstavi onakvim kakav on u stvari nije, da poprimi lik ili izgled koji ne odgovara njegovim realnim osobinama pri čemu se podrazumeva i upotreba verbalne ironije. U *De officiis*, razume se, teško bismo mogli očekivati da ova imenica ima značenje retoričke kategorije, ali zbog relativno velikog broja primera, rećićemo da i ovde najčešće znači 'pretvaranje', 'lažno predstavljanje', 'stvaranje privida' ili 'poprimanje lika', i to opet korespondira sa značenjima ove imenice u retoričkim spisima. Prema tome, mogli bismo definisati *simulatio* kao ponašanje govornika koji, unižavajući sebe, postavljajući pitanja, oklevajući u nečemu, tražeći savet ili mišljenje od slušalaca, nastoji da ostavi utisak neupućenog ili naivnog čoveka, i time, valjda, da izazove sažaljenje, simpatije i naklonost publike ili sudije.

Termin *dissimulatio* je gotovo tri puta češće zastupljen u dijalozima o retorici (osam primera). Prva dva primera smo već pomenuli kada smo govorili o definiciji ironije, a druga dva primera su iz ekskursa o smešnome i odnose se na stvari koje izazivaju smeh kod slušalaca: *valde haec ridentur, et hercule omnia quae a prudentibus (quasi) per dissimulationem (non intellegendi) subabsurde salseque dicuntur (De orat. II,275,3); et similitudine turpioris et dissimulatione et subabsurda dicendo et stulta reprehendendo risus movetur (289,4.)*. Malo niže, Kras se obraća Antoniju: *Perge vero, inquit Crassus, libenter enim te cognitum iam artificem aliquandoque evolutum illis integumentum dissimulationis tuae nudatumque perspicio (ibid.)*. Poslednji primer je u stvari ona poznata definicija retoričke ironije: *illa quae maxime quasi irrepit in hominum mentes alia dicentis ac significantis dissimulatio (III,203)*. Iz ovih navoda postaje sasvim jasno da je jedino moguće značenje za *dissimulatio* – upravo *ironija* u smislu retoričke figure, sredstva kojim govornik nastoji razoružati protivnika, sagovornika, iznuditi priznanje, potencirati dobre ili loše strane nečega ili nekoga, naglasiti određene argumente tako da najefektnije izazovu željenu reakciju publike.

Brojke govore da se Ciceron u svojim filozofskim i retoričkim spisima često služio i glagolima *simulare* i *dissimulare*, ali moramo pomenuti da se oni na nekim mestima ne odnose na retoričko kategorizovanje, dok primeri iz

sva tri dijaloga o retorici jasno ukazuju na značenja 'pretvarati se', 'pričinjavati se' za *simulare*, odnosno 'kriti', 'prikrivati se' za *dissimulare*.

Ukratko, ova dva termina, *simulatio* i *dissimulatio*, nisu sinonimi, nego možemo zaključiti da je Ciceron njima označio dva pojavna modaliteta ironije, i to tako da se *simulatio* odnosi na ironiju koja je način ponašanja, kao vrstu *prosopoesis*, dok je *dissimulatio* striktno retorička ironija, stilska figura ili retorička shema. *Dissimulatio* je zapravo prikriivanje vlastitog mišljenja. Govornik se služi različitim sredstvima kako bi prikrio svoje mišljenje, ali se istovremeno trudi da to prikriivanje bude manje ili više transparentno da bi se mogao nagovestiti pravi smisao njegovog iskaza. Upravo ta sredstva za prikriivanje pravog smisla iskaza, sredstva za realizaciju ironične modalnosti su različite vrste retoričke ironije, njeni različiti modaliteti – bilo da su to tropi, sheme ili figure.

Predmetno se područje stare retorike u postaristotelovskim fazama malo po malo sužavalo i svodilo na *elocutio*, tj. na tropologiju. Moderna stilistika relativizuje njihovu upotrebu i nastoji da opiše sredstva i postupke jezičkog izražavanja karakteristične za određeno delo, autora ili književni pravac. Ipak, neke elemente imenovanja i tipologizacije figura preuzima i moderna stilistika. Što se tiče složenosti postupka njihovog raspoređivanja u grupe po kriterijumu srodnosti, ona nam ne omogućava da se oslobodimo razlika i protivrečnosti posebnih pristupa i tumačenja.

Pri tipologizaciji stilskih figura, pa i ironije – konkretno, stari su se retoričari rukovodili različitim kriterijumima (prema intenzitetu ironičnog signala, prema ličnosti kojoj je ironija upućena i sl.) i nastojali da ih strogo, pedantno razvrstaju na trope, figure koje nisu tropi, te dalje na figure reči i figure misli. Međutim, ako se složimo s generalnom konstatacijom da je njihovo osnovno svojstvo kvalitativna promena značenja, stvaranje novog semantičkog odnosa, najsvrsishodnije bi bilo da se promena značenja sadrži u reči (*in dicto*) ili u sadržaju cele rečenice (*in re*), dok je još važniji način njihovog funkcionisanja u tekstu ili način na koji se prenosi ironični signal.

Nećemo ulaziti u dalju eksplikaciju svih mogućih aspekata tipologizacije, samo ćemo podsetiti da Ciceron u delima *De oratore* i *Brutus* ironiju ubraja u figure misli, dok Kvintilijan, obrađujući ironiju kao trop, na mnogim mestima navodi primere baš iz Ciceronovih govora. Autor

spisa *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, pak, ne ubraja ironiju ni u jednu od grupa sa njegove liste *exornationes*, već je smatra jednom od tri vrsta alegorije (*permutatio ex contrario*), koja po njemu pripada tropima.

Mogućnost da se u samim Ciceronovim besedama ispita način upotrebe i funkcionisanja ironije sama po sebi predstavlja izazov. Izazov postaje veći pokušajem da na tim primerima proverimo validnost i opravdanost iznetih hipoteza o Ciceronovom teorijskom poimanju različitih pojava modaliteta ironije. Analizirane su besede protiv Vera, protiv Katiline, kao i besede za Marcela, za Ligarija i za kralja Dejotara. Izbor beseda, razume se, nije slučajan: odabrane su besede iz različitih perioda Ciceronove besedničke i političke karijere, zatim, vodili smo računa da to budu besede različitog roda (sudski, deliberativni i demonstrativni), kao i različite namene (odbrana i optužba). Učestalost i raznovrsnost ironije u svim ovim besedama dozvoljava nam da osetimo sve nijanse njenog intenziteta, da razlučimo sve mehanizme njene aktualizacije kod ovog izvanredno nadarenog psihologa, koga Kvintilijan naziva *summus tractandorum artifex*.

Što se tiče zastupljenosti pojedinih vrsta ironije, analiza pokazuje da je u gotovo svim analiziranim besedama relativno ujednačen broj iskaza koji sadrže ironiju – trop ili ironiju – figuru reči sa onima koji sadrže neke oblike *dissimulatio*, dok je broj primera za *simulatio* četvorostruko manji. Ako ovome dodamo da veliki broj primera za ironiju – trop pripada alegoriji, a ona je po definiciji *dissimulatio*, onda uopšte ne ostaje mesta za sumnju u ispravnost početne hipoteze – da je Ciceron za imenovanje retoričke ironije odredio termin *dissimulatio*.

Sumirane brojke pokazuju da je ubedljivo najčešće zastupljeni oblik ironije alegorija (69), od svojih najjednostavnijih formi (»nešto rđavo nazvati lepom rečju«) do razvijenih alegoričnih iskaza koji se protežu u više redova (najčešće tipa »ukoriti pohvalom«). Znači, i Ciceron je najčešće posezao za najstarijim i najpoznatijim oblikom ironije – antifrazom, ali ga bitno razvija, dopunjuje i obogaćuje. Retorička pitanja su, takođe, brojna (njih je pedesetak), njihova upotreba daje besedi posebnu dinamičnost, a efekat se pojačava kad se više pitanja niže jedno za drugim, što je čest slučaj kod Cicerona. Izvanrednu specifičnost govora najrečitijeg Romulovog potomka daju tzv. izostavljanja, tj. *praeteritiones* (ukupno 27),

gde, najavljući da će nešto izostaviti ili da o nečem neće govoriti, u stvari još više to potencira i skreće pažnju publike na izostavljeno.

Zastupljenost ironije i izbor sredstava za njenu realizaciju zavisi i od prirode predmeta o kojem se govori i od stila beseđenja:

1. Što se tiče stila, sudske besede sa njihovim, po pravilu, jednostavnim stilom sadrže najveći broj ironičnih iskaza, odnosno, u njima se ironija upotrebljava najčešće i najslobodnije. U besedama ili delovima beseda koje su održane ili napisane uzvišenim stilom, ironični su iskazi u ograničenom broju ili ih uopšte nema, kao što je recimo slučaj sa trećom besedom protiv Katiline.

2. Ako razmotrimo zastupljenost ironije u pojedinim delovima besede, može se uočiti da je ironija retko zastupljena u *exordium*-u. Ograničena je i zastupljenost ironije u završnom delu besede, *peroratio*, što je sasvim razumljivo s obzirom da je cilj ovog dela besede da izvede zaključke iz prethodno iznesenih argumenata. Različiti oblici ironije su najbrojniji u središnjem delu besede, u *narratio*, ili tačnije u *argumentatio*. Razlog tome je, svakako, njihov jednostavan, nizak stil. Na primer, tužba za iznuđivanje protiv Vera jeste predmet pogodan za ironične efekte, kao što su i argumentacija u drugom i četvrtom govoru protiv Katiline, kao i gotovo cele besede upućene Cezaru u kojima dolazi do punog izražaja Ciceronova sklonost ka ironiziranju.

Proučavanje jezičkih sredstava kojima se Ciceron služio za realizaciju ironije pokazuje da se u velikoj meri može uočiti povezanost upotrebe pojedinih figura sa odgovarajućim jezičkim sredstvima na tri nivoa – leksičkom, sintaksičkom i kontekstualnom. Sredstva leksičkog nivoa pogodna su za realizaciju kraćih i jednostavnijih oblika ironije, uglavnom tropa i figura reči, kao što su: *allegoria*, *exclamatio*, *adiectio* i *antonomasia*. Kao najčešće korišćeno sredstvo (i najjednostavniji mehanizam) leksičkog nivoa jeste upotreba imenica i prideva (naročito su produktivni superlativi), dok se glagoli znatno ređe pojavljaju kao nosioci ironičnog signala. Strukturno nešto složeniji mehanizam za realizaciju ironične modalnosti su fraze strukturirane po modelu imenica+pridev (*vir honestus, bonus imperator*), zamenica+imenica (*iste homo*), ali najčešće zastupljene i ujedno najrečitije su kombinacije tipa zamenica+imenica+pridev (*nos fortes viri*). Kao specifičnu autorsku osobenost treba istaći Ciceronovu sklonost ka upotrebi demonstrativnih zamenica (najčešće *iste* i *ille*) za

izražavanje omalovažavajućeg odnosa, prezira ili indignacije (*ille praetor praestantissimus*).

Složenost komunikacijskog zadatka pri korišćenju složenijih figura podrazumeva i korišćenje složenijih sredstava, sintaksičke mehanizme za njegovo izvršenje. Ciceron se služio iznenađujuće velikim brojem varijanti transponiranih i izdvojenih sintaksičkih konstrukcija, kao i sintaksičkim konvergencijama. Najčešće su zastupljene transpozicije afirmativnih u odrične rečenice i odričnih u afirmativne. Kod retoričkih pitanja, nepodudarnost forme pitanja sa realnim, iskaznim značenjem predstavlja određenu vrstu transpozicije kojom se služi kao sredstvom za izražavanje teško prepoznatljivog ironičnog smisla u figurama kao što su *rogatio*, *interrogatio*, *communicatio* i, ređe, *ficta rogatio*. Sintaksičke konvergencije su najpogodnije za one delove beseda koji sadrže stilističke konvergencije, a uverili smo se da Ciceron vrlo često, radi postizanja snažnijeg utiska, u jednom iskazu koncentriše više figura koje se među sobom prepliću. Jezička sredstva za realizaciju ironične modalnosti na nivou teksta kombinuju se i dopunjuju sa sredstvima leksičkog i sintaksičkog nivoa u svim analiziranim besedama, a naročito u besedama *Pro Marcello*, *Pro Ligario* i *Pro rege Deiotaro*. U njima zapažamo veliki broj leksičkih ponavljanja, retrospekcija, navođenja tuđih reči i upotrebu aluzija i dvosmislenosti.

Upoređivanjem upotrebe ironije u besedama iz različitih perioda, dolazi se do zaključka da u besedama iz početnih godina svoje karijere (kao što su besede protiv Vera) Ciceron pokazuje više duhovitosti, prefinjenosti, raznovrsnosti i razigranosti – sasvim u skladu sa teoretskim određenjima koje će kasnije izneti u ekskursu o smešnome. Desetak godina kasnije, u Katilinarijama, Ciceronova ironija postaje oštrija (verovatno i zbog prirode predmeta), gubi nekadašnju razigranost, saobražava se uzvišenim i patetičnim preterivanjima, dok na zalasku njegove govorničke karijere odslikava rezignaciju poraženog republikanca, postaje sveprisutna, teška i sve dalja od definicije za *urbana dissimulatio*. Na kraju, ironija prelazi u osuđujući stav, nalikuje *prospoesis*-u, poprima jedini mogući oblik – putem lažne slobode (*licentia*) uputiti kritike na račun neprikosnovenog vladara Cezara.



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## Summary

### Theoretical and practical aspects of Cicero's irony

Cicero's rhetorical works enable us to analyze his theoretical approach to the definition, designation and classification of rhetorical irony, and the body of about fifty of his surviving speeches constitutes material on which we can test how much and in which manifest modalities he used irony in his rhetorical practice.

Cicero draws a clear distinction between irony as a manner of behaviour (simulation) and irony as a rhetorical figure (dissimulation). He extends its definition and recommends it to orators as particularly effective in achieving an impact on listeners. He himself used irony most often in his court orations, and in particular in their middle section, the argumentation. In realization of irony he used various means at a lexical, syntax and contextual level.

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## Looking (at) Ariadne: Vision and Meaning in Catullus, Ovid and Hofmannsthal

*Abstract.* Ariadne's story in Catullus' *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* is a drama of looking, seeing, and not seeing. It depicts interpersonal relations and distinguishes presence and absence, life and death, by thematizing the visual contact between the characters, between gods and humans, and between the internal audience and the image described in the ecphrasis. In Catullus the gaze sometimes expresses the objectifying force of power or its failure, but it may also denote the possibility of communication, interpersonal contact, or mutual attachment. The preoccupation with visual perception represents the complexity of the encounter with the Other in the face of those we might or might not love or need: a lover, a close relative, a divine power, a work of art, a fictional reality. Ovid's *Letter of Ariadne to Theseus* echoes its predecessor. While Catullus' Ariadne comes into contact with reality through intense and desperate looking, Ovid's heroine relies on actual interpersonal contact: she tries to send visual signs, stay visible and thus make Theseus reconsider. Hofmannsthal's libretto for *Ariadne auf Naxos* is amazingly comparable to Catullus' poem. The text is again complex and sophisticated, exploring concepts like memory, fidelity, loss, transformation, surviving and living on. The paradox of the human condition, the dialectic of sameness and transformation, of rigidness and vitality, is expressed through Ariadne's refusal to look or even stay visible. All three Ariadnes experience a gap between themselves and reality, marked through a visual vacuum, by looking in vain, being unable to see or be seen, or refusing to look and see.

*Key Words:* Roman literature, Catullus, Ovid, Hofmannsthal, visual perception, gaze, visual contact

### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Ariadne's story fascinated hundreds of poets, painters, playwrights and composers in modern times. They were inspired mainly by Ovid's account, which in turn was based on Catullus. While in literature and music the story takes various and often unrecognizable shapes, the

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paintings are more conventional in their iconographic patterns which were in fact set already in the ancient art. Greek vase paintings and Roman mosaics and frescoes show Ariadne in a limited number of typical poses: sleeping beauty, archetypal abandoned woman gazing at the sea, celebrated goddess together with Dionysos and other divinities. Most paintings tend to emphasize the gaze of Ariadne, and almost all of them except for Titian's one,<sup>2</sup> treat the two main parts of the story separately, as is perhaps natural for a single image. Moreover, in most pictorial interpretations we can easily recognize the visual economy employed by the artist. The intense exchange of gazes between the lovers not only expresses erotic desire, but signifies also a physical interaction through vision and, presumably, partnership and emotional attachment.

The opposite is also true and numerous parallels to this artistic pattern can be found in literary texts. Here is just one example out of many: in Virgil's *Aeneid* 1.482 we see the depiction of an episode from the Trojan war, where the women make supplication to the statue of Athena, but the goddess is not responsive: *illa solo fixas oculos aversa tenebat*, "she had her eyes turned away and fixed to the ground". The meaning of her averted gaze is unmistakably clear.

### **1. Catullus' Ariadne**

Poem 64 is a particularly elaborate example of an epyllion or 'mini-epic'. Characteristic for this kind of compressed epic form is the choice of rarely treated subject matter, sometimes concerning not quite heroic events or heroines instead of heroes.

Catullus' longest poem was maybe his most ambitious attempt to realize a new literary project. It is remarkable for its complex and much debated structure and for its ambiguous and still more debated meaning. The poem has been traditionally entitled *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*. The narrative focuses on the distant mythical past. It begins with the first ship constructed by the mortals which evokes the amazement of the sea goddesses. Peleus and Thetis fall in love, and Jupiter grants his assent to their marriage. On the wedding day, people from the country come to the

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<sup>2</sup> Titian's interpretation (1525, National Gallery, London) was probably based on literary sources only and is famous for including all the crucial elements of the story.

*Виолета Герджикова (Violeta Gerjikova)*

palace to celebrate the event. They look at the magnificent palace, then step into the room and see the marriage bed covered with a beautiful tapestry on which the story of Ariadne is embroidered. Here the poet stops to narrate this story and thus the poem contains an instance of ecphrasis, a typical epic device, which is as old as the shield of Achilles. After some 200 lines of ecphrasis, the narrative goes back to the wedding, the mortal guests depart and the gods arrive on the scene instead. What follows is mainly a song performed by the Fates, who sing about the happy marriage and the son that will be born to it – the mighty Achilles. The poem closes with a dark picture of the moral decay following those times of great heroes and the ultimate separation of humans and gods. Thus the poem consists of two sections: one of them tells a sad story about betrayal and abandonment, which then turns to a happy ending through the arrival of Bacchus; the other tells a story of a happy union blessed by the gods, which is nonetheless undermined by the gloomy closure.

For decades scholars have been trying to find a coherent overall interpretation of the text. The complexities of its narrative technique and the ambivalence in its treatment of the heroic world have been at the heart of ongoing debates.

The relationship of the Ariadne episode to the rest of the poem is problematic with regard to its lengthy treatment and its larger implications. The problems of structure and imagery inevitably evoke the puzzling question of meaning: what attitude to the heroic age is the text implying? Is Theseus to blame for what he did to Ariadne? Is a moral interpretation of the poem defensible?

My concern with the poem is about the theme of visual perception, and more precisely of visual contact between the characters. The questions surrounding visual perception are of course vast and therefore this narrowing down the topic is inevitable. The ancient civilization in general has always been described in terms of ocularcentrism. Seeing and knowing are linguistically and symbolically connected in Indo-European languages and cultures. Most major texts in the Western tradition involve metaphoric conceptions of seeing as knowing and understanding. We could also go another way and trace the so called visual obsession of the Roman society with its spectacles or its impressive artistic display of power and grandeur.

Visual perception represented in a fictional text is a complex problem, concerning the perspective of the characters, the so called intra-perspective, where one person depicted in the text is looking at another person or an object, and the perspective of the internal and external audiences. Catullus' epic presents the reader with all sorts of perspectives and could be described as a drama of looking, seeing and not seeing.

At the very beginning the ship is sailing away, the sea goddesses emerge from the water gazing at this amazing view, and the men on the deck gaze at their amazing beauty:

Emersere freti candenti e gurgite vultus  
aequoreae monstrum Nereides admirantes.  
Illa, atque haud alia, viderunt luce marinas  
mortales oculis nudato corpore Nymphas  
nutricum tenus exstantes e gurgite cano.  
Tum Thetidis Peleus incensus fertur amore,  
tum Thetis humanos non despexit hymenaeos... (14–20)

This is a scene of a direct and reciprocal visual contact between two worlds: the sea and the earth, the mortals and the immortals. The scene is also erotically charged and followed immediately by the account of a love from the first sight from the part of both Peleus and Thetis.<sup>3</sup>

At the beginning of the ecphrasis the abandoned Ariadne is gazing at the ship in the distance, not believing her own eyes, then she sees herself on the desert shore, then she gazes again and again at the sea:

Namque fluentisono *prospectans* litore Diae,  
Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe *tuetur*  
indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna furores,  
necdum etiam sese quae *visit visere* credit,  
utpote fallaci quae tum primum excita somno  
desertam in sola miseram se *cernat* harena.  
Immemor at iuvenis fugiens pellit vada remis,  
irrita ventosae linquens promissa procellae.  
Quem procul ex alga *maestis* Minois *ocellis*,

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<sup>3</sup> This is a story invented, or rather manipulated by Catullus: in other versions of the myth Peleus is already the husband of Thetis and the father of Achilles, when he sails away with the ship, to say nothing of the fact that, according to Greek tradition, Thetis was not so in love with him, she was forced by Jupiter to marry him only to leave him after their first night spent together.

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saxea ut effigies bacchantis, *prospicit*, eheu,  
*prospicit* et magnis curarum fluctuat undis,  
non flavo retinens subtilem vertice mitram,  
non contacta levi velatum pectus amictu,  
non tereti strophio lactentis vincita papillas,  
omnia quae toto delapsa e corpore passim  
ipsius ante pedes fluctus salis alludebant. (52–67)

Here, the intense feeling of loss and despair is conveyed primarily through the visual experience of the heroine. This predominant motive expresses various aspects of her situation: desire, loss, pain, isolation, helplessness. The gazing is one-sided: Ariadne is looking at Theseus, but Theseus is not looking at Ariadne. His perspective is fully absent from the narrative and he remains invisible for both the heroine and the audiences. We will see further on that his visual absence and indifference is one of the main devices employed by the author in constructing his figure. But Ariadne is still being looked at: she is the object of voyeuristic gazing by the internal and the external audience, and thus not invisible, despite her loneliness and isolation.

In the following flashback the situation is quite different, but the narrative strategy is strikingly similar. On his arrival to Crete Theseus is depicted as the object of Ariadne's gazing and desire:

Hunc simul ac *cupido* conspexit lumine virgo  
[...]  
*non* prius ex illo flagrantia *declinavit*  
*lumina*, quam cuncto concepit corpore flammam. (86–91)

The passage delivers a second instance of love at first sight. But in this case Ariadne seems to be alone in her passion. The text does not reveal any reaction on the part of Theseus. It does not inform us whether he noticed Ariadne, whether he saw her; neither does it provide any description of the hero himself. What we actually see is again Ariadne, through the description of her innocence and beauty. Theseus is briefly depicted later on as the hero that succeeded in killing the monster, but his going back was not so heroic. His only source of orientation on his way out of the labyrinth was Ariadne's thread.

In her despair and anger the heroine of the ecphrasis pronounces a long speech of indignation and curses Theseus, so that he might forget also his own father and bring misery to his own home. As it has been

often pointed out, the text implies in many ways a parallel between Ariadne and Aegeus. In another flashback Aegeus' love, anxiety and hopes for the future are described through the imaginative picture of seeing his son's successful return:

...cui languida nondum  
lumina sunt gnati cara saturata figura... (219– 220)  
quam primum *cernens* ut laeta gaudia mente  
*agnoscam*, cum te reducem aetas prospera sistet. (236–237)

Thus the text insists on depicting interpersonal relations, and, by extension, distinguishing presence and absence, life and death, by thematizing the visual contact. The image of Aegeus on the top of the fortress gazing at the sea mirrors the gazing Ariadne. In both cases it is Theseus who is the elusive object of the gaze and thus of desire, love, hope and despair. He himself, by contrast, is neither gazing nor described, neither seeing nor seen. He forgets to change the sails and the father becomes ironically the victim of his own sight.

The narrative now turns to the other picture on the coverlet. Dionysus is coming with his noisy attendants. He apparently has seen the heroine, as he states that he is in love with her, but his gaze is not mentioned. And she does not even see him at the moment where the ecphrasis ends, as he is coming from her back. The two characters are not looking at each other and their actual encounter is expected but not described.

The ecphrasis closes with the picture of the internal audience having satisfied its eagerness to watch. Here again the gaze is the place of desire, this time for the story itself:

Quae postquam *cupide spectando* Thessala pubes  
expleta est, sanctis coepit decedere divis. (267–268)

The poem itself closes with a dark and pessimistic account of the moral decay of the later generations. The gods, in disgust, have averted their eyes from the humans and are unwilling either to see their actions, or to be seen by them.

So both the beginning and the end of the narrative deals with the contact between gods and humans by means of two opposing pictures: the mutual and the averted look.

Having sketched the prominence of the theme of visual perception in its various realizations, I would suggest that it has something to do with

the major theme of the heroic past and thus with the poet's view towards his own political and social reality in a society preoccupied with the idea of power, heroism and glory. Yet it touches on this theme through the subtle depiction of personal reactions and relations between the characters.

A great deal of recent critical thought has been engaged with the problem of vision and looking as an act of objectifying, controlling and colonizing the other. It has been argued that the gazer takes a superior position to the object of looking, so the gaze can reflect power structures. This idea forms a basis of feminist analyses of texts. Many critics adopt and develop the approach of Laura Mulvey, who, in a seminal article published in 1975,<sup>4</sup> drew on psychoanalytical theory to analyze the erotic pleasure of viewing in film. She identifies the possession of a gaze as male and the state of being gazed upon as female. This analysis has been also understandably criticized as rigid and giving no answer to the question of whether a female gaze exists. Mulvey herself argues that the male figure cannot bear the burden of sexual objectification. Numerous classical scholars have adopted this approach and have analyzed ancient texts with much intellectual energy.

If we assume this logic of argument, the eroticized descriptions in Catullus' poem would perfectly suit the expectations of his presumably male audience, and Theseus is right in not letting Ariadne reach him with her gaze. The male character successfully avoids being viewed as an object of desire, he escapes the fixing power of gaze, while the female fails to establish the power of the gazer and at the same time the female body is displayed by the narrator as an object of the erotic gaze and is being watched by the textual audiences assuming the role of spectators. Many other questions remain, though. Why Theseus is never depicted as the bearer of a dominant gaze? He remains practically invisible: can we describe his presence in the text in terms of being the subject or the object of a gaze? Why the narrator presents us with three different versions of an erotic encounter: one of mutual gazing, one of one-sided gazing, and the third where neither of the two parties is explicitly showed as looking or being looked at? And how does poor Aegeus fit in the picture? Most

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<sup>4</sup> L. Mulvey, *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema*, *Screen* 16, 1975, 6–18.



of the theoretical studies do not seem to be much helpful. Instead of the penetrating male gaze we have observed the gaze of longing, the problem of the refused gaze and of the unreciprocated gaze.

However, a more flexible definition is to be found in an article entitled "The Photograph as an Intersection of Gazes: The Example of National Geographic" by Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins.<sup>5</sup> The authors note that "the mutuality or non-mutuality of the gaze of the two parties can... tell us who has the right and/or need to look at whom". They also present, among other arguments, an interesting observation on the issue who is actually looking at the camera:

To a statistically significant degree, women look into the camera more than men, children and older people look into the camera more often than other adults, those who appear poor more than those who appear wealthy [...] those without any tools more than those using machinery. Those who are culturally defined by the West as weak – women, children, people of colour, the poor, the tribal rather than the modern, those without technology – are more likely to face the camera, the more powerful to be represented looking elsewhere.

I would suggest that in Catullus' poems looking may sometimes express the objectifying force of power (or its failure), but it may also denote other concerns, such as the possibility of communication, interpersonal contact, mutual relationship of attachment. In short, I would rather speak of the meaning of visual perception not in terms of active vs. passive, but of detached vs. involved. Theseus is the character who does not feel the *need* to look or to be looked at, and so he is the most monolithic character, possessing a stable and self-sufficient heroic identity. Ariadne, who has betrayed her family, left her home and become socially nobody, without the perspective of a marriage, states in her speech that she would rather become his slave than stay alone in the wilderness. Both she and Aegeus rely on Theseus' presence and involvement for their very existence and this dependence is represented as much in terms of social status as in terms of personal and emotional investment. The poem, then, as so many of Catullus' other poems, questions the ambiguous nature of human relationships and the very possibility of establishing a mutual bond

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<sup>5</sup> C. A. Lutz, J. L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic*, Chicago, 1993.

bringing the sense of commitment and fulfillment, even at the expense of a strong sense of one's socially prescribed identity.

It is also important to keep in mind the significance of the ecphrasis: at the end of it the narrator returns to the internal audience only to state that it has satisfied its hungry eyes, without any comment on its emotional or interpretative reaction. This might be a hint towards self-reflection of art and on textual and pictorial media. Yet, we should not forget that what the internal spectators actually saw were two parallel pictures which were likely do keep the balance between the unhappy scene and the happy one. What we have seen as external audience was a much more expanded story based on the first picture.<sup>6</sup> That is why, in the course of the narrative, our perspective shifts and we happen to be much more involved in looking at poor Ariadne, as the textual structure undermines the balance of the two images.

The poem's preoccupation with visual perception in its various modes is about power and desire and at the same time it goes beyond power and desire, it is about the complexity of the encounter with the Other in the face of those we might or might not love and need: a lover, a close relative, a divine power, a work of art, a fictional reality.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. Ovid, Letter of Ariadne to Theseus

This is the tenth poem in the *Heroides*, a collection of fictional letters written by mythological heroines to their absent husbands or lovers.<sup>8</sup> The exaggerated fictionality of these poems is eminent particularly in the

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<sup>6</sup> For a clear account of the complexities of the narrative progression and the actual chronological order of the events see the recent monograph of Michaela Schmale, *Bilderreigen und Erzählabyrinth: Catulls Carmen 64*, München, 2004.

<sup>7</sup> The gazing of the Roman audience through the medium of art at the represented world of the myth has been pointed out by William Fitzgerald, who has recognized that "the gaze – satisfied, frustrated or interrupted – is the main thematic thread of the poem". See p. 140 and the whole chapter "Gazing at the Golden Age: Belatedness and Mastery in Poem 64" in W. Fitzgerald, *Catullan Provocations: Lyric Poetry and the Drama of Position*, Berkeley, 1996, 140–168.

<sup>8</sup> I leave aside the other three accounts of the story to be found in Ovid's works (*Metam.* 8, 172–182; *Fast.* 3, 459–516; *Ars am.* 1, 572–564) as they are either concise or rooted in a fairly dissimilar context.

case of Ariadne's letter, because there could not be any postal service on a desert island, as W. Furley comments.<sup>9</sup> The same scholar also points out the bizarre appearance of a comfortable double bed placed right on the beach and not inside any domestic structure. The bed plays a prominent role in the text as a traditional motive associated with women and marriage and as a symbolic object of love and union/disintegration. Indeed, Ovid's Ariadne recognizes Theseus' absence by touching the empty bed in the first place, and some ten lines later she uses her eyes to realize the distressing reality:

Luna fuit; specto siquid nisi litora cernam;  
quod videant oculi, nil nisi litus habent. (17–18)

Catullus' Ariadne, as we remember, is depicted on the coverlet, and she is looking at the very first moment we see her. As we might expect Ovid's text echoes in many ways its literary predecessor. Ovid had been a keen reader of Catullus and he shows a sense for variation by introducing the touching first and then paraphrasing his line:

necdum etiam sese quae visit visere credit (Cat. 64.55)  
ut vidi indignam quae me vidisse putarem (Ov. *Her.* 10.31)

Ovid's Ariadne is more engaged with vision in the literal sense: she explicitly tries to make Theseus see her (taking too literally the motive of his fatal forgetfulness elaborated by Catullus in a more complex way):

Si non audires, ut saltem cernere posses:  
iactatae late signa dedere manus.  
candidaque imposui longae velamina virgae  
scilicet oblitos admonitura mei. (39–42)

As the ship disappears over the horizon, Ariadne is utterly devastated:

Iamque oculis ereptus eras. tum denique flevi;  
torpuerant molles ante dolore genae.  
Quid potius facerent, quam me mea lumina flerent,  
postquam desieram vela videre tua? (43–46)

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<sup>9</sup> "Die Fiktion einer Korrespondenz im 10. Heroidenbrief erfordert eine Art Telekommunikation zwischen Ariadne und dem mobilen Theseus, die man gerade heutzutage mit e-mail oder einem „Handy“ telefon erreicht hat!" See W. Furley, *Eingebettet im Nichts: zum Ariadne-Brief in Ovids Heroides*, in: *Ovid. Werk und Wirkung. Festgabe für Michael von Albrecht zum 65. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt etc., 1999, 159–168.

Here we witness how Ovid plays on and reshapes the Catullan emphasis on vision. Theseus' unresponsiveness is highlighted to a comic degree, by Ariadne's vain gestures and signs and the theme of the unanswered and futile gaze is reinforced by declaring the looking superfluous and pointless. While Catullan Ariadne comes into contact with her reality through her intense and desperate looking, this one relies on actual interpersonal contact through it and then turns to the written word as a medium of communication. At the end of her letter (vv. 133–150) she tries again to send visual signs, to be seen, to become visible and present: she portrays herself and this verbal painting is supposed to call to Theseus' mind an image that would make him reconsider and come back.

Some critics have pointed out that Ariadne is too concerned with her appearance, or that she tries to offer Theseus an image which would please him. Yet, I think that the image Ariadne is depicting here is not an image of a desirable woman. With her body bearing the marks of external forces and internal suffering, and with few hairs left on her head, she looks rather pathetic. It is as this Ariadne is trying to send a picture of herself together with the letter, and she is looking straight at the camera, assuming the weak position and willing not to seduce, but to evoke pity, not to attract the desiring gaze, but the gaze of a sympathetic human. This attitude is emphasized through her last request: Theseus should return if only to find her dead body and to give it the last tribute which every human being needs and deserves. It is difficult to say whether Ovid creates a touching figure of an abandoned woman, or skillfully and comically subverts the creation of Catullus. His absorption with erotic affairs and the very playfulness of his text could more easily respond to a more strictly "gendered" kind of reading. Some critics have tried to see in the *Heroides* the realization of the female voice, still others insist that he has authored a blunt, melodramatic and somewhat distasteful literary cliché.

### 3. Hugo von Hofmannsthal

The poems of Catullus and Ovid have been hugely influential ever after. Among the various interpretations of Ariadne's story in Modern times, the one created by Hofmannsthal is amazingly comparable to Catullus' poem, being also a story within a story. Moreover, we see again

stories contrasted as the sad and the merry face of human experience, and art is also made alongside to a subject of reflection.

*Ariadne auf Naxos* is the third of six operas of Richard Strauss and Hugo von Hofmannsthal, first performed in 1912 in Stuttgart and revised in 1916 for the stage in Vienna.<sup>10</sup> It presents the audience with an unusual situation: a play within a play, or rather two plays within a play. The frame story begins backstage, in the house of "the richest man in Vienna" who wants to entertain and impress his guests giving two performances: an opera seria and a hilarious commedia dell'arte. While the two groups of musicians are arriving the composer is perplexed by the announcement that both performances are to take place simultaneously. So the tragic figure of Ariadne lamenting her bitter fate is confronted with the mischievous Zerbinetta and the other burlesque characters who attempt to cheer her up. Zerbinetta confirms that men are often unfaithful, but a broken heart could easily find relief in a new love and every new lover appears like a god to her. She fails either to console or to convince Ariadne who prefers and expects to die. The arrival of Bacchus puts an end to her suffering and Zerbinetta is pleased to observe that the new god has indeed appeared.

Throughout the centuries, Ariadne seems to have appealed to the artists primarily as a symbolic figure of solitude and despair and as an embodiment of pure pathos. Yet Hofmannsthal's interpretation is much more complex. He explores concepts like memory, fidelity, loss, transformation, surviving and living on. His libretto is highly sophisticated and programmatic and for the most part critics have studied it tracing the author's own argument. In his famous Ariadne-Brief of July 1911 he explains his ideas to a somewhat puzzled and unenthusiastic Strauss: "Verwandlung ist Leben des Lebens, ist das eigentliche Mysterium der schöpfenden Natur; Beharren ist Erstarren und Tod. Wer leben will, der muß über sich selber hinwegkommen, muß sich verwandeln: er muß vergessen. Und dennoch ist ans Beharren, ans Nichtvergessen, an die Treue alle menschliche Würde geknüpft."

In Hofmannsthal's sense, then, Ariadne is not only "das Sinnbild der menschlichen Einsamkeit", but also a personification of loyalty to her

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<sup>10</sup> I am referring to the later version.

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absent lover, to her past and to herself in the first place. The rapid change of fate in her story represented to the poet a deep paradox of the human condition: the dialectic of sameness and transformation, of rigidity and vitality.

Moreover, in the course of Ariadne's transformation, Bacchus, a god associated with death and revival, is also transformed: the Composer states in the *Vorspiel* "Daran wird er zum Gott". Both characters are bearers of Hofmannsthal's concept of mutual love and transformation, which restores not only their personal harmony, but also their contact to the world.

It appears that what the poet had in mind was to highlight the role of Bacchus which Catullus had underplayed and Ovid omitted, and to get the two Ariadnes together. So his Ariadne was to stand for both Treue and Wandel. She should be looking somehow both at Theseus and Bacchus. But is she?

Ariadne has been abandoned for quite some time, and she is now looking neither at the sea nor at anything else around her. She is supplied this time not with a miraculous bed, but with a cave, a symbol of her detachment. And she is placed on the same stage together with the comic characters so that she can hear their comments on her lamentation, but does not come into verbal or visual contact with them, as both their and the author's remarks suggest:

(ohne ihrer irgendwie zu achten; vor sich, monologisch);

(ohne den Kopf zu wenden, vor sich);

Zerbinetta: Sie hebt auch nicht einmal den Kopf.

Ariadne then sings a famous aria expressing her disillusionment and misery: she welcomes death as the only alternative and is ready to meet Hermes, the god leading the souls to the realm of death. Meanwhile the comedians are trying to distract her by singing and dancing. While she can hear their songs, although ignoring what she is hearing, she definitely refuses to look at them. As Zerbinetta observes:

Doch die Prinzessin  
Verschließt ihre Augen,  
Sie mag nicht die Weise,  
Sie liebt nicht den Ton.

When Zerbinetta in turn attempts to comfort Ariadne, this time with a long speech (aria) displaying her philosophy of love and life, the tragic heroine becomes even more unreceptive until she practically disappears in her cave:

(doch Ariadne achtet in keiner Weise auf sie);

(Ariadne, ihrer nicht zu achten, verhüllt ihr Gesicht);

(Ariadne tritt an den Eingang ihrer Höhle zurück);

(Ariadne tritt vollends in die Höhle zurück, Zerbinetta richtet ihre weiteren Tröstungen an die unsichtbar Gewordene).

Zerbinetta, in fact, sings her aria including the suggestive words “Als ein Gott kam jeder gegangen, Jeder wandelte mich um” for the most part to an absent Ariadne. The contrast between the values of Ariadne and Zerbinetta is represented not only as lack of spoken communication, but also through Ariadne’s refusal to look and even to stay visible. Both heroines speak their own truth, but there is no chance for bridging the gap. Moreover, Ariadne is fully absorbed in her wish to distance herself from the world outside, to maintain her essence. In her denial to see and to be seen she preserves her fundamental nature of a tragic heroine.

Later on, Bacchus enters the stage and he soon evokes Ariadne’s attention. Surprisingly, she is not longer hiding and withdrawing. She believes, though, to have heard the voice of Hermes and restates her willingness to die. Ironically, this is not the messenger of death, but, quite the contrary, the young god of joy, pleasure and fertility. It seems however, that throughout the following dialog, up to the end, Ariadne is not able to realize her mistake. The acceptance of death will turn out to be acceptance of life, but this tragic or perhaps comic irony goes beyond the heroine’s perception. The irony of Catullus who does not let his heroine see Bacchus coming to the rescue, thus suggesting that there is no real replacement to her loss, is developed to a further and nearly incredible degree: she sees him and she sees him not.

### **Conclusion**

Hofmannsthal’s version encapsulates the earlier treatments of the story, but at the same time it is concerned with integrating both stages of Ariadne’s fate which neither Catullus nor Ovid did, for their different reasons. Nevertheless, Hofmannsthal’s heroine was reluctant to embrace

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his idea of *Verwandlung* and did her best to resist it. The paradox of this idea, as expressed in the *Ariadne-Brief*, is reflected in the paradox of Ariadne's behaviour, in the very structure of the play with its bizarre blending of tragedy and comedy, and perhaps in the not quite convincing climax.

All three Ariadnes experience a gap between themselves and the reality of existence, marked through visual vacuum: by looking in vain, by not being able to see or to be seen, or by refusing to look and to see.

This last Ariadne is very different from the Catullan one, and yet, in a sense, she is her sole descendant. She has had the chance to reappear in a modern society not so restrictive towards women, and under the pen of a poet who was not interested in skilled imitation or in mere psychological portrayal of distress. Ariadne has finally attained the elusive reality of shared and harmonious contact, which was probably a point of deep concern for Catullus and never really for Ovid.

However, this final accomplishment at the end of Hofmannsthal's libretto does not seem to be truly illuminating, neither on the conceptual, nor on the artistic level. The mutual transformation takes place as mutual misunderstanding, as an enigmatic and mystical act, not as conscious mutual commitment and revelation. It seems that the heroine is still lingering in the visual vacuum, distanced from her reality, and the longed harmony remains perceptively and notionally obscured, either because a happyend with its lack of events goes beyond narration and description, or because there could be no real happyend at all.



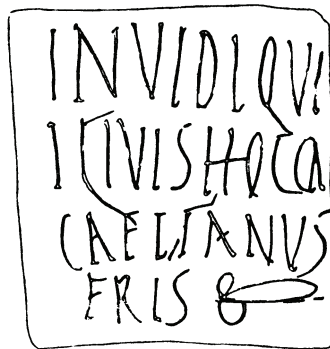
Vojin Nedeljković

## 'Cure Offered to Rival': IMS 2.228

*Apstrakt.* Autor predlaže novo čitanje i tumačenje za jedan rimski grafito nađen u Kostolcu početkom XX veka i u međuvremenu izgubljen.

*Ključne reči:* rimski grafiti, latinska epigrafika, vulgarni latinitet.

A facsimile is all that remains of an inscribed brick (28.5 × 27 cm) which was found in 1901 on the site of the ancient city of Viminacium in Moesia Superior:<sup>1</sup>



Soon after the discovery the inscription was published as follows: *Invidi qui | {i}civis hoc (= huc) calcafit (= cacabit) anus: | eris (fututus).*<sup>2</sup> Remarkably, the sketch that comes after *eris* was taken as a virtual word concluding the text. On the whole, however, this reading, while it dis-

<sup>1</sup> The brick was transferred to the Grammar School of the city of Požarevac, but was later lost. Not even the first publishers (see n. 2 below) were able to examine the object itself; in addition to the facsimile, though, they had a paper squeeze of the graffito.

<sup>2</sup> F. LADEK, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN and N. VULIĆ in *Jahreshefte des österr. archäol. Institutes in Wien* 4, 1901, Beibl. 151–2, no. 68 (facsimile reproduced here); also in *Spomenik SKA* 39, 1903, pp. 80–1, no. 65. They described the script as the 'Cursive des 2. Jahrhunderts, der Lapidarschrift sehr nahekommend, h. 0.06–0.035 m.' CIL 3.14599<sup>1</sup> is fully based on the *Jahreshefte* edition.

closed an obviously abusive bit of Vulgar Latin, yielded no clear sense; the publishers<sup>3</sup> went about as far as one reasonably could in thinking it probable that the brick had originally been laid against a wall—so the text would have been just one of those reminders saying that This Is No Toilet.<sup>4</sup>

Another reading was attempted in IMS 2:<sup>5</sup> *Invidi qui | I livis hoc ca | cafis ānus | eris*. The editor makes several useful remarks *ad loc.*: the main departure from the old reading, *2 livis* rather than *civis*, is to be understood as Vulgar Latin for either *lives* or *livens*; for the obvious connexion between *livor* and *invidia* an excellent parallel is given, [*omni*]bus *invidias, livide, nemo tibi* (from an Algerian inscription). Other vulgarisms would be *invidi* for *invide*, *hoc* for *huc* (also attested in an epigraph from Dalmatia), and *cacafis* for *-bis* ('spirantization'). All these details seem acceptable in themselves, but the text as a whole is still left with no elucidation as to its formal structure and exact meaning. What precisely are we to make of either *huc cacabis* or *anus eris*, unless we are ready to take any ineptitude on the account of filthiness? On the other hand, in an attempt to explain the sketch beneath the text, the editor of IMS 2 made another important remark: 'Pour le *phallus*, comme *medicus invidiae*, cf. Plin. *n.h.* XXVIII, 2,9.'<sup>6</sup> This may provide us with the key to the sense.

As we examine the facsimile, the third letter in line 3 appears to be at least as obvious an *E* as the one at the beginning of line 4. With this in mind, we have good reasons to read 2–4 *hoc caca et sanus eris*,<sup>7</sup> which

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<sup>3</sup> Followed in this by P. PETROVIĆ, *Paleografija rimskih natpisa u Gornjoj Meziji / Paléographie des inscriptions romaines en Mésie Supérieure*, Belgrade 1975, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. E. DIEHL, *Pompeianische Wandinschriften und Verwandtes*, Bonn 1910, p. 41, nos. 696–8 ("Strassenverbote").

<sup>5</sup> *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure, 2: Viminacium et Margum*, par M. MIRKOVIĆ, Belgrade 1986, p. 182, no. 228.

<sup>6</sup> MIRKOVIĆ *ad loc.* The correct reference to Pliny is *n.h.* 28.39; the Algerian inscription cited above is CIL 8.2524. See also P. CUGUSI's 2004 paper 'Invidia e coppa d'amore. Due temi presenti nei carmi epigrafici', available at [clasica10.us.es/c/cilxviii\\_a/coloquio/material/cugusi.pdf](http://clasica10.us.es/c/cilxviii_a/coloquio/material/cugusi.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> By a further implication, everything which, in line 4, comes between the fourth letter (which I reckon to be a narrow *T*, so the line begins *CAET*) and *ANVS* (at the end of the line) would amount to an *S* executed in three strokes and with some difficulty. The

would make perfect sense as it stands. In fact, *hoc caca*, with *hoc* referring to what is graphically depicted at the end of the text, would be an instance of *mentulam cacare*, an offensive phrase famous for its occurrence in the *Priapea* (69.4), with the closest of parallels in CIL 10.8145, where a similar sketch is followed by the words *hanc ego cacavi*.<sup>8</sup> As to what follows, *et sanus eris* would be the sarcastic application of a formula often found at the end of medical recipes: cf. e.g. Garg. Mart. *Curae boum*<sup>9</sup> 8 *salis pugnum et cepae capita X pariter conterito et in offae modum reficito, eam in anum bovis inicito et fac eum arare continuo folli, et sanus erit*, or *Anecd. med.*<sup>10</sup> 146 *ad perniones: cerotum et pulpam sardinae calefacito et frica loca, et sanus erit*.

Back to the opening part of the inscription, the crux is located at the beginning of line 2. The initial *I* has never been accounted for—and it certainly does not look like an accidental scratch. Next to this, a letter which by itself could be a *C* all right, but still looking very different from the three other *C*'s that we have in 2–3 *hoc caca*, and not making enough sense in the context.<sup>11</sup> We may, therefore, prefer to follow IMS 2 in disregarding the rightward stroke over what believably is an *L*. As already observed, 2 *livis* (for *lives*) would be very satisfying in the context of *invidia*,<sup>12</sup> and there is more in favour of this reading, since *lives* could be the pivotal term for a clever double entendre. At the point where it comes in, it just means “you are jealous”, but a moment later the offer of ‘medical treatment’ makes the reader realize that it also meant “you are lead-pale”, “you look unhealthy”.<sup>13</sup> Further along these lines, the part re-

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upper stroke of this *s* would be the horizontal trait that all the editors were careful to reproduce by printing *anus* or *anus*.

<sup>8</sup> J. N. ADAMS, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, London 1982, pp. 171–2. Another important parallel is AE 1976.709 *curiosos pedico, inuide cacas*, cited already by MIRKOVIĆ.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. by E. LOMMATZSCH in his edition of Vegetius, Teubner 1903.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. S. BRICOURT (2004): see [www.forumromanum.org/literature/anecdotum\\_medicumx.html](http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/anecdotum_medicumx.html).

<sup>11</sup> This must be the reason why in CIL 3.14599<sup>1</sup> no letter is given for it, but only a wide semicircular line vaguely representing the actual shape.

<sup>12</sup> Another parallel is found in CIL 8.23131 (mosaic from Cululis Theodoriana, Byzacene) *inuide livide* eqs.; see CUGUSI (above, n. 6), p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Livere* is also reminiscent of *pallere* “be pale” > “be ill”. For *pallor* coming hand in

maining between *invidi* and *livis*, 1–2 *qui* | *I*, is best made out as *quit* (for *quid*).

To sum up: IMS 2.228 will probably read *invidi qui* | *t livis* (= *Invide, quid lives?*) *hoc calca et sanus* | *eris*, that is, “Why look so unhealthy, you jealous git? Stick this into your anus and you’ll be well.” This offensive jest was most likely aimed at a *rivalis*—several Pompeian graffiti show that such scribbling could easily escalate into a heated exchange of messages between rival lovers.<sup>14</sup> Doubts will remain, however: the imperfect record of the inscription makes it impossible ever to be sure about any decipherment.

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hand with *livor*, cf. e.g. Cels. 5.28.2.A, Mart.10.12.10. For another disapproved sexual practice viewed ironically as the ultimate way of recovering from an unhealthy paleness, cf. Mart. 1.77.

<sup>14</sup> The best example is perhaps CIL 4.8259.

Gorana Stepanić

## Potresna pjesnička svjedočanstva: Latinsko pjesništvo o dubrovačkom potresu 1667.\*

*Apstrakt.* Dubrovačku je Republiku 6. 4. 1667. pogodio snažan potres koji je odredio daljnju demografsku, ekonomsku i političku sudbinu te države. U sklopu diplomatskih nastojanja da dobije financijsku i političku pomoć europskih velesila i manjih država, dubrovački su se autori poslužili i žanrom epa, odnosno epilija kako bi prikazali nedaće koje su se dogodile njihovim sugrađanima te zatražili pomoć. Ovaj članak donosi prikaze triju heksametarskih tekstova trojice dubrovčana koji tematiziraju potres: *De laudibus serenissimae reipublicae Venetae et cladibus patriae suae carmen* (Mleci, 1675) Stjepana Gradića, *Proseucticon de terraemotu* (Rim, 1690) Benedikta Rogačića te dio spjeva *Philosophiae versibus traditae libri VI* (Mleci, 1744) Benedikta Staya. Analizira se struktura pjesama, podudarnosti na planu kompozicije, sadržaja i izraza u izvještaju o samome potresu, pripovjedački okvir pjesama, mimeza, epski topoi, te se iz aspekta diplomatskih nastojanja i političkih odnosa na Mediteranu preispituju *realia* triju pjesničkih izvještaja.

*Ključne riječi:* Stjepan Gradić, Benedikt Rogačić, Benedikt Stay, potres, Dubrovnik, epska poezija, epilij.

### 1. Potres

Potres koji je na Veliku srijedu, 6. travnja 1667. pogodio Dubrovačku Republiku najveća je prirodna katastrofa koja se dogodila na tom području. Ostavio je golemu materijalnu i demografsku štetu te ozbiljno zaprijetio političkom položaju Republike, kako s vanjskopolitičkog stajališta (neovisnost o Turcima i Mlecima), tako i unutanjepolitičkog (stabilnost aristokratske republike). Literatura naziva taj događaj 'prvom smrću Dubrovnik<sup>1</sup>', pri čemu se drugom smrću naziva prestanak postojanja Republike započet Napoleonovim osvajanjem Grada.

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\* Dio informacija koje donosimo u ovome tekstu pribavljen je u sklopu istraživanja koje je stipendijom poduprla Španjolska agencija za međunarodnu suradnju (AECI) u ak. godini 2006/2007 i 2007/2008.

<sup>1</sup> V. poglavlje «Prva smrt Dubrovnik» u: Samardžić 1983, očito prema: Lujo Vojnović, «Prva smrt Dubrovnik», *Letopis Matice srpske* 86 (288), 52-69, Novi Sad 1912.

U potresu 1667. izginula je polovica od 6000 stanovnika, koliko se procjenjuje da ih je živjelo u Gradu, a najteže gubitke dugoročno gledano pretrpjelo je plemstvo. Propadanje plemstva, i ranije načeta endogamijom, kulminira od vremena tzv. Velike zavjere (1611-1612) kojoj je prethodio rascjep dubrovačkog patricijata, ozbiljnije započet krajem 16. stoljeća (1589) kada je Marin Andrijin Bobali (1555-1605) ubio diplomata i političkog neistomišljenika, ujedno muža vlastite sestrične, Frana Franova Gondolu (1539-1589).<sup>2</sup> Fran se Gundulić zalagao za neutralnost Republike na vanjskopolitičkom planu, dok je Marin Bobaljević bio ključna figura raskola dubrovačkog patricijata i jedan od začetnika 'protuosmanske' 'zavjereničke' politike koja je neuspjelim pučem 1611. dovela do konačnog raskola među plemstvom. Ono se, po krvnom i s njime usko vezanom političkom ključu ('čuvari poretka' koji su se zalagali za političku neutralnost Republike prema Turskoj naspram 'zavjerenika', promicatelja aktivne protuturske politike) podijelilo na dvije oštro odijeljene rodovskopolitičke frakcije. Demografska slika dubrovačkog plemstva i prije Velikog potresa bila je, prvenstveno zahvaljujući endogamiji, loša, no stanje se još više pogoršalo nakon potresa kada je konzervativni dio plemstva, uz to što je od Zavjere i raskola broj mogućih bračnih partnera bio sveden na polovicu (ženidba u suprotan tabor bila je neprihvatljiva), ograničavao primanje bogatijih građanskih obitelji u plemićke redove, a primljeno novo plemstvo apsolutno ignorirao.<sup>3</sup>

Materijalnu štetu Dubrovčani su godinama nakon katastrofe pokušavali nadoknaditi donacijama europskih država, upošljavajući svoje diplomatske sposobnosti i najvještije diplomatske dužnosnike. Njihova prepiska s europskim dvorovima, kao i s dubrovačkom vladom dobro je sačuvana, kao uostalom i mnoštvo izvora o samome potresu: dostupan je zavidan broj iskaza preživjelih svjedoka s opisom katastrofe. Većina je izvora tiskana, neki od njih netom nakon samoga događaja.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Za pitanja Velike zavjere i raskola dubrovačkog patricijata vidi članak Ćosić-Vekarić 2001 i knjigu Ćosić-Vekarić 2005.

<sup>3</sup> Usp. Ćosić-Vekarić 2005: 71: «Brakovi između rodova dubrovačke vlastele (od potresa 1667. do pada Dubrovačke Republike 1808)»: u 135 godina sklopljeno je samo 14 'miješanih' brakova.

<sup>4</sup> Najvažniju arhivsku građu o potresu i diplomatskim akcijama koje su slijedile godinama nakon njega donosi Radovan Samardžić u Samardžić 1960. Detaljan opis

Od suvremenih proznih izvještaja o potresu nedugo nakon svojeg nastanka tiskan je u Anconi spis sačinjen na osnovu pisma fra Vida Andrijaševića i ostalih izbjeglica koje su pristigle u tu talijansku luku.<sup>5</sup> Ubrzo je tiskan i izvještaj dubrovačkog nadbiskupa, talijaniziranog Španjolca Pietra Torresa, koji je netom nakon potresa pobjegao iz Dubrovnika brodom i sa sobom odveo više od šezdesetak dubrovačkih redovnica.<sup>6</sup> Najveći je propagandni uspjeh, međutim, doživio anonimni spis pod naslovom *Relatione del horribile Terremoto, seguito nella città di Ragusa et altre città della Dalmatia et Albania in giorno delli 6 Aprile 1667. In Venetia MDCLXVII*. Isti je sastavak dvije godine kasnije objavljen na francuskom,<sup>7</sup> a potom i na engleskom jeziku.<sup>8</sup> Jedan je opis sastavio i Van Dam, nizozemski poslanik na Porti koji se za vrijeme potresa bio zatekao u Gradu te ga tiskao 1672. u den Haagu, a tekst opisa preveden je na njemački 1718.<sup>9</sup>

Od pjesničkih sastavaka na hrvatskom jeziku poznat je tekst Nikolice Bunića (†1678) *Grad Dubrovnik vlastelom u trešnji* (Ancona 1667), Bara Bettere (o. 1645-1712) *Vrhu velike trešnje* te poznati osmerački ep Jakete Palmotića Dionorića (1623-1680) *Dubrovnik ponovljen* (Dubrovnik 1874). Ipak, na polju poezije o dubrovačkom potresu veći su međunarodni odjek polučile heksameterske pjesme trojice Dubrovčana: opata Stjepana Gradića, te dvojice isusovaca, Benedikta Rogačića (Dubrovnik, 1646 – Rim, 1719) i Benedikta Staya (Dubrovnik, 1714 – Rim, 1801).\*

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potresa daje i dubrovački dominikanac Serafin Crijević (1686-1759) u djelu *Sacra metropolis Ragusina* I, pars V, 161-183.

<sup>5</sup> Za pismo v. Samardžić 1960: 46-49. i Samardžić 1983: 238.

<sup>6</sup> Taj će događaj kao posebno dojmljiv spomenuti Stjepan Gradić u svojoj pjesmi o potresu (Venecija, 1675). Samo pismo, pisano na talijanskom, a tiskano u Anconi u travnju ili svibnju 1667, donosi Samardžić 1960: 29-33, prema prijepisu Sara Crijevića, *Sacra metropolis Ragusina* VI.

<sup>7</sup> *Relation véritable de l'horrible treblement de terre, arrivé en la ville et pays de Raguse, et en d'autres lieux de la Dalmatie et l'Albanie. A Paris, chez Jacques Langlois fils, au Mont Saint-Hilaire, rue d'Escosse, aux tríos Cramillères. Avec permission.* Usp. Krsić 1987: 176, bilj. 279.

<sup>8</sup> *A true relation of the terrible earthquake which happened at Ragusa and several other cities in Dalmatia and Albanie the sixth of April 1667 as we have it in a particular account of Venice. Published by authority. In the Savoy, 1669.* Ibidem, bilj. 280.

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, bilj. 281.

\* Gradićev tekst nalazi se na adresi [ffzg.hr/klafil/gradic](http://ffzg.hr/klafil/gradic), Rogačićev na [/gradic](http://gradic)

## 2. Latinska poezija o Velikom potresu

### 2.1. Stjepan Gradić

Opat Stjepan Gradić (Dubrovnik, 1613 – Rim, 1683) poznatiji je kao diplomat Republike pri Svetoj stolici i znanstvenik nego kao pjesnik.<sup>10</sup> Ipak, književno obrazovanje koje je, u tradiciji novovjekovnih humanističkih *studia humanitatis* podrazumijevalo i dugogodišnje učenje latinske gramatike, retorike, pjesništva, etike i povijesti, Gradić je primio prvo u privatnim institucijama u Dubrovniku, a zatim na isusovačkom Rimskom kolegiju gdje se školovao uz petogodišnju potporu rodnoga grada. Za završena studenta filozofije i obaju prava pisanje (uglavnom prigodne) poezije bila je, dakako, usputna djelatnost zaposlena diplomata (naročito kada je trebalo pridobiti naklonost europskih dvorova nakon potresa), službenog korespondenta papinskog Državnog tajništva i kustosa Vatikanske biblioteke. Ipak, među desecima Gradićevih – uglavnom latinskih – pjesama ističu se upravo one s temom potresa.

Kao prvu pjesmu o potresu, pretpostaviti je ubrzo nakon samog događaja, Gradić je napisao *carmen* od 121 heksametra pod naslovom *Descriptio terraemotus Ragusini*. Njezini su dijelovi, točnije ukupno 116 stihova, tiskani u Dubrovniku 1790, kao dodatak Gradićevu tekstu *Antiquitatum Rhacusanarum brevis diatriba*.<sup>11</sup>

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/0712potres.html, a Stayev na /gradic/0712stay-potres.html.

<sup>10</sup> Možda je najvredniji doprinos poznavanju Gradićeva života i političkog angažmana Körblerovo izdanje Gradićevih talijanskih pisama dubrovačkom Senatu (Körbler 1915), na koje se uvelike oslanjao Krasić, autor zasad jedine iscrpne i razmjerno nove biografije Dubrovačkog diplomata (Krasić 1987).

<sup>11</sup> Ta je povijesna rasprava objavljena u sklopu edicije o povijesti i u slavu Dubrovnika u kojoj su se našli i tekstovi Ludovika Crijevića Tuberona, Nikole Ivanova Bunića, kao i elegija Didaka Pira o slavnim dubrovačkim obiteljima: *Commentariolus Ludovici Ceroarii Tuberonis de origine et incremento urbis Rhacusanae. Eiusdemque ditionis descriptio auctore Nicolao Ioannis de Bona, et Stephani Gradi Antiquitatum Rhacusanarum brevis diatriba ... Rhacusii* : Typis Andreae Trevisan, 1790 (NSK Zagreb RIIF-80-76). Tekst *Antiquitatum Rhacusanarum brevis diatriba* nalazi se na str. 33-34, a u 'bilješci o piscu', nakon kratke Gradićeve biografije stoji: «Adeo tragicum sonat hoc poema, e tad commiserationem excitandam est aptum, ut bene agere cum lectoribus nostris putemus, si quaedam hic excerpta tradiderimus...». Slijedi 11 odabranih odlomaka pjesme o potresu u ukupno 116 heksametara. Ista



Proširena verzija iste pjesme od 315 heksametara, ovaj put s jasnim namjerama, napisana je 1674. za vrijeme boravka u Mlecima, pod naslovom *Stephani Gradii patricii Ragusini de laudibus serenissimae reipublicae Venetae et cladibus patriae suae carmen* (Venecija, 1675). Nastala je kao još jedan pokušaj da se od *Serenissime* eventualno izmoli kakva materijalna pomoć za posrnuli Dubrovnik. Gotovo je polovica pjesme pragmatičkog karaktera, pohvala Venecije i vješta argumentacija u prilog davanja novca za obnovu Grada. Pjesma, kao ni sva Gradićeva diplomatska vještina, nije polučila željeni cilj, no radi se o pjesmotvoru koji je doživio drugo izdanje samo godinu dana kasnije i smatra se jednim od najboljih autorovih pjesničkih tekstova (Venecija, 1676).<sup>12</sup>

Pjesma je djelomično objavljena i prevedena 1970. u antologiji *Hrvatski latinisti*,<sup>13</sup> a postoji i njezin talijanski prijevod, na koji ćemo se osvrnuti nešto kasnije, kada predstavimo i ostale dvije latinske pjesme o potresu.

## 2.2. Benedikt Rogačić

Benedikt Rogačić (Dubrovnik, 1646 – Rim, 1719) spada u mlađu generaciju dubrovačkih isusovaca koji su većinu svoje učiteljske i znanstvene karijere odradili u Italiji.<sup>14</sup> Rogačić, zvan 'il Padre tutto innamorato di Dio'<sup>15</sup> teolog, govornik, pjesnik, gramatičar i biograf djelatan gotovo cijeli svoj život u Rimu, pisao je na talijanskom i na latinskom.<sup>16</sup> Proučavatelji Rogačićeva djela uglavnom su mu prilazili kao teologu i filozofu; ipak, najuspješnije je autorovo djelo didaktički spjev *Euthymia sive De tranquillitate animi*, objavljen dvaput u samo pet godina.<sup>17</sup> Od sredine devedesetih

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pjesma postoji i u prijepisima (Znanstvena knjižnica Dubrovnik 809, Tomaševićev prijepis).

<sup>12</sup> Usp. Krasić 1987: 413. Sa stajališta odnosa *dulce* i *utile* elemenata njezine dijelove interpretirao i doveo u vezu s Vergilijevom epikom američki slavist i neolatinst K. L. Croxen. V. Croxen: 310-313.

<sup>13</sup> Gortan – Vratović 1970: 100-109.

<sup>14</sup> Za Rogačićev život v. Bašić, Cerva, Slade, LHP i Korade 1994: 187 ff..

<sup>15</sup> Demo 2003: 221 prema Rogačićevu biografu, zadarskom isusovcu Rosanu (Rosan, Giuseppe, *Vita del P. Benedetto Rogacci della Compagnia di Gesù*, Libreria Gregoriana Editrice, Padova, 1931).

<sup>16</sup> Korade 1994: 188.

godina filolozi zauzimaju nešto specijalizirani pristup, promatrajući napose Rogačićev spjev *Euthymia* s etičkog stajališta (KORADE 1995), žanrovsko-stilskog (KNEZOVIĆ 1995) i povijesno-realnog aspekta pojedinih odlomaka (DEMO). Ipak, sustavnije i opsežnije studije koja bi se argumentirano bavila bilo kojim aspektom Rogačićeva pjesničkog opusa zasad nema.

U tom kontekstu, ne postoji analiza spjeva *Proseucticon de terraemotu, quo Epidaurus in Dalmatia anno 1667 prostrata est, ad Cosmum III Etruriae ducem*. Romae : /s. n./, 1690.<sup>18</sup> Iz naslova je vidljiva pragmatička dimenzija spjeva: *proseucticon*, molitva, odnosno molba, Cosimu III de' Medici (1642–1723), za financijskom pomoći. Tekst je, po svemu sudeći nastao mnogo prije izdanja, no tek desetak godina nakon samog potresa.<sup>19</sup>

Izdanje toga heksameterskog spjeva od točno 300 stihova prilično je rijetko, pa se tekst distribuirao, primjerice unutar Dubrovnika, i u rukopisima.<sup>20</sup> Kao i u prethodnom, Gradićevom sastavku o potresu, velik dio teksta (oko 140 stihova, dakle gotovo polovica) otpadaju na pohvalu mogućeg donatora.

### 2.3. *Benedikt Stay*

Životni put isusovca Benedikta Staya (Dubrovnik, 1714 – Rim, 1801), iako je za generaciju ili dvije mlađi od dvojice spomenutih pjesnika, uvelike nalikuje onome njegovih prethodnika: nakon osnovna humanističkog obrazovanja u rodnome gradu odlazi u Rim gdje završava teologiju i zaređuje se za svećenika. Većinu je života proveo u Rimu, gdje je na Arhigimnaziju predavao govorništvo, a od 1769. radi na mjestu tajnika «*Brevium ad principes*», odnosno kao vatikanski korespondent s vladarima i vladarskim kućama.

Premda je pisao i prigodne književne žanrove, Stay je najpoznatiji kao

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<sup>17</sup> *Euthymia sive De tranquillitate animi carmen didascalicum*. Romae: Typis, & expensis Io. Iacobi Komarek, 1690. Drugo izdanje: Monachii: Sumptibus viduae et haeredum J. Hermanni a Gelder, typis Sebastiani Rauch, 1695.

<sup>18</sup> Reizdano 1808. s talijanskim prijevodom G. de Bizzarra (*Del teremuoto onde fu distrutta la città di Ragusa ...*. In Venezia, Presso Giovanni Palese, 1808).

<sup>19</sup> Usp. stihove 274-275: *Et nunc quod seri tandem post altera lustra/ Ad tua detulimus miseros altaria questus...*

<sup>20</sup> Usp. Tomaševićev prijepis iz 2. polovice 19. stoljeća, Znanstvena knjižnica Dubrovnik br. 809 (zajedno s tematski srodnim tekstovima) ili br. 359 (samostalan prijepis).

pjesnik dvaju didaktičkih epova, od koji prvi obrađuje Descartesovu, a drugi, mlađi, Newtonovu filozofiju, pri čemu filozofija, dakako, uključuje i prirodnoznanstvena znanja (fizika, optika, astronomija). Naslanjajući se u strukturi i samoj jezičnoj izvedbi na Lukrecijev ep *De rerum natura*, Stay u spjevu *Philosophiae versibus traditae libri VI* (Mleci, 1744) razlaže kartezijansku filozofiju u 6 pjevanja i 10249 heksametara.<sup>21</sup> Drugo izdanje spjeva (Rim 1747) sadržajno proširuje prvu verziju (Galilejeva, Keplerova i Newtonova otkrića), no i volumenski (broj stihova povećava na 11229). Drugi Stayev spjev, nastao na nagovor i uz sugestije Ruđera Boškovića, *Philosophiae recentioris versibus traditae libri X* (sv. 1 /knj.1-3/ Rim 1755, sv. 2 /knj.4-6/ Rim 1760, sv. 3 /knj.7-10/ Rim 1792) sastoji se od 24227 heksametara i ujedno je najdulji latinski ep nekog hrvatskog autora.

Opis dubrovačkog potresa Stay je ubacio na kraj četvrtog pjevanja spjeva o Descartesovoj filozofiji (IV, 1722-1859). Odlomak, netipičan po svojem (anegdotalnom) odmaku od prirodnoznanstvenog diskurza koji dominira ostatkom teksta, dolazi nakon izlaganja o uzrocima potresa (IV, 1657-1721). Odlomak nema pragmatičke dimenzije kao tekstovi prethodne dvojice autora, budući da njegov krajnji cilj (s obzirom na vremenski odmak od tragedije) nije traženje pomoći, a onaj njegov dio koji govori o samome potresu zauzima 137 stihova, tako da opsegom otprilike odgovara odgovarajućim dijelovima drugih dvaju tekstova.

#### 2.4. Kombinacije i prijevodi

Kompilatori (uglavnom anonimni) tematski srodnih tekstova u 19. stoljeću povezali su tri navedena teksta o potresu koji je i stoljećima nakon samog događaja ostao živ u kolektivnoj svijesti Dubrovnikana. Tekstovi katkad dolaze, najčešće u ekscerptima najvažnijih odlomaka, i u zajedničkim prijepisima (v. Znanstvena knjižnica Dubrovnik, rkp. 359).

Sva su tri teksta o potresu tiskana još jednom, ovaj put u 19. stoljeću i u talijanskom prijevodu, u poznatom tematskom izdanju «potresne» poezije koje je 1828. priredio pjesnik i prevoditelj Luko Stulli (1772 – 1828).<sup>22</sup> Stulli je najvjerojatnije i autor prijevoda, no teško je zaključiti koja

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<sup>21</sup> Za odnos Staya prema Lukreciju vidi Šrepel 1895.

<sup>22</sup> *Le tre descrizioni del terremoto di Ragusa del MDCLXVII di Gradi, Rogacci, Stay : versione dal latino*, Venezia : tipografia di G. Antonelli S. Occhi ed., 1828.

je verzija latinskog teksta prevoditelju bila predloškom, budući da je prijevod poprilično slobodan, što primjećuje i sam *editore*.<sup>23</sup>

### 3. Struktura pjesama

#### 3.1. Kompozicija

Za analizu kompozicije triju pjesama bitno je imati na umu njihov literarni karakter. Premda Gradićev i Rogačićev *carmen* imaju stanovitih praktičnih ambicija, njihovi su sastavci prije svega književna djela u kojima *dulce* prevladava nad *utile*. Nijedan od autora navedenih pjesama nije osobno svjedočio potresu: Gradić i Rogačić živjeli su i radili u Italiji, dok Stay pripada narednom stoljeću. Sva su trojica, dakle, usprkos fingiranju pripovjedačeva «doživljajnog ja»,<sup>24</sup> pisala na temelju izvora: dvojica starijih autora na temelju živih svjedočanstava i brojnih dostupnih pisanih dokumenata o tragičnom događaju; Stay na temelju istih dokumenata, na temelju priča koje su činile dio kolektivne svijesti postpotresnog Dubrovnika te napokon, kako ćemo pokazati, na temelju same Rogačićeve pjesme. U svakom slučaju, Rogačić je morao poznavati Gradićev tekst, Gradić je mogao poznavati Rogačićev tekst (nastao najvjerojatnije 1677, premda tiskan tek 1690); Stay je, pouzdano se može reći, poznao oba.

Sva tri teksta, budući da im građa potječe iz istih izvora (a i moguć-

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<sup>23</sup> Već nakon tridesetak *endecasillaba* prijevoda priređivač komentira: «I seguenti 104 versi non si leggono nell' originale, qual fu pubblicato nel 1675 per le stampe di Gio. Francesco Valvasense di Venezia; taluno suppone, che i traduttore ve li abbia aggiunti per non lasciar perire la memoria di un avvenimento cotanto pietoso, il quale meritava ne fosse fatta menzione da coloro che trattarono poeticamente questa materia: il fatto è storico; tutti i chronicisti di quel tempo ne parlano...», Stulli 1828: 26. Umetak o pitomcima isusovačkog zavoda u Dubrovniku koji su ostali živi zakopani prevoditelj je, prema priređivaču, umetnuo iz dokumentarističkih razloga. Predloškom za prijevod priređivač smatra poslanicu Veneciji, premda je prijevod ne slijedi u potpunosti. Ostaje pitanje je li priređivač zbirke prijevoda na talijanski identičan Stulliju ili se radi o neimenovanu priređivaču. Knjiga je, naime, izišla 1828, iste godine kada je Stulli umro (no nije poznato kojeg je točno datuma objavljena), pa nije jasno govori li *editore* o Stulliju kao autoru prijevoda ili sam Stulli o nekom neimenovanom prevoditelju. Nešto sigurnije o atribuciji prijevoda Stulliju i predlošcima govori Čosić 2003: 272.

<sup>24</sup> Konkretnije, Rogačićev i Gradićev pripovjedač prikazuju događaje «iznutra», kao da su i sami bili na licu mjesta.

nosti elemenata i motiva u opisu prirodne katastrofe kao što je potres same su po sebi ograničene), sadržavaju mnoštvo podudarnih elemenata. Zasad ćemo po strani ostaviti «okvirne» dijelove tekstova (apostrofe i pohvale potencijalnih donatora, pripovjedačke okvire i sl.) te se koncentrirati na sam izvještaj o potresu.

Elemente koji se pojavljuju u svim trima pjesmama, odnosno u barem dvije od njih, podijelit ćemo u pet grupa: sam potres, rušenje zgrada (materijalna šteta), ljudske žrtve, požar, pljačka. Opis samog trenutka potresa<sup>25</sup> uključuje daljnja četiri daljnja elementa: podrhtavanje tla, zvuk (tutanj), oblak prašine, povlačenje mora.

Najstariji, Gradićev tekst navedene elemente opisa same trešnje donosi dispergirano u odnosu na, kako će se vidjeti, ostalu dvojicu autora: nakon odulje vremenske perifraze kojom uz parafraziranje Muke situira događaj u Veliku srijedu (17-32), izlaganje samog potresa započinje s *cum inversum* (33). Elementi, rašireni kroz tekst (stihovi 33-170) dolaze sljedećim redoslijedom: podrhtavanje tla (33); rušenje građevina: privatne, javne, sakralne (33-38); ljudske žrtve bez razlike u odnosu na spol, dob i društveni položaj (39-40); tutanj (41); tamni oblak prašine koji se podigao nakon rušenja (43-45); slučajevi poginulih i ranjenih (48-52). Motiv požara najavljen ukratko (97-99) je nakon jedinstvene epizode s izbjeglicama, da bi se *in extenso* razradio u gotovo 50 stihova (126-170), vjerojatno najboljih u cijeloj pjesmi. Osim na opisima vatrene stihije, Gradić je inzistirao na još jednom motivu: motivu pljačke razrušenih bogataških kuća (106-123).

Dok je kompozicija navedenih elemenata u Gradića razmjerno slobodna, Stayeva se uvelike podudara s Rogačićevom:

motiv		Rogačić	Stay
potres	podrhtavanje tla	60-73	1755-1758
	oblak prašine koji zastire nebo	73-75	1758-1760
	tutanj	75-77	1753-1754
	povlačenje mora	80-86 (s mitološkim dodatkom)	1752
psihička reakcija na potres		87-101	1760-1780
rušenje zgrada		102-109	1781-1789
ljudski gubici (agonija ranjenih)		122-145	1790-1827

<sup>25</sup> Prema svjedočanstvima očevidaca, glavni je udar trajao toliko koliko je potrebno da jedan svećenik u crkvi Male braće za vrijeme liturgije izgovori «Passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi secundum...». V. Krsić 1987: 106.

*Lucida intervalla 35 (1/2007)*

požar	-	1828-1843
pljačka	-	1844-1849
obnova (buduće uskrsnuće) grada	179-192	1850-1859
Fortuna	167-179 (apostrofa Fortune)	1745-1746

Pogledamo li način na koji Stayeve sekvence slijede jedna drugu i, s druge strane, slijed Rogačićevih tematskih segmenata, uvidjet ćemo velike međusobne podudarnosti. S iznimkom motiva Fortune, koji kod Staya dolazi na početku kao objašnjenje katastrofe (Fortuna je bila zavidna Dubrovniku na prosperitetu, stoga ga je odlučila uništiti),<sup>26</sup> a kod Rogačića na kraju deskriptivnog dijela teksta u vidu opširnije apostrofe boginje sudbine, scene poštuju više-manje isti redoslijed: potres – reakcija ljudi na potres – rušenje zgrada – ljudske žrtve – (požar) – (pljačka) – obnova grada. Unutar segmenta o samome potresu raspored motiva je, doduše, različit: Stay ih u odnosu na Rogačića preraspoređuje (povlačenje mora – zvuk – podrhtavanje tla – oblak).

### 3.2. Podudarnosti na planu izraza

Osim što im se raspored motiva i segmenata ekspozitornog dijela teksta uvelike podudara, Rogačićev i Stayev tekst podudaraju se i na razini izraza. Mjesta s najvećom podudarnošću prikazana su u sljedećoj tablici:

Stay	Rogačić
Non erat Illyricis florentior omnibus oris Urbs alia, aut opibus tantum famaue vigebat; <u>Ubertasque soli multaeque frequentia Gentis</u> (1740) Nobilitasque Virūm atque omnes servata per annos <u>Libertas caelo tollebant fortibus armis</u> <sup>27</sup> Naturaque loci murorumque objice circum Defensam a validis vicini incursibus Hostis.	<u>Urbs opibus, famaue ingens, contexere Pontum</u> Classibus, inque omnes commercia spargere gentes, <u>Nec minus ubertate soli, partuque virorum</u> <u>Laeta, sui iuris, nullique obnoxia sceptro.</u> (50)
Ecce tremit moto <u>subsultans cardine tellus</u> (1755)	Scilicet instabili <u>subsultans cardine tellus</u> <sup>29</sup> (60)

<sup>26</sup> *Tot rebus fortuna bonis invidit et uno est / Conata excidio res vertere funditus omnes.* (Stay, 1745-6).

<sup>27</sup> *frequentia gentis*: Ov., *Trist.* 5, 7, 13; *servata per annos*: Lucr. 1, 1209; Verg. *Aen.* 2, 715; 7, 60; *fortibus armis* Ov. *Met.* 1, 456; *Fast.* 5, 587; Verg. *Aen.* 10, 735.

<sup>28</sup> *cardine tellus*: Luc. *Phars.* 1,552; *turbine tanto*: Lucr. 6, 640; *ardua tecta*: Verg. *Aen.* 7, 512; *urgente ruina*: Verg. *Aen.* 11, 888. Usp. posebno sljedeća dva stiha (1769-1770): *praesens vis ipsa pericli*: Lucr. 6, 603; *omnia victa fragore*: Lucr. 5, 109.

<p><u>Nec mora, deficiente solo, jam prodita pessum</u>  <u>Labitur</u> omnis, et immani resoluta ruina          Urbs ima consedit humo: se <u>pulveris</u> ingens          Protinus in caelum <u>nubes</u> agit, atraque lucem          Involvit, noctemque refert. <u>Quae in turbine tanto</u> (1760)  <u>Mens animusque fuit, rerum in vertigine tanta</u>  <u>Deprensus?</u> iterum tellus concussa videtur          Jam trepidare (animum quoque nunc ita concutit horror)          Sub pedibusque labare solum, ruere <u>ardua tecta</u>  <u>In caput:</u> illa fuit quae mens, cum saxa domorum (1765)          Alta solutarum pluerent super, <u>imaque tellus</u>  <u>Hisceret, obrueret fragor aures, lumina caligo,</u>  <u>Effugiumque malo septis urgente ruina</u><sup>28</sup>  <u>Obstruerent?</u></p>	<p><u>Nec mora: deficiente solo, subducta labare</u> (70)  <u>Fundamenta, quati turres, ruere ardua pessum</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;">It caelo <u>pulveris</u> atri  <u>Jurata ardentem nubes</u> extinguere Solem (73)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">...<u>quae tunc nobis...</u>  <u>deprensis tantâ in vertigine rerum</u><sup>30</sup>  <u>Mens, animusque fuit!</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Capiti labentia tecta</u>          Exitium crudele ferunt: <u>rimosa fatiscit</u> (90)  <u>Sub pedibus tellus: pavidas fragor attonat aures</u>  <u>Lucem oculis caligo, fugam eripere ruinae.</u></p>
<p>Omnia namque solo misere prostrata jacebant  <u>Omnia Templa Theatra Lares et publica tecta</u>  <u>Undique praecipitata</u> immani <u>eversa</u> ruina. (1783)</p> <p><u>Urbis post lacerum simulacrum et nomen inane</u> (1787)          Aspicere, et caecis quod jam <u>serpentia saecla</u><sup>32</sup>  <u>Incolerent, saecla et volucrum nocturna latebris.</u></p>	<p>Jamque omni ammisso veteris discrimine formae  <u>Templa, theatra, lares, privata et publica tecta</u>  <u>Praecipitata, eversa,</u> informi strage sepulta,          Procubere: <u>urbis ante, urbis nunc nomen inane</u>.<sup>31</sup> (105)          Et lacerum funus: Vix pauca relicta supersunt          Versarum domuum trunca, et male stantia membra,  <u>Serpentum latebrae, nocturnarumque volucrum</u>  <u>Hospitium infelix:</u></p>
<p><u>Praecipites Dominos tota cum gente penates</u>          Contexere, suos <u>eversaque Curia Patres</u>  <u>Incubuit super,</u> et Gentem quoque templa Virorum          Sacrificam subita tumulârunt versa ruina;  <u>Obtritumque viis</u> circum omnibus undique <u>vulqus</u> (1800)          Emoriebatur; <u>nullo discrimine lethi</u><sup>33</sup>          Corporaque aegra Senum Juvenumque valentia sexus          Faemineus meliorque Virûm imbellesque Puellae          Et Pueri infanda correpti morte peribant.</p>	<p><u>Praecipites dominis superincubere Penates</u> (125)          Ante aras Superum ceciderunt victima Mystae:  <u>In triviis vulgus; tumulavit Curia Patres.</u>  <u>Miscentur nullo subiti discrimine lethi</u><sup>34</sup>          Cum pannis trabeae, cum sacris flammea vittis:          Patricium funus, plebeja cadavera, sexus (130)          Imbellis, meliorque, infirma, et fortior aetas.</p>
<p>amissis rebus Patriaque Suisque          Moerentes alii Divos exposcere mortem          Certabant; alii contra non vulneris ictu          Expertes tamen huc atque illuc <u>vociferantes,</u>          Vitai nimium cupidi mortem fugitabant, (1810)          Et terram effuso signabant sanguinis imbre.<sup>35</sup></p>	<p>Saucius hic largo per membra fluente cruore (140)  <u>Vociferans</u> fugit:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ast illum <u>velocior urget</u>  <u>A tergo Libithina,</u> caditque in pulvere crasso (135)          Deprensus subita gravioris mole ruinae.</p>

<sup>29</sup> *cardine tellus*: Luc. *Phars.* 1,552.

<sup>30</sup> *vertigine rerum*: Luc. *Phars.* 8, 16.

<sup>31</sup> *nomen inane*: Luc. *Phars.* 2,342; 5,389; Hor. *Ep.* 1, 17, 41.

<sup>32</sup> *nomen inane*: Luc. *Phars.* 2,342; 5,389; Hor. *Ep.* 1, 17, 41; *serpentia saecla*: Lucr. 6, 766.

<sup>33</sup> *discrimine leti*: Verg. *Aen.* 10, 511.

<sup>34</sup> *discrimine leti*: Verg. *Aen.* 10, 511.

<sup>35</sup> *sanguinis imbre*: Stat. *Theb.* 5, 598.

Interdum tamen a tergo <u>velocior instans</u> Mors veniebat ob exhaustas vel denique vires, Vel quia murorum deprensos desuper ingens Mactabat casus: <u>nonnulli membra trahentes</u> Post sese lacera et laniatos ictibus artus <u>Reptabant per saxa, suosque in opem vocitabant;</u>	<u>Corporibus fracti, et multâ [jam] morte receptâ,</u> <u>Reptantes alii sociae per cladis acervos</u> <u>Post sese laceros artus sua funera verrunt.</u>
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Ovakav stupanj podudarnosti izraza u tridesetak stihova (dakle na petini ekspozitornog teksta o potresu) nedvojbeno upućuje na to da je Stayu Rogačićev tekst ne samo bio poznat, već i da ga je svjesno koristio kao predložak.<sup>36</sup> Humanistička poetika imitacije, kako antičkih tako i kasnijih autora, to bolje što su poznatiji, ovdje zorno dolazi do izražaja. U literarnim zajednicama u kojima *copyright* ne postoji, a djela su otvorena karaktera i nude se kao predložak za oponašanje i nadmetanje s njima – pri čemu se poštuju dva načela humanističke poetike: *imitatio* i *aemulatio* – autori često i bez zaziranja posežu za djelima svojih (neposrednih) prethodnika, baš kao što i jedni i drugi posežu za provjerenim djelima antičkih autora.<sup>37</sup> Činjenica da se Stay otvoreno, u kompoziciji i izrazu, oslonio na pjesmu svojeg prethodnika, jasno govori o intencionalnosti toga čina: Rogačićev se poznati podtekst u Stayevu *remakeu* ne može sakriti (barem ne od suvremenih čitatelja), a i nije namjera sakriti ga. Ono što se u mlađem tekstu pokušava postići jest *nadmašiti* predložak ljepotom i skladnošću stila. Koliko je u tome Stay uspio ovdje je irelevantno.

#### 4. Okvir

Sva tri teksta smještaju izlaganje o samome potresu u neki narativni okvir: kod dvaju starijih tekstova okvir je molba mogućem donatoru, a kod Stayeva je teksta okvir rasprava o uzrocima potresa kao geološke pojave (IV, 1657-1721); s «druge strane», nakon izlaganja o dubrovačkom

<sup>36</sup> Koliko nam je poznato, ovim se detaljem recepcije pjesama o potresu do sada nitko nije pozabavio.

<sup>37</sup> Dio «posudna materijala», ponajviše iz klauzula stihova, prikazan je u bilješkama br. 27-35. U ukupnosti Stayeva teksta, a u skladu s konceptualnim i strukturalnim oslanjanjem na spjev *De rerum natura*, klauzule pozajmljene od Lukrecija daleko su češće nego u prosječnom novolatinskom heskametarskom epu. Usp., uz navedene slučajeve, i Stay, IV, 1746 i Lucr. 1, 673; 1, 791; 2, 752; 2, 756; 2, 864; Stay, IV, 1818 i Lucr. 5, 866 i 6, 1245; Stay, IV, 1834 i Lucr. 5, 525.



potresu (koji je naveden kao blizak primjer tog prirodnog fenomena), okvir nedostaje, odnosno pjevanje završava.

Stayev pripovjedač pouzdan je pripovjedač koji objašnjava kako dolazi do znanja o događaju koji se, kako saznajemo, dogodio generaciji njegovih roditelja: dok je bio dječak, njegovi su se roditelji sa žalošću sjećali onoga što su nekoć vidjeli i doživjeli (IV, 1728-1730). Prijelaz s 'geološkog' dijela spjeva u kojem se razlažu fizikalni uzroci potresa općenito na dio o dubrovačkom potresu odvija se preko pripovjedačkog 'mosta' koji obavlja funkciju najave teme na počecima i prijelomnim narativnim točkama epova. *Patriae casus, horrida fata meorum* i *milia multa quae... uno cecidre sub ictu* (1722-1724) pripovjedača tjeraju da prekorači granice spjeva (*excedere certos carminis impellunt fines*, 1725-6) i za volju nastradalih predaka opiše potres. Nakon devet stihova pripovjedačkog uvoda izlaganje o potresu odvija se kroz mimezu: ostatak teksta izgovaraju *parentes*, koji kao novi pripovjedači na hipodijegetičkoj razini preuzimaju, dakako, sve stilske karakteristike epskog pripovjedača (invokacije, poredbe, topose).

Pozicija Gradićeva i Rogačićeva pripovjedača bitno se razlikuje: njihov pripovjedač je prvenstveno hvalitelj i diplomat koji velik dio teksta (okvira) posvećuje pohvalama donatora.

Gradićev tekst započinje na gotovo klasičan način: apostrofa mletačkih velikaša kao potomaka Trojanaca (zapravo ovdje neimenovanog Trojanca Antenora, mitskog osnivača Padove i kolonizatora venetske regije) od pet stihova potječe iz Gradićeve mladenačke pjesme-zahvalnice iz 1647, povodom primanja Stjepana i njegova brata Junija u padovansku pjesničku akademiju «Ricovrata».<sup>38</sup> Nakon ovakva početka, koji donekle obavlja funkciju zaziva muza, slijedi najava teme i izravna molba: saslušajte žalopojke o događaju za koji svi znaju.<sup>39</sup> Nakon središnjeg dijela pjesme (17-170) okvir se zatvara molbama Veneciji te pohva-

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<sup>38</sup> Usp. Körbler 1915: 9. U heksameterskoj poslanici od 81 stiha slavi Padovance kao potomke izbjeglih Trojanaca. Rukopis padovanske poslanice čuva se u cod. 6900 Vatikanske knjižnice.

<sup>39</sup> *Qualibus horribili terrae conflata tremore / Tempestas nostram satis agitaverit Vrbem, / Nemo adeo ferus est, rerumque ignarus, & hospes / Attonitas cuius non fama advenit ad aures, / Et lacrimis oculos non humectavit obortis.* (12-16). Usp. *nemo adeo ferus est*: Hor. *Epist.* 1, 1, 39.

lama *Serenissime* (171-315). Gradićevi blagoslovi Mletaka uglavnom se sastoje u željama za pobjedom na istočnomediteranskim bojištima.

Struktura Gradićeva okvira može se svesti na sljedeće elemente: apostrofa Mletaka – molba da saslušaju jadikovku o unesrećenom Dubrovniku (1-16); blagoslovi i dobre želje Mlecima – zahvala na prethodnim dobročinstvima popis djelatnosti koje je Dubrovnik naučio od Mletaka – radost zbog mletačkog savezništva – donatori koji su već dali novac za obnovu Dubrovnika – zašto tek sada molimo za pomoć – mletačka dobrohotnost – mletačke pobjede – Mlečani kao mirotvorci – završna molba Dubrovnika.

Venecija je za Dubrovnik, prije svega, bila trgovački i pomorski rival na Jadranu i u Sredozemlju, a odnos savezništva svodio se na dubrovačko kupovanje slobode i vješto diplomatsko izbjegavanje podaništva. Pohvale Mlecima i hvalospjeve idealnom odnosu dviju republika valja, stoga, uzeti s priličnom rezervom. Zanimljiv je u tom smislu odlomak u kojem se nabrajaju «dobročinstva» kojima je Venecija u prošlosti počastila Dubrovnik (189-204). Prema tome popisu, Dubrovčani su od Mletaka naučili o slobodi i strogim zakonima, trgovini i plovidbi, stjecanju bogatstva, sudstvu, sustavu periodičke smjene dužnosnika, društvenom poretku, pa čak i stilu odijevanja!

Rogačićev okvir teksta o potresu u svojem prvom dijelu sastoji se od 42 stiha, a u zadnjem od stotinjak stihova. Struktura prvog dijela mu se može svesti na sljedeće elemente: apostrofa Cosima III Medicija: ti ispravljaj svaku nepravdu sudbine – tvoja dobročinstva obuhvaćaju cijeli svijet (stoga šest krugova na grbu obitelji Medici predstavljaju šest kontinenata) – mogao bi biti vladar svijeta, no zadovoljan si i Toskanskom kneževinom – nisi pohlepan osvajač teritorija kao Aleksandar Makedonski – Cosimova ljubav u stanju je podići iz Kaosa i urediti porušen svijet (1-42). Drugi pak dio okvira sadržava ove elemente: Cosimo, trebamo tvoj novac – dosadašnji donatori (tko je već dao novac) – ipak, potpuna obnova nemoguća je bez tebe – Fortuna se nikada neće usuditi izazivati gradi koji je obnovio Cosimo – zašto tek sada molimo za pomoć – vratit ćemo ti za tvoja dobročinstva: podići ćemo ti mramorne i mjedene kipove – budući da je materija propadljiva, proslavit ćemo te dostojno, pjesmom (pohvala lokalnih pjesnika nadahnutim ilirskim muzama) – no tebe ne diraju svjetovne nagrade – zašto tek sada molimo

za pomoć (isprika) – cijena obnove je velika – vrijedilo je pretrpjeti tolike nedaće samo da nam ti budeš zaštitnik!

Rogačić se obraća jednom donatoru, stoga su i laska i pohvala daleko osobnije prirode nego u Gradićevu tekstu. Individualnost Cosimove darežljivosti pruža mogućnost da se *ex negativo* uspoređuje s pohlepnim i razuzdanim Aleksandrom Velikim (22-31), a *ex positivo* s Herkulom (280-288). U manirističkom pretjerivanju (uzrokovanu kako suvremenim stilskim zahtjevima, tako i željom da 'projekt' uspije) Cosimo se mjestimice pretvara u kozmičku kreativnu silu koja ispravlja svjetske nepravde – Gradićev tekst ipak si nije mogao dopustiti tako smjele izlete u sferu pretjeranog.<sup>40</sup>

#### 4.1. Zajednički elementi: forma

Tekstovi, koji po samoj prirodi žanra ne dopuštaju velika odmicanja od tradicijom zacrtana i posvećena epskog stila, nose niz zajedničkih stilskih karakteristika. Mi ćemo ovdje obratiti pozornost na samo neke od njih: na mimetička rješenja unutar tekstova (upravni govor) te na topos neizrecivosti karakterističan za epsku poeziju, koji se javlja u sva tri teksta.

##### 4.1.1. Upravni govor – mimeza

Osvrnuvši se na tradicionalnu opoziciju između dijegeze i mimeze, kakvu su fiksirali Platon u trećoj knjizi *Države* i Aristotel u *Poetici*, Genette izvodi zaključak da *mimesis* kao krajnje neposredovan način

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<sup>40</sup> Usp. stih *Magnanime o princeps, solio sublimis ab alto* (78), koji koristi frazu *solio sublimis ab alto*: fraza potječe od kasnoantičkog pjesnika Flavija Kreskonija Koripa (oko 500 – oko 570), afričkog biskupa nastanjenog u Konstantinopolu, iz njegova djela *Iohannis seu de bellis Libycis* o borbi vojskovođe Ivana protiv Mauritanije. U kasnijoj latinskoj poeziji, međutim, fraza *solio (sublimis) ab alto* povezana je prvenstveno s motivom Krista Suca koji sjedi na tronu odakle sudi grešnicima na Sudnji dan, na što je Rogaćić svakako računao. V. Vickrey 1969: kao autori se navode Beda Venerabilis i Hraban Maur. «In Latin writings the motif is so common and occurs in so many literary forms as to resist summary classification» (str. 88). No fraza ostaje prisutna i u svjetovnim tekstovima (dakle u originalnu ratničkom kontekstu), kao u anonimnoj heksametarskoj pjesmi iz XII stoljeća *Carmen de gestis Frederici I imperatoris de Lombardia* (stih *tum divus sic Fredericus / Incipit effari solio sublimis ab alto*, 1503-4).

predstavljanja govora lika ne postoji (GENETTE, 1985: 92).<sup>41</sup> Rimmon-Kenan preuzima taj stav uz tvrdnju da postoji samo iluzija mimeze i da nema prave razlike između dijegeze i mimeze, već samo između različitih načina dijegeze. Parafrazirajući francuskog teoretičara, autorica usvrđuje kako se iluzija mimeze postiže maksimaliziranjem informacija u tekstu i minimaliziranjem informanata, verbalnih tragova pripovjedačeve prisutnosti.<sup>42</sup> No visokoformaliziran tekst, kao što je epski tekst, ne pokazuje tendenciju smanjivanja broja informanata - naprotiv. I dijelovi teksta što ih izgovaraju likovi, tradicionalno smatrani najmimetičnijim odlomcima, trpe neizostavnu pripovjedačevu nazočnost.

Takav je slučaj u većini epskih tekstova, gdje se replike likova uvode i odjavljuju nizom ustaljenih formula.<sup>43</sup> U trima tekstovima kojima se ovdje bavimo mimetički su odlomci, međutim, rijetki (ostavimo li po strani veliku mimezu u *Staya*), no zbog svojeg sadržaja ili načina na koji su uvedeni u tkivo izlaganja zaslužuju posebnu pozornost.

Gradićev tekst ima dva mimetička odlomka koje izgovaraju zastupnici suprotstavljenih ideja o tome valja li ostati u srušenu gradu i njegovoj okolini ili pobjeći iz njega. Manje je zanimljiva replika onih koji se odlučuju za ostanak;<sup>44</sup> zanimljivija je replika onima koji se odlučuju za bijeg u Italiju, i to stoga što se radi o poznatoj realnoj epizodi koju spominje jedino Gradić. Naime, već spomenuti dubrovački nadbiskup Pietro Torres netom je nakon potresa odlučio pobjeći brodom u Italiju i sa sobom povesti šezdesetak časnih sestara iz nekoliko dubrovačkih samostana. Epizoda je zabilježena u njegovu vlastitu izvještaju koji je ubrzo po dolasku u Anconu i tiskan. Dubrovčani su prema tom nadbiskupovom potezu imali prilično negativan stav.<sup>45</sup> Taj staj izražava i «narod» koji izgovara repliku:

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<sup>41</sup> Genette, 1985: 92.

<sup>42</sup> Rimmon-Kenan, 1983: 108.

<sup>43</sup> Početak replike: *sic incipit ore, profari incipit, tali resolvit ora sono*; kraj replike: *dixerat haec, vix ea fatus erat, siluit tunc* i sl.

<sup>44</sup> *Quatiat sua viscera tellus / Nunc licet, & moto diverberet aera dorso: / Nil nostra: hinc tutis salientes cernere campos / Continget, refluosque amnes, montesque caudcos.* (65-68)

<sup>45</sup> Usp. Samardžić 1983: 235-236: «I stoga, čim se Dubrovnik, pod prvim udarcima zemljotresa, našao na zemlji, nadbiskup je zadigao mantiju i pobjegao u Italiju prvim brodom. Potrudio se da povede sobom jedino dubrovačke kaluđerice. Sve mu to

Gorana Stepanić

Quo ruitis miserae cives<sup>46</sup>, tuque optime casti  
Agminis Antistes ductor quo tendis?...  
Praestat in amplexu Patriae, aspectuque penatum  
Quidquid id est quod adhuc caeli gravis ira minatur  
Excipere: ipsam etiam, si tanta est sortis iniquae  
Saevitias, animam quocumque absumere leto. (78-79 i 85-88)

Pripovjedač, međutim, kao čuvar poretka i institucije Crkve odbjeglog nadbiskupa ne dvoji nazvati «plemenitim poglavarom i vođom časnoga stada».

U Rogačićevu spjevu mimeza je pripovjedački vješto kombinirana s prolepsom: nakon toposa «nekad slavan, a sada propao» (odnosi se na Dubrovnik), uvodi se lik ostarjelog mornara koji će u budućnosti, ploveći s pučine, neupućenim putnicima pokazati grad koji je u njegovoj mladosti bio slavan i bogat, a sada je hrpa ruševina i *dirum praeterlabentibus omen*, ponovivši tako topos koji je maločas iskazao i pripovjedač.<sup>47</sup>

#### 4.1.2. Topos neizrecivosti

Topos neizrecivosti (odnosno pjesnikove nemoći da se izrazi o nekom predmetu) pripada autoreferencijalnim fiksiranim pjesničkim oblicima, takvima koji svraćaju pozornost na proces nastanka pjesničkoga djela ili na samu naraciju. Struktura toposa neizrecivosti uglavnom se drži ustaljena misaonog slijeda. Započinje pitanjem, otprilike: «Tko bi mogao izraziti tako što...?», nakon čega slijedi dokazivanje neizrecivosti, otprilike «Čak i kada bih bio nadaren poput najboljih pjesnika, ne bih to mogao učiniti», dakako uz mogućnost varijacija. Ponekad slijedi i svojevrsan dokaz neizrecivosti, kao «To još nitko nije učinio, pa neću ni ja» ili «Da je pjesnik bolji od mene to mogao vidjeti, on bi to možda i mogao izraziti».

Sva trojica autora u svojim tekstovima o potresu imaju po jedan topos neizrecivosti; premda taj topos spada među manje obavezne fiksirane

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Dubrovčani nisu nikad oprostili. Napustio je svoj puk kad je najviše trebalo da bude uz njega – žalili su se papi. Odveo je naše sestre i kćeri među nimalo smerne italijanske popove...».

<sup>46</sup> Usp. *Quo, quo scelesti ruitis...*, Hor. *Epod.* 7, 1.

<sup>47</sup> Usp. *quae, praetervectus ab alto / Vectorum ignarae senior iam navita turbae / indice designet digito, atque, «Hoc litore», dicet, «me iuvene Illiricas una inter celsior urbes / Surgebat fama, et meritis Epidaurus Olympo.»* itd., 109-113.

elemente epskoga stila, tema o kojoj pišu trojica Dubrovčana više je nego pogodna za uporabu toga općeg mjesta.

Najdiskretniju i najkraću verziju toposa neizrecivosti nalazimo u Stayevu tekstu:<sup>48</sup> «*Quis memoret tantas tam parvo in tempore caedes?*». Daleko je razvijeniji topos neizrecivosti koji donosi Rogačić u sljedećim stihovima:

Non ego si centum solido aere sonantia linguis  
Guttura cum totidem Briareus vocalis haberem;  
Ingeniumque mihi rapido torrentius amne  
Eloquii immensis in carmina fontibus iret;  
Quae dedit illa dies, variae ludibria sortis,  
Multiplicesque vias, et tot nova nomina lethi  
Expediam cantu, aut dignis ploratibus aequem. (160-166)

Rogačićev topos razvija motiv vjerojatno najpoznatijeg toposa neizrecivosti, toposa «mnogih usta» u rimskome epu. Sam topos potječe od Homera (*Il.* 2, 488-93). U rimskoj ga književnosti rabi Lukrecije (*Lucr. Fragm.* 1, 2), no popularnost zahvaljuje prvenstveno Vergiliju, koji ga rabi dvaput:<sup>49</sup>

Non mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,  
ferrea uox, omnis scelerum comprehendere formas,  
omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim. (*Aen.* 6, 625-627)

Isti motiv i stih parafraziraju u antici Ovidije u *Metamorfozama* i Stacije u *Silvama*,<sup>50</sup> ironizira ga Perzije (*Sat.* 5, 1-2) a iznimno je popularan i često rabljen u srednjovjekovnoj novolatinskoj književnosti.<sup>51</sup> Gradić taj topos parafrazira ovako:

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<sup>48</sup> Stay je i inače, budući da se stilski oslanja na Lukrecija, manje sklon demonstriranju vergilijanskoga i postvergilijanskoga epskog stila, pa je incidencija pripovjedačkih tragova i autoreferencijalnih umetaka u njega manja nego u ostalim dvama tekstovima, koji se oslanjaju prvenstveno na klasični rimski ep.

<sup>49</sup> U nešto drukčijem kontekstu u (*Georg.* 2, 42-44).

<sup>50</sup> *Non mihi si centum deus ora sonantia linguis / ingeniumque capax totumque Helicon dedisset, / tristia persequeretur miserarum fata sororum.* *Ov. Met.* 8, 533-535; *Non, mihi si cunctos Helicon indulgeat amnes / et superet Pimplea sitim largeque volantis / ungula sedet equi reseretque arcana pudicos / Phemonoe fontes vel quos meus auspice Phoebos / altius immersa turbavit Pollius urna, / innumeras valeam species cultusque locorum / Pieriis aequare modis.* *Stat. Silv.* 2, 2, 36-42.

<sup>51</sup> V. Gowers 2005.

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Non duro constent si pectora nostra metallo,  
Centenisque sonent totidem ora, & guttura linguis  
Omnia multiplicis liceat discrimina fati  
Atque omnes aditus mortis numerare, viasque. (53-56)

Obojica dubrovačkih autora uglavnom zadržavaju elemente koje u *Eneidi* izgovara Kumska sibila. Nakon što je, naime, nabrojala stanovit broj zločina i kazni koje se odvijaju u Tartaru, prestaje s nabrojanjem i govori Eneji kako ne bi mogla nabrojati sve zločine i njihove kazne čak i kada bi imala stotinu jezika, stotinu usta i željezan glas. Rogačićev pripovjedač, slično sibili, ne bi mogao nabrojati oblike smrti nakon potresa, čak i kada bi imao stotinu grla koja ječe čvrstom mjedi (a ne željezom), s jednako toliko jezika i kada bi mu um bio brži od «inspirativnih» rijeka rječitosti.<sup>52</sup> Zanimljiva je metafora storukog diva Brijareja: pripovjedač bi htio biti *Briareus vocalis* – glasan Brijarej, Brijarej što se tiče stostrukosti glasa, a ne broja ruku.

Gradićev pripovjedač također iskazuje kako ne bi mogao nabrojati «sve pristupe i puteve smrti i sve nedaće sudbine» kad bi i imao «grudi od tvrdoga metala», i kad bi mu «stotinom jezika zvučalo jednako toliko usta i grla», upotrijebivši tako sve elemente sibilinskog toposa.

#### 4.2. Zajednički elementi: sadržaj

I u Gradićevu i Rogačićevu spjevu postoji mjesto na kojem se mogućem donatoru kao argument za pružanje pomoći navodi popis dotadašnjih donatora.

Lista kod Gradića izgleda ovako:

Non Luca vetustae  
Libertatis honos, non armis clara, virisque  
Gens Ligurum, non Roma potens, non fortis Iberus  
Non quae magnanimo regnatur Hetruria Cosmo  
Avertit placidas nostris a fletibus aures. (217-221)

Rogačićev je popis sljedeći:

Praecessere quidem auxiliis Regnator Iberus  
Et geminus, caelo majestas aemula, Clemens,  
Lucaque non propria[e] tantum, sed quicquid ubique,

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<sup>52</sup> Za helikonske rijeke inspiracije v. citat Stacija, bilj. 50.

Libertatis amans, Venetique, potentia corda  
Consiliis, decus Italiae tutelaque, Patres. (204-208)

Gradićev je tekst stariji, nastao u tiskanoj verziji kojom raspoložemo najranije 1675. Autor je popis dotadašnjih donatora Republike, smisleno je vjerovati, ažurirao za izdanje pjesme. Prema tom popisu, pomoć su već pružili nezavisna toskanska republika Lucca, Liguria (Genova), Rim (Vatikan), Španjolska, te Toskana, konkretnije Cosimo Medici. Dok se kod ostalih donatora možemo složiti da su dali svoj prilog (uglavnom se radilo o donacijama u oružju, barutu, hrani i određenim, primjerice financijskim ustupcima), Cosimo u svakom slučaju nije dao pomoć koju je Gradiću kao diplomatu bio obećao još njegov otac, Ferdinand II (1610-1670). Gradić je, naime, ubrzo nakon potresa posjetio toskanskog velikog vojvodu te dobio odgovor da će vojvoda malo pričekati da vidi što će učiniti ostali kršćanski vladari.<sup>53</sup> 1674. i 1675. Gradić posjećuje Ferdinando sina Cosima i podsjeća ga na obećanja njegova oca, no uzalud.<sup>54</sup> Ukoliko se ne radi o nabrajanju duhovnih (a ne materijalnih) pokrovitelja, Gradić na ovome mjestu blefira: *licentia poetica* udružila se s diplomatskom vještinom kako bi se Mletke nagnalo na donaciju.

Da je Cosimo de' Medici poslao Dubrovniku pomoć, Rogačić mu se 1676. vjerojatno ne bi obraćao očajničkim molbama za istu stvar. U Rogačićevu se tekstu kao donatori navode španjolska kruna, obojica papa Klementa, Klement IX (1667-1669) i Klement X (1670-1676),<sup>55</sup> Lucca i Venecija. Prema Krasiću, međutim, «Jedna za drugom države kao što su Mleci, Modena, Parma, Toskana, Austrija i Turska kao po dogovoru izražavale su sućut za ono što se dogodio u Dubrovniku, ali su nalazile razna opravdanja da ne daju ništa».<sup>56</sup>

## 5. Zaključak

U okolnostima u kojima ni profesionalna diplomacija, koja je uključivala službenu prepisku, intenzivno lobiranje (najčešće od strane

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<sup>53</sup> Samardžić 1960: 95.

<sup>54</sup> Krasić 1987: 171-172.

<sup>55</sup> Pomoć je, zahvaljujući osobnom prijateljstvu s Gradićem, sa samrtne postelje odobrio i prethodni papa, Aleksandar VII (1655-1667). V. Krasić 1987: 169-170.

<sup>56</sup> Krasić 1987: 175.



Vatikana), osobne posjete i dobre veze, nije mogla pomoći, teško bi bilo povjerovati da su to mogle dvije latinske pjesme. *Dulce* je u ovom slučaju svakako prevladalo nad *utile*, ukoliko korisnim smatramo dobivanje materijalne pomoći od Toskane i Venecije.

No onkraj takve 'utilitarnosti' ostaju tri pjesme, svojedobno vrlo aktualne a danas svjedočanstvo nekoliko poetičkih aspekata dubrovačke poezije. Pokazuju da žanr povijesnog i didaktičkog epilija na latinskom dubrovačkim autorima nije bio stran; da građa historijskog spjeva može biti i svjež događaj; da autori i u tekstu koji je u svojoj srži molba kombinirana s naracijom uspješno zadržavaju epske elemente i stil; napokon, da je motiv dubrovačkog potresa ostao aktualan u dubrovačkoj (premda 'iseljeničkoj') književnosti i sedamdeset godina nakon samog događaja.

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## Summary

### Shocking Poetic Testimonies: Latin Poetry on the Ragusan Earthquake of 1667

The catastrophic earthquake that happened on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April 1667 devastated the Ragusan Republic and seriously compromised its political, economic and demographic future. The small Mediterranean republic intensified the diplomatic activity – very well documented and the documentation preserved – to raise the money for its restoration. Apart from typical diplomatic steps, there were poetic attempts of Ragusan authors to spread the news about the earthquake across Europe and win the favor of possible donors.

The oldest text from that group is a small epic poem in Latin written by the Ragusan poet Stjepan Gradić (1613-1683), a diplomat at the Holy See, titled *Stephani Gradii patricii Ragusini de laudibus serenissimae reipublicae Venetae et cladibus patriae suae carmen* (Venice 1675, <sup>2</sup>1676), containing the description of the earthquake, asking Venice for material help. A Jesuit Benedikt Rogačić (1646-1719) published an *epyllion* directed to Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, titled *Proseucticon de terraemotu, quo Epidaurus in Dalmatia anno 1667 prostrata est, ad Cosmum III Etruriae ducem* (Rome 1690, Munich <sup>2</sup>1695). The third Latin text on the same subject is a part of a larger epic of the Ragusan Jesuit Benedikt Stay (1714-1801), the didactic poem *Philosophiae versibus traditae libri VI* (Venice 1744), which deals with the philosophy of Descartes. Passages on the earthquake from all three texts exist in various manuscript compilations and in Italian translations, and apart from the «external» reception of the three texts there is an «internal» reception between them. Besides some individual parts, all of them have in common numerous elements (scenes, motifs, details as well as their disposition) concerning the very course of events during and after the earthquake, being based on the same written and other historical sources. Nevertheless, the analysis of the texts has shown that the earthquake part of Stay's poem openly uses the poem of Rogačić as its source, both in composition and verbal expression: about twenty percent of Stay's text is a paraphrase of Rogačić's hexameters.

A specific phenomenon in two older texts, which include a pragmatic aspect (asking potential donors for financial help), is a passage in which the actual donors are enumerated: both texts partly bluff when telling the names of the European states or individuals who had already given the money to Dubrovnik.

All the three texts show high fidelity to the genre of classical epic poem, as for the epic discourse, style, narrator's voice, motifs and commonplaces (e.g. the Homeric 'many mouths' *topos*). The poems never succeeded in raising money for the restoration of the city of Dubrovnik, but kept being read and transmitted (mostly within the Republic) as a part of local Latin epic tradition.

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