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A Note on Pythagoras and Ortuges, the Inventors of Elegy in Marius Plotius Sacerdos (*GL* VI 510 Keil)

Abstract: The passage on the elegiac meter in Marius Plotius Sacerdos' metrical treatise (*Ars* 3, 3 = *GL* VI, 509-510 Keil) stands out among other accounts of the origins of elegy because it includes two unexpected figures, Pythagoras and a certain Ortuges, as possible inventors of the genre. Of the two, Ortuges is completely unknown to students of ancient literature, and Pythagoras is not normally associated with elegiac poetry. The article suggests that the phrase *alii Pythagoram, alii Ortugen* comes from a learned gloss that was interpolated into the text, replacing a much more conventional figure, Callinus of Ephesus: a reader of the treatise had noted some data pertaining to Ephesus (its alternative name, Ortygia, and one of its earlier tyrants, Pythagoras of Ephesus, a namesake of Pythagoras of Samos the philosopher). In a mangled form this note was incorporated into Sacerdos' text by a later scribe.
Key words: origins of elegy, Marius Plotius Sacerdos, Ortuges, Ortygia, Callinus of Ephesus, Pythagoras of Samos, Pythagoras of Ephesus.

The identity of the poet who invented the elegiac couplet and the elegy as a genre was a debated issue in ancient times. As Horace famously – and humorously – put it,

> quis tamen exiguos elegos emiserit auctor,
>
> grammatici certant, et adhoc sub iudice lis est (Hor. *Ars*, 77-78)1.

Although ancient grammarians conferred the title of πρῶτος εὑρετής or inventor of elegy onto different figures, by late antiquity the lists of possible inventors became fairly monotonous. Thus, the grammatical tradition reg-

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1 That the word *auctor* is used predicatively, "as the originator of the genre of elegy", rather than simply meaning "author", is noted by Brink 1971, 167 (*ad* Hor. *Ars* 77). Horace's choice of terms influenced the grammatical tradition on the origins of elegy (see below).

ularly cites five names: Callinus, Archilochus and Mimnermus are credited
with the invention of the original elegy typical of the archaic age, whereas
Callimachus and Philetas are named as the founders of the new type of Helle-
nistic elegy and the precursors of Roman elegy[2]. Among these, some are men-
tioned more often, some less often. However, despite slight variations, entries
dealing with the genre of elegy in grammatical treaties and lexicographical
works show a considerable similarity in wording and the information includ-
ed: besides the list of possible inventors, these entries include the metrical de-
scription of the elegiac couplet, one or several etymologies of the term ἔλεγος
(derived either from ἒ ἒ λέγειν, from ἐλεεῖν or from εὖ λέγειν)[3], and the
plaintive tone considered proper to the elegiac poetry[4]. Given this uniformity
of the grammatical tradition, it is all the more striking to discover in Marius
Plotius Sacerdos (III century AD) a certain Ortuges, a name unknown not only
to other grammarians, but more generally to students of ancient literature[5]:

> Elegicum metrum dictum est, quod εε sonat interiectionem flentis, et
> hoc metro mortuis fletus componebant antiqui vel epigrammata conse-
> crationum, sicut Horatius docet de arte poetica:
>
>> versibus impariter iunctis querimonia primum,
>> post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos.

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[2] Cf. Phot. *Bibl*. 319b6 = Procl. *Chrest*. 1, 2, 24 Severyns; Schol. Bobiens. *in Cic. pro Arch*. 25 = Aristot. fr. 676 Rose; Canones Byzantini (Tab. M, Tab. C; Tab. C cod. N); Tzetz. *Schol. in Lycophr. Alex*. 2, 3, 15 Scheer.

[3] Of these, the popular etymology that associates the term ἔλεγος with ἒ ἒ λέγειν is probably the oldest (cf. Bowie 1997, 969), even though it is directly attested only in later sources: Porphyry's commentary (*in Hor. Carm*. 1, 33, 2), the *Suda* (ε 774 Adler), Zonaras (*Lex*. ε 682), the *Etymologicum Magnum* (p. 326 Kallierges), scholia in Dionysius Thrax (Hilgard 1901, 21 and 307). For the expla-nation of the term ἔλεγος as derived from ἐλεεῖν see schol. in Dionys. Thrac. (*ibid*.), Diomedes (*Ars* 3, *de poemat*. = *GL* I 484-485) and Victorinus (*Ars* 3, 4 = *GL* VI 110 Keil); the etymology connect-ing ἔλεγος with εὖ λέγειν (probably because the elegiac distich was extensively used in funerary epigrams) is found in Orion's *Etymologicon* (s.v. ἔλεγος = 58, 8 Sturz), in the *Etymologicum Genu-inum* (s.v. ἔλεγος = 452, 13 de Stefani), as well as in Diomedes and Marius Victorinus (*loc. cit.*). It is worth adding that the origins of ἔλεγος are still debated, and the term may be a borrowing: for the discussion of the word's etymology, see Frisk 1954, 486 s.v. ἔλεγος; Chantraine 1968-1977, 334 s.v. ἔλεγος; Beekes 2010, 404 s.v. ἔλεγος.

[4] More generally on the origins of elegy, see Gentili 1967, 50-59; West 1974, 3-8; Bowie 1986, 24-27; Bartol 1993, 26-27; Aloni/Ianucci 2007, 15-19.

[5] The only name resembling *Ortuges* from the archaic period is Ortyges who was one of the leaders (together with Irus and Echarus) of a hetaireia that overturned Cnopus' tyranny over Erythrae, an episode known from a fragment of the local historian Hippias of Erythrae preserved in Athenaeus (Athen. 6, 258b-c = *FgrHist* 421 F1; cf. Berve 1967, vol. I, 96; de Libero 1996, 375-376). Nothing in this account indicates any poetic activity of Ortyges, and he cannot be the man that Sacerdos meant.

Auctorem vero huius metri, id est elegiaci, alii Pythagoram, alii Ortu-
gen, non nulli Mimnermum dicunt. Unde de incerto auctore eleganter
Horatius lusit sic:

> quis tamen exiguos elegos emiserit auctor,
> grammatici certant, et adhoc sub iudice lis est

(Marius Plotius Sacerdos, Ars 3, 3 = GL VI, 509-510 Keil).

est *om*. **B**   quod   ee   sonat **B**   quod   esset   sonat **pA**   quod
sonat **C**   quod ĕ ĕ sonat *corr. Heinricius*[6]   consecrationum **B**   con-
secratione *Keil*   primum *Horatius*   prima *codd*.   voti **Ba** *Horatius*
votis **AC**   alii phitagoram alii ortugen **B**   alii pithagoriam quidam or-
tugen **AC**   (pithagoram **a**   pytagorā **C**)   mimnermum **pA**   min-
ervam **BC**   de *om*. **A**, *add*. **pC** *et in marg*. **B**[7]

As far as I was able to ascertain, there have not been many attempts to
explain the first two figures on Sacerdos' list. The incongruity of this testi-
mony was stressed by Johannes Franke, one of the earliest scholars to work
specifically on Callinus, who notes that Pythagoras as poet need not even be
discussed and that Ortuges of whom nothing is known is too easy a solution
to a difficult problem[8], whereas Thomas Gaisford sarcastically dismisses the
passage as corrupted by the scribes' ignorance: "Cur pro Callino et Archilo-
cho suppositi sunt Pythagoras et Ortyges, si quis fuerit, vel Ortages, ut habet
codex Scalegeranus, iidem viderint librarii, qui in eodem codice, et Vossiano,
pro Putschii *Mimnermo* exhibuerunt *Minervam*"[9]. However, the description of
the genre of elegy, as transmitted in the manuscripts, is singular: in a context
where one would expect to find a name of a real elegiac poet whose fragments
were known to ancient readers (such as Callinus, Archilochus and Mimner-
mus), or at the very least a mythical poet (e.g. Olympus), the grammarian
omits the two expected founders, Callinus and Archilochus, but instead in-

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[6] Karl Friedrich Heinrich's reconstruction of the Greek expression behind the Latin text of the
passage is mentioned with great admiration by his student Franke in his edition of Callinus
(Franke 1816, 47).

[7] The *sigla* for the manuscripts follow Keil's edition: *Codex Valentinianus 5.1, olim S. Amandi Elnon-
ensis*, IX century A.D. (**A**); notes and corrections in *Codex Valentinianus* (**a**); *Codex Bobiensis, nunc
Vindobonensis* 16, VII-VIII century A.D. (**B**); *Codex Parisinus Sangermanensis* 1094, X century A.D.
(**C**); Putsch's edition of 1605, mainly founded on the *Codex Valentinianus* (**p**). For a fuller descrip-
tion of the manuscripts, see Keil 1923, 418-419.

[8] Franke 1816, 21: "De Pythagora monere nihil opus est, quam inepta ratio sit, sive Samium sive
alium quemcunque intelligas, vel propter aetatem vel propter ingenium cuiusvis Pythagorae. Ii
autem, qui Ortygen, ignotum hominem, temere elegiaci carminis inventorem fingebant, difficilli-
mam hanc quaestionem de elegiae origine facili scilicet negotio solvebant".

[9] Gaisford 1837, 258.

cludes Pythagoras who is not normally associated with elegy[10], and the mysterious Ortuges. And while no one would seriously consider including these two figures in the canon of elegists, it seems worthwhile to examine where Sacerdos' information could come from.

First of all it should be noted that the bulk of Sacerdos' account of the elegy is based on a well-established grammatical tradition. A comparison with two other grammarians who were using the same source can be useful in highlighting these traditional elements. Several decades after Sacerdos, Marius Victorinus (IV cent. AD) characterized the genre of elegy in the following terms:

> Considerantibus nobis, quot ex dactylico heroo per singulos prototyporum canonas metrorum species procreentur, manifesta ratione reperio primam eius veluti subolem a pentametro versu coepisse… quod metrum invenisse fertur Callinous Ephesius. alii vero Archilochum eius auctorem tradiderunt, quidam Colophonium quendam, super quorum opinione apud grammaticos magna dissensio est (Marius Victorinus, *Ars* 3, 3 = *GL* VI, 107 Keil)[11].

Roughly two centuries later, an entry of a similar structure and content, although with significant additions (in particular, the reference to Terentianus Maurus), appears in Isidore's *Etymologies*:

> Elegiacus autem dictus eo, quod modulatio eiusdem carminis conveniat miseris. Terentianus hos elegos dicere solet, quod clausula talis tristibus, ut tradunt, aptior esset modis[12]. Hic autem vix omnino constat a quo sit inventus, nisi quia apud nos Ennius eum prior usus est. Nam apud Graecos sic adhuc lis Grammaticorum pendet, ut sub iudice res relegata sit. Nam quidam eorum Colophonium quendam,

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[10] The only poetic oeuvre associated with Pythagoras' name, the "Golden verses of Pythagoras", is written in hexameters, not the elegiac distich. The time of the appearance of the poem is disputed, the proposed dates ranging from even before Pythagoras to the III century AD. After a careful examination of the testimonia and linguistic, stylistic and doctrinal evidence, Thom concludes that the poem probably appeared between 350-300 BC (Тном 1995, 35-57). Even if one assumes that Sacerdos really included Pythagoras among the possible inventors of elegy, the name would certainly have reappeared in the grammatical tradition after Sacerdos.

[11] The textual tradition for this passage, as well as for the following passages from Isidore, is fairly uniform, and the divergent readings do not alter the sense of the text. I have consequently omitted the critical apparatus for these two quotations. The spelling of Callinus' name in this passage will be discussed below.

[12] Terentianus' verse is inserted into Isidore's entry with minimal changes: *hos elegos dixere, solet quod clausula talis / tristibus, ut tradunt, aptior esse modis* (Terent. Maur. *De metr*. 1799-1800 = *GL* VI, 379 Keil).

quidam Archilochum auctorem atque inventorem volunt (Isid. *Orig.* I, 39, 14-15).

Finally, an abridged entry of a similar structure is found in the anonymous grammatical fragment on meters from St. Gallen:

> Hic (*scil*. pentameter) sine ulla dubitatione heroi hexametri suboles est, quem invenisse dicitur Callinus Ephesius. Sed alii, ut Victorinus, putant esse Archilochum… (Fragm. Sangall. = *GL* VI.2, 639 Keil).

> camius effesius. Sed alii ut ore meius putant esse arciocum **S**[13]

It is easy to notice that each of the grammarians mentions the fact that the elegiac distich is derived from the heroic meter (i.e. the hexameter); that elegy is usually associated with a plaintive tone (the popular etymology connecting the term ἔλεγος with the exclamation ἒ ἔ is either mentioned explicitly or alluded to); that the *grammatici* disagree on who was the inventor of the genre, with the wording suggesting that the idea derives from Horace[14]; each mentions Mimnermus, although in Marius Victorinus and in Isidore his name is replaced by an indefinite pronoun, and only the name of his native city remains (*Colophonium* quendam)[15]. Thus, the four definitions of elegy diverge in one regard – the names of possible inventors of the genre other than Mimnermus: Archilochus is mentioned in Marius Victorinus and Isidore but omitted in Sacerdos; Callinus, mentioned by Marius Victorinus, is not included in Sacerdos and Isidore; and finally Pythagoras and Ortuges present in Sacerdos' list do not appear in Marius Victorinus and Isidore.

I would like to suggest, however, that Sacerdos did not in fact stray far from the established tradition, but that the two unexpected names, Pythagoras and Ortuges, are due to a gloss interpolated into his text at an early date. The name Ortuges is evocative of Ortygia, name of the mythical birthplace of Apollo and Artemis, hence used for a number of localities connected with

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[13] Although the manuscript **S** (*Codex Sangallensis* 876) gets all three names wrong, the text was not difficult to reconstruct from Marius Victorinus (*GL* VI, 107 Keil), the only unexpected corruption being ore meius that replaced the name of his source, Victorinus.

[14] Both Terentianus Maurus' *super quorum opinione apud grammaticos magna dissensio est* and in particular Isidore's *adhuc lis Grammaticorum pendet, ut sub iudice res relegata sit* clearly rephrase Horace's *grammatici certant, et adhoc sub iudice lis est* (Hor. Ars 78). Another detail which reflects Horace's influence is the use of the term auctor instead of inventor for the first poet to write elegy (cf. n. 1).

[15] This replacement is certainly due to the fact that in Marius Victorinus' and Isidore's sources Mimnermus' name was already corrupted into *Minervus* or *Minerva*, and the grammarians, noticing that such a name was impossible from the point of view of common sense, but unable to reconstruct the correct name, preferred to use the indefinite pronoun, leaving only the geographical indication *Colophonius* (on the question of Mimnermus' origins and the tradition linking him to Colophon, see, in particular, WEST 1974, 72; PATOCCHI 1983; ALLEN 1993, 13-14).

their cult[16], in particular for Delos and Ephesus; the latter is, of course, Callinus' hometown and it is thus probable that it was Callinus who was originally meant.

According to Strabo, who discusses Ortygia in connection with Ephesus, the toponym was specifically applied to the area where the temple of Artemis stood:

> Ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ παραλίᾳ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Ὀρτυγία, διαπρεπὲς ἄλσος παντοδαπῆς ὕλης, κυπαρίττου δὲ τῆς πλείστης· διαρρεῖ δ' ὁ Κέγχριος ποταμός, οὗ φασι νίψασθαι τὴν Λητὼ μετὰ τὰς ὠδῖνας. Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ μυθεύουσι τὴν λοχείαν καὶ τὴν τροφὸν τὴν Ὀρτυγίαν καὶ τὸ ἄδυτον, ἐν ᾧ ἡ λοχεία, καὶ τὴν πλησίον ἐλαίαν, ᾗ πρῶτον ἐπαναπαύσασθαί φασι τὴν θεὸν ἀπολυθεῖσαν τῶν ὠδίνων (Strab. 14, 1, 20 = 639 C.).

Despite Strabo's detailed description, Ortygia's exact site is difficult to localise[17]. Literary and scholarly texts, however, show that the toponym Ortygia was applied to Ephesus in general[18], and it was, of course, in the interest of the Ephesians to insist upon this identification. Thus, Tacitus records a scene when ambassadors from Ephesus justified before the senate the city's right to asylia explaining that it was Ephesus, and not Delos, that was the real birth place of Apollo and Artemis evoking the same myth that was recounted by Strabo:

> Primi omnium Ephesii adiere, memorantes non, ut vulgus crederet, Dianam atque Apollinem Delo genitos: esse apud se Cenchreum amnem, lucum Ortygiam, ubi Latonam partu gravidam et oleae, quae tum etiam maneat, adnisam edidisse ea numina, deorumque monitu sacratum nemus, atque ipsum illic Apollinem post interfectos Cyclopas Iovis iram vitavisse… (Tac. *Ann.* 3, 61).

In the Roman scholarly tradition Ortygia seems to have been an established alternative name for Ephesus, and the passage in which Pliny briefly

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[16] Ortygia first appears in Homer as a mythical locality: cf. νῆσός τις Συρίη κικλήσκεται, εἴ που ἀκούεις, / Ὀρτυγίης καθύπερθεν, ὅθι τροπαὶ ἠελίοιο… (*Od.* 15, 403-404; cf. Hes. *fr.* 150, 26 Merkelbach-West). In later literary and scholarly texts it can be identified with Delos, Ephesus, Syracuse, Aetolia and Libya (for the passages and a detailed discussion, see Schmidt 1942).

[17] See Radt 2009, 37 (*ad* Strab. 14, 1, 28 = 640, 9).

[18] For the identification of Ortygia with Ephesus in scholarly tradition, see, among others, Steph. Byz. *Epit. s.v.* Ἔφεσος; Eustath. *Comm. in Dion. Per.* 525 (ἐκαλεῖτο δέ ποτε καὶ Ὀρτυγία, ὡς ὁ Γεωγράφος φησί). See also Keil 1942. Of the literary texts, some will be cited and discussed below.

lists the essential information on Ephesus gives an idea of the type of context in which this toponym would be likely to appear:

> in ora autem Matium, Ephesus, Amazonum opus, multis antea expeti-
> ta nominibus, Alopes, cum pugnatum apud Troiam est, mox Ortygiae,
> Amorges (Plin. *Nat. Hist*. 5, 115).

I would argue that a scholarly context of a similar kind inspired a reader of Sacerdos to note on the margin of his manuscript the alternative name for Ephesus, fraught with literary connotations, by the original *Callinus Ephesius*. The form *Ortugen* suggests that he may even have used Greek characters (Ὀρτυγίην that in the course of the transmission became *Ortugen*), or else copied from a manuscript where the toponym appeared in Greek[19]. One can only guess why this reader inserted a note with information on Ephesus into his copy of Sacerdos's treatise: was he displaying his erudition, or was the name Ephesus so little known to him that he had to look it up in a dictionary? Whichever the case, the marginal note in a mangled form would then have been incorporated by a later scribe in the main text, replacing Callinus' name.

The name Pythagoras can be traced to the same scholarly lemma: only it is not the philosopher and mathematician Pythagoras of Samos who was meant, but Pythagoras of Ephesus, a tyrant of late VII or early VI century B.C. Our knowledge of Pythagoras is scarce (so much so that his name is omitted altogether from the *Cambridge Ancient History*) and ultimately derives from the Hellenistic treatise on the local history of Ephesus, Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τυράννων, written by Baton of Sinope of which two fragments survive in Athenaeus (Athen. 7, 289c = *FgrHist* 268 F2 Jacoby) and the Suda (π 3122 Adler = *FgrHist* 268 F3 Jacoby)[20]. The latter passage, referring to the authority of Baton, summarizes what is known of Pythagoras the tyrant. Much of this entry (and probably Baton's account) consists of topoi typical of tyrant narratives (greed, cruelty and unjustified executions, populism, disrespect for shrines and customs). What is important for our purpose, however, is that Pythagoras seems to have been the earliest ruler of Ephesus, known by name, whereas the previous dynasty whose rule he overturned as he came to power is only known

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[19] Both morphology and the spelling of *Ortugen* suggests that the underlying form was Greek: the ending –en indicates the Greek accusative; and for the confusion between Latin -u- and Greek -υ- in Latin manuscripts with Greek insertions, see Rochette 1999, 332. More generally on the orthographic choices of Latin scribes when confronted with Greek names, see Adams 2004, 71-76 and Pelttari 2015 (especially 463-468 on late antique texts).

[20] Discussing Baton's account, Jacoby 1995, 203 notes that Baton must have drawn extensively on the Ὧροι Ἐφεσίων, as well as on literary sources.

by the family name, Basilidai[21]; moreover, he may have played a part in the construction of the Artemision[22]:

> Οὐκοῦν ἠκολούθησε δημοσίᾳ νόσος καὶ τροφῶν ἀπορία, καὶ σαλεύων ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Πυθαγόρας εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπέστειλε καὶ ᾔτει λύσιν τῶν κακῶν. Ἡ δὲ ἔφη νεὼν ἀναστῆσαι καὶ κηδεῦσαι τοὺς νεκρούς. Ἦν δὲ πρὸ Κύρου τοῦ Πέρσου, ὥς φησι Βάτων (Sud. π 3122 Adler = *FgrHist* 268 F3 Jacoby)

Both facts would warrant Pythagoras' being included into a summary of the essential information on Ephesus, the kind of work that the reader of Marius Plotius Sacerdos seems to have consulted. It is also clear that the reader who added the note on Ephesus on the margins of his copy and/or the scribe responsible for the incorporation of the interpolation into Sacerdos' text mistook Pythagoras of Ephesus for the better known Pythagoras the philosopher. Incidentally, the fact that by the third cent. A.D. Callinus had been reduced to a name transmitted by grammarians[23,] while no longer being actively read , whereas Pythagoras's name was much better known, may account for the inclusion of the marginal remark into the text: the scribe preferred to replace the name *Callinus*, unknown to him, by the name *Pythagoras* that he had found on the margins and that would at least have rang a bell.

Thus, the most probable explanation for Pythagoras' and Ortuges' appearance among the inventors of elegy in Sacerdos' text is an interpolation of a marginal note on Ephesus into the text of the treatise, whereas the grammarian had originally spoken of Callinus of Ephesus. Sacerdos seems to be following the established philological tradition, citing two figures regularly credited with the invention of elegy (Callinus and Mimnermus), and the apparent divergence of his entry from other grammarians (in particular, from Marius Victorinus and Isidore) is due to an accident in the textual transmission. Con-

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[21] Cf. Jacoby 1995, 205: „nach dem was wir von den einzelnen Tyrannen wissen, müssen wir mit Pythagoras als dem ersten in der Reihe hoch ins 6. Jhdr, vielleicht noch in das 7. hinaufgehen".

[22] This information must probably be taken *cum grano salis*: „Pythagoras kann, muß aber nicht für einen Tempel im Artemision verantwortlich zeichnen. Auch wenn die – nicht gesicherte – Datierung des Tyrannen mit der Bauzeit der beiden Tempel konform gehen mag, so heißt das nicht, daß er nicht auch an andere Stelle den geforderten Sakralbau errichtet haben könnte" (de Libero 1996, 369).

[23] And even the transmission of Callinus' name is no longer accurate. Thus, in Terentianus' versified treatise *De metris*, it appears in a modified form: *Pentametrum dubitant quis primus finxerit auctor: / quidam non dubitant dicere Callinoum* (Terent. Maur. *De metr.* 1721-1722). The meter shows that this modification was not due to an accident in the transmission of the text: it seems that Terentianus Maurus (or some of his predecessors) reinterpreted Callinus' name as a Greek compound, based on the adjective καλός and the noun νόος. The same spelling appears in the passage from Marius Victorinus quoted above (*Ars* 3, 3 = *GL* VI 107 Keil).

sequently, the passage from Marius Plotius Sacerdos deserves to be included not only among the testimonia on Mimnermus (cf. Mimn. Test. 21 Allen = Test. 20 Gentili-Prato = Test. 51, 54, 70 Szádeczky-Kardoss), but also among the testimonia on Callinus, preferably grouped together with Callin. Test. 13 and 15 Gentili-Prato. Moreover, for future editors of this passage it is worth considering placing the expression *alii Pythagoram, alii Ortugen* in *cruces philologorum*.[24]

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Белешка о Питагори и Ортугу, творцима елегије код Сацердота (GL VI 510)

Апстракт: Одељак о елегијском дистиху у Сацердотовом спису о метрици (*Ars* 3, 3 = GL VI, 509-510) заузима посебно место међу извештајима о пореклу елегије јер као могуће творце тог жанра спомиње две неочекиване фигуре, Питагору и извесног Ортуга. Од ових, Ортуг је сасвим непознат, а Питагора се обично не везује за елегијску поезију. У овом раду предлаже се објашњење да речи *alii Pythagoram, alii Ortugen* представљају глосу доцније интерполирану у текст. Била би то замена за једну много конвенционалнију фигуру, Калина од Ефеса; неки учен читалац Сацердотовог списа ту као да је прибележио нешто података везаних за Ефес: његово друго име Ортигија, и једног од његових тирана, Питагору, имењака Питагоре философа. Та белешка као да је потом искварена доспела у Сацердотов текст.
Кључне речи: порекло елегије, Марије Плоције Сацердот, Ортуг, Ортигија, Калин од Ефеса, Питагора са Самоса, Питагора од Ефеса.

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An "Inhabitant" of Erebos: Ajax's Subversive "νεκρο-νόστος"

Abstract: The Greek hero Ajax does not achieve a traditional homecoming. In Sophokles' *Ajax*, Ajax's suicide precludes his physical return, but he achieves νόστος to a new home: Hades. The raging Ajax slaughters captured animals instead of the Greek chieftains, and Ajax exits and enters his hut, which is portrayed as a temporary "house." Ajax's νόστος to this hut-home brings pollution, but eventually mental clarity. Physical νόστος precipitates a mental νόστος from madness to sanity. Utterly shamed and afraid of his father's reaction, Ajax eventually implores the nether darkness to accept him as its "inhabitant," radically redefining the idea of "home."
Key Words: Greek tragedy, Sophokles, Ajax, nostos, homecoming.

In Sophokles' tragedy *Ajax*, the hero Ajax is initially denied his homecoming, or νόστος, by two parties in particular: the Atreidai, and more importantly, Odysseus, who himself provides the traditional model for a νόστος hard-won. Ajax eventually precludes his own νόστος by committing suicide, enabling his "return" to a new home in Hades. The *Ajax* is not traditionally regarded as a "νόστος-play" in the corpus of Greek tragedy, and this is a missed opportunity.[1] Ajax's suicidal journey is not a "return" *sensu stricto*, but rather constitutes a "homecoming" to a new home (cf. LSJ s.v. νόστος 2, "journey").[2] Ajax's lost νόστος, and his comrades' loss of their own νόστοι, receive and indeed merit much attention in the course of the Ajax. Various other non-traditional types of νόστοι abounding in the play are worthy of further study.

The *Ajax* can serve as an ideal bridge between the genres of epic and trage-dy, for the Sophoklean hero Ajax seems to inhabit a liminal space between the

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[1] The *Ajax* is mentioned only in passing by Alexopoulou 2009, 15 n. 41, whose book otherwise discusses various νόστος-themes in Aischylos, Euripides, and elsewhere in Sophokles.

[2] See also Frame 1978, 28-33 and *passim*, on the relationship between νόστος and νόος, as Ajax's journey is not only physical but mental. Note that νόστος is derived from νέομαι, "to go [back], return" (q.v. LSJ).

two genres.[3] Ajax stands uncomfortably between genres, and in the tragedy, he has not quite shed his epic origins, yet his travails in the course of the story turn undeniably tragic. As Roberts 1993, 584 argues, "critics generally recognize in Sophocles' Ajax a hero of a disappearing generation, a Homeric hero at odds with a later world …" Other scholars echo the same sentiment, such as Barker 2009, 283, who remarks that "the first section [of the Ajax] establishes Ajax as a figure from a bygone era, in the mould of an Iliadic 'shepherd of the people', on whom both his men and family depend." The play eventually reveals that Ajax is no such Iliadic "shepherd of the people," since in fact, only a terrible shepherd would slay his flock, metaphorical or otherwise.[4] Nor would a good shepherd desert his people as Ajax abandons his comrades in suicide (Soph. *Aj.* 900-3).

Sophokles' *Ajax* suggests a different model of νόστος achieved with the very suicide which deprives the hero of a traditional νόστος. Death, then, constitutes the hero's journey, and Hades becomes the home which he founds, and to which he escapes. Sophokles subverts the traditional idea of νόστος and presents Ajax's suicide as the anti-νόστος, a return home that is diverted towards the realm of the dead. In turn, Ajax's unconventional νόστος denies homecoming to his family and friends, for Tekmessa, Teukros, and the other Salaminians, bereft of his presence and leadership, cannot return home safely. Barker 2009, 311 argues that "the Chorus [of Salaminian sailors] are introduced in terms that relate to an epic model of a Homeric people dependent upon their leader … this model is threatened and irrevocably fractured by Ajax's suicide, since the Chorus are left without its leader." Despite the potential harm to his family and friends, Ajax later demonstrates his determination to find a new "home" for himself in the underworld by committing suicide.

Ajax does not achieve a traditional νόστος like Odysseus, Nestor, or other such heroes, and it unfolds in different phases. The idea of "home" is especially pregnant in the Ajax, and also tantalizingly elusive, as it means different things to different characters. The first phase of Ajax's νόστος involves his madness and the slaughter of the animals, which in turn pollutes not only him, but also his dwelling on the shores of Troy. Sophokles often likens Ajax's accommodations at Troy to a "home away from home." Hall 1997, 97, in turn, explains that Greek tragedy is often set in such places: "The standard setting

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[3] See Munteanu 2012, 183: "Both the epic Achilles and the tragic Ajax are concerned with their reputation and isolate themselves from the community, after being outraged. Consequently, the dramatic Ajax has been described as the last traditional type of hero."

[4] Note the Chorus' retelling of the rumors they have heard (Soph. *Aj.* 141-47), and Tekmessa's narration of the slaughter (*Aj.* 296-304), among others.

of tragedy came to be a house within a polis, or a house-surrogate within a po-lis-surrogate such as a tent in a military encampment (*Hecuba, Ajax*) …" This house-surrogate, then, part of a military encampment on the shores of Troy, is precisely where a νόστος steeped in pollution occurs.

Ajax's first bout of madness does not occur on stage. Athene narrates it to Odysseus as he watches and hears Ajax preparing to slaughter the "Atreidai" and "Odysseus" within the hut (*Aj.* 61-7):

> κἄπειτ᾽ ἐπειδὴ τοῦδ᾽ ἐλώφησεν πόνου,
> τοὺς ζῶντας αὖ δεσμοῖσι συνδήσας βοῶν
> ποίμνας τε πάσας εἰς δόμους κομίζεται,
> ὡς ἄνδρας, οὐχ ὡς εὔκερων ἄγραν ἔχων.
> καὶ νῦν κατ᾽ οἴκους συνδέτους ἀικίζεται.
> δείξω δὲ καὶ σοὶ τήνδε περιφανῆ νόσον,
> ὡς πᾶσιν Ἀργείοισιν εἰσιδὼν θροῇς.

> And then, when he rested from this toil,
> Again he bound together with fetters the living oxen
> And all the flocks, and brought them to his home,
> Just as men, not as the beautiful-horned prey which he had.
> Now, within his home, he tortured those bound together.
> But I will also show you this conspicuous madness,
> So that you may look upon and cry it aloud to all the Argives.[5]

Ajax brings the oxen and the flocks to his "home" (εἰς δόμους, 64) on the battlefield, which Sophokles here calls by the common Homeric word δόμος. Ajax's hut is next referred to as an οἶκος (κατ᾽ οἴκους, 65), another very com-mon word for "house." Elsewhere in the *Ajax*, his hut is metapoetically called a σκηνή (also "stage-building," q.v. LSJ ii), δῶμα, στέγος, στέγη (lit., "roof"), and κλισίαι.[6] Athene mentions Ajax's uncivilized behavior as he suffers from "this conspicuous madness" (τήνδε περιφανῆ νόσον, 66) within the presum-ably otherwise civilized space within his hut "home." Through, or perhaps despite, νόσος (cf. θεία νόσος, 186), νόστος is achieved.

A logical progression of prepositions expressing Ajax's movement through space emerges in this passage: Ajax brings the fettered animals to his home, then tortures them within. Ajax thinks that the animals are the

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[5] All translations are my own unless otherwise noted. For the Ajax, I print the Greek text of Fin-glass 2011. The Loeb edition by Lloyd-Jones 1997 has also been very helpful at times.

[6] E.g., σκηνή: σκηναῖς … ναυτικαῖς, *Aj.* 3; σκηνῆς, 218; σκηναῖσι, 754; σκηνῆς, 796; σκηναισῖν, 985. δῶμα: δωμάτων, 73; δῶμα, 579. στέγος: στέγος, 307. στέγη: στέγης, 108, 741. κλισίαι: κλισίαις, 190.

Achaian chiefs, including the Atreidai and Odysseus (cf. the Chorus' account at 141-47, and that of Tekmessa at 233-44). Odysseus mentions the rumors about Ajax's nefarious deeds at 25-31, and Athene confirms these rumors at 51-60: Ajax's "toil" (τοῦδ᾽ … πόνου, 61) involved killing most of the cattle and the flocks. The phrase τοὺς ζῶντας … βοῶν (62) indicates "those of the oxen that were still living" (so LLOYD-JONES ad loc.), as Ajax saved some for special (mis)treatment: namely, torture within the house (65). At the end of this passage, Athene promises to show Odysseus Ajax's madness so that he can inform the Argive chieftains (66-7). Athene encourages Ajax to come out of the hut: "I call 'Ajax': come in front of your home!" (Αἴαντα φωνῶ· στεῖχε δωμάτων πάρος, 73). The hut is again portrayed as an actual home, now with the suitably Homeric word δῶμα. The prepositional progression continues with a new element: Ajax has coaxed the remaining animals into the house, begun to torture them within the house, and now Athene asks him to step outside the house.[7] Ajax's νόστος to his "home away from home" has been utterly disastrous.

After Ajax has returned to his "home," Athene asks him to leave it, in order to provide Odysseus with solid evidence of Ajax's instability. Odysseus, fearful of what Ajax may do, would prefer for Ajax to stay inside: "It is enough for me for this man to remain in the house" (ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ τοῦτον ἐν δόμοις μένειν, 80).[8] Paradoxically, the Chorus later beg Ajax to depart his hut (κλισίαις, 190) in order to denounce Odysseus and his other accusers, who "deceptively whisper treacherous rumors" (ὑποβαλλόμενοι / κλέπτουσι μύθους, 188-89).[9] The Chorus cannot believe such stories about their beloved Ajax, and blame Odysseus and the other chieftains for spreading falsehoods.

Tekmessa later summarizes the sequence of events for the Chorus of Salaminians (284-330). First, Ajax "grabbed his two-edged sword and sought to go on a fruitless expedition" (ἄμφηκες λαβὼν / ἐμαίετ᾽ ἔγχος ἐξόδους ἕρπειν κενάς, 286-87). This ἔξοδος or "marching out" naturally involves departing his "hut" home. The dénouement of Ajax's massacre evokes true pathos, however, as Tekmessa describes Ajax's return to sanity (305-10):

> κἄπειτ᾽ ἐπάξας αὖθις ἐς δόμους πάλιν
> ἔμφρων μόλις πως ξὺν χρόνῳ καθίσταται.

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[7] See HEATH / OKELL 2007, and MOST / OZBEK 2015 for more on the movements of Ajax and suggestions for staging a production.

[8] A few lines earlier, Odysseus initially begged Athene not to call Ajax outside: "No, by the gods, but let it suffice for him to remain within" (μὴ πρὸς θεῶν· ἀλλ᾽ ἔνδον ἀρκείτω μένων, 76).

[9] FINGLASS 2011 ad 188-90, and LLOYD-JONES 1997 were helpful with this phrase, which is difficult to render into English directly.

καὶ πλῆρες ἄτης ὡς διοπτεύει στέγος,
παίσας κάρα ᾽θώυξεν· ἐν δ' ἐρειπίοις
νεκρῶν ἐρειφθεὶς ἕζετ᾽ ἀρνείου φόνου,
κόμην ἀπρὶξ ὄνυξι συλλαβὼν χερί.

Then he rushed back into the house again, and
Scarcely came back to his senses somehow with time.
And when he looked into the house full of ruin,
He struck his head and cried aloud. And fallen among the
Wreckage of the corpses of the slaughtered sheep he sat, and
He seized his hair tight in his hands with his nails.

Recognition dawns upon Ajax as he "rushes back into the house again" (ἐπάξας αὖθις ἐς δόμους πάλιν, 305). Ajax moves through space as he progresses through different phases of sanity and insanity: first Ajax goes to, then within, then outside, now back (αὖθις … πάλιν, 305) (in)to the hut as he looks within. Upon returning to the hut, Ajax returns to his right mind (ἔμφρων, 306), but only with difficulty and time (μόλις πως ξὺν χρόνῳ, 306).[10]

The act of homecoming, both physically and psychologically, brings mental clarity, but also horrible lamentation (310). The verb καθίσταται (306) indicates the major change Ajax's mind has undergone as he realizes the horror of his actions. No longer is the hut, "full of ruin" (πλῆρες ἄτης … στέγος, 307), inhabitable without incurring pollution. The "Atreidai" and "Odysseus" (94-113) whom he thought he killed and tortured are revealed to be slaughtered sheep (308-9).

As Ajax sits in the gore-filled hut, his sight returns, despite Athene previously "[darkening] even eyes which see" (ἐγὼ σκοτώσω βλέφαρα καὶ δεδορκότα, 85) to hide Odysseus from Ajax's sight. Athene's "blinding" (δυσφόρους ἐπ᾽ ὄμμασι / γνώμας βαλοῦσα, 51-2) of Ajax earlier tricked the hero's eyes into thinking that he was killing the Greek chieftains, rather than domesticated animals. Ajax now "sees clearly" (διοπτεύει, 307) as he returns to his "right mind" (ἔμφρων, 306). Even the Chorus acknowledge Ajax's apparent return to sanity: "the man seems to be in his right mind" (ἀνὴρ φρονεῖν ἔοικεν, 344). Previously, according to Tekmessa, Ajax "was pleased in the evil things by which he was held when he was within his madness" (ἡνίκ᾽ ἦν ἐν τῇ νόσῳ / αὐτὸς μὲν ἥδεθ᾽ οἷσιν εἴχετ᾽ ἐν κακοῖς, 271-72). In contrast, Ajax's mere presence (ξυνών, 273) distressed Tekmessa and the Chorus, who were

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[10] FINGLASS 2011 ad 305-6 notes that the phrase μόλις πως ξὺν χρόνῳ (306) emphasizes "the slow process of Ajax's recovery, contrasting with the sudden action dominating the previous line."

"in their right minds" (τοὺς φρονοῦντας, 273). Once an outcast in his madness, Ajax is now welcomed back into the fold of the φρονοῦντες.

Thus Ajax leaves his "home away from home" on that gruesome errand, literally and metaphorically deserting his loved ones, and then hauls back his victims. Eventual ly, he comes to his senses again and returns to society. Ajax's mind itself experiences a form of νόστος as he becomes "himself" again (ἔμφρων … καθίσταται, 306) and comprehends the consequences of his actions. Another problem arises: a home full of pollution and ruin is uninhabitable, and this exclusion becomes one major catalyst for Ajax's suicidal plans.

Once Ajax realizes what he did, he would prefer to die, rather than to live and, ashamed, face the consequences (394a-400):

> <ἰὼ>
> σκότος, ἐμὸν φάος,
> Ἔρεβος ὦ φαεννότατον, ὡς ἐμοὶ,
> ἕλεσθ᾽ ἕλεσθέ μ᾽ οἰκήτορα,
> ἕλεσθέ μ᾽· οὔτε γὰρ θεῶν γένος
> οὔθ᾽ ἁμερίων ἔτ᾽ ἄξιος
> βλέπειν τιν᾽ εἰς ὄνησιν ἀνθρώπων.

> [Oh] darkness, my light,
> Oh Erebos brightest to me,
> Take me, take me as your inhabitant,
> Take me, for I am no longer worthy to look upon
> Either the race of gods or of mortal men for an advantage.

Here Ajax beseeches the gloom of Hades, Erebos, to receive him as its "inhabitant." Ajax initially only implies that he will die, until he unambiguously asks that the "whole Greek army, armed in both hands, kill [him]" (πᾶς δὴ στρατὸς δίπαλτος ἂν / με χειρὶ φονεύοι, 408/9).[11] Ajax paradoxically calls darkness his "light" (σκότος, ἐμὸν φάος, 394b), suggesting his rejection of conventional values and his desire for death (so Finglass 2011 *ad* 394a-95). The darkness, the opposite of light, ironically becomes Ajax's light of deliverance (LSJ s.v. φάος ii). Ajax frantically repeats the verb ἕλεσθ᾽ (396-97) three times, begging the darkness to take him away. Ajax does not think himself

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[11] The word δίπαλτος is rather difficult to translate. Literally, "doubly-brandished" (perh. < δίς + πάλλειν), LSJ translates as "brandished with both hands" In that case, χειρί (409) would seem somewhat redundant. I confess that, as a result, I have somewhat punted on the translation here: "armed in both hands." See Finglass 2011 ad 405a-408/9, especially pp. 259-60, for an exhaustive discussion of δίπαλτος, including the translation "brandishing spears in both hands" (pp. 257, 259).

worthy to seek any aid or "an advantage" (εἰς ὄνησιν, 399/400), for he already considers himself an other and an outsider. Ajax emphasizes his separation not only from gods (e.g., Athene), but also other humans (397/98-98/99). Knox 1964, 34 notes that "in his total alienation from the world of men the hero turns his back on life itself and wishes, passionately, for death." The most intriguing word in this passage, however, is "inhabitant" (οἰκήτορα, 396), and it certainly deserves more examination.

When Ajax asks the gloom to take him as its "inhabitant" by using the word οἰκήτωρ, he proposes the gloom of Hades as a surrogate "home" or οἶκος.12 The word οἰκήτωρ immediately recalls the house-imagery of Ajax's polluted tent (εἰς δόμους, 63; κατ᾽ οἴκους, 65; δωμάτων, 73; ἐς δόμους, 305). In the context of Ajax's plea, however, the word indicates that he seeks a new home in death and the underworld. Ajax's plan for committing suicide will necessarily deny him a safe return home to Salamis, but Hades provides a new home. These plans would certainly disappoint Ajax's mother, who, Tekmessa claims, "often prays to the gods that [Ajax] will come home alive [to Salamis]" (ἥ σε πολλάκις θεοῖς / ἀρᾶται ζῶντα πρὸς δόμους μολεῖν, 508-9).

The word οἰκήτωρ need not only mean "inhabitant," but may also mean a "colonist" (LSJ s.v. οἰκήτωρ 2) one about to found a new οἶκος elsewhere. Yet this οἶκος happens to be in the realm of the dead, rather than at a new colony in the Mediterranean. Ajax's homecoming becomes, to wit, a νεκρο-νόστος, the "homecoming of a corpse." Hades is portrayed as a great "house" able to be colonized and settled, and thus Ajax's deliberate act of suicide transforms him into an intrepid explorer finding (and founding) a new home in the vast underworld. Ajax asks the gloom to make him both an inhabitant and colonist of Hades. The double meaning here should be retained.

The word οἰκήτωρ appears twice in the Ajax, and in both cases refers to inhabitants of the underworld. In the Sophoklean corpus, it is also a relatively rare word, only occurring five times, with four of these passages referencing Hades. Finglass 2011 notes that the other references to the underworld only appear in Sophokles' *Trachiniai*.13 However, besides these five passages, the word οἰκήτωρ occurs eight more times in extant tragedy, including the fragments of tragedy. The word is thus relatively rare in tragedy (and nowhere in Homer), with a total of 13 attestations: five in Euripides and his fragments, two in Aischylos, five in Sophocles and his fragments, and once in an anon-

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12 Knox 1964, 34 also notes that Ajax "calls on the darkness of Erebos to give him a home."

13 See Finglass 2011 *ad* 396-97/8: "For οἰκήτορα as an inhabitant of the Underworld cf. *Tr.* 1161 Ἅιδου φθίμενος οἰκήτωρ, Tr. Adesp. fr. 660/1.7 *TrGF* Πλο]ύτωνος οἰκήτω[ρ, and (in the plural) 517, *Tr.* 282 Ἅιδου … οἰκήτορες."

ymous tragedy.14 The rarity of this word in tragedy makes its appearance in Ajax's powerful speech all the more remarkable. The word occurs far more frequently in the historians, as one might expect, such as Herodotos and Thucydides.15

Later in the *Ajax*, when Tekmessa begs Ajax to stay, she mentions the deaths of her parents, using the same term, οἰκήτωρ: "And another fate destroyed my mother and my father, those dead inhabitants of Hades" (καὶ μητέρ᾽ ἄλλη μοῖρα τὸν φύσαντά τε / καθεῖλεν Ἅιδου θανασίμους οἰκήτορας, 516-17). Ajax's desire to relocate to Hades thus is mirrored later by Tekmessa's recollection of her parents' untimely deaths – deaths at Ajax's own hands.16 Odysseus earlier spoke poignantly about the extraordinary fragility of human life: "For I see that we the living are nothing but phantoms or airy shadows" (ὁρῶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ὄντας ἄλλο πλὴν / εἴδωλ᾽ ὅσοιπερ ζῶμεν ἢ κούφην σκιάν, 125-26). All of humanity, including the greatest heroes, eventually must die. Therefore, Ajax decides to embrace death on his own terms.

Ashamed, embarrassed, and uncertain, Ajax soon enumerates some of his many reasons for considering suicide (457-66). Firstly, the gods hate him (θεοῖς / ἐχθαίρομαι, 457-58), but so too do his so-called friends, enemies, and even the hostile landscape: "The army of the Greeks hates me, and all Troy and these fields hate me" (μισεῖ δέ μ᾽ Ἑλλήνων στρατός / ἔχθει δὲ Τροία πᾶσα καὶ πεδία τάδε, 458-59).17 Despite his displacement and alienation even from the Greeks at Troy, he is uncertain whether he should return home to Salamis (460-61). Earlier, Ajax addressed the Skamander river near Troy, boasting that he is unlike any hero of the army which "came from the Greek land" (χθονὸς μολόντ᾽ ἀπὸ / Ἑλλανίδος, 425-26/27). In Greece, Ajax began his journey, but now, even Greece herself may shun his actions.

Ajax also dreads facing his father Telamon if the former comes home ingloriously and empty-handed (462-64):

> καὶ ποῖον ὄμμα πατρὶ δηλώσω φανεὶς
> Τελαμῶνι; πῶς με τλήσεταί ποτ᾽ εἰσιδεῖν
> γυμνὸν φανέντα τῶν ἀριστείων ἄτερ

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14 Other references in Sophokles: *Trach*. 282, 1161 (n. 13 above); οἰκήτορες, *OC* 728. In Euripides: οἰκήτορες, *Phaëth*. (NAUCK 1964, 773.66 = 109 DIGGLE); οἰκήτωρ, *Andr*. 1089; οἰκήτορας, *Supp*. 658; οἰκήτορ᾽, *HF* 393; οἰκήτωρ, *Ion* 1299. In Aischylos: οἰκήτορας, *Supp*. 952; οἰκήτορα, *Pers*. 351.

15 The word occurs as often in Thucydides as in the (extant) tragedians (13 times): 1.2, 1.23, 1.26 (*ter*), 1.28, 1.55, 1.100, 2.27, 2.68, 3.92, 4.49, 4.103. It occurs slightly less often in Herodotos (8 times): 2.103, 4.9, 4.35, 6.97, 7.143, 7.153 (*bis*), 7.220.

16 *P*erhaps one can find some dark humor in thinking that Ajax may have unwittingly sent Tekmessa's parents as a vanguard of sorts before "colonizing" Hades himself.

17 *A*thene especially hates Ajax (e.g., *Aj*. 401a-2), and evidence of her hatred is found *passim*.

When I appear, what sort of face will I show
To my father Telamon? How will he ever suffer looking upon me,
If I appear stripped of and without prizes?

Ajax here reveals fears of inadequacy and disappointing one's parents likely shared by any hero (and arguably, any child). Ajax earlier contrasted his father's successful campaign against Troy with his own failures (434-40):

ὅτου πατὴρ μὲν τῆσδ᾽ ἀπ᾽ Ἰδαίας χθονὸς
τὰ πρῶτα καλλιστεῖ᾽ ἀριστεύσας στρατοῦ
πρὸς οἶκον ἦλθε πᾶσαν εὔκλειαν φέρων·
ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὁ κείνου παῖς, τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τόπον
Τροίας ἐπελθὼν οὐκ ἐλάσσονι σθένει,
οὐδ᾽ ἔργα μείω χειρὸς ἀρκέσας ἐμῆς,
ἄτιμος Ἀργείοισιν ὧδ᾽ ἀπόλλυμαι.

[I] whose father came home from this land of Ida
And gained the first and fairest prizes of the army for bravery,
Bringing all sorts of glory.
But on the other hand, I, the son of this man,
Came into the same spot
Of Troy, with no less strength,
Nor did I perform lesser deeds with my hand –
I thus am dishonored and destroyed by the Argives.

Ajax laments that he is not his father, even though they both engaged in very similar campaigns. While Telamon's νόστος (πρὸς οἶκον ἦλθε, 436) was an undeniable success, Ajax's own return home seems doomed to failure. One major difference between Telamon and Ajax's expeditions is that the gods were not set against Telamon, as Athene, the "grim-eyed, untamed goddess, the daughter of Zeus" (ἡ Διὸς γοργῶπις ἀδάματος θεά, 450) is dead set against Ajax.[18]

Despite the temporary uncertainty Ajax shows (καὶ νῦν τί χρὴ δρᾶν, 457), he soon decides that he cannot endure such shame, and denies himself his νόστος. This theme of filial shame will be reconfigured later in the play as Ajax's half-brother Teukros reacts to the news of Ajax's death. Ajax feels that his next logical choice is to seek a ghastly new home through suicide and death. According to Knox 1964, 41, "the choice, as the hero sees it, is between freedom and slavery. In these circumstances, to give way is 'intolerable.' To go home from Troy without glory is for Ajax 'unbearable' … death is better."

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[18] See FINGLASS 2011 *ad* 434-6, 450-3, and *Aj.* 952-53.

Teukros must later make a decision with similar parameters, as he worries about enslavement if he returns home without his brother (see below, and cf. 1020).

With Ajax intent upon suicide, Tekmessa, his brother Teukros, and his comrades attempt to dissuade him, and each have slightly different motivations. Tekmessa's passionate plea deserves particularly close consideration. Despite her status among the Greeks as a "spear-bride" (λέχος δουριάλωτον, 211), Tekmessa seems to genuinely love and care for Ajax (cf. τοιοῦδ᾽ … φίλου, 941). When Tekmessa calls herself and the Chorus "we who are concerned with the faraway house of Telamon" (οἱ κηδόμενοι / τοῦ Τελαμῶνος τηλόθεν οἴκου, 203-4), she also implies a concern for his safe return home. All of Ajax's loved ones eventually fear returning home without him. Here, however, they simply indicate that the house of Telamon and its welfare are important to them, as their homeland is vivid despite their long absence.

Tekmessa's passionate entreaty for Ajax to reconsider is especially poignant (514-19):

> ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκέτ᾽ ἔστιν εἰς ὅ τι βλέπω
> πλὴν σοῦ. σὺ γάρ μοι πατρίδ᾽ ᾔστωσας δορί,
> καὶ μητέρ᾽ ἄλλη μοῖρα τὸν φύσαντά τε
> καθεῖλεν Ἅιδου θανασίμους οἰκήτορας.
> τίς δῆτ᾽ ἐμοὶ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἀντὶ σοῦ πατρίς;
> τίς πλοῦτος; ἐν σοὶ πᾶσ᾽ ἔγωγε σῴζομαι.

> For no longer do I have anything at which I can look
> Except you, for you destroyed my fatherland with the spear,
> And another fate destroyed my mother and my father,
> Those dead inhabitants of Hades.
> What fatherland, then, could I have instead of you?
> What wealth? I, at least, am completely preserved in you.

The word βλέπω here has the sense of "to look to for help" (so Finglass 2011 *ad* 514-15). Note a similar use of βλέπω at 399/400, where the mention of an "advantage" (εἰς ὄνησιν, 399/400) makes explicit the auxiliary idea of "help." Tekmessa considers Ajax her only hope for a good life, and that hope would die with him. She claims that she does not and cannot have any "fatherland" other than Ajax (ἀντὶ σοῦ πατρίς, 518). Thus, Ajax's suicide would sever her from her metaphorical fatherland, and preclude her νόστος, leaving her nowhere to go. Ajax "destroyed [her] fatherland with the spear" (σὺ γὰρ

μοι πατρίδ᾽ ἤστωσας δορί, 515), yet she holds him blameless for her parents' deaths (516-17).

After hearing Tekmessa's comment in passing on her parents, the suicidal Ajax, already eager to become one of those inhabitant-colonists of Hades, seems intent on following her parents. Tekmessa's point, however, is that if Ajax is her "rock," he will completely undo her by killing himself: "I, at least, am completely preserved in you" (ἐν σοὶ πᾶσ᾽ ἔγωγε σῴζομαι, 519). Her preserver will become her destroyer as he destroys himself, and she worries that she will die like her parents. Earlier, Tekmessa implored Ajax to consider the possibility of mutual destruction: "Whenever you pray for these things, you likewise pray for me to die – for why do I need to live with you dead?" (ὅταν κατεύχῃ ταῦθ᾽, ὁμοῦ κἀμοὶ θανεῖν / εὔχου· τί γὰρ δεῖ ζῆν με σοῦ τεθνηκότος, 392-93). There can be no νόστος to a destroyed fatherland, and Ajax seems to have left Tekmessa in an aporetic state of suspense.

Tekmessa implores Ajax not to abandon her, his son, and his comrades – if not for her sake, "in the name of your child and the gods" (πρὸς … καὶ σοῦ τεκνοῦ / καὶ θεῶν, 587-88). Yet Ajax has already demonstrated his contempt for the gods (401a-2; cf. 766-69), as he acknowledged their contempt for him (450-54, 457-58; cf. [970]). He responds, "Don't you know that I am in no way still obligated to satisfy the gods?" (οὐ κάτοισθ᾽ ἐγὼ θεοῖς / ὡς οὐδὲν ἀρκεῖν εἴμ᾽ ὀφειλέτης ἔτι, 589-90).[19] Ironically, Ajax invokes many gods just before his suicide (823-51), with Athene conspicuously absent. Upon Ajax's suicide, Tekmessa exclaims, "I am undone, I have perished, I have been utterly ruined, friends!" (οἴχωκ᾽, ὄλωλα, διαπεπόρθημαι, φίλοι, 896) – the exact opposites of σῴζομαι (519). Ajax, on the other hand, considers himself "saved" (σεσωμένον, 692) by the act of suicide.[20] Ajax left only "sorrow and wailing" for Tekmessa (ἀνίας καὶ γόους, 973).

The *Ajax* tantalizingly portrays νόστος as just beyond the reach of Ajax and the others in the play. Ajax worries about returning home empty-handed, and considers the shame of his actions too unbearable to return. The Chorus' hopes for return would be dashed at the death of their leader, and so too would Ajax's suicide have painful and lasting effects on Tekmessa and Teukros' futures. Homer's Odyssey has already described Odysseus and his

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[19] See FINGLASS 2011 *ad* [966-70] and n. 20 below for FINGLASS' justification for the deletion of [970].
[20] Tekmessa eventually acknowledges, at 966-68, that Ajax's death, while sad to her and his comrades, and sweet to his enemies (especially the Atreidai and Odysseus), was pleasant for him, since he got what he wanted. However, FINGLASS 2011, along with NAUCK 1964, rejects these lines wholesale as having "nonsense" meaning (*ad* [966-7]). See FINGLASS 2011 *ad* [966-70], [966-7], [967-8] for more on this. LLOYD-JONES 1997 deletes 969, but retains 966-70 otherwise.

νόστος at length, but during the action of the *Ajax*, Odysseus has not yet returned home. After the judgment of the arms, the deck has been stacked in Odysseus' favor, or as Stanford 1963, 29 notes, "Athene had paid off Odysseus, so to speak, in the Funeral Games: he now find his own way home." Ajax, however, suffers many setbacks in achieving a proper νόστος to his homeland, and eventually chooses to forgo this kind of νόστος and to redefine the concept for himself as a one-way journey to the underworld. Ajax must accept the consequences of his decision.

Upon Ajax's suicide, Teukros is inconsolable. Teukros' complex lament poignantly illustrates his sorrows and serves as a sort of "farewell" to Ajax (1004-16). Teukros immediately expresses not only sadness about Ajax's suicide (1005), but also anger, claiming that Ajax's recklessness "sowed such great sorrows" (ὅσας ἀνίας μοι κατασπείρας, 1005) at his death.[21] The participle κατασπείρας transforms these sorrows into sown seeds, and Teukros in turn fears their bloom. Soon, however, Teukros reflects on his own predicament: where and from whom will he seek refuge, he asks, since he did not help when Ajax needed him most (1006-7)? The shame incurred by the neglect of his fraternal duties is palpable. Earlier, Ajax similarly wondered what possible escape and/or refuge he has (403-4) from his catastrophic situation, but later answers that question with his suicide.

Just as Ajax feared Telamon's reaction upon a potential return home (462-66), so too does Teukros, but for different reasons. Ajax feared coming home "stripped of and without honors" (γυμνὸν φανέντα τῶν ἀριστείων ἄτερ, 464). Teukros similarly fears to return home, since Telamon may think that the former betrayed his brother out of "cowardice" (δειλία, 1014), and wonders "what sort of bad word [Telamon] will not speak" (ποῖον οὐκ ἐρεῖ κακόν, 1012) about him. Teukros fears this abuse despite potentially receiving a warm welcome back home (1008-10). As a "bastard son, born from the war-spear" (τὸν ἐκ δορὸς γεγῶτα πολεμίου νόθον, 1013), Teukros further worries that Telamon will not treat him as leniently as he would have Ajax. Teukros also fears that Telamon will think that the former will "appropriate [Ajax's] authority and his home by deceit, since [Ajax] is dead" (δόλοισιν, ὡς τὰ σὰ / κράτη θανόντος καὶ δόμους νέμοιμι σούς, 1015-16). Given the reverence Teukros has for his brother, Telamon's fears would seem to be unfounded, yet the former's concerns are all too real.

While Ajax's fears inspired his self-destruction and engendered a new kind of νόστος, Teukros' fears threaten to deny him a νόστος to his physical

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[21] Cf. Ajax's last "gift" to Tekmessa (ἀνίας καὶ γόους, 973).

homeland. Such fears also render the very prospect of homecoming undesirable for Teukros. By achieving a non-traditional νόστος in suicide, Ajax has doomed the project of νόστος for Tekmessa and his other loved ones. Similarly, if Teukros cannot return home safely, then the prospect of a safe return for Eurysakes, Ajax's son, is also doomed. Before committing suicide, Ajax asked that Teukros "bring this child to [Ajax's] home and show him to Telamon and [Ajax's] mother – Eriboia" (τὸν παῖδα τόνδε πρὸς δόμους ἐμοὺς ἄγων / Τελαμῶνι δείξει μητρί τ᾽, Ἐριβοίᾳ λέγω, 568-69). Teukros' and Eurysakes' νόστοι are by this command inextricably entwined. According to Servius (*ad Aen.* 1.619) and Justin (*Epit.* 44.3.2-3), Eurysakes does return home to Salamis, but Teukros has a more difficult time.[22]

Teukros also worries about his νόστος after Ajax's death in the *Posthomerica* by the late Greek epic poet Quintus of Smyrna (5.515-17):

> οὐδ' ἔτ' ἐμοὶ νόστοιο τέλος σέο δεῦρο θανόντος
> ἁνδάνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὀίομαι ἐνθάδ' ὀλέσθαι,
> ὄφρά με σὺν σοὶ γαῖα φερέσβιος ἀμφικαλύπτῃ·

> No longer does the goal of homecoming please me, since
> You died here, but I myself also think that I will perish here,
> So that, with you, the life-giving earth may surround me.[23]

In Quintus' retelling, Teukros explicitly abandons and precludes his desire for νόστος. Teukros wishes only to die and be buried together with his brother, rather than suffering the shame of returning home to his father. Teukros is so loyal to Ajax, according to Quintus, that he would rather die than return

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[22] See *RE* 6, Halbband 11, s.v. Eurysakes, which engages with the testimony of Servius and Justin. Eurysakes and Teukros "return separately to Telamon on different ships" (cf. *ille* [*Teucer*] *alia navi vectus felicius navigaverat*, Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.619). Telamon thus "at first thinks that Eurysakes is lost, and therefore does not take in Teukros" (cf. *Salamine pulsus a patre*, Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.619; *non reciperetur in regnum*, Just. *Epit.* 44.3.2; Soph. *Aj.* 1019), and Telamon apparently hated Teukros after Ajax's death (cf. [*Teucrum*] *morte Aiacis fratris invisum patri Telamoni*, Just. *Epit.* 44.3.2; also cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1012). After Teukros' exile to Cyprus (cf. *Cyprum concessisse*, Just. *Epit.* 44.3.2; see below on Pind. *Nem.* 4.45-6), and reports of Telamon's death, Teukros attempted to return to Salamis (cf. *inde accepta opinione paternae mortis patriam repetisse*, Just. *Epit.* 44.3.3). However, Eurysakes, now ruler of Salamis, prohibited Teukros' return (cf. *ab Eurysace, Aiacis filio, accessu prohiberetur*, Just. *Epit.* 44.3.3). Teukros then traveled extensively, even visiting Dido in Sidon (cf. *Sidona venit, ex quo Dido cuncta cognovit*, Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.619). I print here, for Servius, the text of THILO 1881, and for Justin, the text of SEEL 1985.

[23] For the text of Quintus, I print here the standard Budé by VIAN 1966.

home without him. Notably, in Teukros' Nachleben, the hero did return home to Salamis, and his fears about Telamon's disapproval were not in vain.[24]

After Teukros expresses his concerns about returning home in the Ajax, he makes further predictions about a potential return (*Aj.* 1019-23). Teukros fears that he will ultimately "be driven away and thrust from the land" (τέλος δ᾽ ἀπωστὸς γῆς ἀπορριφθήσομαι, 1019) that he struggled to regain.[25] He will become "a slave to words, rather than a free man" (δοῦλος λόγοισιν ἀντ᾽ ἐλευθέρου φανείς, 1020). The word λόγοισιν qualifies δοῦλος, indicating that Teukros will be "enslaved" and humiliated, plagued by pernicious rumors about him and his failures at Troy. Teukros succinctly and soberly accepts these consequences: "Such things will occur at home" (τοιαῦτα μὲν κατ᾽ οἶκον, 1021). Sophokles has shown earlier what sorts of terrible things can occur at home (cf. 65 κατ᾽ οἴκους, when Ajax prepares the animals for slaughter): both sets of terrible events occur after νόστος is achieved.

Finally, Teukros laments that at Troy, his current "home away from home," he naturally has "many enemies, but a few friends" (μοι / πολλοὶ μὲν ἐχθροί, παῦρα δ᾽ ὠφελήσιμα, 1021-22), yet Ajax's suicide has removed even these few friends (1023).[26] Teukros essentially argues that Ajax's "bitter daring" (τόλμης πικρᾶς, 1004) of suicide was incredibly selfish. Teukros' reasoning and arguments seem sound enough, and he notes that, ironically, the cessation of Ajax's suffering caused his own sufferings. Pindar reports that it is ultimately on "Cyprus, where Teukros, the son of Telamon, rules in exile" (Κύπρῳ, ἔνθα Τεῦκρος ἀπάρχει / ὁ Τελαμωνιάδας, Pind. *Nem.* 4.45-6).[27] Denied his true home, Teukros finds another one in exile. Ultimately, Teukros escaped from Troy alive, and thus was far more fortunate than Ajax and others.

The Chorus of Salaminian sailors have naturally been present throughout the tragedy. Even before Teukros' lament above, they mourn the slain Ajax. After Tekmessa, they are the first to hear of Ajax's death, and respond accordingly (Soph. *Aj.* 898-903):

> {ΤΕΚ.} Αἴας ὅδ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀρτίως νεοσφαγὴς
> κεῖται κρυφαίῳ φασγάνῳ περιπτυχής.

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[24] See KYRIAKOU 2011, 198: "The audience cannot be sure of Telamon's reaction to his son's homecoming."

[25] KYRIAKOU 2011, 198 is also pessimistic about Teukros' chances upon his return home: "Teucer's similar dread of his father's stern temper and unforgiving gaze (1008-11, 1017-20) might eventually lead [the audience] to assume that the concerns of Ajax were not entirely off the mark."

[26] Cf. Ajax, who felt universally hated by gods, men, and Trojan lands (457-59).

[27] For the text of Pindar, I here print the text from RACE 1997's Loeb.

{XO.} ᾤμοι ἐμῶν νόστων·
  ᾤμοι, κατέπεφνες, ἄναξ,
  τόνδε συνναύταν, τάλας·
  ὦ ταλαίφρων γύναι.

TEKMESSA: This man, our Ajax, just recently slaughtered,
  Lies here, folded round his hidden sword.

CHORUS: Ah, my homecoming!
  Ah, you have slain, my lord,
  This shipmate, o wretched man!
  O much-enduring wife!

Significantly, this interchange contains the only instance of the word νόστος in the Ajax. This undercurrent of νόστος running through the tragedy now emerges as homecoming is invoked directly. The Chorus declare that in suicide, Ajax has also killed them, his comrades, and denied their homecoming by rejecting his own νόστος.[28] However, the Chorus acknowledge that Ajax, at least, is better off in Hades: "For he who is sick without reason is better lying hidden in Hades" (κρείσσων παρ᾽ Ἅιδᾳ κεύθων ὁ νοσῶν μάταν, 634/35). Ajax may as well be dead if he suffers from such madness, but the idea of μάταν ("without reason") could just as easily apply to the Chorus' predicament. The Chorus' elegy for his suicide thus becomes a contemplative lamentation on their own failed homecoming, as they feel that they cannot return home without their leader.[29] Finglass 2011 *ad* 900 seems to agree with this assessment: "No longer concerned about the extent of their wanderings, [the Chorus] face the prospect of never returning home. Their assumption that this would be the consequence of Ajax's death powerfully expresses their dependence upon him." The phrase ἐμῶν νόστων (900) is probably a poetic plural, yet the plural underscores that Ajax's death has affected all of their νόστοι, not just his own. With the last line of this passage, the Chorus note how Ajax's death will also deeply affect Tekmessa.[30]

For Ajax and his comrades, their homeland Salamis and their temporary home at Troy are inextricably linked. Kyriakou 2011, 220 notes that the two places are "spatial foci in the life of Ajax, and both are viewed by him as his nurturers." According to Kyriakou 2011, 220, Ajax's cry of "O my foster-fathers" (ὦ τροφῆς ἐμοί, *Aj.* 863) illustrates well Ajax's relationship to both Sa-

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[28] See Barker 2009, 311 n. 97, who argues that "such is [the Chorus'] dependence that when Ajax is found dead, the Chorus' thoughts turn to the nostos (l. 896) that collectively they have now lost."
[29] See Goldhill 2012, 87: "[The Chorus'] fear is that his death threatens their own safe return."
[30] See above, on Tekmessa's dependence upon Ajax (*Aj.* 519), and her "destruction" (*Aj.* 896).

lamis and Troy. Troy has been his home for ten long years of fighting, but Salamis was his original home. KYRIAKOU 2011, 220 explains this complex bond connecting Ajax both to his homeland and to a land which hates him (cf. *Aj.* 459):

> He voices no particular longing for his home and, surprisingly, given his aversion toward all his enemies, no particular hostility towards Troy. He never wishes that the Trojan War had not taken place. Even after he has been wronged and insulted by his comrades, as he believes, he expresses no desire to abandon Troy and to return to Salamis.

Ajax's disinterest in returning home can be explained by the unconventional paradigms of νόστος present within the *Ajax*. Fighting at Troy is simply a "duty" for him (ἔργον, 116), and the prospect of homecoming after slaughtering the animals is unthinkable and "unendurable" (οὐκ … τλητόν, 466). KYRIAKOU 2011 is correct that Ajax does not want to return to Salamis, for Ajax feels that his destiny lies instead with the shades in Hades. Ajax's νόστος takes a different form entirely.

The Chorus, however, do express their desire to return to Salamis (*Aj.* 1217/18-21/22), in the form of "an escape wish of a type frequently found in contexts of hardship and despair" (KYRIAKOU 2011, 221). BARKER 2009, 312 helps illustrate the context of this passage:

> In the third stasimon the Chorus' song charts a course from the plains of Troy to the Attic coast (1185-1222), which not only maps out a (prospective) return from Troy, but also symbolically represents this play's appropriation of epic subject-matter. By evoking the events at Troy in the context of bringing them home to Athens, the group on stage assume the role of a Chorus in tragedy, positioning the play in and against an epic backdrop.

BARKER 2009's insight into this passage is crucially important, as he demonstrates how the Chorus mentally map out their return home, and if they only hope for it enough, they will achieve it. BARKER 2009 also highlights the metapoetic qualities of this passage, as the Chorus transfer themselves home from Troy to Athens, where the play was performed. In this passage, Sophokles deftly marries the epic and the tragic by portraying the Chorus' return home as a sweeping travelogue. BARKER 2009, 312 carefully qualifies their return home as "prospective," especially since they are uncertain about the outcome if they reach home. BARKER 2009 rightly argues that this trend represents the tragedy's appropriation of epic. However, this trend also represents the sub-

version of epic, especially considering Ajax's different phases and ideas of νόστος.

Let us briefly examine the following passage (Soph. *Aj.* 1217/18-21/22):

γενοίμαν ἵν' ὑλᾶεν ἔπεστι πόντῳ
πρόβλημ' ἁλίκλυστον, ἄκραν
ὑπὸ πλάκα Σουνίου,
τὰς ἱερὰς ὅπως
προσείποιμεν Ἀθάνας.

Would that I might be where the wooded,
Sea-washed promontory is set upon the sea,
Under the highest plain of Sounion,
So that we might greet holy Athens.

The Chorus here ask for three things: first, the most important prerequisite, to return home safely; then, to see the promontory of Sounion; finally, the first two will allow them to greet Athens. Finglass 2011 *ad* 1217/18-1221/2 illustrates the geographical implications of this passage: "Sunium, the southernmost tip of Attica … would be the first part of that land approached by a ship returning from Troy to Athens or Salamis; its appearance would signal the final leg of the journey and the imminence of home." The sight of Sounion would certainly be a prerequisite for their successful νόστος, but given their fears and concerns, all they can do is wish.[31] Earlier, at *Aj.* 845-49, Ajax asks Helios to visit Salamis as a sort of νόστος-proxy, and then invokes Salamis, Athens, and his surroundings at Troy as witnesses to his suicide (*Aj.* 859-65). The Chorus now ask for the kind of νόστος that Ajax should have received, but unlike Ajax, they see no way out of their predicament.

Sophokles' story of Ajax's madness and eventual death has many twists and turns before it concludes with Ajax's burial. This dénouement is similar to Hektor and Patroklos' burials at the end of the Iliad, as all three burials take place after funeral games. However, while Hektor and Patroklos' burials generally foster camaraderie within their respective groups, the outcome of the "judgment of the arms" after Achilles' death directly precipitates Ajax's madness and suicide (*Aj.* 41). Although the word νόστος only appears at *Aj.* 900, the theme of homecoming pervades the tragedy. By committing suicide, Ajax subverts traditional ideas of νόστος by appropriating Hades as a new home instead of attempting to return to his birthplace on Salamis. Ajax sub-

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[31] See Kyriakou 2011, 225, who remarks that the Chorus' "gloom is not alleviated, let alone dissipated, by anything or anyone, not even a ray of hope for their return home."

verts the idea of νόστος even before his death, however, when he slaughters the animals in his "home." Ajax's hut is described using a variety of traditional "house"-vocabulary: e.g., οἶκος, δῶμα, and δόμος. In order to kidnap what he thinks are the Greek chieftains, Ajax must leave his "home," and he eventually returns with the animals.

Upon his return "home" to the hut, Ajax pollutes it with slaughter and renders it uninhabitable, associating νόστος with murder. Ajax's mind has also wandered in the throes of madness, and upon his return to the hut, he also returns to his right mind: νόστος brings clarity, but also crushing despair. Ultimately, Ajax seeks a new νόστος among the shades in Hades, and rejects a true νόστος to Salamis among the living. Ajax thus also denies homecoming to his loved ones and comrades. All of these characters struggle with the concept of homecoming, and Ajax's suicide directly precipitates many of these struggles. Although he does not wish to be a returning hero like Odysseus, Ajax does find a paradigm of νόστος acceptable to him as he directs his path towards the realm of the dead.

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Hijacking Sophocles, burying Euripides: Clytemnestra, Erinyes, and Oedipus in Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen*

Abstract: This paper identifies and analyzes several related, thematically significant tragic resonances in Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen* as exemplifying his shift from outright paratragedy to appropriation. His treatment of politicized gender and sexual tensions owes much both to Orestes-plays (Praxagora emerges as a comic Clytemnestra; the three old women as Erinyes) and to Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*. The abduction scene in Aristophanes is modeled on abduction of Oedipus, which elucidates the comedian's attitude towards Sophocles.

Keywords. Aristophanes, *Assemblywomen*, Orestes-plays, Erinyes, Oedipus, Sophocles, sex, gender, abduction, burial, paratragedy.

Οἰδίπουν γὰρ φῶ
τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα πάντ᾽ ἴσασιν· ὁ πατὴρ Λάιος,
μήτηρ Ἰοκάστη, θυγατέρες, παῖδες τίνες,
τί πείσεθ᾽ οὗτος, τί πεποίηκεν.

All I need to do is say "Oedipus"
and they know the rest—his father Laius,
his mother Jocasta, his daughters, sons,
what will happen to him, what he's done.
(Antiphanes *Poiesis*, frg. 189 K-A, tr. Slater in Rusten 2011)

"It is still hard to read any play, except possibly the *Ecclesiazusae*, and feel that it is falling apart." (Whitman, *Aristophanes and the Comic Hero*, 9)

Aristophanes has been using and abusing tragedy since his earliest extant play, the *Acharnians* (produced in 425), where Euripides' now-lost *Telephus* (438) is parodied at length (*Ach*. 204-625). The *Women at the Thesmophoria* (411) arrange three recent plays of Euripides (*Palamedes*, *Helen*, *Andromeda*) in a

medley parody, while the *Frogs* (405) stage a contest between Aeschylus and Euripides in the underworld. One can only speculate about the focus of Aristophanes' output during the period between 405 and the 390s, from which no play survives, but something in his relation to tragedy certainly changed in his last two plays. Direct, extensive, and signposted tragic references in the *Assemblywomen* (390?) and the *Wealth* (388), appear few and far apart, ostensibly far less dramaturgically integrated than in his earlier plays. Aristophanes' interest in paratragedy is thus typically limited to the period between 425-405: "We know of no play outside this period with any substantial tragic presence."[1]

One reason for this changed attitude may be that the humorous effect of his "large-scale usurpation"[2] of tragedy as we know it eventually got worn out.[3] Practical circumstances would have certainly contributed: both Sophocles and Euripides were dead already by the time the *Frogs* was put on stage. This in itself, however, should not be overestimated—Aeschylus had been long deceased by 405, for that matter—but the audience could no longer watch Aristophanes and the two contemporary tragedians lined up at the same festivals. But whatever the explanation, it is difficult to imagine that Aristophanes would even be *able* to decide that in, say, 405 it was simply time to move on and jettison tragedy entirely, after systematically drawing inspiration from it for two formative decades of his career.

Likewise, even though it might seem justified to doubt the artistic relevance and audience appeal of parodying a tragedic passage or a play which would have to be at least fifteen years old, this was clearly not an obstacle. More than a decade separated Euripides' *Telephus* and the *Acharnians*. After all, Aeschylus' victory in the *Frogs* entailed extensive parody of his style and themes, which demonstrates that the audience must have been still familiar with—and interested in—his work decades later. The "shelf life" of target plays and authors was not safe to estimate, and evidently much longer than one might instinctively feel. One phenomenon that perhaps needs to be additionally factored in for the later stages of Aristophanes' career in particular is the transformation of "performance culture" into "reading culture" towards

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[1] SILK 2000: 49, fn. 22. Cf. also, more or less explictly: Rau 1967, Ussher 1973, Taaffe 1993, Sommerstein 1998. Zelnick-Abramowitz 2002 identifies allusive material to Euripides' *Cyclops* in the *Wealth*, but in the presumed first version of the play from 408. A notable exception is the attractive argument of Compton-Engle 2013 that the *Wealth* is in close dialogue with Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*; more below.

[2] HENDERSON 1998-2002 I: 5.

[3] A new fashion of parodying entire plays of Euripides from beginning to the end seems to have appeared in the fourth century; a list in RUSTEN 2011: 27; among others, *Auge, Heracles, Bacchae, Danae, Orestes Humanized, Medea*; Aristophanes' own *Phoenician Women* is undatable.

the end of the fifth century."[4] Indeed the starting point of the *Frogs*, his reputedly last play with "substantial tragic presence," is that Dionysus got infatuated with Euripides not after or during a performance but while privately *reading* a text of his *Andromeda* (ἀναγιγνώσκοντί μοι | τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν, *Ra.* 52-3), which was performed some seven years earlier. Most explicitly, the Chorus later reminds the contestants that they *no longer* have to fear that the audience will miss some finer points (λεπτὰ) in their plays, for every spectator now owns a copy of the book to consult and understands the sophisticated effects (ὡς <u>οὐκέθ᾽</u> οὕτω ταῦτ᾽ ἔχει... βιβλίον τ᾽ ἔχων ἕκαστος μανθάνει τὰ δεξιά, *Ra.* 1112-14). Thus, there is a good chance that some less immediately obvious tragedic resonances in Aristophanes' latest plays would not have gone unappreciated by its intended audience one way or the other. After all, staying alert to the possibility of paratragedy is worthwhile if only because in this respect Aristophanes should always be, so to speak, presumed guilty until proven innocent.[5]

In the present paper I identify and analyze several extended and related tragedic echoes in Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen* (*Ecclesiazusae*), which demonstrate that his habit of using tragedy as a reference point continues, and might help explain how it evolves. Arguably, Aristophanes and his audience have been internalizing comedy's paratragic discourse so fundamentally for so long that this initial intergeneric relation eventually arrived at a phase where there was less point in perpetuating the contrived self-defining attitude towards tragedy as comedy's Other. Tragedic patterns of the *Assemblywomen* will show that the two types of drama have apparently merged into a unified system of themes and signs, still distinguishable, but even so—or precisely thereby—mutually complementary. Accordingly, we shall also see a different dimension of relation between Aristophanes and the tragedians. Sophocles now enters the picture, introduced much less visibly than Euripides has routinely been, thus ultimately much more substantially.

The *Assemblywomen* is a play best known for short-circuiting the issues of politics and gender,[6] much like one of Aristophanes' other "women on top" plays, the *Lysistrata*. The protagonist of the *Assemblywomen* is likewise

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[4] Wright 2013: 611-13 describes its impact on the development of comedy in the fourth century, which was written to a fair extent, if not exclusively, for readers rather than spectators. Compare Rawlings 2016, who attractively interprets Thucydides 1.22.4 as an indication that owning and rereading books was becoming increasingly fashionable at the turn of the century.

[5] Cowan 2008, for example, makes this perfectly clear.

[6] Foley 1982; David 1984; Rothwell 1990; Taaffe 1993: 103-133; Finnegan 1995; Saïd 1996; McClure 1999: 205-257; Zeitlin 1999; Farioli 2001: 139-155; Zumbrunnen 2006; Tordoff 2007.

a female leader, Praxagora ("Woman Effective in Public"[7]), who organizes a women's resistance front. Disguised as men, Athenian women occupy the assembly at first dawn and vote to transfer all power to women and introduce universal social equality. The goal of the newly imposed legislation, which mandates that everything is shared, is to level the playing field. For resources where competitiveness is inherent, this means tipping the balance in favor of the hitherto disadvantaged. Specifically, in obtaining sex, older and physically less attractive citizens are granted exponential priority over the younger and the more desirable.[8] Although the law is theoretically gender-neutral, it turns out to disproportionately favor old women. While young men and women are in an equally bad position, since the law requires them to have sex with older and sexually undesirable partners whether they want it or not, old men are not necessarily happy either. Praxagora's husband Blepyrus fears for men of advanced age like him, who have only so much sexual capacity available. If they have to satisfy the old and ugly women first, they will run out of energy for sex with the younger ones, however accessible they may be (*Ec.* 615-621).

Praxagora's approach is thus in a way the opposite from Lysistrata's. Whereas Lysistrata temporarily restricts sexual access to women to blackmail men into bringing about political change, Praxagora uses the political victory to redefine sexual relations permanently. Of all the hypothetical socio-economic and political ramifications of Praxagora's revolution, the disruption of gender hierarchy is by far the most elaborated, apparently deemed most symbolical for literary articulation.[9] A comparable disruption, although a temporary one and less strictly political than literary and cultural, is the female assembly in the *Women at the Thesmophoria.* If only because that play is a patchwork of several plays of Euripides, it is worthwhile to pay special attention to paratragedic potential of the *Assemblywomen* as well. Attic tragedy is, of course, densely populated with strong and resistant female characters, but the comparative scope can be usefully narrowed down to plays in which patriarchal anxiety comes to the fore when women *assume political power*. The

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[7] Translation of Henderson 1998-2002 IV: 238. While appropriate for this play, it was an existing name: Kanavou 2011: 172.

[8] See Saïd 1996: 307 for comparison with an account of Babylonians in Herodotus 1.196. For fascinating modern parallels, see the opening pages of Rothwell 1990.

[9] Cf. Bowie 1993b: 264: "As befits a world dominated by the *oikos*, it is in nutritional and sexual matters that the results of the women's coup are most fully represented [sc. in the *Assemblywomen*]." Cf. Sommerstein 1998: 26, fn. 97: "Athenian tragedy is full of women who take the initiative, but almost always they do so only when their personal life has been injured or disrupted, normally in connection with family sexual or parental relationships."

prime example is Clytemnestra.[10]

1. Clytemnestra and Praxagora

One very significant layer of the myth of the Atreid dynasty on tragic stage is also the foundational premise of the *Assemblywomen*: a domestic revolution evolving into a female coup d'état. The immediate consequence of Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon is that she rules the city. The importance of this is foreshadowed early in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, when the Chorus reminds us that indeed she has already been in charge during his absence, so they now deem it proper to pay respect "to the wife of the ruler while the male throne is unoccupied" (φωτὸς ἀρχηγοῦ τίειν | γυναῖκʼ ἐρημωθέντος ἄρσενος θρόνου, *Ag.* 259-60).[11] Later in the trilogy Orestes is outraged because the glorious Argos, which once conquered Troy, is now ruled by two women—Clytemnestra and the cowardly Aegisthus (A. *Cho.* 303-5; cf. 1046).[12] Aegisthus is called a woman (γύναι), in the same passage where Agamemnon is referred to as ἀνήρ twice (A. *Ag.* 1625-7). Aegisthus is not man enough even to participate in the murder (*Ag.* 1435, 1463-4) despite his empty boast that he did (*Ag.* 1614). Only with the "real man" out of the picture[13] and the unmanly Aegisthus under her heel is Clytemnestra now able to rule, as she makes sure to remind us at the very last lines of the play (*Ag.* 1672-3).[14]

In Sophocles' and Euripides' versions of the story the political implications of the gender tensions are equally prominent. Euripides' Orestes justifies killing Clytemnestra on the grounds that the alternative would have been men enslaved to women (E. *Or.* 935-7; cf. his argument at 564-72); Electra prods him not to succumb to "unmanliness" (ἀνανδρία, E. *El.* 982; E. *Or.* 1031). One

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[10] For specific takes on politics in the *Oresteia* see, e.g., MacLeod 1982, Bowie 1993a, Griffith 1995; gender and sexuality issues: Zeitlin 1978, Winnington-Ingram 1983, Goldhill 1984. For Clytemnestra, Foley 2001: 201-42.

[11] All translations are mine unless otherwise specified. A seminal work on ancient conceptions of matriarchy is Pembroke 1967.

[12] Aegisthus is effeminate ever since the *Odyssey* (3.262-4, 310).

[13] It is only the Agamemnon's helpless corpse that Clytemnestra can mock by referring to his paramour Cassandra with a masculine noun φιλήτωρ (A. *Ag.* 1446), insinuating that she was "the dominant partner and/or that Agamemnon had something effeminate about him" (Sommerstein 2008: 177).

[14] Winnington-Ingram 1983: 105 indeed suggests that her aspiration to masculinity and power was her main motive for killing Agamemnon. Cf. Sophocles' Electra addressing Clytemnestra as ἄνασσα (S. *El.* 666), perhaps deliberately inverting Agamemnon's Homeric epithet ἄναξ. Contrast the prologue of the *Agamemnon*: the Watchman, who hopes for an overturn of the current regime at *Ag.* 19-21, refers to Clytemnestra at 25-6 as the "wife of Agamemnon," Ἀγαμέμνονος γυναικὶ (cf. commentary of Raeburn/Thomas 2011: 68-9), just like the Chorus (260, above), even though she has been governing for a decade.

peculiar manifestation of this issue is the inversion of the traditional naming system. Euripides' Electra mocks the dead body of Aegisthus, who was always referred to as "Clytemnestra's husband," while one never heard the formula "his wife:" "O what disgrace, when the master of the house is the wife, not the husband" (Ὁ τῆς γυναικός, οὐχὶ τἀνδρὸς ἡ γυνή. | καίτοι τόδ' αἰσχρόν, προστατεῖν γε δωμάτων | γυναῖκα, μὴ τὸν ἄνδρα, *Or.* 931-3). Similarly, Sophocles' Electra toys with the sociopolitical significance of gendered personal address, as she criticizes her sister Chrysothemis for siding with Clytemnestra: "When you could be called the child of the noblest father among men, be called instead your mother's child" (νῦν δ' ἐξὸν πατρὸς | πάντων ἀρίστου παῖδα κεκλῆσθαι, καλοῦ | τῆς μητρός, S. *El.* 365-7). Most importantly, the effect was known to Aristophanes. Praxagora is referred to as "Lady Commander," ἡ στρατηγός (*Ec.* 500), and towards the end of the play her maid suggestively corrects her Freudian slip mid-sentence: "Women, tell me where my master is—I mean, my mistress' husband" (ἀλλ' ὦ γυναῖκες φράσατέ μοι τὸν δεσπότην, | τὸν ἄνδρ', ὅπου 'στί, τῆς ἐμῆς κεκτημένης, *Ec.* 1125-6, tr.).

One component of the gender inversion in the *Assemblywomen* also present in the Orestes-plays is the masculine rhetorical prowess of Praxagora and Clytemnestra. The Watchman's prologue introduces the Argive queen as ἀνδρόβουλον, "deliberating like a man" (A. *Ag.* 11), a compound which Eduard Fraenkel believes was coined for the occasion (anticipating γυναικόβουλος in A. *Cho.* 626).[15] During Praxagora's rehearsal for storming the assembly, the women fear if they, with their "female minds," can successfully address the people (καὶ πῶς γυναικῶν θηλύφρων ξυνουσία | δημηγορήσει; *Ec.* 110-11). After delivering their long speeches confidently and effectively, Clytemnestra is famously said to have "spoken wisely, like a reasonable man" (γύναι, κατ' ἄνδρα σώφρον' εὐφρόνως λέγεις, *Ag.* 351), and Praxagora as an "intelligent man" (ὡς ξυνετὸς ἀνήρ, *Ec.* 204).[16]

Several details further suggest the *Oresteia* as an archetype of the *Assemblywomen*. The connection, I argue, is activated in the opening scene where Praxagora waits for her co-conspirators at daybreak. Their means of communication are lamps sending light signals, and the play begins with Praxagora's

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[15] Fraenkel 1950 II: 10, on *Ag.* 11, also citing a fragment where Sophocles might be imitating Aeschylus.

[16] Cf. McClure 1999: 244, and see also 48: "At first, Praxagora reconstructs herself as a traditional Athenian wife rather than a political leader, using a strategy similar to that of Clytemnestra in her speech to the Messenger (Aesch. *Ag.* 587-614)." For a short bibliography on "the relationship between Clytemnestra's masculine and feminine qualities, especially in her ways of speaking," see Raeburn/Thomas 2011: 59, fn. 90. For Praxagora, Rothwell 1990, *passim*, esp. e.g. 19, 55ff.

apostrophe to the lamp: "O radiant eye of the wheel-whirled lamp… broadcast now the fiery signal as arranged" (Ὦ λαμπρὸν ὄμμα τοῦ τροχηλάτου λύχνου... ὅρμα φλογὸς σημεῖα τὰ ξυγκείμενα, *Ec.* 1, 6; tr. Henderson). While the general paratragic tone of the address has been recognized,[17] the context particularly recommends the opening of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. The Watchman waits for a light signal from the beacon on the horizon, which is to announce Agamemnon's return, and with him the gender rotation on the Argive throne which the Watchman hopes for (*Ag.* 1-35; esp. καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τό σύμβολον, | αὐγὴν πυρὸς φέρουσαν ἐκ Τροίας φάτιν, 8-9).[18] The image continues later as Clytemnestra takes over narrating the transmission of flames in the beacon-relay (*Ag.* 281-315; 479-83, esp. 480: φλογὸς παραγγέλμασιν; 489-93, 587-90). Downscaling the tallest man-made object which was to report the outcome of the greatest war ever seen to a portable lamp gathering lady friends is paratragedy at its best.[19] The lamp is a very feminine domestic object, which Praxagora addresses personified (*Ec.* 7-17, tr. Henderson):

> σοὶ γὰρ μόνῳ δηλοῦμεν εἰκότως, ἐπεὶ
> κἀν τοῖσι δωματίοισιν Ἀφροδίτης τρόπων
> λορδουμένων τε σωμάτων ἐπιστάτην
> ὀφθαλμὸν οὐδεὶς τὸν σὸν ἐξείργει δόμων.
> πειρωμέναισι πλησίον παραστατεῖς,
> μόνος δὲ μηρῶν εἰς ἀπορρήτους μυχοὺς
> λάμπεις ἀφεύων τὴν ἐπανθοῦσαν τρίχα·
> στοάς τε καρποῦ Βακχίου τε νάματος
> πλήρεις ὑποιγνύσαισι συμπαραστατεῖς·
> καὶ ταῦτα συνδρῶν οὐ λαλεῖς τοῖς πλησίοι.
>
> You alone we make privy to our plot, and rightly,
> for also in our bedrooms you stand close by
> as we essay Aphrodite's maneuvers;
> and when our bodies are flexed, one banishes
> no one from the room your supervisory eye

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[17] For "eye of the Helios" and the like, see Rau 1967: 205, who cites S. *Aj.* 845ff, 856ff; *Ant.* 100, 102ff; E. *Tr.* 860, *Pho.* 1ff; cf. E. *IT.* 194; *Hipp.* 886, *Med.* 1251ff, *Cycl.* 599. For a prayer-parody reading of the prologue see Kleinknecht 1937: 93ff, with comparanda, e.g. Asclepiades, *AP* V 6 (cf. Parisinou 2000). Most frequently, critics conclude like Henderson (1998-2002 IV: 247): "[H]er opening lines parody an unknown tragic source or sources."

[18] See some remarks in Ussher 1973: 71-2. Compare also the image of a light in the dark as symbolizing revolution in the *Ecclesiazusae* with the luminal imagery in the *Agamemnon* (e.g. νῦν δ᾽ εὐτυχὴς γένοιτ᾽ ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων | εὐαγγέλου φανέντος ὀρφναίου πυρός, *Ag.* 19-20).

[19] Praxagora's lamp may moreover be a case of multilayered paratragic allusion. In Aeschylus' ridicule of Euripides' lyric in the *Frogs* it is arguably the ephemeral λύχνος that illustrates the characteristically Euripidean slip from lofty tragic diction into banalities (Ar. *Ra.* 1331-1340).

> You alone illuminate the ineffable nooks between our thighs,
> when you singe away the hair that sprouts there;
> and you stand by us when stealthily we open pantries
> stocked with bread and the liquor of Bacchus;
> and you're an accomplice that never blabs to the neighbors.

This passage is not nearly as farcical as it might sound. Archeological evidence strongly suggests that lamps were indispensable in women's private lives, and some literary sources similarly describe women's emotional attachment to them.[20] Praxagora, therefore, uses one of the most intimate female possessions for plotting a political revolution. And, as A. M. Bowie observes regarding Clytemnestra's account of the beacons in the *Agamemnon*, she "tends not a domestic fire but a huge chain of beacons, involving herself most anomalously with fires in the outside world, the sphere of men. At the end of her recital of her beacon-chain, she compares it to a *lampadedromia* [*Ag.* 312], the best known of which in Athens took place at the Panathenaea. Here again we have a reversal, a woman associated with and, as it in charge of a major city rite."[21] Finally, Praxagora's clandestine plunder of the household supplies illustrates not only her status as a housewife but foreshadows a housewife soon to be in charge of the public supplies. The same goes for Clytemnestra, who claims her loyalty to Agamemnon by specifying that she did not open any storeroom during his absence (*Ag.* 609-10).

A highly symbolically charged motif in the Orestes-plays and the *Assemblywomen* is that of wardrobe and footwear. Cross-dressing, as seen in the *Women at the Thesmophoria*, is one of evergreen comic devices. Thus when the Assemblywomen steal their husband's cloaks to pass as men in the assembly (*Ec.* 40, 75, 99), and Praxagora's unsuspecting husband Blepyrus is left at home with no option but to wear her cloak instead (314-19), the gender inversion is as effective as it needs to be.[22] But Blepyrus' misfortune might be additionally indebted to one specific image of emasculation. The only reason he needs Praxagora's cloak is that he has to go out in the middle of the night and defecate, onstage. The toilet humiliation he experiences as a result of his wife's guile is not only perfectly timed— "[w]hile his wife has risen to the

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[20] PARISINOU 2000. Lamps were really used for genital depilation (KILMER 1993: 136) and humorously so in Aristophanes' *Women at the Thesmophoria*, 238ff.

[21] BOWIE 1993a: 29.

[22] COMPTON-ENGLE 2003 shows that in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, *Women at the Thesmophoria*, and the *Frogs*, "[s]uccessful manipulation of costume is associated with masculinity and heightened status, while failure to control costume is correlated with emasculation and lowered status."

highest position possible in the city, Blepyrus has sunk to the lowest"[23]—but it also functions as a comic version of the bathroom demise of Agamemnon, wrapped and trapped while bathing by Clytemnestra's net-robe.[24] Blepyrus is further humiliated in this scene by wearing Praxagora's Persian slippers (*Ec.* 319), since she also stole his boots, in a move subtly recalling Aeschylus' Clytemnestra, who famously persuades Agamemnon to take of his boots upon returning from Troy.[25] The motif of gendered footwear is picked up by Euripides in the *Orestes*, which would have hardly escaped Aristophanes.[26] The news of Orestes' assault on Helen is brought by her Phrygian slave, feminized and submissive in an oriental fashion (*Or.* 1507). He runs away from the crime scene onto stage stumbling in his "barbarian slippers" (*Or.* 1369-71), foreshadowing his account of Helen, who attempted to flee in her "golden sandals" but Orestes reached out his "Mycenaean boot" and tripped her (*Or.* 1468-1470).

2. Old but Furious: the three comic Erinyes

However one decides to account for the similarities above individually, the cumulative impression is that Aristophanes by no means left Greek tragedy behind after the *Frogs*. Tragedy as an interpretive background is particularly illuminating for analyzing the lengthy penultimate scene of the *Assemblywomen* (877-1111). A young man (named Epigenes in some manuscripts), is intercepted by three ugly old women just as he was about to enter his girlfriend's house, in clear violation of the new decree according to which the old women have unconditional priority. They enforce the decree and kidnap him

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[23] Henderson 1991: 102. Blepyrus rightly fears he has become the butt of a joke, a "comic shitpot" (σκωραμὶς κωμῳδική, *Ec.* 371). See the brief and useful analysis of the scene in McClure 1999: 248.

[24] For ritual elements of funeral in Agamemnon's death, see Seaford 1984. Bremmer 1986 observes that "in many societies a man is at his most vulnerable when he is taking a bath" and briefly and illuminatingly lists several instances throughout history. For the lethal *peplos* in Greek tragedy, see Lee 2004.

[25] Additionally, Agamemnon agrees so as not to soil the red carpet upon entrance (A. *Ag.* 948), a detail perhaps lurking behind Blepyrus' relief that he luckily ran out before staining the beddings, which have just been cleaned (*Ec.* 344-7). For the rich symbolism of feet in the Oresteia, see Levine 2015. In general disrobing in the Oresteia foreshadows peril: Griffith 1998.

[26] Not only was Aristophanes "certainly the best qualified critic ever to "publish" on Euripides," as Dobrov reminds us (2001: 130), but Euripides' *Orestes* in particular was extremely popular in antiquity: Porter 1994: 1, with fn. 1 (West 1987: 28, somewhat exaggeratedly, claims that it was Euripides' "most popular play, indeed the most popular of all tragedies"). The messenger scene from the *Orestes* is imitated by Menander in the *Sykionios*: Katsouris 1975: 29-54, Hunter 1985: 129-30, Goldberg 1993. Most importantly, Scharffenberger 1998 identifies significant influence of the *Orestes* on the *Frogs*. Add finally the intriguing possibility of palimpsestous interaction, namely that the Phrygian's entry in the *Orestes* alludes to Aristophanes' parody of Euripides' *Andromeda*: Wright 2008: 12.

for sexual purposes. The unsettling oddity of the scene even by Aristophanes' standards is somewhat notorious among modern critics. Suzanne Saïd describes it as a "*scandal…* staged… in a long scene of rarely appreciated caustic comedy pushed to the limits of objectionable";[27] it has also been said that "[t]his memorable scene, with all its paraphernalia of funerals and imagery of animated corpses, verges on inappropriate to comedy."[28] Alan Sommerstein calls attention to "a sharp, and obviously designed, contrast" between the cries of the young man as he is dragged offstage—wretched, ill-fated, accursed (τρισκακοδαίμων, κακοδαίμων, βαρυδαίμων, δυστυχής, 1098, 1102, 1103; full passage discussed below)—and the opening words of the party invitation in the immediately following scene, "happy people, blest country, most happy mistress" (μακάριος… εὐδαίμων… μακαριωτάτη, 1112-13).[29] The echo underlines the sinister outcome of the gender revolution, as the latter words are uttered by Praxagora's maid who, moments later, emphasizes that Blepyrus is now the woman in his marriage (*Ec.* 1125-6, above).

Aristophanes further generates the unsavory spin by framing the abduction scene with two symmetrically contrasting formulations. At the onset of the assault one of the aggressors invokes proper divine authority: "Oh yes, by Aphrodite, whether you like it or not!" (νὴ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἤν τε βούλῃ γ᾽ ἤν τε μή, *Ec.* 981). Some hundred verses later, right before the victim's exiting *threnos* (τρισκακοδαίμων, above), the invocation is appropriately updated to reflect the less charming divinity now in charge: "Oh yes, by Hecate, whether you like it or not!" (νὴ τὴν Ἑκάτην ἐάν τε βούλῃ γ᾽ ἤν τέ μή, *Ec.* 1097).

Lastly, one notices that the dark undertones of the abduction are contrasted to the mock-sentimental lyric atmosphere of the immediately preceding scene, where the young man and a girl sing playful erotic songs to one another in turn, which C. M. Bowra labeled a "love-duet." In reply to his enthusiastic hypothesis that this scene is a trace of an otherwise lost lyric genre, Douglas Olson cautions that this is instead a sophisticated poetic commentary on the central theme of the play. Namely, the duet symbolizes the new regime of inverted gender roles, in that, for example, the strophes that should belong to the girl are assigned to the man and vice versa.[30]

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[27] Saïd 1996: 310.

[28] Wheat 1992: 167; Slater 1987 is among the few critics with sympathetic view of the old women in this scene.

[29] Sommerstein 1998: 232.

[30] Olson 1989: 328, on Bowra 1958: "In fact, *Eccl.* 952-75 is not evidence for a lost lyric genre, but a sophisticated literary parody, carefully designed as an elaborate poetic comment on the larger action of the play in which it appears. Bowra's 'love duet' is a critical fantasy, whose fictional existence only serves to obscure the real purposes and humour of this Aristophanic love-song."

If, as we have seen above, the gender tensions in the *Assemblywomen* are frequently articulated by invoking tragedic models, it is suggestive that in the "love-duet" the girl refers to the young man's hair locks with the word βόστρυχος (954-5). With only three instances in archaic poetry, the word is attested in tragedies nearly thirty times. Clearly a *vox tragica*, it is rarely without negative connotations: Medea's children's hair beneath the poisonous crown (E. *Med*. 116), lock of dead Hector swirling in the dust (E. *Tro*. 1175), cutting hair in mourning (E. *Hel*. 1087, 1224), locks of Dionysus to be cut off by Pentheus (E. *Ba*. 235, 493), and most regularly the locks of the Atreid family members (A. *Cho*. 168, 178, 229; S. *El*. 442, 901; E. *El*. 515, 530, 830, *Or*. 224). It is hard to imagine that with such a sinister pedigree on Attic stage the βόστρυχος of the young man in Aristophanes was not meant to recall its tragic usage. Indeed Aristophanes uses the word only once elsewhere, in the parabasis of the *Clouds* (536), referring to the lock of Orestes which Electra recognizes on Agamemnon's tomb.[31] In that extra-dramatic address to the audience, Aristophanes compares Electra's perceptiveness with the intelligence of the appreciative audience he hopes to win over. Aristophanes thereby takes the plot device for recognizing something *in* a play and uses it as a signal for recognizing something *about* the play. As Isabelle Torrance has demonstrated, the metapoetic potential of Orestes' lock has been already noticed and exploited by Euripides in the *Electra*, who invites the audience to recognize in his treatment of the lock as a recognition token allusions to Aeschylus' treatment of it in the *Oresteia*.[32] I suggest that in the *Assemblywomen* the βόστρυχος serves as a metapoetic intertextual *gnorisma* as well. Like a peculiar prototype of the "Chekhov's gun"—an early clue planted to account for a later event—the "Aristophanic lock" tests if the audience is discerning enough to anticipate the outcome worthy of an Atreid tragedy.[33]

In light of all these parallels between the *Assemblywomen* and the Orestes-plays, I suggest that the three ugly old abductors are designed to evoke the association with tragic Erinyes.[34] The First Old Woman, initially seductively

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[31] On the grounds that such a reference would presume audience's familiarity with Aeschylus' version of the story, Newiger (1961: 422ff.) suggests the possibility that the Oresteia had been revived on Athenian stage shortly before the Clouds.

[32] Torrance 2013: 15-18, citing Goldhill (1991: 5, 24), who points out that ἀναγιγνώσκειν means both "recognize" and "read."

[33] In discussing recognition devices in the three Electra plays, Solmsen (1967: 52, fn.2) hypothesizes that "[c]onceivably the Athenian audience had developed something like a special affection for the lock." The lost 4th-century-comedy of Alexis entitled Βόστρυχος (33 K-A) might suggest that a lock as a token of recognition developed a literary life of its own.

[34] Frontisi-Ducroux 2007 believes that Aeschylus was the first tragedian to put the Erinyes on stage. Regarding the possible source of Aristophanes, cf. also Podlecki (1989: 23): "Improbable as it may seem, Aeschylus' play [sc. the Eumenides] appears to have exerted some influence on

"dressed in saffron" (κροκωτὸν ἠμφιεσμένη, *Ec.* 879),[35] is mirrored later by the Second Old Woman, described as "Empusa, dressed in a bloody blister" (Ἔμπουσά τις, ἐξ αἵματος φλύκταιναν <u>ἠμφιεσμένη</u>, *Ec.* 1057).[36] Empusa is a dreadful mythological female creature that Dionysus encounters in the Underworld in the *Frogs* (288ff),[37] which resembles the figure of personified Poverty (Πενία) in Aristophanes' *Wealth*, which, in turn, is explicitly compared to an "Erinys from tragedy."[38] Hemorrhaging phenomena are habitual attributes of Erinyes throughout Greek tragedies of the Atreid cycle. Aeschylus' Apollo foretold that Erinyes would punish Orestes with ulcers that eat away the flesh (σαρκῶν ἐπαμβατῆρας ἀγρίαις γνάθοις | λειχῆνας, *Cho.* 280-1); Erinyes breathe out blood (αἱματηρὸν πνεῦμα, A. *Eum.* 137), their eyes are bloody (αἱματωποὺς, E. *Or.* 255), or they specifically excrete disgusting blood (κἀξ ὀμμάτων στάζουσιν αἷμα <u>δυσφιλές,</u> A. *Cho.* 1058) or disgusting ooze (ἐκ δ᾽ ὀμμάτων λείβουσι <u>δυσφιλῆ</u> λίβα, A. *Eum.* 55).[39]

This horrendous image of excretion of gory fluids symbolizes the sexual repulsiveness and social exclusion of both the tragic Erinyes and their Aris-

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later comic writers. A Eumenides by Cratinus is fairly well attested, and another by Teleclides rather less so." For a comprehensive discussion of Erinyes in myth, see Sewell-Rutter 2007, chapter 4. Brown 1984 is a well-documented survey of Eumenides in tragedy. Rothwell 1990: 71 lists other possible mythological models for the three old women in Aristophanes: "The old women, on the other hand, who are physically repulsive (940, 1052-3, 1068-70), have a long literary and mythological tradition behind them. Indeed they resemble the nightmare figures and witches in Greek literature who destroy men: the Sphinx, Moirai, Erinyes, Sirens; the erotic context could also suggest a parody of the choice of Paris."

[35] The irony of κροκωτός, "a woman's most attractive and dressy costume" (Stone 1981: 175; cf. Ar. *Lys.* 46, with Henderson 1987), is as grim as in Iphigeneia's sacrificial/wedding dress in A. *Ag.* 239.

[36] See discussion in Sommerstein 1998 on *Ec.* 1056 and Sommerstein 1989 on A. *Eum.* 137.

[37] Her face is ablaze (πυρὶ γοῦν λάμπεται | ἅπαν τὸ πρόσωπον, Ar. *Ra.* 293-4). For Empusa in the *Frogs*, see Brown 1991.

[38] ἴσως Ἐρινύς ἐστιν ἐκ τραγῳδίας: | βλέπει γέ τοι μανικόν τι καὶ τραγῳδικόν (*Plut.* 423). Further verbal resonances in this scene of the *Wealth* might reveal Aristophanes' self-allusion to the *Assemblywomen*. During the preparations for revolutionary imposition of universal equality, Praxagora encourages the women to "dare such a daring deed" (<u>τόλμημα</u> <u>τολμῶμεν</u> τοσοῦτον, *Ec.* 106). A similar expression is used for wealth redistribution in the *Wealth*. The two men who set out to rescue the blind personified Wealth are confronted by Πενία, who protests that she will be driven out of the city: "I'm going to give you the miserable death you deserve, for daring to commit an intolerable outrage, such as no one, human or divine, has ever done before" (ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐξολῶ κακοὺς κακῶς: | <u>τόλμημα</u> γὰρ <u>τολμᾶτον</u> οὐκ ἀνασχετόν, | ἀλλ᾽ οἷον οὐδεὶς ἄλλος οὐδεπώποτε | οὔτε θεὸς οὔτ᾽ ἄνθρωπος. *Plut.* 418-21; tr. Henderson 1998-2002 IV).

[39] Note the Sophoclean irony in referring to Oedipus' eyes as bloody in *Oedipus at Colonus*: τὰς αἱματηρὰς ὀμμάτων διαφθορὰς | ἔγνωκά σ᾽, ὦ παῖ Λαΐου (*OC* 552-3); cf. a possible allusion to Oedipus in the healing of the blind Wealth (ἀντὶ γὰρ τυφλοῦ | ἐξωμμάτωται καὶ λελάμπρυνται κόρας, Ar. *Plut.* 635-6). More on *Oedipus at Colonus* and Aristophanes below; Compton-Engle 2013.

tophanic counterparts.[40] Aeschylean Erinyes are introduced in the *Eumenides* as the "abominable [lit. "to be spitted upon"] old maidens, these aged virgins, with whom no god ever holds any <u>intercourse</u>, nor man nor beast either…" (αἱ <u>κατάπτυστοι</u> κόραι, | γραῖαι παλαιαὶ παῖδες, αἷς οὐ <u>μείγνυται</u> | θεῶν τις οὐδ᾿ ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲ θήρ ποτε, *Eum.* 68-70).[41] The sexual double entendre in this description is apt given the known association of Erinyes with fertilty A. *Eum.* 903-12), and particularly with Aphrodite.[42] Further, Aeschylus' Erinyes repeatedly complain that the younger gods disrespect them (*Eum.* 150, 731, 778-9; cf. 149, 154, 163), and Athena later pointedly pays due respect to their seniority (*Eum.* 848-9, 882-4). The three old women of Aristophanes, having been understandably pushed at the end of the line when it comes to sex, take advantage of the new political circumstances to set things straight. When one of them spells out that she likes sleeping with young men, the man they are about to kidnap is explicit just the same: "And I just loath [sleeping with] women of your age" (ἐγὼ δὲ ταῖς γε τηλικαύταις ἄχθομαι, *Ec.* 1010).

In support of their claim to priority, one of the old women reads a passage from the new law which specifies the procedure of enacting it should a man try to disobey (*Ec.* 1014-20). Complementing the resemblance to Erinyes as righteous haunters, the text of the new decree contains a very rare word, ἀνατεί, "without punishment" (*Ec.* 1020). It is an Aristophanic hapax, but with three occurrences in tragedy, in all of which it refers to the most ill-famed punishments of Greek drama: Creon in Sophocles' *Antigone* (485), Medea (E. *Med.* 1357), and, most directly related, the retribution of Erinyes in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (59).[43]

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[40] For a case study of moral, religious, and political symbolism of bodily fluids in the *Oresteia*, see VIDOVIĆ 2016.

[41] Translation of SOMMERSTEIN 2008, who argues for the deliberately ambiguous sexual connotation of μείγνυται. SOMMERSTEIN 1989, on *Eum.* 68, notes that the description is "oxymoronic, since κόραι would normally imply youth, beauty and innocence. Nothing qualifies the Erinyes to be called κόραι except their virginity."

[42] On Aphrodite and the Furies in Sophocles, see Parry 1986, who begins with pointing out Sophocles' source: "At a memorable moment in the Trachiniae Heracles, mortally afflicted by a poisoned robe, accuses his wife of fastening on his shoulders a 'net of the Furies.' This Aeschylean image is Sophocles' most particular debt to the Oresteia." Cf. also Rynearson 2013 for erotic undertones of persuading the Erinyes in Aeschylus' Eumenides; see e.g. his comment on Eum. 851-2, where Athena tries to convince Erinyes to stay in Athens, for otherwise they "will long for this land like lovers" (ὑμεῖς δ᾿ ἐς ἀλλόφυλον ἐλθοῦσαι χθόνα | γῆς τῆσδ᾿ ἐρασθήσεσθε): "Athena's use of the verb ἐρασθήσεσθε introduces a bold metaphor for the relationship of the Erinyes to the future Athens… [she portrays] the Erinyes as excluded lovers, erastai who will long for Athens as if for an aloof beloved… In contrast to Pericles' idealized portrait of the citizen as erastēs [sc. of the polis; Thuc. 2.43], however, Athena's image of the Erinyes as erastai constitutes a threat, a projection of the negative consequences of their refusal of her offer" (4).

[43] Fascinatingly, while these comic Erinyes are associated with tragic language, Aeschylean Erinyes are associated with comic language. Exceptionally instructive in this respect is Sommer-

3. Sophoclean themes and stage dynamics: the abduction and *Oedipus at Colonus*

While the capture is still in the preliminary phase, there occurs, at last, one of the very few unambiguous tragic references in the play. The girl defends her claim to the prospective lover by rebuking the old woman: "If you start enforcing law like this, you'll fill the whole country with Oedipuses" (ὥστ᾽ εἰ καταστήσεσθε τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, | τὴν γῆν ἅπασαν Οἰδιπόδων ἐμπλήσετε, *Ec.* 1041-2). The thematic importance of this remark for the play has been typically downplayed by critics.[44] Sommerstein, for instance, believes that Aristophanes is cherry-picking the Oedipus myth for his comic purposes:

> "[I]ncest is irrelevant to the context of the girl's remark. She is not saying that the old woman is Epigenes' mother, only that she is old enough to be his mother (1040); and it seems likely that Aristophanes is here taking the same humorous attitude to the Oedipus story as is taken in *Frogs* 1193-4: the most terrible thing that happened to Oedipus was that he married a woman much older than himself—the fact that this woman was his mother was a trifle in comparison."[45]

Yet this conclusion is somewhat dismissive, for Oedipus' tragic fault looms large in one of the hypothetical consequences of the new state of affairs in the *Assemblywomen*. Blepyrus fears that if men are forced into indiscriminate sex paternity will become untraceable, but Praxagora responds that that is a good thing: then all the children will respect all elderly men, since any

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stein's survey of the surprisingly frequent use of language from the comic register in the *Oresteia*. Through an astute analysis of the distribution of such language, he argues that linguistic transgression corroborates ethical transgressions in the play, namely that "far from being light relief of any sort, comic language is used in the *Oresteia* to heighten the blackness and bleakness of the vicious cycle of retaliatory violence, and disappears at the point where that cycle is broken." Most illuminating for our purposes is that "it cannot be a coincidence that almost all the instances of comic language in the *Oresteia* occur in passages that have to do with the Erinyes... The Erinyes, of course, are the embodiments of the vicious cycle of violence… the Pythia's words themselves [A. *Eum.* 34-63] suggest that comic language and the Erinyes go naturally together—that this is the only kind of language in which they can be properly described" (Sommerstein 2002: 151-168; citations from 163, 164).

[44] Likewise, the old woman replies with a threat of a fairytale villain: "But I will have my revenge!" (ἀλλ᾽ ἐγώ σε τιμωρήσομαι, *Ec.* 1044), which the Oxford editor dismisses as irrelevant: "we are not to look… for fulfillment of this threat in the play" (Ussher 1973, on *Ec.* 1044).

[45] Sommerstein 1984: 322. Cf. Sommerstein 1998: 14, fn. 62:"[t]he Oedipal incest scare raised by the Girl in 1038-42 is chimerical." Sommerstein 1998 on *Ec.* 1041 comments that "this assertion is designed to shock the old woman by raising the appalling spectre of mother-son incest, which in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (362-7, 457-460, 791-3, 1207-15, 1256-7, 1288-9, 1403-8) is repeatedly spoken of with more horror even than parricide. This scare-tactic is *completely illogical*, for Praxagora, unlike Plato (*Rep.* 460b-d), has not been concerned with preventing mothers from knowing who their own children are, nor would any of the rules of her society have that effect; but it works for the second or two necessary for Epigenes to escape from his captor" (emphasis mine).

of them could theoretically be their father (πατέρας γὰρ ἅπαντας | τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους αὐτῶν εἶναι τοῖσι χρόνοισιν νομιοῦσιν, *Ec.* 636-7). Even though she predicts respect for unknown father instead of murder, the Oedipal premise is firmly in place, adapted for the needs of the *Assemblywomen*. If fathers are unknown, a "matrilineal family structure would soon emerge,"[46] a logical continuation of the matriarchal revolution. Matrilineal nomenclature is also very much in the background of the references to inverted naming system in all three tragedians' versions of the Atreid myth and Aristophanes discussed above. But since Blepyrus' fear is, practically speaking, far from an inevitable consequence of the new legislation, his remark is so gratuitous that the only explanation is that Aristophanes clearly had an important point to make—an Oedipal one in this case.[47]

Further exploration of the Oedipus reference is warranted by the imagery of the Erinyes discussed above. One of their functions is punishing familial transgressions, such as the matricidal Orestes in Aeschylus (μητραλοίας, *Eum.* 210), but they are also involved when father-children relations are an issue, especially in the Theban cycle (e.g. E. *Pho.* 622-4). Their most prominent appearance in the tragic corpus besides the *Oresteia* is in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, a play which owes a great deal to Aeschylus, especially in the portrayal of Eumenides.[48] In fact, the *Oedipus at Colonus* is, I argue, the prime suspect source for the scene that follows. In numerous individual details and the overall dynamics, the scene in which Creon abducts Antigone and attempts to abduct Oedipus (*OC* 800-885) bears remarkable resemblances to the abduction scene in the *Assemblywomen*. For convenient comparative analysis, I parse the two scenes into corresponding units:

1) The victims call for help from both imagined allies and actual bystand-

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[46] SOMMERSTEIN 1998: 13.

[47] The fear expressed by Blepyrus' is above all counterintuitive, and Aristophanes could not have been unaware of that. There is no reason why paternity would be less traceable after forced intercourse with older women than after consensual sex with younger ones; if anything, the former scenario is arguably *less* risky, for with older women there is less chance of pregnancy to begin with, and old men would probably run out of energy to impregnate the young ones by the time they get to them anyway (as Blepyrus fears; above). Indeed the whole point of the revolution is to push to the very end of the line those who have previously been in highest demand, i.e., young women, who are at the same time the most fertile. That is to say, mass anonymous pregnancies would be the least likely result of Praxagora's legislation. As usual in Aristophanes, logical consistency is subordinate to the message; as HENDERSON reminds us (1980: 168), "inconsistencies of dramatic logic may frequently be excused as characteristic of the genre: once the poet has exhausted the humor of one idea he will passion to the next with little regard for consequence or logic. But before we apologize for Aristophanes we ought to make sure at any given point that he has no subtler goals in mind. Sometimes inconsistencies are simply inconsistencies, but sometimes they are deliberate mechanisms for the full realization of a play's chief themes."

[48] SCODEL 2006: 71-77.

ers:

OC 815:
Οἰδίπους. τίς δ᾽ ἄν με τῶνδε συμμάχων ἕλοι βίᾳ;

With such allies, who could take me by force?

Ec. 1023-4:
Νεανίας. τί δ᾽ ἢν ἀφαιρῆταί μ᾽ ἀνὴρ τῶν δημοτῶν
ἢ τῶν φίλων ἐλθών τις;

What if one of my demesmen or friends
comes and offers bail for me?

OC 822-3:
Οἰδ. ἰὼ ξένοι. τί δρᾶσετ᾽; ἢ προδώσετε,
κοὐκ ἐξελᾶτε τὸν ἀσεβῆ τῆσδε χθονός;

Hosts, what will you do? Will you betray me?
Will you not get rid of this unholy wretch?

Ec. 1054-5, 1067-8:
Νεα. μηδαμῶς με περιίδῃς
ἑλκόμενον ὑπὸ τῆσδ᾽ ἀντιβολῶ σ᾽.
…
Νεα. ἀτὰρ ἥτις εἶ γε, πόλλ᾽ ἀγαθὰ γένοιτό σοι,
ὅτι μ᾽ οὐπεριεῖδες ἐπιτριβέντ᾽.

Don't just watch her dragging me away, I beg you!
…
Whoever you are, bless you if you don't just
stand by and watch me be tormented!**2) Denial and cries:**

OC 881-2:
Χορός. τά γ᾽ οὐ τελεῖ.

He will not do it!

Ec. 1011:
Νεα.…κοὐκ ἂν πιθοίμην οὐδέποτ᾽.
I'll never consent!

OC 847:
Οἰδ. ὦ τάλας ἐγώ, τάλας.

Poor me, poor me!

Ec. 1051:
Νεα. *οἴμοι δείλαιος.*

Oh miserable me!

3) The abductors silence the victims:

OC 864:
Κρέων. αὐδῶ σιωπᾶν.

Keep quiet!

Ec. 1005, 1058, 1088:
Γραῦς Α. *μὴ σκῶπτέ μ᾽ ὦ τάλαν ἀλλ᾽ ἕπου δεῦρ᾽ ὡς ἐμέ.*
…
Γραῦς Β. *ἕπου μαλακίων δεῦρ᾽ ἀνύσας καὶ μὴ λάλει.*
…
Γραῦς Γ. *σιγῇ βάδιζε δεῦρο.*

No more jokes, my boy; just come this way to my place.
…
Come sissy, this way, quickly, no chattering.
…
Shut up and get moving. This way!

4) The abductors claim inevitability:

OC 862, 883:
Χο. *δεινὸν λέγοις ἄν. Κρ. τοῦτο νῦν πεπράξεται.*
…
Χο. *ἆρ᾽ οὐχ ὕβρις τάδ᾽; Κρ. ὕβρις, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνεκτέα.*

Outrageous threat! – And now it will be done.
…
The insolence of this! – The insolence you must put up with!

Ec. 1008, 1011, 1029, 1081:
ΓρΑ. *νὴ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην δεῖ γε μέντοι σ᾽*
…
ΓρΑ. *ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία ἀναγκάσει τουτί σε.*
…
Νεα. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἀνάγκη μοὐστί; ΓρΑ. Διομήδειά γε.
…
ΓρΓ. *αὐτὸς σκόπει σύ· τάδε δέ σοι ποιητέον.*

By Aphrodite, you do have to!

…

But this will force you, by Zeus.

…

Is it absolute necessity? – Diomedes' necessity!

…

That's your problem. Just now you must do this.

5) The abductors threaten "whether willingly or unwillingly":

OC 826-7:
Κρ. ὑμῖν ἂν εἴη τήνδε καιρὸς ἐξάγειν
ἄκουσαν, εἰ θέλουσα μὴ πορεύεται.

Now is the time for you to lead her off.
If she won't go willingly, force her!

Ec. 981, 1097:
ΓρΑ. νὴ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἤν τε βούλῃ γ᾿ ἤν τε μή.
…
ΓρΓ. νὴ τὴν Ἑκάτην ἐάν τε βούλῃ γ᾿ ἤν τέ μή.

Yes, by Aphrodite, whether you like it or not!

…

Yes, by Hecate, whether you like it or not!

6) The abductors claim ownership:

OC 829-32:
Χο. τί δρᾷς, ξένε;
Κρ. οὐχ ἅψομαι τοῦδ᾿ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐμῆς.
Οἰδ. ὦ γῆς ἄνακτες. **Χο**. ὦ ξέν᾿, οὐ δίκαια δρᾷς.
Κρ. δίκαια. **Χο**. πῶς δίκαια; Κρ. τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἄγω.

What are you doing, stranger? –
I will not take the man, but her who is mine.
– O lords! – Sir, this is injustice!
– It's just. – How can it be? – I'm taking what is mine.

Ec. 1037:
Νεᾶνις. ποῖ τοῦτον ἕλκεις; **ΓρΑ**. τόνδ᾿ ἐμαυτῆς εἰσάγω.
Where are you dragging him? – I'm taking my man home.

7) Repeated instances of push-and-pull routine:

OC 835, 838-40, 856-7, 874:
Χο. τί δρᾷς, ὦ ξέν᾽; οὐκ ἀφήσεις; … **Κρ**. εἴργου

…

Χο. μέθες χεροῖν τὴν παῖδα θᾶσσον.
Κρ. μὴ 'πίτασσ᾽ ἃ μὴ κρατεῖς.
Χο. χαλᾶν λέγω σοι. **Κρ**. σοὶ δ᾽ ἔγωγ᾽ ὁδοιπορεῖν.

…

Χο. ἐπίσχες αὐτοῦ, ξεῖνε. **Κρ**. μὴ ψαύειν λέγω.
Χο. οὔτοι σ᾽ ἀφήσω, τῶνδέ γ᾽ ἐστερημένος.

…

Κρ.οὔτοι καθέξω θυμόν, ἀλλ᾽ ἄξω βίᾳ

What are you doing? Release her! – Move!

…

Release the girl at once!
– Do not give orders you cannot enforce.
I tell you, let go! – I tell you take a walk!

…

Stop right there! – I warn you, do not touch me!
Give the girls back or you will not leave!
I'll not calm down, but take him away by force!

Ec. 1075, 1085, 1088:
ΓρΓ. ὡς οὐκ ἀφήσω σ᾽ οὐδέποτ᾽. **ΓρΒ**. οὐδὲ μὴν ἐγώ.

…

ΓρΒ. ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀφήσω μὰ Δία σ᾽. **ΓρΓ**. οὐδὲ μὴν ἐγώ. [49]

…

ΓρΒ. σιγῇ βάδιζε δεῦρο. ΓρΓ. μὰ Δί᾽ ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐμέ.

I'll never let you go! – Me neither!

…

By Zeus, I certainly won't let go! – Me neither!

…

Shut up and get moving. This way! – No, by Zeus, but *this* way!

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[49] Cf. Aeschylus' Erinyes: "I will never, never let that man go!" (τὸν ἄνδρ᾽ ἐκεῖνον οὔ τι μὴ λίπω ποτέ, A. *Eum*. 225, tr. Sᴏᴍᴍᴇʀsᴛᴇɪɴ). "Erinyes are nothing if not persistent" (Sᴇᴡᴇʟ-Rᴜᴛᴛᴇʀ 2007: 94).

8) When the worst seems over, yet worse comes:

OC 818-20, 859-61:
Κρ. παίδοιν δυοῖν σοι τὴν μὲν ἀρτίως ἐγὼ
ξυναρπάσας ἔπεμψα, τὴν δ᾽ ἄξω τάχα
Οι. οἴμοι.

One of your two daughters I captured already
and sent, and right away I'll take *this one*!
– Woe's me!

[Κρ.] ἐφάψομαι γὰρ οὐ ταύταιν μόναιν.
Χο. ἀλλ᾽ ἐς τί τρέψῃ; Κρ. τόνδ᾽ ἀπάξομαι λαβών.
Χο. δεινὸν λέγεις.

I will not take only these two girls.
– But what are you up to? – I'll take *him* away as well!
– The outrage you speak!

Ecc. 1052-3, 1069-70:
[Νεα.] πόθεν ἐξέκυψας, ὦ κάκιστ᾽ ἀπολουμένη;
τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκείνου τὸ κακὸν ἐξωλέστερον.
…
[Νεα.] ὦ Πᾶνες, ὦ Κορύβαντες, ὦ Διοσκόρω,
τοῦτ᾽ αὖ <u>πολὺ</u> τούτου τὸ κακὸν ἐξωλέστερον.

Where did you pop out of, you perdition!?
This horror is worse than the last one!
…
Pan, Corybantes, Dioscuri,
this horror is *far* worse than the last one!

9) Victims' own descriptions of being dragged away:

OC 844-6:
Ἀν. <u>ἀφέλκομαι</u> δύστηνος, ὦ ξένοι ξένοι.
Οἰδ. ποῦ, τέκνον, εἴ μοι; Ἀν. πρὸς βίαν πορεύομαι.
Οἰδ. ὄρεξον, ὦ παῖ, χεῖρας. Ἀν. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν σθένω.

Friends, I am <u>dragged</u> away, wretched me!
They are forcing me away!
Reach out your hands! – I cannot!

Ec. 1066, 1093-4:

Νεα. οὐκ ἔγωγ᾽, ἀλλ᾽ <u>ἕλκομαι</u>.

…

Νεα.οἴμοι κακοδαίμων ἐγγὺς ἤδη τῆς θύρας

<u>ἑλκόμενός</u> εἰμ᾽.

I'm not going anywhere: I'm being <u>dragged</u>!

…

Oh, what a sorry end! I'm <u>dragged</u> to the very

threshold!

The similar tempo and verbal patterns are all the more remarkable since Sophocles' abduction scene was anything but common in the genre. Its length, the quick sequence of moves, and the frequency of violent physical contact between speaking actors are unparalleled on tragic stage. As Maarit Kaimio qualifies it in her monograph on physical contact on tragic stage, it is "perhaps the most elaborate and varied scene of violence in extant Greek tragedy."[50]

The similarities of the abduction scenes line up well with several thematic parallels between the plays. First is the theme of gender inversions, arguably already implicit in the fact that the victim of abduction in Sophocles was Antigone: in Aristophanes the victim is no longer a young, unmarried female, notorious for disobeying the human laws as unjust, but one such young man.[51] Politicized gender anxieties keep surfacing regularly throughout Sophocles' play. Theseus protests at Creon's assault as a coup d'état: "You thought that my city is emptied of men or slavish" (καί μοι πόλιν κένανδρον ἢ δούλην τινὰ | ἔδοξας εἶναι, OC 917), to which Creon replies: "No, I did not think that your city is without men" (ἐγὼ οὔτ᾽ ἄνανδρον τήνδε τὴν πόλιν λέγω, 939). Both the term and the image brings to mind the Persian city of Susa, infamously "menless" in Aeschylus' Persians (κένανδρον μέγ᾽ ἄστυ Σουσίδος, 118; ἀνάνδρων, 166; ἀνάνδρους, 289; ἄνανδρον, 298; Σούσων μὲν ἄστυ πᾶν κενανδρίαν στένει, 730). There the attribute illustrates not only the war casualties, but also, as Edith Hall provocatively interprets it, the effeminate and submissive Orient.[52] One such "unmanned" city would be the Athens of the Assemblywomen, where male citizens stay at home forced to wear their

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[50] Kaimio 1988: 76.

[51] Praxagora's gender-based legislation perhaps also helps explain why Aristophanes introduces Oedipus just before the abduction scene, after running most of the play following the blueprint of the Atreid cycle. In Praxagora's topsy-turvy polis where women replace men and mothers replace fathers, the moral and legal focus duly switches to sanction not (Orestean) matricide but (Oedipal) parricide. Such tight and providential dramaturgic coherence is, to be sure, not necessary for this whole nexus of tragic allusions, but it would adequately complement them.

[52] Hall 1993; cf. Anderson 1972.

wives' Persian slippers, like Blepyrus (τὰς ἐκείνης Περσικὰς ὑφέλκομαι, Ec. 319; above). Much in the same vein, Sophocles' Oedipus praises his daughters for stepping in when his sons abandoned him—in an oriental fashion (OC 337-45):

ὦ πάντ᾿ ἐκείνω τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νόμοις
φύσιν κατεικασθέντε καὶ βίου τροφάς·
ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄρσενες κατὰ στέγας
θακοῦσιν ἱστουργοῦντες, αἱ δὲ σύννομοι
τἄξω βίου τροφεῖα πορσύνουσ᾿ ἀεί.
σφῷν δ᾿, ὦ τέκν᾿, οὓς μὲν εἰκὸς ἦν πονεῖν τάδε,
κατ᾿ οἶκον οἰκουροῦσιν ὥστε παρθένοι,
σφὼ δ᾿ ἀντ᾿ ἐκείνων τἀμὰ δυστήνου κακὰ
ὑπερπονεῖτον.

The two of them have adopted the customs of Egypt
in their nature and household provisioning:
for there the men sit at home
working at the loom, while their spouses
are out there, breadwinning.
And in your case, children, those who should do these tasks,
sit at home and tend the house like girls
while, in their stead, you two are helping me out
in my misfortunes.

And he continues (445-7):

ἐκ ταῖνδε δ᾿, οὔσαιν παρθένοιν, ὅσον φύσις
δίδωσιν αὐταῖν, καὶ τροφὰς ἔχω βίου
καὶ γῆς ἄδειαν καὶ γένους ἐπάρκεσιν.

It is because of these two, who are girls, as much as they are naturally
able, that I have daily bread
and shelter and support of my family.

Oedipus finally explains his decision to be escorted to the last journey by his daughters (1365-9):

εἰ δ᾿ ἐξέφυσα τάσδε μὴ ᾿μαυτῷ τροφοὺς
τὰς παῖδας, ἦ τἂν οὐκ ἂν ἦ, τὸ σὸν μέρος·
νῦν δ᾿ αἵδε μ᾿ ἐκσῴζουσιν, αἵδ᾿ ἐμαὶ τροφοί,
αἵδ᾿ ἄνδρες, οὐ γυναῖκες, ἐς τὸ συμπονεῖν·
ὑμεῖς δ᾿ ἀπ᾿ ἄλλου κοὐκ ἐμοῦ πεφύκατον.

And if I had not fathered these two daughters
to support me, I would not be alive, if it were up to you [sc. Polynices]
But now they are saving me, they are my guardians,
they are men, not women, in sharing my pains.[53]
You are someone else's sons, not mine.

Third, the abduction scenes in Aristophanes and Sophocles implement that violence which was feared of earlier in the plays. Blepyrus worries that under the new regime women will force men to have sex (ἀναγκάζωσι πρὸς βίαν, *Ec.* 467), and concludes: "It's horrible when you're forced" (τὸ πρὸς βίαν δεινότατον, 471). In the *Oedipus at Colonus*, violence is omnipresent. For the sake of comparison, in this play Sophocles' uses the word βία about as many times as in his *Ajax*, *Electra*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and *Antigone* combined. During Creon's abduction, the Chorus cries: "City, my city, is being destroyed by force!" (πόλις ἐναίρεται, πόλις ἐμά, σθένει, *OC* 842). Oedipus repeatedly fears of being physically attacked (e.g. 649, 724) and Theseus keeps assuring him that he is perfectly safe: "I know that no one will take you by force against my will (πρὸς βίαν ἐμοῦ, *OC* 656)." While this type of prophetic irony was endemic for Sophoclean drama, Aristophanes' comedy used to manage fulfillments of the worst case scenarios differently. A comparable case is the concern of Lysistrata's fellow-rebels that husbands may force them into sex, as well as her advice to them to keep resisting since men will not enjoy if sex is not consensual (ἐὰν λαβόντες δ᾽ ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον βία | ἕλκωσιν ἡμᾶς; ... οὐ γὰρ ἔνι τούτοις ἡδονὴ τοῖς πρὸς βίαν, *Lys.* 163-5). This possibility is later incorporated in the oath of allegiance to the sex-strike cause (*Lys.* 225-232; "ἐὰν δέ μ᾽ ἄκουσαν βιάζηται βία,…" 225), but the fear of forceful intercourse proved unjustified. In the *Assemblywomen*, by contrast, men's nightmares did come true. The abduction scene is thus thematically very effective: on the one hand, it is comically absurd, for it is physically possible only for men to force women into sex, not vice versa. But, on the other hand, the whole point of the *Assemblywomen* is that men and women have exchanged places.

4. Sophoclean eschatology and para-Euripidean ultimate *aition*

Lastly, one of the leitmotifs of the *Assemblywomen* and the *Oedipus at Colo-*

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[53] Cf. HESK 2012: 167-8: "Antigone painstakingly guides Oedipus to sit on another rock just outside the sanctuary (170-206). This distinctive combination of dialogue and stage action emphasizes the old man's heavy reliance upon his daughter for advice and physical support… Oedipus expresses his extreme anger at his two sons (Eteocles and Polyneices) for not supporting him. His contrasting appreciation of the manner in which Antigone and Ismene have put his interests before theirs is marked (337-360)." For Oedipus' strong preference for his daughters, see also EASTERLING l967.

nus is old age. Praxagora's mission is to favor the old and the feeble. Appropriately, Aristophanes' three old abductors with teenage libido are imaged as Erinyes—old divinities disrespected by the young, and ironically known as *korai* (A. *Eum*. 69, above).[54] After all, in avenging family crimes the Erinyes are regularly on the side of the older ever since Homer (*Il*. 15.204). In the *Oedipus at Colonus*, it is not only Oedipus whose old age and weakness is emphasized, but Creon's as well.[55] At one point in the abduction scene Creon claims that he will carry it out by force even though he is alone, old, and slow (οὔτοι καθέξω θυμόν, ἀλλ' ἄξω βίᾳ | κεἰ μοῦνός εἰμι τόνδε κεἰ χρόνῳ βραδύς, 874-5). This is, I believe, not insignificant. It is as if the entire stage crew of Sophocles has grown old together—and together with the tragedian himself. Namely, in hypothesizing about what might have particularly attracted Aristophanes to Sophocles' abduction scene, we would do well to keep in mind that *Oedipus at Colonus* was not just *any* play: it was Sophocles' last, posthumously produced, and most celebrated play, already in antiquity praised as the great poet's quasi-autobiographical swansong.[56] This is how Thomas van Nortwick begins his essay "Last Things: *Oedipus at Colonus* and the End of Tragedy:"

> "It is one of the great exits in Western theater. Oedipus, old and blind, dressed in rags, leads his daughters and Theseus off stage, through the central doors of the *skene*. Lately abject and dependent, the old man walks with serene confidence toward his own death in the grove of the Eumenides. We know that *Oedipus at Colonus* was first produced posthumously in 401 BCE, and, though the play might have been written at any time, the subject and some stylistic features have led scholars to assume that it represents the playwright's final vision of the tragic hero. *Oedipus dies where Sophocles was born—a confluence that cannot be coincidental, suggesting that the playwright was also seeing the end of his hero's life through the prism of his own impending death*, itself just two years before the final defeat of Athens by Sparta in 404 BCE."[57]

This interpretation is all the more illuminating for our purposes since with

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[54] Cf. Easterling 2008: 228: "old, grotesque female creatures with the performative power of youth."

[55] Passages: 733 (Creon), 724-7 (Chorus), 744 and 804 (Creon of Oedipus), 870 (Oedipus of himself and Creon), 961, 1008, 1146 (Oedipus), 1691 (Ismene of Oedipus); see esp. the choral ode at 1211-1248. "Creon is an old man, as Oedipus is old; and, as we shall see, the quality of the scene between them is partly determined by this fact… Great stress is laid on the age of both Oedipus and Creon" (Winnington-Ingram 1980: 251, 260, fn.35). See Falkner/De Luce 1989 for stimulating discussions of old age in ancient literature, esp. Hubbard's chapter on Aristophanes and Van Nortwick's on *Oedipus at Colonus*.

[56] See Hanink 2010 on the play's reputation.

[57] Van Nortwick 2012: 141, emphasis mine.

the *Assemblywomen* Aristophanes was approaching the end of *his* career as well. Indeed, Gwendolyn Compton-Engle has very attractively outlined parallels between the *Oedipus at Colonus* and Aristophanes' very last play, the *Wealth*. After analyzing some striking resemblances between the openings of the two plays, where old, weak, and blind protagonists are being led onto stage, as well as various thematic, verbal, and stage action parallels throughout,[58] she tempts us "to imagine Aristophanes in the twilight of his career choosing to appropriate late-Sophoclean character and theme as a kind of *emulative acknowledgment of the master of that genre*. Aristophanes begins this, the last play that was produced in his own name, by bringing onstage an aged yet ultimately vital character, resurrected from the final work of a preeminent playwright."[59] Compton-Engle's reading sits very well with Aristophanes' unusual attitude towards Sophocles. Unlike Aeschylus and Euripides, Sophocles was never really a *komoidoumenos*. To be sure, Aristophanes did engage with his opus in some ways, but the Aristophanic paratragedy as we think of it is hardly applicable.[60] Sophocles is the only one spared from ridicule in the *Frogs*. In fact, despite Dionysus' professed "desire" for Euripides (πόθος, Ar. *Ra*. 52) and the ultimate triumph of Aeschylus, the mission of the god of drama is, if anything, to find a worthy replacement for Sophocles.

If, therefore, in the *Assemblywomen* Aristophanes is similarly paying homage to Sophocles, it is quite in place that he concludes the kidnapping scene with a description of a burial, which is the *telos* of the *Oedipus at Colonus* (*OC* 576-82). As the young man is being dragged offstage by the three comic Erinyes, he utters his last will (*Ec.* 1105-1111, tr. Henderson):

> ὅμως δ᾽ ἐάν τι πολλὰ πολλάκις πάθω
> ὑπὸ ταῖνδε ταῖν κασαλβάδοιν δεῦρ᾽ εἰσπλέων,
> θάψαι μ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ τῷ στόματι τῆς εἰσβολῆς,
> καὶ τήνδ᾽ ἄνωθεν ἐπιπολῆς τοῦ σήματος
> ζῶσαν καταπιττώσαντες, εἶτα τὼ πόδε
> <u>μολυβδοχοήσαντες</u> κύκλῳ περὶ τὰ σφυρὰ

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[58] E.g.: "*Wealth* again echoes the action of *Oedipus at Colonus* in the installation of its once-blind and now beneficent figure at a site beneficial to Athens" (COMPTON-ENGLE 2013: 156).

[59] COMPTON-ENGLE 2013: 170; emphasis mine.

[60] DOBROV 2001: 105-132, for example, conducts an exciting but inevitably speculative reading of Aristophanes' *Birds* as a "contrafact" of Sophocles' lost *Tereus*. STARKEY 2012: 215-75 surveys all possible instances of parody of Sophocles in Aristophanes, concluding that "Aristophanes' treatment of Euripides (especially in *Acharnians*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, and *Frogs*) is more explicit and more extensive than anything we see for Sophocles" (275). COMPTON-ENGLE 2013: 160 concludes that "*Wealth* takes an approach unique among surviving comedies by engaging so extensively with Sophocles rather than Euripides, and by doing this with no direct quotations at all from… its central model, *Oedipus at Colonus*."

ἄνω ᾿πιθεῖναι πρόφασιν ἀντὶ ληκύθου.

> But if the very worst really does befall me
> at the hands of these floozies when I sail inside,
> bury me right where I entered the channel.
> As for her, cover her alive allover
> with pitch and press her feet
> in <u>molten lead</u> up to her ankles,
> and stick her over my grave instead of an urn!

Besides sealing the scene with an Oedipus-like ritual funeral, these lines may be additionally employing the unwelcoming harbor as a metaphor of the incestuous marriage from the *Oedipus Tyrannus* (422-4, 1208-10).[61] And yet, all along, the exit of the young man is curiously reminiscent of Euripides. Not only does the specific description of turning a woman into a statue by melting lead around her legs find its only literary parallel in Euripides' *Andromache*,[62] but burial as a closural device is Euripides' signature move. Virtually all of his tragedies end in some sort of foundational myth that connects the play with the outside world, typically in instituting a cult, such as in the *Hippolytus* (1423ff.). As W. S. Barrett describes its purpose, "[o]ften it was to explain an existing cult, name, etc. that a legend first arose, and the Athenian audience felt strongly the continuity of legendary past and present; and that apart, there is an evident emotional satisfaction in the feeling that the events and persons one has been witnessing live on in effect or name into the life of the present day."[63] The single most common type includes burials and post-burial arrangements: *Andromache* (1240ff.), *Electra* (1270ff.), *Hecuba* (1270ff.), *Children*

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[61] Sommerstein 1998, on *Ec.* 1106, rejects the possibility of an obscene double entendre, in my view, unconvincingly: "the harbour into which he is sailing is the Third Old Woman's house (not, even secondarily, her vagina, … such a *double entendre* could hardly be understood without hand gestures, which Epigenes [i.e. the Young Man] is still unable to make, and what the audience can *see* is that he is about to be taken through the door and swallowed up in the darkness within)." Nautical imagery is regularly used by Euripides (Barlow 2008, *passim*), even more so by Aeschylus (Van Nes 1963); in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* ships are probably the single most frequent metaphor: see a list in Campbell 1986. Musurillo 1957: 40 moreover argues that "[f]or Sophocles [naval imagery] is, all through the play, a kind of "sunken metaphor" not always explicitly coming to the surface. Henderson 1991: 161-166 surveys abundant examples of nautical terminology for sex in Aristophanes; note esp. two in the *Assemblywomen*: a woman describing her husband "sailing her" all night (*Ec.* 37-9), and the young man referring to sex with the old women in the abduction scene above as "plying two sculls at once" (*Ec.* 1091); also *Ec.* 1087, 1104-6, 1109. For "various marine and nautical metaphors, similes, parallels, allusions, and analogies applied to love and sex" throughout ancient literature, see Murgatroyd 1995.

[62] κάθησ᾿ ἑδραία· καὶ γὰρ εἰ πέριξ σ᾿ <u>ἔχοι | τηκτὸς μόλυβδος</u>, ἐξαναστήσω σ᾿ ἐγὼ | πρὶν ᾧ πέποιθας παῖδ᾿ Ἀχιλλέως μολεῖν (E. *Andr.* 266-8). See commentaries on both passages in Ussher 1973, Sommerstein 1998, and Stevens 1971.

[63] Barrett 1966, on E. *Hipp.* 1423-30.

of Heracles (1030ff.), *Medea* (1381ff.), *Orestes* (1645ff.), *Suppliants* (1165), and so on.

Remarkably, it turns out that "[T]he closest thing to an *aition* in Sophocles comes near the end of *Oedipus at Colonus* [1520-23, 1533-34]... [but] the secret tomb could be considered a variation upon, or reversal of, the Euripidean *aition*, since the mantic hero announces that his impending death and burial will remain *unknown* to future generations."[64] In other words, in his magnificent meta-autobiographical departure from the tragic stage, Sophocles appropriates the characteristically Euripidean move.[65] As a retroactively self-fashioned Euripidean hero, Sophocles-Oedipus expands on his contemporary by leaving his own afterlife mysteriously open-ended where Euripides would have closed. If there is anyone who knew the techniques of the two tragedians too well to miss this, and who would have experimented with it at the twilight of his own career, it is Aristophanes.

As opposed to Aristophanes' longstanding commitment to thematically and linguistically more or less overt paratragedy, the *Assemblywomen* manifest how the comic message is articulated through unannotated appropriation of abstract ideas and virtually stock types emerging from tragedies. Even though Aristophanes' last two plays cannot but in some way reflect contemporary Athens, they do so by conspicuously shifting to a more universal sphere of ideas and relations that are comparably easy to extrapolate. It is hardly a coincidence that late Aristophanes paved the way for what will become known as Middle and New Comedy much like late Euripides did.[66] Similarly, the end of Aristophanes' career might help elucidate what has been the essence of his attitude towards Sophocles all along, hitherto perceived as somewhat vague

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[64] Dunn 1996: 59-60; the whole passage reads: "The closest thing to an *aition* in Sophocles comes near the end of *Oedipus at Colonus* [1520-23, 1533-34]... The implication is that the tomb of Oedipus will survive into the world of the audience and will (like the tomb of Eurystheus in *Children of Heracles* or the buried knife in *Suppliant Women*) protect Athens from invading enemies. But a connection with the contemporary world is never spelled out. There is no reference to the future [...] that might establish such a link, and rather than appealing to a familiar name or place in the manner of an *aition*, Sophocles makes it clear that the site of Oedipus' death is unknown. The private and mystical atmosphere is entirely different from an appeal to public knowledge of civic institutions, and the secret tomb could be considered a variation upon, or reversal of, the Euripidean *aition*, since the mantic hero announces that his impending death and burial will remain *unknown* to future generations. Sophocles does not offer a precedent for the Euripidean *aition*, since *Oedipus at Colonus* was produced after Euripides' death. This one example that comes closest to an *aition* has a very different effect, emphasizing the intensely personal meaning of the ending, rather than connecting it to the larger world of the audience."

[65] In general theatrical technique, like other late Sophoclean plays, *Electra* and *Philoctetes*, "*Oedipus at Colonus* is the outcome of a process of mutual influence between Sophocles and Euripides" (Hesk 2012: 174).

[66] For Euripides as the inventor of New Comedy, see Knox 1979: 250-274.

and seemingly disinterested. If previously Sophocles had offered less material for outright parody than Euripides, his spectacular swansong departure seems to have been exactly what Aristophanes had been waiting for.[67]

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[67] Some of the arguments in this paper have been presented on various occasions. I thank Jeffrey Rusten and David Sansone for their comments.

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Отмица Софоклова, покоп Еурипидов: Клитемнестра, Ерзиније и Едип у Аристофановим Женама у скупштини

Апстракт: У овом раду откривају се и анализирају неки међусобно усклађени и тематски значајни трагички одјеци у Аристофановим *Женама у скупштини* који илуструју његов прелаз са отворене паратрагедије на књижевну апропријацију. За његов приказ родних и сексуалних тензија умногоме су заслужне трагедије Орестовог циклуса (Праксагора произилази у комичку Клитемнестру; три старе жене у Ериније) и Софоклов *Едип на Колону*. Аристофанова сцена отмице скована је према отмици Едипа, што расветљава комедиографов однос према Софоклу.

Кључне речи. Аристофан, *Жене у скупштини*, Орестов циклус, Ериније, Едип, Софокле, секс, род, отмица, сахрана, паратрагедија.

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La notion d'ἀγέλη dans le système pédagogique platonicien

Résumé: L'évolution sémantique et diachronique de la notion d'ἀγέλη d'Homère à Platon est retracée dans l'emploi du terme pour désigner un «groupe» ou un «troupeau» d'animaux sauvages ou domestiques et dans le glissement de ce sens chez les auteurs archaïques et classiques pour signifier «le groupe» humain de jeunes gens, d'hommes ou de femmes d'âge mûr. De Pindare, en passant par les auteurs tragiques, comiques, historiens, philosophes jusqu'à l'époque tardive de la littérature grecque le terme ἀγέλη s'est surtout développé dans le système pédagogique spartiate établi sous Lycurgue. Les textes de Platon, Xénophon et Plutarque en sont les principales sources pour l'étude de l'évolution du sens d'ἀγέλη dans cet article.
Dans les cités de la République et des Lois, Platon a conçu des systèmes pédagogiques qui ont pris en compte le critère d'âge pour les différentes étapes d'apprentissage des techniques et connaissances. Grand admirateur des civilisations crétoise et spartiate Platon adapte le terme ἀγέλη ou (ἀγέλα) aux groupes d'enfants ou de jeunes gens (garçons ou filles) appelés à recevoir l'éducation libérale de la cité. En effet, il divisera l'évolution biologique en étapes auxquelles correspondent des groupes et classes d'âge des citoyens. Il n'emploie pas ἀγέλη dans ce sens dans La République, mais il tient bien compte de cette réalité spartiate dans l'apprentissage des gardiens qui suivent le même parcours pédagogique. L'emploi du mot fut plus fréquent dans le système pédagogique des Lois. Toutefois, dans les deux œuvres Platon s'appuie sur les critères d'âge pour appliquer son programme pédagogique. La touche personnelle de Platon est de voir à la fois dans ce système l'utilité pédagogique et politique. En effet, l'ensemble des citoyens libres de la polis ont appris et assimilé les mêmes connaissances, suivant les mêmes méthodes avec les mêmes garanties de succès. Cette transmission se fait par étapes et par groupe ou classe d'âge, de zéro à cinquante ans, en théorie et en pratique. Platon a recherché dans cette option l'utilité pédagogique pour rendre un citoyen parfait.
L'autre aspect concerne l'utilité politique de cette méthode d'apprentissage. En effet, l'unité de la cité est d'abord recherchée dans l'éducation des jeunes générations par laquelle elles découvrent leurs droits et leurs devoirs, consolident leur unité et leur solidarité au sein de la communauté.

Le regroupement des jeunes générations en bandes de garçons et de filles de même âge pour un programme pédagogique orienté vers l'unité et l'intérêt de l'État a suffi à Platon à justifier l'utilité de la prise en compte de la notion d'ἀγέλη dans son système éducatif.

Mots-clés : ἴλη (ilè), ἀγέλη (agélè), troupeau, groupe d'âge, classe d'âge, pédagogie, utilité pédagogique, politique, utilité politique, État, cité, connaissances, éducation.Platon, Pindare, Xénophon, Plutarque, Athénée, Crète, Sparte.

L'évolution sémantique et diachronique d'ἀγέλη

1. D'Homère à Platon

Le terme ἀγέλη tire ses origines du verbe ἄγω, « comme le confirme le sens originel, précis et technique. Terme pastoral » d'après Pierre Chantraine[1]. Le sens pastoral du mot reste dominant dans l'emploi qu'en font Homère et Hésiode dans leurs œuvres respectives. En effet, chez Homère ἀγέλη accompagne les mots désignant les troupeaux de bovins, d'ovins, de porcs, de caprins, de chevaux regroupés en petit ou en grand nombre. Ce sont des emplois qui se retrouvent aussi chez Hésiode. Relativement à ces références de la littérature épique P. Chantraine traduit ἀγέλη par « troupeau de gros bétail » « que l'on mène à la pâture[2] ». Homère ne l'emploie que pour les bandes d'animaux domestiques, tandis que dans l'œuvre d'Hésiode le terme peut « désigner un troupeau[3] d'animaux sauvages[4] ». Ainsi, chez cet auteur, le mot peut traduire un rassemblement important de lions ou de sangliers. Dans les œuvres des deux poètes le sens d'ἀγέλη demeure inchangé. Quand il désigne un ensemble d'animaux domestiques ou sauvages, les mâles et les femelles sont confondus dans le même groupe. Dans l'*Iliade* d'Homère, les chevaux des « vaillants Myrmidons[5] » rejoignent le « troupeau de cavales » du camp d'Achille, poussés par les écuyers. Chez Hésiode on note la présence

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[1] Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, histoire des mots,* Paris, Klincksieck, 1999, p. 10. – Chantraine lui-même dans ses *Études sur le vocabulaire grec,* Paris 1956, 32 donne une définiton plus précise du sens original du mot: 'troupeaux de bêtes que l'on mène'. – On notera que parmi les dérivés de la racine indo-europeenne *aǵ- (*h2eǵ-), cités dans D. Wodtko, B. Irslinger, C. Schneider, *Nomina im Indogermanischen Lexikon,* Heidelberg 2008, 267–277, le plus proche parallèle à ἀγέλη du point de vue sémantique est fourni par le mot latin *agmen* 'troupe, troupeau; foule, bande; cortège; armée en marche'.

Pour les racines préhistoriques de l'institution dorienne d'ἀγέλα (opposée, en Crète, à *hetaireia* 'compagnonnage des homs faits') voir Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Le chasseur noir et l'origine de l'éphébie athénienne, *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations,* 23/5, 1968, 947–964.

[2] Pierre Chantraine, *ibidem*, p. 10.

[3] Pierre Chantraine, *ibidem*, p. 10.

[4] Cf. Hésiode, *Le bouclier d'Hercule*, v. 168 - ἐν δὲ συῶν ἀγέλαι χλούνων ; *Théogonie*, v. 445 – βουκολίας δ᾽ἀγέλας τε καὶ αἰπόλια πλατέ᾽αἰγῶν.

[5] Homère, *Iliade*, XIX, 281.

des bergers qui conduisent au pâturage des troupeaux de bovins, de caprins ou d'ovins.

Hormis leurs bergers, les troupeaux d'animaux sont symbolisés par la présence d'une bête qui règne au sein de l'ἀγέλη. L'animal se singularise par sa taille et sa force physique qu'il impose aux mâles et aux femelles qui composent l'ἀγέλη. Sa fonction est de surveiller et de guider l'ensemble du troupeau. Les fauves s'attaquent à lui avant d'atteindre ses protégés. Son rôle de gardien face aux prédateurs montre son rôle et l'organisation interne des animaux en groupe. Au demeurant, l'animal dominant est à la fois protecteur et guide.

Ainsi donc dans la première période de l'histoire littéraire grecque le terme ἀγέλη a désigné un groupe d'animaux domestiques ou sauvages chez Homère et chez Hésiode. Un berger ou un bouvier, un chevrier, un écuyer, des pâturages où les troupeaux se déplacent, un mâle chef de bande, constitu-aient les éléments symboles de l'ἀγέλη pastorale. C'est cette image qui sem-ble servir de modèle aux formateurs dans le regroupement des êtres humains dès l'enfance.

Du reste, l'utilisation d'ἀγέλη pour les «groupes» humains trouve ses échos dans les textes du Vème siècle de Pindare qui était fervent défenseur de la religion traditionnelle et de l'aristocratie dorienne. Précisément il emploie le terme ἀγέλα dans le *fragment 112 B⁴*9 «Λάκαινα μὲν παρθένων ἀγέλα[6] : une troupe de vierges Lacédémoniennes », et dans le même extrait : ὦ κύ-πρου δέσποινα, τεὸν δεῦτ᾽ ἐς ἄλσος φορβάδων κορᾶν ἀγέλαν ἐκατόγγυιον Ξενοφῶν τελέαις ἐπήγαγ᾽ εὐχωλαῖς ἀνθείς – « O Reine de Chypre, ici, dans ce sanctuaire, Xénophon a offert en pâture *une troupe de cent filles*, heureux que son vœu ait été exaucé[7] », avec un sens emprunté à la fois à la tradition homérique et dorienne. Chantraine précise : « dans le monde dorien, ἀγέ-λα désigne des troupes de jeunes gens à Sparte et en Crète[8] », d'ἀγέλη sont dérivés des mots tels que ἀγελαῖος, ἀγελάζομαι, ἀγελαστικός, ἀγελικός, ἀγελίζω, ἀγελισμός. Le mot ἀγελάος « désigne en Crète les membres d'une ἀγέλα (Buck, *Gr. Dialects*, 121), et celui d'ἀγελάτας, en pays dorien, « un chef » ou parfois un « membre d'une ἀγέλα de garçons9». Dans ses deux significations pastorale : « troupeau » et humaine : « classe d'âge », ἀγέλη a été employé par les Tragiques, les Orateurs, les Historiens, les philosophes dans des régistres plus ou moins similaires. En définitive, de son sens lié au

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[6] Athénée, XIV, 30, 17.
[7] Athénée, XIII, 33, 12.
[8] Pierre Chantraine, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[9] Pierre Chantraine, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

monde des animaux, ἀγέλη s'est glissé dans un sens commun de «groupe», de « classe » pour les humains par référence à la première signification.

2. De Platon à l'Antiquité tardive

Rappelons que dans la littérature antérieure, particulièrement dans la poésie épique, Pindare avait déjà employé ἀγέλα pour un « groupe » de jeunes filles[10]. Auteur classique, Xénophon l'écrit pour parler d'un « groupe d'amis[11] » - φίλων ἀγέλην. Dans la *République des Lacédémoniens*, il emploie un autre terme, ἴλη, pour les παῖδες répartis en « troupeaux[12] ». Plutarque coordonne les deux termes : ἴλη et ἀγέλη pour des enfants qui «dormaient ensemble par *troupe* et par *section*» - ἐκάθευδον δὲ ὁμοῦ κατ᾽ ἴλην καὶ ἀγέλην (...)[13] ». Il faut noter que ces deux auteurs font référence, dans leurs œuvres citées, à Sparte et à son système éducatif où ἴλη[14] traduirait « groupe » et ἀγέ-λη « classe » d'âge. Pierre Chantraine précise le sens d' ἴλη : « "un troupeau", en particulier division de l' ἀγέλα de la jeunesse à Sparte, "détachement de cavalerie" (ἴλα en dorien)[15] ».

Platon emploie ἀγέλη et ses dérivés dans tous les sens révélés antérieurement dans la littérature grecque. À l'instar d'Homère et d'Hésiode, il utilise ἀγέλη pour désigner un troupeau d'animaux domestiques[16], une bande d'oiseaux[17] , un groupe humain[18], un regroupement commun ou neutre[19].

C'est par rapport aux regroupements des enfants de trois à six ans dans sa cité idéale des *Lois* que le philosophe utilise le terme ἀγέλη et ses dérivés dans sa terminologie pédagogique[20]. Platon laisse ainsi entrevoir son admiration des systèmes pédagogiques de la Crète et de Sparte, basés sur les étapes de la croissance physique. Toutefois, il donne sa propre vision sur la place et l'importance du critère « âge » dans son système éducatif décrit dans la *République* et dans les *Lois.*

[10] Cf. Pindare, *frag.* 112 B⁴9 , in Athénée, XIII et XIV.

[11] Xénophon, *Mémorables*, III, 5.

[12] Cf. Xénophon, *Rép. des Lacédémoniens*, II, 11, 2.

[13] Plutarque, *Lycurgue*, 16, 13.

[14] Il est important de mettre l'accent sur ce terme ἴλη qui semble traduire « groupe », ou « peloton » par rapport à ἀγέλη qui serait l'ensemble des ἴλαι de la même génération de jeunes gens, filles et garçons dans une «kômè». L'emploi d' ἀγέλη dans *Les Lois* VII est en contradiction avec le sens que lui donne Pierre Chantraine (*op.cit.* p. 462).

[15] P. Chantraine, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

[16] Cf. Platon, *Politique*, 268a ; 271d ; 278d ; *Minos*, 318a ; *Lois*, 666e ; 694 e ; 713d ; 735b.

[17] Cf. Platon, *Théétète*, 197d ; *Lois*, 680 e ; 840d.

[18] Cf. Platon, *Politique*, 268ab ; 261d ; 267d ; 267 e ; 258c ; 275a ; 276c ; 294 e ; 295 e ; *Lois*, 694 e ; 794a ; *Rép.*, 451c ; 459 e.

[19] Cf. Platon, *Politique*, 275d ; 287b etc.

[20] Cf. Platon, *Lois*, 794a

Par ailleurs dans les textes politiques de Platon apparaît clairement la notion de « groupe » que traduit ἀγέλη. Dans le *Politique*, le philosophe assimile le roi à un pasteur dont l'un des arts est la politique[21] - ἡ πολιτική et dont le « troupeau » – μετὰ τῆς ἀγέλης συνδιαθέων[22], (...) μιᾶς τινος ἀγέλης ἐπιμέλεια[23] n'est constitué que de bipèdes[24]. L'auteur précise la définition du roi et de son troupeau : « il est pasteur et nourricier du troupeau humain - ὅταν αὐτὸν νομέα καὶ τροφὸν ἀγέλης ἀνθρωπίνης θῶέν[25] ». Le philosophe fait remonter le métier de pasteur à une fonction divine dans « la période opposée » au « cycle actuel[26] ». Dans les deux cas, le troupeau humain – ἡ τοτε ἀνθρωπίνη ἀγέλη – constitue un ensemble d'êtres vivants dont le divin ou le roi sont les nourriciers et les médecins[27]. Cet art de nourricier du « troupeau bipède (…) est celui du roi et du politique[28] (…)», écrit Platon ; à ces fonctions il ajoute celle du « législateur » « (…) qui doit prescrire à ses ouailles leurs obligations de justice et de contacts mutuels[29] (…) ». En effet, « ces troupeaux humains – ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλαις – (…), répartis en cités, y vivent sous les lois de leurs législateurs respectifs[30] ». Le législateur devient ainsi le guide des populations qui sont sous son autorité.

L'emploi du terme ἀγέλη dans l'organisation sociale et politique de cette communauté humaine est sans doute lié aux souvenirs du système spartiate. En effet, Platon donne au roi, « pasteur et nourricier du troupeau humain[31] », l'image du bouvier[32]. La fonction sociale du pasteur-roi se lit dans ce passage où ses fonctions d'éducateur, de nourricier, de médecin sont résumées par le philosophe. C'est une évidence que Platon se donne ici le plaisir de rappeler l'histoire spartiate en matière d'éducation. Il parle aussi d'une « troupe » qui doit obéir aux lois prescrites par la justice[33]. Le terme « troupe » sert à désigner dans ce domaine l'ensemble des citoyens susceptibles d'obéir aux lois établies par « leurs législateurs respectifs[34] ».

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[21] Cf. Platon, *Politique*, 267d.
[22] Platon, *Politique*, 266cd.
[23] Platon, *ibidem*, 267d.
[24] Platon, *ibidem*, 266 e.
[25] Platon, *ibidem*, 268c.
[26] Platon, *Politique*, 275 e.
[27] Cf. Platon, *ibidem*, 268ab.
[28] Platon, *Politique*, 276c.
[29] Platon, *ibidem*, 294 e.
[30] Platon, *Politique*, 295 e.
[31] Platon, *ibidem*, 268c.
[32] Platon, *ibidem*, 268ab. (« Il est le nourricier du troupeau, lui qui paît les bœufs ; il en est le médecin ; il en est, pour ainsi dire, le marieur, et lui seul, aux petits qui naissent et aux mères qui enfantent, sait donner les soins de l'accoucheur. »)
[33] Cf. Platon, *Politique*, 295 e.
[34] Cf. Platon, *Politique*, 295 e.

Ces différents passages montrent bien que Platon utilise le terme ἀγέλη dans le cadre social et pédagogique, politique et juridique. Cet usage est fréquent dans le descriptif de son système éducatif.

Dans le camp des Tragiques Sophocle utilise ἀγέλη pour désigner « un essaim de lâches oiseaux[35] » - ἅπερ πτηνῶν ἀγέλαι ou « des troupeaux de bœufs[36] »- ἀγέλαις βουνόμοις ; et Euripide[37] est le seul qui l'emploie pour les humains : - ὕπ᾽ἀγέλαν πεσόντι τὰν μαινάδων – « quand il tombera sur la troupe des Ménades[38] ».

Dans la Comédie, Aristophane l'écrit une seule fois pour évoquer une « bande de grives[39] » - ἀγέλη μία κιχλῶν.

Dans la littérature tardive, le géographe Strabon décrit « la classe des enfants » en Crète en employant le terme ἀγέλη : - γαμεῖν μὲν ἅμα πάντες ἀναγκάζονται παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς παίδων ἀγέλης ἐκκριθέντες : « tous les jeunes garçons désignés pour subir en même temps de l'ἀγέλη des enfants sont tenus de se marier en même temps[40] (...) ». Il l'emploie aussi pour les animaux domestiques[41] et sauvages[42], et pour les poissons[43].

Plutarque emprunte le terme ἀγέλη(α) pour retracer l'histoire du système éducatif spartiate. En effet, il utilise le même terme que les Lacédémoniens pour désigner un groupe d'enfants réunis pour leur initiation à la vie à partir de la 7ème année[44] ; il n'hésite pas aussi à employer ἀγέλη pour les troupeaux d'animaux. Il compare dans le même ouvrage l'humanité à «un grand troupeau, vivant sur un paturage commun[45]». En cela il rejoint Platon dans *Le Politique.* Nous reviendrons sur les œuvres de Plutarque.

Athénée, dans le *Deipnosophistes* (*Le Banquet des sages*), rapportant les propos d'Epicrate le Comique, emploie ἀγέλη pour «un groupe de jeunes

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[35] Sophocle, *Ajax*, v. 168.
[36] Sophocle, *Œdipe*, v. 26.
[37] Cf. Euripide, *Les Bacchantes*, v. 677 ; v. 1022 ; *Héraclès Furieux*, v. 1276 ; *Hippolyte*, v. 734 ; *Hélène*, v. 1260 ; *Ion*, v. 106.
[38] Euripide, *Les Bacchantes*, v. 1022.
[39] Aristophane, *Les Oiseaux*, v. 591.
[40] Strabon, *Geographica*, X, 20.
[41] Strabon, *op. cit.*, V,1 ; VI,1 ; VIII, 1 ; X, 2 ; XI, 13 ; XII, 3.
[42] Strabon, *op. cit.*, XVI, 4.
[43] Strabon, *op. cit.*, XIV, 3 .
[44] Cf Plutarque, *Vie de Lycurgue*, 16, 4, 7, 8 ; *Vie d'Agésilas*, 2,1 ; *Sur la fortune d'Alexandre*, II, 5.
[45] Cf. Plutarque, *Sur la Fortune d'Alexandre*, I, 6.

gens» - ἰδὼν ἀγέλην μειρακίων⁴⁶. L'œuvre de cet auteur ne manque pas de références où le mot ἀγέλη est usité pour les bandes d'animaux⁴⁷ et d'oiseaux⁴⁸.

Il est manifeste que le terme ἀγέλη a été usité tout au long de l'histoire de la littérature grecque. Qu'ils soient philosophes, auteurs tragiques ou comiques, historiens, grammairiens, ils l'ont employé pour désigner une bande, un troupeau d'animaux dans un premier temps et un groupe humain dans un second temps. L'histoire littéraire renseigne que le terme ἀγέλη a beaucoup servi dans le système temporel et éducatif crétois et spartiate. En effet, dans la cité lacédémonienne l'organisation sociale et pédagogique se fondait sur la croissance biologique de l'homme. L'enfant y était pris en charge par l'Etat, sinon avant la naissance, du moins dès l'âge de sept ans. Au cours de ces étapes⁴⁹ temporelles progressives, les enfants étaient éduqués et formés à la vie. Dans ce cursus pédagogique, appelé ἀγωγή à Sparte, les catégories d'enfants étaient désignées, de l'enfance à l'âge de vingt ans, par des termes précis⁵⁰.

La plupart des auteurs de l'antiquité tardive ont employé le terme ἀγέλη dans le cadre de rappels historiques. C'est le cas de Strabon, Plutarque, Athénée et d'autres écrivains. Avec Platon la description des systèmes éducatifs crétois et spartiate prit un caractère plus philosophique qu'historique. Mais le philosophe athénien, dans son projet de la cité idéale des *Lois*, dont la constitution n'est que la synthèse des régimes crétois, spartiate et athénien, donne une nouvelle dynamique au mot ἀγέλη dans son système pédagogique. Du reste, il ne s'est pas contenté seulement de reprendre le terme, mais il se l'est approprié dans une nouvelle approche pédagogique.

II La place de l'ἀγέλη dans le système pédagogique platonicien

1. L'ἀγέλη : institution éducative dans l'organisation des programmes

Dans l'organisation des cités de la *République* et des *Lois*, Platon prend en compte la composition sociale de leurs habitants. Que ce soit le philosophe ou les auteurs qui l'ont précédé, les citoyens libres ont toujours constitué l'objet de leur étude. Les artisans et les commerçants, malgré leur statut de *politai eleutheroi* sont des populations de seconde zone. Si Xénophon s'est contenté

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⁴⁶ Athénée, *Deipnosophistes*, II, 59 d.
⁴⁷ Cf. Athénée, *ibidem*, XII, 23.
⁴⁸ Cf. Athénée, *ibidem*, II, 24.
⁴⁹ Cf. Plutarque, *Vie de Lycurgue*, 16, 17.
⁵⁰ Cf. Henry-Irénée Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité, I. Le monde grec*, Paris, Seuil, 1948, pp. 46-48 ; Jacqueline Christien-Tregaro, « Les temps d'une vie. Sparte, une société à classe d'âge » in : *Mètis. Anthropologie des mondes grecs anciens. Volume 12*. 1997. pp. 65-66.

de décrire quelques aspects de l'histoire spartiate, Plutarque de rassembler des souvenirs sur la vie lacédémonienne, Platon, quant à lui, s'est évertué à appliquer à son projet de cité idéale les rigoureux principes de l'organisation sociale et politique de Sparte, voire de la Crète. La division de la société en « groupes » sociaux dans la *République* et en «catégories» de citoyens libres et de non libres dans les *Lois* reflète bien, dans les deux cas, l'organisation de la cité de Sparte où l'élite dirigeante constituée d'*Homoioi* est la seule bénéficiaire de l'éducation instituée par l'Etat. Au demeurant, cette influence lacédémonienne va marquer le système pédagogique platonicien dans sa forme et son contenu.

Platon a conçu un système de formation planifié suivant les étapes successives de croissance de ceux qui sont autorisés à recevoir l'éducation. Ce constat est valable pour les cités de la *République* et des *Lois*, sans négliger les différences que l'on peut noter dans les finalités de l'éducation décrite dans les deux ouvrages. Par conséquent, face à ce choix, le philosophe pose de nouvelles réformes et des orientations plus exigeantes et plus révolutionnaires. Sans doute, la notion de groupe ou de classe d'âge va-t-elle prendre une nouvelle dimension pédagogique. Mais Platon copie ingénieusement les Spartiates qui distinguent « des enfants, des adolescents, des jeunes, des hommes mûrs et des vieux[51] » dans leur système de formation. Mieux, le philosophe utilise, dans ces « étapes de l'évolution », d'autres critères de regroupement par aptitude et par sexe[52]. Ces pratiques, connues des Crétois et des Spartiates, sont prescrites à partir de la sixième année, au moment de séparer garçons et filles. Cette séparation ne signifie pas l'inégalité entre les filles et les garçons face à l'éducation ; au contraire, le philosophe donne la même chance aux deux groupes, suivant leur aptitude, dans la formation. À ce stade la dimension que Platon accorde à ces mesures pédagogiques et politiques lui permet déjà de défendre le statut de la femme et dans la *République* et dans les *Lois.*

Dans la *République*, Platon n'emploie pas ἀγέλη pour nommer une classe d'âge bien définie dans l'espace et le temps. Mais le même terme y a servi à désigner l'ensemble des gardiens comme « un troupeau » - ἀγέλη τῶν φυλάκων[53], c'est-à-dire un « groupe » d'hommes et de femmes, une catégorie bien distincte dans la cité idéale. Ces gardiens, hommes et femmes, vont recevoir

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[51] Jacqueline Christien-Tregaro, « Le temps d'une vie. Sparte, une société à classe d'âge », in : Métis. *Anthropologie des mondes grecs anciens. Volume 12*, 1997, p. 51.
[52] Notons que les femmes sont dans les mêmes groupes et dans les mêmes structures pédagogiques que les hommes au cours de la formation des gardiens de la cité idéale de la *République* ; mais le législateur tient toujours compte de leur aptitude dans leur parcours pédagogique et professionnel. Dans les *Lois* la distinction entre les deux sexes est plus nette que dans la *République*.
[53] Cf. Platon, *Rép.*, 459 e.

une éducation qui tient compte de leur statut social. En effet, ils recevront la même éducation[54] et seront égaux dans la gestion des affaires de l'État[55]. Cette vision politique et révolutionnaire pour le philosophe a conduit à une réforme pédagogique. Dans cette perspective, l'État va prendre en charge, du début à la fin, la formation des gardiens. Cette éducation diminue d'intensité à partir de l'âge de 20 ans comme en Crète et à Sparte, mais elle reste permanente dans le système platonicien jusqu'à 50 ans révolus.

L'institution des groupes d'âge sur laquelle les Crétois et les Spartiates fondent leur système pédagogique devient, chez Platon, un instrument d'émulation et de sélection par excellence. En effet, les mariages[56], les naissances[57], la formation et ses programmes, les fonctions administratives et politiques, sont fixés suivant les critères d'âge. Les programmes scolaires et universitaires sont établis conformément à l'âge des jeunes gens, filles et garçons, dans la *République*[58] et dans *Les Lois*[59]. Mais l'adhésion presque aveugle, dans la *République*, du jeune philosophe au système et aux principes pédagogiques spartiates s'atténue dans *Les Lois*.

Le programme pédagogique platonicien est contrôlé par l'État. À partir de la sixième année, aucune formation individuelle n'est tolérée dans les structures de la cité idéale des *Lois* de Platon. Dans sa conception pédagogique, la cohésion sociale du groupe passe avant tout par l'acquisition commune et partagée des connaissances. Dans la *République* comme dans les *Lois*, « tout homme et tout garçon » appartiennent à la cité plus qu'à leur famille. La notion d'appartenance à une cité et de tout partager en commun avec ses concitoyens est inculquée très tôt à l'enfant.

Dans *La République*, Platon envisage cette opération de cohésion sociale dès la naissance du futur gardien ; en effet, il fixe « l'élevage des enfants encore tendres dans le temps qui va de la naissance à l'âge où on les instruit - τροφῆς νέων ἔτι ὄντων, τῆς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ γιγνομένης γενέσεώς τε καὶ παιδείας[60] (…), c'est-à-dire de zéro à sept ans. Dès leur naissance les futurs gardiens vont vivre ensemble. Le philosophe adopte le principe du

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[54] Cf. Platon, *Rép.*, 451d.

[55] Cf. Platon, *ibidem*, 456a.

[56] Cf. Platon, *Rép.*, 458 e – 480b.

[57] Cf. Platon, *Rép.*, 460 e – 461d.

[58] Cf. Platon, *Rép.*, 480c.

[59] Cf. Platon, *Lois*, VII, 794cd

[60] Platon, *Rép.*, 450 c. Platon place comme les Spartiates la fin de la petite enfance à la fin de la sixième année, début de l'étape où commence l'instruction (παιδεία). L'auteur emploie pour la première étape « τροφή » qui marque la croissance physique et le développement moral du petit enfant.

regroupement des nouveau-nés dans un « enclos[61] », une sorte de « garderie d'enfants » où ils sont surveillés par des nourrices et par des femmes « au sein gonflé[62] » qui les nourrissent de leur lait.

Platon reprend presque les mêmes thèses dans les *Lois* où l'on s'occupe de l'enfant dès sa conception. Dans cette perspective, des prescriptions sont imposées aux femmes enceintes « obligées de se promener pour « modeler » leur futur bébé[63] » ; quant aux nourrices, elles sont tenues de porter les nouveau-nés « tant qu'ils ne seront pas assez forts pour se tenir debout (…) ; aussi se donnent-elles la peine de les porter jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient atteint leurs trois ans[64] ». Dans cette séquence temporelle Platon emploie τὰ ἔκγονα (*Rép.*, 460 de), τὸν ἀρτίως νεογενῆ (*Lois*, 792 e) ou τὰ παιδία (*Lois*, 794a) pour désigner les «petits enfants» de cet âge, admis dans les «garderies». Xénophon ne commente pas, dans *La République des Lacédémoniens*, ce qui se passe pendant cette période; en effet, de la période prénatale il passe à l'éducation des παῖδες[65]. Aristote emploie τὸ τέκνον pour « petit enfant[66] » de zéro à l'âge de sept ans. Plutarque donne, dans *Lycurgue*, quelques indications sur la manière de sélectionner des « nouveau-nés » à élever (τρέφειν), qu'il désigne par des termes tels que τὸ γεννηθέν, τὸ παιδάριον (*Lyc.* XVI, 1), τὸ βρέφος (*Lyc.* XVI, 4), τὸ τέκνον (*Lyc.* XVI, 5).

En somme, dans les deux cités platoniciennes les enfants de 0 à 3 ans reçoivent les soins corporels et les premières règles de la vie dans des lieux institutionnels protégés. La pédagogie du mouvement y prend plus d'ampleur et l'intervention des nourrices vient renforcer les activités maternelles. C'est une période où le corps de l'enfant en pleine croissance a besoin de mouvements. L'objectif recherché demeure toujours la santé physique et l'équilibre psychologique (*Lois*, 791c). Platon explique que ces mouvements agissent à la fois sur le corps et sur l'âme des jeunes nourrissons (*Lois*, 791ab). Toutefois ces mouvements ne se font pas sans être accompagnés d'une riche et suffisante alimentation. Dans la *République* et dans les *Lois*, le philosophe accorde beaucoup d'importance au lait maternel. En effet, « des préposés veilleront aussi à la nourriture des enfants, conduiront les mères au bercail, à l'époque où leurs seins se gonflent de *lait*, et mettront en œuvre tous les moyens possibles pour

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[61] Platon, *Rép.*, 460C.
[62] Platon, *Rép.*, 460c.
[63] Platon, *Lois*, VII, 789 e.
[64] Platon, *Lois*, VII, 789 e.
[65] Cf. Xénophon, *La République des lacédémoniens*, I, 1 : - Ἐγὼ μέντοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ **περὶ γενέσεως** ἐξήγημαι, βούλομαι καὶ **τὴν παιδείαν** ἑκατέρων σαφηνίσαι.
[66] Cf. Aristote, *Politique* VII, 1335b

qu'aucune d'elles ne reconnaisse sa progéniture. Si les mères ne suffisent pas à l'allaitement ils se procureront d'autres femmes pour cet office[67]».

C'est, dit le philosophe, «(…) à cet âge, chez tous, de la façon la plus décisive, que s'implantent, par les habitudes, les mœurs de toute la vie[68] » dont les mères et les nourrices sont dépositaires. Aussi cette période est-elle le début des contes et des légendes pour asseoir la base de la formation culturelle du futur citoyen, avec un contrôle strict de leurs contenus.

Il est évident qu'à cette période où filles et garçons sont encore ensemble le regroupement ne peut constituer une ἴλη ou une ἀγέλη, contrairement à ce qu'écrit Jacqueline Christien-Tregaro : « On sait qu'il y avait à Sparte une fête des nourrissons appelée Tithénides, où les enfants étaient placés sous la protection d'Artémis Crythalia, la déesse protectrice de la croissance». (…) « On peut dire que le système des classes d'âge de la cité commence là, par cette fête où chaque année les nouveau-nés masculins sont rassemblés[69]». En effet, dans ces circonstances les *agélai* ne sont qu'à leur état de gestation, malgré le regroupement des nourrissons masculins. L'absence des nourrissons féminins ne fortifie pas la thèse défendue par J. Christine-Tregaro.

Dans les *Lois* de trois à six ans les enfants sont réunis dans les temples, « tous ceux de chaque bourgade ensemble[70] », lieu où « les nourrices de ces petits gardent la surveillance de leur bonne ou mauvaise tenue[71] ». Aussi, cet intervalle est-il le temps des punitions et des corrections des comportements non conformes à la morale et des coutumes familiales et communautaires. Platon emploie dans cette tranche d'âge le même vocabulaire que la séquence précédente (de 0 à 3 ans) : παιδικόν ou παῖς (*Lois*, 833c). Xénophon en fait de même pour parler des enfants de cette tranche d'âge[72].

Dans les regroupements des jeunes enfants les jeux préconçus, comme ceux qui naissent tout seuls (*Lois*, 794a), meublent aussi cette période. Le philosophe y accorde assez d'importance aux jeux des enfants. Qu'ils soient physiques ou d'esprit, les jeux ont le rôle de préparer l'enfant à ses futures occupations (*Lois*, 643 bcd) et à lui donner un esprit critique. Les jeux collectifs donnent aux enfants l'idée d'appartenir à une même famille, à une même cité et à un même destin. Cette période correspond aussi aux premières découvertes de l'enfant lors des sorties des nourrices (*Lois*, 789 e).

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[67] *Rép*. 460c d ; *Lois*, 887d
[68] Platon, *Lois*, 792 e.
[69] Jacqueline Christien-Tregaro, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
[70] Platon, *Rép.*, 460c ; *Lois*, VII, 794a.
[71] Platon, *Lois*, VII, 794a.
[72] Cf. Xénophon, *La République des Lacédémoniens*, II, 1-14.

Est-ce la période du début de la constitution des futurs « groupes ou classes d'âge » (ἴλαι ? ou ἀγέλαι) chez Platon ? Curieusement c'est à cette étape que Platon emploie le terme ἀγέλη pour parler de «l'ensemble du *troupeau*» d'enfants, filles et garçons de chaque *kômè*, âgés de trois à six ans[73]. Xénophon utilise, quant à lui, le mot ἴλα (*Rép. des Lacédémoniens*, II, 11) et Plutarque ἴλη et ἀγέλη (Lycurgue, 16, 13) pour la même période. À rappeler que dans la *République*, les enfants « des citoyens d'élite » sont regroupés dès leur naissance[74], dans « un quartier particulier de la ville[75] ». Il est clair que Platon applique, par séquence de trois ans, son programme pédagogique. Peut-être en cela respecte-t-il et prend-il en compte les groupes d'âges déjà constitués dans les *kômai* ?

À partir de sept ans, après les mères et les nourrices, le παις est encadré par des « pédagogues qui régentent la puérilité de son bas-âge et par des maîtres qui l'instruisent en toutes sortes de disciplines et de sciences, comme il convient à un homme libre[76] ». Dans *Le Banquet*, le cursus de la formation « des hommes de valeur[77] » - περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, décrit par le Sophiste Protagoras, retrace le système pédagogique athénien[78] alors que dans la *République*, Platon reproduit celui de Sparte[79], cité où les jeunes générations reçoivent leur formation sous l'égide de l'État. Dans les deux cas, le philosophe adopte le système des classes d'âge pour établir son programme et son contenu. Cette volonté est visible tout au long du cursus platonicien.

L'école commence à 7 ans (*Lois* 809 e-810a) : les enfants apprennent à lire, à écrire et à calculer jusqu'à l'âge de 10 ans ; les études littéraires occupent leur temps pendant 3 ans ; de 13 à 16 ans, l'adolescent se consacre aux études musicales jusqu'à l'âge de 18 ans. Les séquences de trois ans sont très distinctes dans ce cursus des adolescents et elles sont meublées par des disciplines littéraires, musicales et par le calcul. Dans cet intervalle (7 à 18 ans) Platon emploie le mot ἀγένειον (*Lois*, 833c), alors que chez Xénophon le mot παιδίσκος sert à désigner l'adolescent de 14 à 20 ans (*Rép. des Lacédém.*, III, 5).

C'est à partir de cet âge que filles et garçons s'emploient pendant deux à trois ans à des exercices physiques et militaires très intenses : c'est la période de l'éphébie située entre 17 et 20 ans. Platon suit à ce stade la tradition

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[73] Platon devient plus précis dans ce passage des *Lois* (794a) en employant - παιδία - à la place de – τροφῆς νέων ἔτι ὄντων - dans la *République* (450 c).

[74] Cf. Platon, *Rép.*, 460c.

[75] Cf. Platon, *Rép.*, 460c.

[76] Platon, *Lois*, 808 e.

[77] Platon, *Protagoras*, 324d.

[78] Cf. Platon, *Protagoras*, 325a-326 e.

[79] Cf. Xénophon, *Rép. des Lacéd.*, 1,6 ; Plutarque, *Lyc.*, XV, 4.

spartiate et il reste fidèle au cycles de 2 à 3 ans dans la formation des jeunes générations (*Lois*, 833c).

Dans les *Lois*, Platon devenu tempéré par l'expérience et l'âge revient sur un système plus réaliste, une sorte de symbiose des pédagogies athénienne et spartiate. La prise en charge de l'enfant dès sa naissance, « garçons et filles[80] » jusqu'à l'âge adulte y est assurée par la famille et par l'État ; ce qui n'était pas le cas pour la famille dans la *République*. Dans l'une et l'autre œuvre Platon ne distingue pas, en principe, l'homme et la femme devant la formation. Ainsi, le programme éducatif proposé n'est adapté qu'aux capacités physiques et intellectuelles des bénéficiaires, hommes et femmes.

Dans cette perspective Platon cherche à « modeler » un citoyen parfait, né juridiquement libre et apte à faire partie de la classe des dirigeants de la cité.

De 0 à 14 ans, les lettres et la musique, les entrainements aux techniques de guerre et aux armes, et la gymnastique dans ses généralités sont au programme. Les mêmes disciplines, plus exigeantes, vont être poursuivies de 14 à 20 ans et laisseront par la suite la place à la formation scientifique et philosophique jusqu'à l'âge de 30 ans. Mieux, jusqu'à l'âge de cinquante ans, le citoyen platonicien continue à se former. Ainsi aura-t-il appris les théories et les pratiques dont doit se munir un citoyen libre.

Du simple au complexe, les disciplines sont choisies et dispensées sous le contrôle de l'État. Les directives pédagogiques sont appliquées à la lettre par les formateurs recrutés et payés par l'État (*Lois*, 804d ; 813e). Les formations échelonnées suivant les classes d'âge sont une somme de connaissances et de techniques qui se complètent. La gymnastique et la musique équilibrent progressivement le corps grandissant et l'esprit murissant. Elles portent toutes les vertus de disciplines parfaites. Cependant seules leurs fonctions utiles sont recherchées par le législateur[81].

III La touche personnelle de Platon : utilité pédagogique et politique des *agélai*.

1. Utilité pédagogique: nivellement par l'éducation

Dans ses deux dialogues, la *République* et les *Lois*, où il traite de l'éducation, le but de Platon semble être une synthèse des objectifs pédagogiques

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[80] Platon, *Lois*, 788a : - Γενομένων δὲ παίδων ἀρρένων καὶ θηλειῶν, τροφὴν μὲν που καὶ παιδείαν τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα λέγειν ὀρθότατ᾽ ἂν γίγνοιθ᾽ ἡμῖν, ... « Les enfants une fois nés, garçons et filles, le sujet qui s'impose alors à nous le plus naturellement serait celui de leur nourriture et de leur éducation (…) ».

[81] Cf. Platon, *Rép.*, 410c-412a ; *Timée*, 88ab ; *Antidosis*, 182 init.

d'Athènes et de Sparte. A ce niveau, Platon n'a rien inventé par rapport à Athènes et à Sparte, mais il a donné sa touche personnelle aux objectifs visés et aux disciplines choisies pour les cités idéales de la *République* et des *Lois*.

La cité platonicienne doit rester une *polis* unie, peuplée de citoyens capables de la défendre contre toute invasion et contre tout changement. L'éducation est un système de nivellement par son contenu et par le système des classes d'âge. Dans la cité platonicienne, l'éducation est permanente dans toutes ses phases théorique et pratique. En effet, que ce soit le gardien de la *République* ou le citoyen libre des *Lois*, l'apprentissage ne se termine qu'à l'âge de cinquante ans, période où l'on devient sage. Ce processus intéresse les deux sexes, homme et femme ; toutefois, Platon reconnaît les faiblesses physiques de la femme dans la gymnastique et dans certains exercices face à l'homme qui a plus de résistance. Mais les aptitudes mentales et intellectuelles sont identiques chez la femme et chez l'homme. Ce nivellement révolutionnaire par les sexes appelle une nouvelle approche pédagogique ; c'est ce qui fait dire à Socrate « qu'il y a dans ce que nous disons des choses qui, parce qu'elles choquent la coutume, paraîtraient ridicules, si l'on venait à l'exécution[82] ». Platon donnera l'exemple des peuples barbares[83] qui ont déjà franchi et démythifié la formation physique de la femme nue parmi les hommes. C'est ce qui montre que le philosophe était en train d'innover (réformer) en matière de pédagogie. Mais il savait que les Grecs ne digèrent pas les coutumes étrangères et que la référence à l'histoire de ces peuples barbares ne suffirait pas à justifier sa nouvelle vision.

Pour faire accepter ces nouvelles pratiques, le philosophe souhaite les mettre en place dès la petite enfance. C'est l'une des explications du regroupement des nourrissons dans les « crèches » (*Rép.*, 460c) et dans les temples (*Lois*, 794a). À l'âge de six ans ils s'entrainent dans les mêmes lieux et se forment parallèlement dans les mêmes disciplines, et combattent côte à côte ; et plus tard ils exerceront les mêmes fonctions dans la cité. Ce nivellement par la formation vise surtout l'utilité morale et l'utilité politique. En effet, dans la *République* comme dans les *Lois*, la femme exerce les mêmes fonctions que l'homme et elle peut devenir philosophe-roi ou haut fonctionnaire dans la cité. Les objectifs pédagogiques du programme platonicien sont planifiés au fur et à mesure que l'on passe de l'enfance à l'âge adulte. Aucun principe ni aucune discipline ne sont posés sans que le législateur ne prouve leur utilité pédagogique, morale et politique. La beauté de l'âme et la santé du corps sont parmi les principaux objectifs de l'éducation platonicienne.

[82] Platon, *Rép.*, 452a ; Cf. *Rép.*, 457ab.
[83] Cf. Platon, *Rép.*, 452b-d ; *Lois*, 804d e – 805ab.

Pour atteindre ces objectifs, le projet pédagogique de Platon s'intéresse à l'enfant dès sa conception. La période prénatale étant très délicate, Platon responsabilise la femme enceinte dans la formation physique et morale de son futur enfant[84]. C'est une étape qui exige des mouvements contrôlés qui influent à la fois sur le corps et sur l'état psychologique du futur bébé (*Lois*, 789a-792c). C'est avec leur impact qu'on « moule » le corps de l'enfant et que l'on extirpe de son âme la peur et les autres tares psychologiques (*Lois*, 791a-e). La pédagogie du mouvement se développe avec Platon pour son utilité morale et physique. Dans cette perspective le philosophe, mieux que les Spartiates, insiste sur l'importance du rôle de la femme enceinte dans la formation de l'enfant. La protection de ce dernier passe par celle de sa mère porteuse (*Lois*, 789e). Désormais dans la cité platonicienne elle devient le centre de la pédagogie de la période prénatale. En effet, le législateur est tenu de lui imposer des règles de vie dans l'intérêt de l'enfant qu'elle porte en son sein. Le caractère obligatoire de ces mesures prouve l'importance de leur utilité dans la formation de l'enfant.

Dans la cité de la *République* et dans celle des *Lois*, l'éducation est commune. Dans la *République* la classe des gardiens en est la principale bénéficiaire, alors que dans les *Lois* tout citoyen libre a droit à la formation contrôlée par l'État.

La sélection commence à l'âge de 20 ans pour ceux qui sont appelés à continuer les études qui mènent à la philosophie et aux responsabilités supérieures de la cité. Platon propose dix ans (10 ans) d'études supérieures à ceux qui ont réussi aux sélections. Et durant cet intervalle de temps, les jeunes gens et filles auront assimilé les disciplines dans la théorie et la pratique. Ils acquerront l'esprit critique pour pouvoir distinguer la nature du réel (*Rép*. 537c) et embrasser un grand ensemble de connaissances littéraires et scientifiques. En effet, c'est durant ces dix ans que les jeunes citoyens apprennent à toucher à la dialectique, discipline suprême pour apprendre la philosophie. Pour ce faire, il doivent avoir appris l'arithmétique, les mathématiques, la géométrie, l'astronomie et la science de l'harmonie (*Rép*. 527c) qui élèvent l'âme vers ce qui est immuable et qui libèrent l'esprit des sensations. Avec ces disciplines, l'âme est tournée vers les Idées. Cette vue d'ensemble des programmes permet d'apprendre la philosophie à l'âge de 30 ans.

De 30 à 35 ans, les jeunes gens poursuivent pendant cinq ans les études de la dialectique qui les mène vers le Bien, but suprême de tout leur cursus supérieur.

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[84] Cf. Platon, *Lois*, 789d et suiv..

De 35 à 50 ans, 15 ans durant, les jeunes citoyens devenus adultes se mettent à la pratique dans l'administration publique et dans la vie de tous les jours. La pédagogie de la pratique régit l'ensemble des méthodes utilisées par le philosophe.

Platon allie ainsi théorie et pratique avant de confier les affaires publiques à un philosophe-roi. C'est dire que jusqu'à l'âge de 50 ans, le philosophe se fonde sur les classes d'âge pour asseoir son programme pédagogique. C'est dire qu'à chaque étape de la vie Platon adapte une méthode de transmission des connaissances. Hommes et femmes de 35 ans sont obligés de s'adapter à la réalité des pratiques sociales, économiques, politiques etc. C'est seulement à cinquante ans qu'ils sont autorisés à occuper les hautes fonctions dans la cité.

L'interférence des enseignements et les pratiques quotidiennes constituent une chaîne pédagogique ascendante et descendante. En effet, elle est ascendante dans sa forme théorique et descendante dans sa forme pratique. Du conte à la dialectique, Platon cherche à niveler les connaissances, à les rendre communes et utiles à tous les citoyens censés les recevoir. Dans ce processus, la sélection ne sert qu'à consolider les acquis de ses méthodes pédagogiques. En effet, l'objectif recherché dans toutes les étapes du cursus éducatif platonicien est orienté vers la perfection morale, corporelle et politique du citoyen. Ce dernier doit être sain d'esprit et de corps pour prétendre à une haute fonction dans la cité. La place de citoyen dans la société platonicienne se conquiert et se mérite après un long cursus réussi. Pour sa pérennité et son unité, l'État se charge du « façonnage » d'un citoyen utile.

2. L'utilité politique : unité de l'État

En engageant la réforme de la cité classique, Platon a choisi de commencer par l'éducation et la formation. Il a pris une nouvelle voie autre que celle empruntée par Athènes et Sparte, tout en maintenant le fond archaïque et classique de leurs systèmes pédagogiques respectifs. La première préoccupation fut pour le philosophe de former un homme parfait en son âme et en son corps, capable de vivre dans une société juste et homogène. Pour ce faire, sa formule consistera à mettre le juste nécessaire dans son programme éducatif qui ne cherche que ce qui est utile au citoyen et à l'État. Les programmes surchargés sont bannis du système platonicien ; peut-être le temps était-il compté pour le philosophe après les multiples crises entre les principales cités de la Grèce de l'époque classique. Ce point de vue est relatif à la conception utopique de la cité de *La République* où Platon semble vouloir tout réformer. Peut-être aussi, dans la réalité de tous les jours, sa philosophie politique trouvait-elle la cité

classique incompatible avec l'évolution économique et sociale de l'époque. Au demeurant, Platon ne manque pas de proposer dans *La République* et dans *Les Lois* des solutions aux problèmes des cités classiques.

Tout acte posé dans son système pédagogique est envisagé pour une utilité précise. Du l'oral à l'écrit, du récit à la formule mathématique ou philosophique le contenu du programme pédagogique concourt à former un citoyen parfait, un philosophe-roi dans *La République* et un haut fonctionnaire performant dans *les Lois*. En effet, si dans la première cité la finalité de l'éducation est de former un gardien capable d'observer le Bien Souverain pour gouverner, dans la deuxième l'objectif est d'obtenir au bout du cursus éducatif « un animal politique » capable de s'occuper des affaires de la cité juste, avec un « bagage » intellectuel et scientifique au complet.

Dans ce cadre, du simple mouvement physique conçu pour l'enfant à la dialectique pour les adultes, Platon n'y recherche que ce qui permet d'atteindre les objectifs fixés. En effet, durant les périodes prénatale et postnatale, le mouvement reçu est utile à la formation physique et psychologique du jeune enfant. Les mêmes vertus sont recherchées dans l'emmaillotement et dans le port du nouveau-né[85]. Au demeurant, Platon accorde une importance particulière au mouvement dans la première enfance[86].

Tous les enfants de 0 à 6 ans y sont soumis. Que ce soit au sein de la famille avec les mères, les nourrices ou dans les espaces publics, l'objectif est le même : avoir des enfants sains d'esprit et de corps. La volonté politique de Platon d'appliquer des règles et recommandations relatives aux mouvements destinés aux nouveau-nés s'appuie sur les lois et la contrainte[87]. En cela Platon recherche à la fois l'eugénisme et l'homogénéité dans la cité. Le même objectif politique est visé dans toutes les étapes de formation jusqu'à l'âge de cinquante ans. En effet, l'éducation est globale et commune ; elle s'applique uniformément à tous les citoyens, de leur naissance à l'âge adulte.

Le regroupement des enfants de même âge, de 0 à 6 ans, dans les « enclos » ou dans les temples entre aussi dans la recherche de l'unité politique au sein de la cité. Dans ces lieux consacrés à leur première formation, les enfants obéissent aux mêmes conseils et apprennent les mêmes techniques et suivent le même programme. Dans ce cadre, les formateurs et les surveillants sont tenus de respecter les recommandations du législateur en matière de formation. En cas de manquement ou de déviation, la nourrice ou le pédagogue

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[85] Cf. Platon, *Lois*, 789b-791c.
[86] Cf. *Lois*, 790d.
[87] Cf. Platon, *Lois*, 789d.

subissent des sanctions exemplaires. Dans cette perspective Platon, à l'instar de Sparte, veut marquer dans la mémoire des enfants la solidarité dans toutes les épreuves en temps de paix comme en temps de guerre. Les contes, les jeux, les exercices de guerre, les épreuves de la chasse, l'apprentissage de la musique etc. concourent à la fraternité des groupes et classes d'âge. Comme une seule personne, les jeunes enfants sont responsabilisés dès l'âge de sept ans. L'intervention des parents est canalisée par les lois de la cité ; aucune déviation n'est permise à leur niveau.

À la fin de la séquence de 0 à 6 ans les groupes d'âge se constituent for-mellement avec la séparation des sexes dès la septième année. Les filles et les garçons s'entraînent séparément, mais subissent les mêmes exercices phy-siques et reçoivent les mêmes enseignements. Le système de regroupement des enfants de même âge est intimement lié aux objectifs de l'unité politique et communautaire. Les rassemblements en un même lieu et le contenu des enseignements aident les enfants à s'habituer aux mêmes valeurs. Ainsi, les hommes et les femmes peuvent-ils avoir plus tard les mêmes fonctions et des idées homogènes dans la gestion de la cité (*Rép.*, 453a). Platon précise que la différence des natures entre l'homme et la femme n'entraîne pas automa-tiquement celle des aptitudes[88]. En effet, il écrit : « la femme est appelée par la nature à toutes les fonctions, de même que l'homme, seulement la femme est dans toutes inférieures à l'homme[89] ». Mais il précise plus loin : « il y a donc chez la femme, comme chez l'homme, une même nature propre à la garde de l'État ; elle est seulement plus faible chez l'un, plus forte chez l'autre[90] ». Ce principe d'égalité entre les sexes est cultivé dès les premiers âges dans les regroupements formels des enfants. Dans *La République*, Platon cherche coûte que coûte à atteindre l'unité à travers des mesures radicales : la communauté des femmes et des enfants (*Rép.*, 457d-460b) dans la catégorie des gardiens. Le même idéal est recherché dans le projet social des *Lois* : les mêmes écoles, les mêmes formateurs et les rassemblements lors des syssities.

La réalisation de cet idéal unitaire passe par plusieurs étapes de regroupe-ment. En effet, de l'enfance à l'âge adulte, les citoyens sont formés par classe d'âge et s'activent ensemble dans la cité. L'absence de conflits chez les gardi-ens est l'un des objectifs prioritaires de leur formation. Aussi, les différences entre eux sont-elles effacées dans les regroupements institués par l'État. Ainsi dans son projet de cité idéale Platon pense-t-il que les maux des sociétés clas-siques n'existeront plus : des procès et accusations mutuelles, des sévices et

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[88] Cf. Platon, *Rép.*, 453 e.
[89] Platon, *Rép.*, 455 d e.
[90] Platon, *Rép.*, 456 a.

violences, des trahisons etc.. L'homogénéité de la pensée et de l'action effacera à jamais les difficultés que vivent les cités classiques. Pourtant ce projet sera moins radical mais toujours en vigueur dans *Les Lois*.

Platon organise son système pédagogique en référence aux groupes d'âge. De sept à cinquante ans, toutes les connaissances s'acquièrent suivant les séquences des âges. Dans la cité des *Lois*, il existe les mêmes écoles et les mêmes gymnases pour la formation des deux sexes. On y enseigne que ce qui est utile à la communauté. La femme et l'homme reçoivent les mêmes connaissances et se forment aux mêmes techniques. En effet, les idées sur la femme défendues dans *La République* se retrouvent, dans une certaine mesure, dans *Les Lois*. L'utilité politique des réformes platoniciennes se trouve dans l'égalité des sexes, le sentiment d'appartenir au même groupe et à la même cité, de partager les mêmes difficultés et de jouir du même bonheur. Dans *La République* et dans *Les Lois*, l'État devient la référence du groupe et de l'individu, la famille ne jouant plus qu'une minime partition dans la formation des enfants.

La touche personnelle de Platon fut de vouloir résoudre les problèmes de la société classique par le nivellement des connaissances au sein des classes d'âge et entre l'homme et la femme libres. La cellule familiale, source de division de la cité de l'époque classique, devient une entité sans fonction déterminante dans la formation du citoyen. Les programmes sont établis par les fonctionnaires de l'État et sont déployés par des formateurs agréés par la cité. L'individu disparaît et laisse la place au groupe. En effet, l'enfant n'apprend plus tout seul face à son maître, mais toujours avec ses compagnons d'âge. Ils pratiquent les mêmes jeux, apprennent les mêmes connaissances et pratiquent les mêmes exercices dans le but de pouvoir vivre ensemble. L'unité et la concorde de l'État restent dans la dynamique des groupes. Rien ne doit plus se faire individuellement. C'est la raison pour laquelle le philosophe repose tout son système éducatif sur la fonctionnalité des groupes et classes d'âge.

De la théorie à la pratique, de l'enfance à l'âge adulte, le système des groupes et classes d'âge détermine les programmes et les méthodes pédagogiques platoniciens. Le regroupement des jeunes enfants dans les σηκοί ou dans les temples comme « jardins d'enfants », des jeunes gens aux entraînements gymniques et aux techniques de la guerre, dans l'apprentissage de la musique et des danses, des disciplines scientifiques et littéraires, la philosophie et la dialectique, a pour utilité politique la disparition des conflits au sein de la cité. L'unité et la pérennité de l'État en dépendent et le citoyen doit les vivre quotidiennement. Les fêtes religieuses et les rassemblements publics

sont des occasions de consolidation de l'unité déjà théorisée et assimilée dans le système pédagogique. Même en ces occasions solennelles Platon a toujours tenu compte des groupes et des classes d'âge pour distribuer les rôles aux jeunes et aux vieux citoyens.

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The notion of ἀγέλη in the Platonic pedagogical system

Abstract: The semantic and diachronic evolution of the concept of ἀγέλη from Homer to Plato, can be recalled in the use of the term to indicate a "group" or a "herd" of wild animals or servants and in the slip of this direction, in the antiquated and classical authors to mean "the human group" of young people, men or women of middle age. From Pindar, via the tragic authors, comic, historians, philosophers until the late time of the Greek literature, the ἀγέλη term was especially developed in the teaching Spartan system established under Lycurgus. Plato's texts, Xenophon and Plutarch, will be the main sources for the direction's evolution of ἀγέλη.

In the Republic and the Laws cities, Plato has conceived teaching systems which took into account the criterion of age for the various steps of techniques training and knowledge training. Large admirer of Cretan and Spartan civilisations, Plato adapts the ἀγέλη term or (ἀγέλα) to the groups of children or young people (boys or girls) called to receive the liberal education of the city. Indeed, he will divide the biological evolution into steps that correspond to the groups and age groups of citizens.

He doesn't employ ἀγέλη in this direction in the Republic, but he takes well account this Sparta's reality in the training of the guardians which follow the same teaching course. The use of the term was more frequent in the teaching system of the Laws. However, Plato's two studies are based on the age's criteria to apply his teaching program.

The personal touch of Plato was to see at the same time, in this system, the teaching and the political utility. Indeed, the whole of the free citizens of polis learned and assimilated same knowledge, according to the same methods with the same warranties of success. This transmission is done by steps and group or age class, from zero to fifty years old, in theory and in practice. Plato searched in this option the teaching utility to make a perfect citizen.

The other aspect relates to the political utility of this learning technique. Indeed, the unit of the city is initially searched in the education of the young generations by which they discover their rights and their duties, their unit and their solidarity within the community consolidate.

The regrouping of the young generations in bands of boys and girls of the same age for a teaching program directed towards the unit and the interest of the State, will have sufficed for Plato to justify the utility of the taking into

account the concept of ἀγέλη in his education system.

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Particularisation and priamel in Horace's Odes[1]

Abstract: This paper explores particularisation and its relation to the priamel in Horace's Odes. I argue that Horace used particularisation more extensively than his predecessors and that it played an important role in his stylistic arsenal. I trace the occupational priamel through history to show the peculiarity of its treatment in Horace. Further, I establish that Horace skillfully manipulated the established patterns of particularisation (for instance in the sequences of four examples) in his priamels to promote his literary purposes and to confound the reader's expectations. Finally, I also argue that this research direction offers a fresh perspective on some vexing issues of Horatian textual criticism.
Key words: Horace, Odes, priamel, particularisation, foil

This paper explores the connection between the priamel and the particularisation in the Odes. I argue that Horace's use of particularisations in the priamels was more extensive than that of his models and that he organised particularisations in the same logical patterns that are elsewhere present in his poetry to fulfil his literary purposes and surprise the reader. Focus of the paper is thus not on the Horatian priamel, which had received extensive treatment elsewhere, but on the largely neglected issue of particularisation and its role in Horace's priamels and his poetry more generally.

1. Priamel and particularisation – terminology

The priamel is best defined as a "focusing device" (Bundy 1986, 5) which necessarily consists of a foil (i.e. a sequence of two or more examples) and a cap (i.e. a point or a climax deriving from or opposed to the general tendency of the foil). In the past, the core of the priamel used to be seen either in the

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sequence of examples[2] or, conversely, in the final twist. The latter view result-
ed in the introduction of the so-called "summary priamel" as a subcategory
of the priamel (Bundy 1986, 6–10; Race 1982, 12–17). The foil of the summary
priamels contains a single, general statement instead of a sequence of exam-
ples (C 1. 24. 9–10 is a case in point). Furthermore, it has been argued that
the priamel necessarily conveys tension and that thus the point must come
after the foil (Race 1982, 15–16). This view excludes the analytical priamel, in
which the point comes first, and the ensuing examples serve to justify it (this
type is still treated by Kröhling 1935, 12).

My own view is that one cannot afford to be as restrictive as the mentioned
scholars were. The cap is certainly an indispensable part of the priamel, which
becomes a mere catalogue without it. The sequence of examples is, however,
easily its most recognizable part (as argued by Schmid 1962, 2. "die auffall-
endste Abschnitt"). I have no knowledge about any ancient discussions of this
device, but it had undoubtedly been recognized by the ancient poets as a spe-
cific unit, since a tradition can clearly be traced all the way from Homer to St
Paul and Boetius. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that in Antiquity they
recognized the priamel by its most conspicuous feature, die Beispielreihung.[3]

Therefore, the definition used to select instances for the present study is
somewhat more inclusive than the ones used in the past had been. Not only
the analytical priamels are included, but also some instances that might have
been deemed too loose in the previous studies, although they conform to the
synthetic model.[4] Conversely, the summary priamels will not be treated here.

We may round up the introductory discussion on the term priamel with an
example which had previously been absent from such discussions.

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[2] *Beispielreihung* proposed by Kröhling (1935, 12) as a synonymous term for the priamel under-
went criticism by Schmid (1964, x) and, subsequently, Race (1982, 16).

[3] An important ancient testimony is Didymus the Blind's Commentary on the Psalms. In the
discussion about the priamel found in the Book of Ezra, the Commentary notes that the cap (the
precedence of wisdom as the highest virtue) would not be as conspicuous if it were not accompa-
nied by a number of examples in the background (cf. Lisenborghs 1965, 363). See also Kirby (1985,
142–144) for some thoughts on the relation between the priamel and the rhetorical *exemplum*.
This conspicuousness of the example sequences in general is why I share Krischer's (1974, 80)
doubts about the "summary priamel" actually being a priamel at all. To be sure, Bundy and Race
have abundantly accounted for this construction's existence and the usefulness of such a notion
can hardly be overstated. But, in my opinion, it should be regarded only as a distant relative of
the priamel.

[4] I do not know, for instance, about any previous study that treats *C 1. 19. 9–16.* , *C 1. 26. 1–8.* or
C 1. 38. 1–6. as priamels (Race 1988, 212 treats 1. 38 as a *recusatio*). They do follow the generally
accepted synthetic model, but the examples are arranged with more freedom, and the cap is in-
troduced in the imperative mode (e.g. 1. 38. 5–6. s*implici myrto nihil allabores / sedulus curo*).

Bila sam u Pragu i Londonu	I visited Prague and London
prošla kroz Atinu, večni Rim.	Athens and the aeternal city of Rome,
Videla sam Napulj i Veronu,	I saw Naples and Verona
jarkim suncem obasjani Krim.	And the sunny shores of Crimea.
Gledala sam raskoš i bogatstvo	I saw their splendour and their riches,
mnoge čari sretala sam tad.	And all their countless charms.
Ali nigde, nigde ne pronađoh	Nowhere, however, nowhere have I found
to što ima moj voljeni grad.	That charm particular to my beloved town.[5]

No lesser poems than Shakespeare's *Sonnet 91* and Baudelaire's *Au Lecteur* are referred to in *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Poetry and Poetics* as modern examples of priamel (RACE 1993, 975; see RACE 1988, 35–55 for a more detailed discussion). But one need not rummage through the volumes of those venerable giants. Although the origin of priamel is a vexed issue, it is not imprudent to suppose that it stemmed from some form of popular expression.[6] And as the verses from the hitsong quoted above make obvious, priamel is still alive and well in popular art.

The other term that appears in the title of this paper, the particularisation, also deserves a brief clarification. By particularisation I understand all those instances in the ancient literature where the poet, instead of using a common noun (a hero, for instance, a mountain or a flower) uses a particular one (Regulus, Soracte, rose) to make his writing more vivid or colourful. Note that the particularisation does not have to include a proper noun or a name (Regulus). In certain cases, even more specific common nouns (such as "wolf" or "ivy" in opposition to "animal" or "plant") can be considered particularisations. These two types may be termed *the strong* and *the weak particularisation*. The particularisation can appear in many forms, as *exemplum*, as metonymy or as a part of a catalogue, to name but a handful. It is pertinent to the priamel and particularly prominent in the foil. It may be added to all or some of the

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[5] Quoted above are the verses 1–8 from the 1962 Yugoslavian song "Moj dragi Beograd" (My Dear Belgrade) composed by Dušan Ristić and most famously performed by Lola Novaković. The translation is mine.

[6] The debate on the origins of the priamel has been going on since the term was introduced to the classics. DORNSEIFF (1935, 75–88; 1956, 379–393) advocated Eastern provenance and quoted several priamels from the Hebrew literature, particularly from the Book of Job. VAN OTTERLO (1940, 170–176) opposed this view and argued that the Greek origin should at least be considered, since the Book of Job cannot convincingly be shown to predate Homer. On the other hand, Krischer (1974, 87) dismisses both arguments and argues for a threefold development of the priamel: from the simile, from the antithesis and from the epic catalogues. More recently, M. WEST (2007, 116–117) suggested, with due reservations, the Indo-European provenance of the priamel
The question can possibly never be resolved. Most one can say is that the polygenetic approach should not be dismissed outright.

examples in the sequence to enhance the effect of the priamel. Poets have been putting particularisation to such use since Homer and Tyrtaeus.

> οὐδ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσεται, οὐδ᾽ ὅσα Θήβας
> Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται...
> οὐδέ κεν ὧς ἔτι θυμὸν ἐμὸν πείσει᾽ Ἀγαμέμνων
> (Ι 381–382, 386)

In the quoted lines, for instance, Achilles refuses to abandon his rage no matter what gifts he is promised by repentant Agamemnon. This general refusal to accept riches as recompense is represented through the refusal of particular representative riches: Orchomenos and the Egyptian Thebes.

2. Particularisation in Horace and in his models

Horace has been chosen for this evaluation of the relation between the priamel and the particularisation because his *Odes* not only reveal "the most sophisticated use of priamel" since Pindar (Race 1982, 122), but also exhibit a sophisticated and frequent use of particularisation, that is virtually unparalleled in the works of other poets.

In order to demonstrate the relative frequency of particularisations in the Horatian priamel, I shall now briefly compare several archaic Greek priamels either belonging to the same tradition as certain Horace's priamels or having a direct influence upon them.

There seems to be a general agreement among scholars (Nisbet–Hubbard 1978, 287–288; West 1998, 136–137; Harrison 2017, 210–211) that the opening of 2. 18. was modelled after Bacchylides' ode which unfortunately survives only in a short fragment (frg. 21).

> οὐ βοῶν πάρεστι σώματ᾽, οὔτε χρυσός,
> οὔτε πορφύρεοι τάπητες, ἀλλὰ θυμὸς εὐμενής,
> Μοῦσά τε γλυκεῖα, καὶ Βοιωτίοισιν
> ἐν σκύφοισιν οἶνος ἡδύς.
> (Bacchyl. fr. 21)

> Non ebur neque aureum
> mea renidet in domo lacunar;
> non trabes Hymettiae
> premunt columnas ultima recisas
> Africa, neque Attali
> ignotus heres regiam occupavi,

nec Laconicas mihi

trahunt honestae purpuras clientae.

(2. 18. 1–8)

Both poems denounce the worldly riches and profess the poet's self-contained poverty. Bacchylides reveals that his home can offer no beef, no gold, no purple rugs, but only a good heart, a charming Muse and excellent wine in the Boeotian cups, this last instance (which perhaps alludes to Hesiod's pastoral simplicity, cf. Irigoin 1993, 244–245) being clearly a particularisation. On the other hand, Horace introduces many particularisations in the foil already, as he speaks of the beams from Hymettus, the columns *ultima Africa recisas* and the proverbial riches of Attalus' court. Most telling are, however, his *Laconicas... purpuras* which clearly add particularisation to Bacchylides' plainer πορφύρεοι τάπητες. Meanwhile, in the cap, Horace adapts the Greek poet's Boeotian cups to the Italian context with a more appropriate particularisation: *satis beatus unicis Sabinis*.[7]

This tendency will become even more obvious once it is examined on a series of priamels belonging to the same category. Many Greek and Latin occupational priamels (see the category Berufsziele in Kröhling 1935, 45–52) are attested. In such priamels the foil lists a number of vocations, which are then capped by the poet's own lifestyle choice. Although the priamels differ greatly in their intentions (one celebrates war, another athletic victory, yet another poetry), there are many shared features in their respective foils. The vocation of the sailor is present in virtually all relevant priamels, either in the foil or in the cap, and will thus serve as a good basis for the discussion.

This motive appears for the first time in the deceptive speech of a disguised Odysseus to the swineherd Eumaeus, where he professes his affinity for warfare above all other occupations.[8]

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[7] Romans who emulate the Greek poets often adapt foreign particularisations to their own native context, as is the case here with Horace and Bacchylides. This is an interesting research topic in its own right, but a few remarks will have to suffice here. For example, Nisbet and Hubbard have noticed that, in his comparison of Diomedes with a wolf, Horace adapted Homer's comparison of Menelaus to a lion (Γ23) to his local context. Dornseiff (1935, 84–85) has noted closeness between Theocritus' Idyll 18 (The Epithalamium of Helen) and Solomon's Song of Songs. Among other similarities both poets associate beauty and love to the cypress tree (Theoc. 18. 30–31; Song of songs 1. 14). Although I am not aware that Horace made any attempts to imitate this simile of Theocritus, he did associate various plants and flowers with his and other's lovers (cf., for instance, 1. 13. 1–4 for rose, 1. 25. 17–20 for ivy and myrtle etc.), but never the cypress tree, since this would not be appropriate in the Roman context where it had been associated with death and funerals, cf. Connors 1992. Horace duly reserves it for grim subjects (cf. 2. 14. 21–23, Epod. 5. 18.).

[8] This so-called Bettlerpriamel has received an excellent treatment in Schmid 1962, 34–38.

ἔργον δέ μοι οὐ φίλον ἔσκεν
οὐδ᾽ οἰκωφελίη, ἥ τε τρέφει ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
ἀλλά μοι αἰεὶ νῆες ἐπήρετμοι φίλαι ἦσαν
καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ ἄκοντες ἐΰξεστοι καὶ ὀϊστοί
(ξ 222–225)

The sailor at war is represented by νῆες ἐπήρετμοι and thus without particularisation, which is absent from the rest of the priamel as well.

Pindar's works contain several instances of the occupational priamel, all of them depicting a sailor in a variety of ways. Thus, in O 11. 1–2 he states that ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις ἀνέμων ὅτε πλεῖστα / χρῆσις. Neither sea nor ships are mentioned, but the sailor's profession is alluded to through his constant need of the sailing weather. On another occasion, the sailor is referred to in the foil as ὃν πόντος τρέφει and finds himself in the company of the shepherd, the ploughman and the bird-catcher (I 1. 47–48). Furthermore, a bedevilling fragment preserved by Sextus Empiricus appears also to contain the foil of an occupational priamel:

<–◡> ἀελλοπόδων μέν τιν᾽ εὐφραίνοισιν ἵππων
τιμαὶ καὶ στέφανοι,
τοὺς δ᾽ ἐν πολυχρύσοις θαλάμοις βιοτά·
τέρπεται δὲ καί τις ἐπ᾽ οἶδμ᾽ ἅλιον
ναῒ θοᾷ †διαστείβων
(Pind. fr. 221)

Here the sailor appears as the one "who sets out to the swelling sea". Although Pindar made an evident effort to ensure variation in his occupational priamels, he did not resort to the particularisation. Nor did Solon in his priamel-like catalogue of various vocations with their vain hopes. The sailor is mentioned first on the list:

σπεύδει δ᾽ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος: ὁ μὲν κατὰ πόντον ἀλᾶται
ἐν νηυσὶν χρῄζων οἴκαδε κέρδος ἄγειν
ἰχθυόεντ᾽, ἀνέμοισι φορεύμενος ἀργαλέοισι
φειδωλὴν ψυχῆς οὐδεμίαν θέμενος:
(Solon. fr. 13. 43–46)[9]

The ploughman, the craftsman, the poet, the physician and the seer are mentioned in the remaining portions of the text. None of them is accompa-

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[9] Solon's Hymn to the Muses was analysed by Faraone 2005, 256–260. A proposal is put forward that Solon, along with other early Greek lyric poets, composed much of his poetry out of ready-made set-pieces not at all unlike a Homeric bard.

nied by a particularisation either, if we exclude the names of the deities that protect some of the professions (Athens and Hephaestus personify the craftsmanship, Muses the poetry etc.).[10]

On the background of these Greek examples Horace's peculiarity is particularly conspicuous. In the famous first ode (*Maecenas atavis*) he catalogues no less than nine professions in the foil, only to cap them with the vocation of the poet. Let the sailor and the merchant be considered first as they both appear in connection with the sea:

> ...ut trabe Cypria
> Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare.
> luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum
> mercator metuens otium...
> (1. 1. 13–16)

As many as four particularisations are used. The Aegean Sea is specified by two particularised synecdoches – as *Myrtoum mare* (around Cyclades) and as Icarii fluctus (around Samos). It is worth pointing out that in the Greek examples (Pind. *fr.* 221. 4, Solon. *fr.* 13. 43) the seas remained nameless and generalized. Furthermore, Horace particularizes the wind as the Africus. The wind was not specified by either Pindar in O 11. 1. or by Solon in *fr.* 13. 45. Finally, in trabe Cypria yet another particularisation specifies the provenance of the lumber used to build the ship (Cyprus was apparently well known for its forests). Compare this to Homer's plainer νῆες ἐπήρετμοι (ξ 224). It is striking how Horace changed the aspect of the conventional elements of an occupational priamel (the sea, the winds, the ship) by adding particularisation to them.

Other occupations in the priamel follow suit. The athlete takes part in the Olympic games,[11] the politician tries to mobilize the support of the Quirites, the landowner collects bumper crops from the Libyan fields, while the hedonist enjoys his vetus Massicum and the hunter chases after the Marsus aper.

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[10] Although not an occupational priamel, Sapho's famous fragment 16 (1–4) also mentions the navy among other kinds of army in the foil: ο]ἰ μὲν ἰππήων στρότον οἰ δὲ πέσδων / οἰ δὲ νάων φαῖσ᾽ ἐπ[ὶ] γᾶν μέλαι[ν]αν / ἔ]μμεναι κάλλιστον, ἔγω δὲ κῆν᾽ ὄτ- / τω τις ἔραται. This priamel also lacks particularisation. Cf. also Lucr. 2. 1–2.

[11] Admittedly, the particularisation of the athlete through the Olympic games had been a common place since the early Greek poets. Note, in particular, Xenophanes' *fr.* 2:

> ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μὲν ταχυτῆτι ποδῶν νίκην τις ἄροιτο
> ἢ πενταθλεύων, ἔνθα Διὸς τέμενος
> πὰρ Πίσαο ῥοῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ...

Therewithal the Olympic games figure abundantly in the caps of Pindar's priamels (cf. O 1. 1–8).

The description of the ploughman lacks particularisation in itself, but notes that he would not become a sailor even if offered the proverbial riches of the king Attalus in return (Attalicis condicionibus). Only the account of the soldier misses particularisation wholly.[12]

There are instances of the occupational priamel in the Latin literature besides Horace, as early as Cato's *De agricultura*.[13] A famous example is Verg. G. II 503–513 where the foil paints a grim and violent picture of various professions which are then contrasted to the land worker in the cap. Vergil's economic use of particularisation results in one instance only (*Sarrano... ostro* "the Tyrian purple" in the context of a greedy invader). The murky image of the sailor, for instance, lacks particularisation: *sollicitant alii remis freta caeca*.[14] Tibullus in I 1. 1–6. uses no particularisations, and the same goes even for Propertius:

> navita de ventis, de tauris narrat arator,
>
> enumerat miles vulnera, pastor ovis;
>
> nos contra angusto versantes proelia lecto.
>
> (Prop. 2. 1. 43–45)

Note that Propertius uses the plain ventis where Horace used the *Africus* (see 1. 1. 15).[15]

From this brief survey Horace has emerged as the most interesting poet with respect to the particularisation. Although the priamel is by its nature prone to admit particularisations, it is Horace, with only few other poets, who had made full use of this feature.

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[12] Another inspired example of the occupational priamel is 4. 3. 1–12. where the athlete and the general are opposed to the poet. All the instances in both foil and cap contain particularisations

[13] The opening portion of this text is plagued with severe difficulties. Kröhling (1935, 46–49) argues – unconvincingly in my opinion – that the priamel appeared at the beginning of the original text. In any event, the foil refers to the merchant and the usurer and does not contain any particularisations

[14] Another interesting example may be worth noting, this time from the realm of similes. At A. 2. 626–631 Virgil employs an extended simile in the Homeric vein of an ash-tree hewn down by an axe to convey the sack of Troy. As noted by Fraenkel (1932, 430 n.3), the simile stems from Pind. P. 4. 263–9. ("perhaps Pindar's finest simile"). Horace imitates these lines at 4. 4. 57–60. d*uris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus / nigrae feraci frondis in Algido*. Virgil's ash-tree (which bears a particular connection to Troy, having provided material for the spear of Achilles, cf. Plin. Nat. 16. 62) has been duly replaced with an ilex (as in the Pindar's original, P. 263. δρυός; cf. note 7 on the issue of adaptation), and, more importantly, the particularisation in Algido was added. No particularisation was originally present in either of Horace's models. This difference between Virgil and Horace may to a certain degree be due to their respective genres.

[15] It must be acknowledged that Propertius is elsewhere no stranger to particularisation and that actually in the quoted poem he amassed an array of examples from Homer in order to excuse himself from writing epic poetry.

3. Presence and absence of particularisation

Throughout his oeuvre Horace has very successfully manipulated particularisations to suit his literary purposes. He was well aware that particularisations can create an effect by virtue of their presence, or even be conspicuous by their absence. For instance, in the large group of priamels dealing with the advantages of simplicity and self-sufficiency over wealth and extravagance, Horace shrewdly packs the foil with strong particularisations, but leaves them out of the cap. Long and often complex sequences of geographical and mythological names are calculated to leave the impression of artificiality and excessiveness. Observe the following example:

> ... non aestuosae grata Calabriae
> armenta, non aurum aut ebur Indicum,
> non rura quae Liris quieta
> mordet aqua taciturnus amnis.
> ... me pascunt olivae ...
> (1. 31. 5–8, 15)

While the profligate spendthrift from the foil longs only for the Calabrian flocks, only for that specific pasture by the river Liri, Horace does not insist that his olives must come from Venafrum or Tarentum (the two towns were praised for their *baca* in 2. 6. 16); any olives will do. On top of that, the unparticularized *parva rura* from the cap of another priamel (2. 16. 37) pointedly match the particular rura washed by the river Liri from the present foil.

The contrast between a particularised foil and a plain cap can be put to different uses. Take, for instance, the priamel in 2. 13. 13–20.

> Quid quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis
> cautum est in horas: navita Bosphorum
> Poenus perhorrescit neque ultra
> caeca timet aliunde fata,miles sagittas et celerem fugam
> Parthi, catenas Parthus et Italum
> robur; sed inprovisa leti
> uis rapuit rapietque gentis.

The foil elaborates on the particular fears of several nations, the Carthaginians, the Parthians and the Romans and leaves the impression of a colourful variety of nations and purposes. However, the priamel takes a grisly turn in the unadorned cap: sed improvisa leti vis / rapuit rapietque gentis. Sudden lack of particularisation conveys the universality of Death, which is not particular to any nation or climate.

4. Organisation of particularisations into sequences

This discussion brings the dynamic between the particularisation and the sequence of examples in the foil into sharp focus. This important question appears to have received only incidental and unloving treatment so far.

How does Horace twist rigorous rhetorical rules and scruples and how does he determine the number of examples and the density of particularisations in the foil to suit the inner logic of the individual texts and to deliver surprising effects?

The ode 2. 4. is a humorous devilment meant to persuade the receiver that there is no shame in loving a slave-girl. Three mythological examples are used to this purpose. The commentaries to this ode repeat that three examples were the rhetorical optimum and substantiate this claim by quoting Plin. Epist. 2. 20. 9. (Nisbet–Hubbard 1978, 69–70; West 1998, 30). Harrison (2017, 78) attaches some importance to the fact that the greatest warrior was also placed first in the list.

The ode 2. 6. (Septimi Gadis) begins with a list of three distant places to which Horace's loyal friend is ready to follow him. Scholars have been quick to notice a connection between this ode and Catullus' poem 11 (*Furi et Aureli*)

sive in extremos penetrabit Indos,
litus ut longe resonante Eoa
tunditur unda,
sive in Hyrcanos Arabesve
molles,
seu Sagas sagitti ferosve Parthos,
sive quae septem geminus colorat
aequora Nilus,
sive trans altas gradietur Alpes,
Caesaris visens monimenta
magni,
Gallicum Rhenum horribilesque

ulti-mosque Britannos...
(Catull. 11. 2–12)

Septimi, Gadis aditure mecum et
Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre
nostra et
barbaras Syrtis, ubi Maura
semper
aestuat unda...

(2. 6. 1–4)

West (1998, 42–43) points out that Horace reduced the number of distant places from eight to three "in a direct and polemical allusion to Catullus 11" since "not for him the frenetic passions and recriminations of the poetic lover, and not a long list of distant places".

The value of these scattered remarks must be examined in view of the wider context. Horace gives three particularised examples, whether in scope of

a priamel or otherwise, on many occasions besides 2. 4. and 2. 6. In most of these cases (2. 4. and 2. 6. included) the emphasis does not fall on the first example, as Harrison appears to suggest, but on the third one.[16] Observe that in 2. 4. Achilles is given just over two lines and Atrides (the third example) six, including an extended periphrasis of the sack of Troy. The same principle could be confirmed on a number of examples. For instance, the beauty of Lalage is subject to a threefold comparison in 2. 5. 17–24: to Pholoe fugax, to Chloris who is further compared to the Moon, and finally to the delicate boy Gyges whose beauty is elaborated in the entire final stanza. Similarly, the ode 2. 13. 22–28, 37–40 lists two sets of three inhabitants of the Underworld – the righteous ones are in the first group, and the guilty ones in the second. In both groups the final examples (Alcaeus, Orion) are given the most extensive treatment.[17]

This principle is often found in the foils of priamels as well. A fine example is the already mentioned 2. 6:

> Septimi, Gadis aditure mecum et
> Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra et
> barbaras Syrtis, ubi Maura semper
> aestuat unda...
> (2. 6. 1–4)

Both Cadiz and the wild Cantabrians receive one line each, while Syrtis ends the list with a two-line development. Similarly, in ode 1. 38., where the foil consists of the rejected extravagancies, Persian luxuries and the linden tree garlands are treated in one line each, while the late rose[18], perhaps as the most scandalous example of decadent self-indulgence, occupies the last two lines.

All this is, however, not to say that Horace always lists three examples, not even that they most often appear in threes. He is in fact quite creative in this

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[16] This may be in connection with the Behaghel's law, also known as das Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder, which is familiar to the Indo-European scholars. According to this law, the longer components in a list follow the shorter ones (cf. West 2007, 117).

[17] Additional examples can be mentioned: 1. 12. 5 – 8; 2. 19. 17–20; 4. 4. 25–28. (where the importance of the third example is reinforced by its being *Augusti paternus animus*). There are also some exceptions, for instance 4. 4. 61–64. where the first example is also the most lavishly decorated one

[18] Whether Horace's *sera rosa* refers to the debauched winter rose or simply to the roses found in the late summer is a matter that is quite immaterial for our purposes (see Nisbet–Hubbard 1975, 425 for a full discussion. I remain doubtful, however, that their conclusion that "Horace is rejecting a much simpler and more natural luxury [than a winter rose would be]" speaks in favor of their argument).

respect. For instance, he sometimes combines several triads in order to create longer sequences of examples. In ode 2. 12. 1–8 the foil combines a triad of Roman victories (Numantine war, the Second and the First Punic Wars) with a triad of Homeric heroes (Lapiths, Hylaeus, Hercules). Each of the two distinctive triads ends with the longest example. In ode 1. 6. the two triads are less distinct when it comes to the content (while the first group lists two Homeric heroes and Pelops, the second begins by the Roman god Mars, followed by another two Homeric heroes). They are, on the other hand, grammatically more conspicuous, since a third stanza is inserted between them. The triads can be incorporated in even longer foils and catalogues. I will come back to that at the end of the article.

For all the importance of the sequences divisible by three in Horace's foils and in his other lists, it must be recognized that the sequences divisible by two and four play an equally central role. Notwithstanding the use of such sequences in the priamels, they are quite common even in Horace's other writing. In many cases, succession of four examples may be structured as a couple of duads, which are sometimes designed as pairs:

> ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
> dormirem et ursis, ut premerer sacra
> lauroque collataque myrto
> (3. 4. 17–19)

In these famous verses Horace professes poetic impunity and uses four particularisations, divided into two pairs: a pair of dangerous animals that cannot do him harm and a pair of gracious herbs that can do him good.[19] Similarly, the two mythological examples in favour of promiscuity given by the false adviser of 3. 7. 13–20. (Bellerophon, Peleus) match the two particularised examples of the young man's vigour that may compromise Asteria's chaste endurance in 25–28 (boxing on the *Campus Martius*, swimming in the Tiber).

The sequence of four particularised examples appears in the foils as well. Take, for instance, the bizarre Archytas ode (1. 28.) with its list of men who did not escape death – Tantalus, Tithonus, Minos and Pythagoras all died, and so did Archytas, as we learn from the cap (though inserted in between is a second foil, that represents various kinds of death). The same principle can

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[19] Laurel and myrtle are associated with simplicity and poetry in other poems as well (see, for myrtle 1. 4. 9, 1. 38. 5, 2. 7. 25; for laurel 2. 1. 14, 2. 2. 22, 2. 7. 19, 3. 30. 16, 4. 2. 9. Conversely, in 2. 15. 6 and 3. 23. 16 myrtle is treated as an unnecessary luxury of the wealthy, and laurel in 3. 14. 2 as the symbol of military achievements.

be observed in the foil listing four examples of violent madness that are no match for the tristes irae of the girl Horace had offended:

> non Dindymene, non adytis quatit
> mentem sacerdotum incola Pythius,
> non Liber aeque, non acuta
> sic geminant Corybantes aera,
> tristes ut irae...
> (1. 16. 5–9)

A comparable list of particularisations in a foil can be found in 3. 6. 33–36. where victories won by the old-fashioned virtue are contrasted with the present-day youth's depravity.

Be that is it may, the idea that the particularisations appear in regular patterns can easily be taken too far. There is a whole series of cases where the scholars assumed the supposed pattern of four particularisations as sufficient evidence to emend the transmitted text or to give leverage to one of the variant readings.

Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
manant in agros aut mare Caspium
vexant inaequales procellae
usque, nec Armeniis in oris,
amice Valgi, stat glacies iners
mensis per omnis aut Aquilonibus
querqueta Gargani laborant
et foliis viduantur orni.
(2. 9. 1–8)

Quid quisque vitet, nunquam homini
satis
cautum est in horas: navita Bosphorum
Poenus perhorrescit neque ultra
caeca timet aliunde fata,
miles sagittas et celerem fugam
Parthi, catenas Parthus et Italum
robur; sed inprovisa leti
uis rapuit rapietque gentis.
(2. 13. 13–20)

Quod si dolentem nec Phrygius lapis
nec purpurarum sidere clarior
delenit usus nec Falerna
uitis Achaemeniumque costum...
(3. 1. 41–44)

Intactis opulentior
thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiae
caementis licet occupes
terrenum omne tuis et mare publicum.
(3. 24. 1–4)

In the foil of 2. 9. 1–8, for instance, it has been assumed that *hispidos* needs to be emended to Histricos in order to match the three other geographical epithets (*mare Caspium, Armeniis in oris, querqueta Gargani*).[20] Quite similarly, in the foil of 3. 1. 41–44 *sidere clarior* was emended to *Sidone clarior* by Nisbet

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[20] The emendation was proposed by Peerlkamp (1834, 189), disparagingly mentioned by Orelli–Baiter (1850, 258. *falso acumine nonnemo proposuit*) and accepted by Harrison (2017, 122). Shackleton Bailey (2008) adopted it as Histricis. The manuscript reading is retained by Heinze–Kiessling (1964) and defended by Nisbet–Hubbard (1978 *ad loc.*) and West (1998, 62–63).

(1995, 144) to match the three other place-names on the list.[21] Another problematic passage is the foil in 3. 24. 1–4 where two uncontroversial geographical names (*Arabum, Indiae*) precede one that is slightly controversial (*Tyrrhenum*) and one that is heavily disputed. Scholars do not agree whether the fourth example contains a particularisation or not. The third particularisation actually has an irreproachable manuscript support, but is called into question by those scholars who do not accept the fourth particularisation and who are ready to allow "a most unfortunate change" (PALMER 1891, 140) of *Tyrrhenum* to *terrenum* rather than the possibility of asymmetry whereby a pair of particularisations would be followed by a pair consisting of one particularisation and one non-particularisation. Conversely, the scholars who accept the third particularisation feel constrained to accept the fourth one as well because the four geographical names supposedly "provide a typically Horatian pattern" (NISBET–RUDD 2004, 275).[22]

The foil in ode 2. 13. 13–20. gives rise to a similar confusion among the scholars. Again, there is a sequence of two pairs and, again, there is one particularisation missing in the second couple (Bosphorum from the first couple corresponds to Parthi from the second, but the particularised navita Poenus lacks a match in the corresponding miles). Although most editors – somewhat hesitantly – keep the transmitted text intact, various solutions have been proposed to supress Poenus and thus dispose of the enervating asymmetry.[23]

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[21] WEST (2002) keeps the traditional reading. The emendation has been attacked on various grounds already (PERL 1999, 244 objects that there are no earlier parallels for the short o. CAIRNS 2002, 89–93 makes a definitive argument against this reading. Among other things, he mentions that no purple could ever be "more brilliant" than Sidonian).

[22] Scholars who accept four particularisations are divided between *mare Apulicum* (ORELLI–BAITER 1850, WICKHAM 1912, WEST 2002), *mare Ponticum* (RITTER 1856) and *mare Punicum* (NISBET–RUDD 2004). All three seas are highly objectionable. Neither the Adriatic nor the Mediterranean shore had any major luxury resorts (in contrast to the Tyrrhenian shore) and the Black Sea was deemed too distant to be coupled with the Tyrrhenian sea in opposition to two Eastern particularisations from the beginning (the latter reading is "absolute nonsense" according to PALMER 1891, 140).
Some scholars (KELLER–HOLDER 1864, KIESSLING–HEINZE 1964) will not have any particularisations in the second couple and consequently change Tyrrhenum to terrenum and read mare publicum in the fourth example.
Finally, PALMER (1891, 140–141) suggested emending *publicum* to *sublicis* as *sublicae* "piles" would be indispensable if one were to actually build a house on the sea itself. This reading is followed by SHACKLETON BAILEY (2008).

[23] *Poenus* has been suspect from the outset as scholars have wondered – perhaps not wholly unreasonably – what on earth a Punic sailor could be doing on the Bosporus. That is why some editors (KIESSLING–HEINZE 1964) read *Thynus* (a recherché name for "Bithynian"). Later on, a number of emendations was prompted by the disorderly asymmetry – suggestions range from *Bospori aestus* (*vel simile aliquid*, PEERLKAMP 1834, 203) and *unum* (FRIEDRICH 1894, 76–80) to *prudens* (NISBET–HUBBARD 1978, 212).

These examples have abundantly shown that there is an ingrained belief among scholars that particularisations come in fours or not at all, and that any and all exceptions are either to be regarded with suspicion and incredulity and duly emended.[24]

"But Horace is not always tidy." (West 1998, 62) Indeed, he is not. It has also been remarked that Callimachean rules prescribed "variety rather than strict symmetry, and the cultivation of the single exception to the rule" (Cairns 2002, 90). There is a number of (textually unproblematic) instances when there is a mismatch between three particularisations or at least three examples belonging to one category and the fourth example that differs in some respect.

Te Liber et si laeta aderit Venus	virtute functos more patrum duces
segnesque nodum solvere Gratiae	Lydis remixto carmine tibiis
vivaeque procucent lucernae,	Troiamque et Anchisen et almae
dum rediens fugat astra Phoebus.	progeniem Veneris canemus.
(3. 21. 21–24)	(4. 15. 29–32)

In 3. 21. 21–23 Horace invites a wine bottle to join his party. Among those who should guide the wine bottle to the right place are three deities, Bacchus, Venus and the Graces, listed one after another. The example concluding the list is, however, not a deity, but vivae lucernae, "the living lamps". In the utopian setting of 4. 15. 29–32 Horace lists the topics of his future poems. Three out of four topics are neatly particularised (Troy, Anchises and Aeneas), but one, that comes first, is more general and allusive (*virtute functos… duces*).

This tendency to disappoint the reader's expectations can sometimes be combined with the logical structure of a pair of duads and result in what might be called "the truncated couple": a pair of particularisations is followed by a structurally analogous pair with one particularisation and one "disappointment". The existence of this pattern can be confirmed on a number of examples.

In 1. 2. an apocalyptic flood has caused animals to exchange habitats:

> piscium et summa gens haesit ulmo
> nota quae sedes fuerat columbis
> et superiecto pavidae natarunt

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[24] It will be interesting to note that in support of their reading of 3. 24. 1–4 Nisbet and Rudd quote 3. 1. 41–44, an equally dubious case (see note 20). Thus, the argument goes in circles. Their other example of the "pattern" is 1. 31. where not four, but six (admittedly particularized) examples are listed.

aequore dammae.

(1. 2. 9–12)

A specific animal species (*piscium gens*) found itself on top of a specific tree (*ulmo*), while another specific species (*dammae*) ended up on an unspecific see (*aeqore*). The example from 1. 1. quoted above shows that Horace would likely have added a specific name for the sea as well, had a strict parallelism been his intention. Further, the ode 4. 6. evokes the death of Achilles at the hands of Apollo:

ille, mordaci velut icta ferro

pinus aut impulsa cupressus Euro...

(4. 6. 9–10)

In this double comparison, two different trees are knocked down by two different means. But while both trees are particularised (*pinus* and *cupressus*), only one of the means is particularised (*Euro*), but not the other (*ferro*).[25] Furthermore, in ode 3. 3. a resigned Juno abandons any future plans against Rome, but sets a price on her acquiesce: the city of Troy must never rise again. These conditions are set out in two parallel constructions: as long as the swelling sea separates Ilion and Rome[26], the expatriates may move freely *qualibet in parte* (anywhere in the world); as long as stray dogs defile the tombs of Priam and Paris, the Capitoline Hill may retain its power and its glory. Particularisations are present in both protases, but only in the second apodosis. The truncated couple thus builds up tension and gives special emphasis to the triumphant image of the flourishing Rome (*Capitolium fulgens*) by postponing it to the end of the argument.[27]

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[25] Observe the chiasmic organisation of the trees and the forces knocking them down (*ferro : pinus – cupressus : Euro*). Horace appreciated the chiasmus as a convenient means to strengthen the logical structure and unity in a sequence of four examples. Thus, for instance, in 1. 16. 9–12 two particularised examples are placed on the extremities of the sequence with two unparticularised examples in between (*Noricus ensis : mare naufragum – saevus ignis : Iuppiter tremendo tumultu*). In 3. 34–36 two references to other Roman wars are inserted between two references to the Second Punic war (*sanguine Punico : Pyrrhum – Antiochum : Hannibalemque dirum*). Again, in 3. 19. 5–8 where Horace lists the questions pertinent to the upcoming party, two of the questions that are particularised are placed at the extremities, thus creating chiasmus. Also, in 4. 2. 9–24 where Horace lists the four Pindaric genres, only the second and the third (the hymns and the victory odes) contain a particularisation.

One cannot escape the impression that the length of examples sometimes served as a basis for the chiasmus, i. e. that two lengthier examples are placed on the extremities and two shorter ones in between, or vice versa. Some examples are: 1. 7. 12–14; 1. 16. 5–8; 1. 19. 13–15.

[26] *longus pontus inter Ilion et Romam* is clearly the Mediterranean Sea. This periphrasis is then doubly a particularisation: both what is meant (the Mediterranean Sea) and the elements used to convey that meaning (*Ilion Romamque*) are particularised.

[27] On other occasions, a sentence only loosely complies with the principles of the truncated couple, but the same underlying purpose of creating imbalance in the sentence is nevertheless present.

As Horace's propensity to truncate the strings of particularisations has now been established, it should come as no surprise that truncated sequences appear also in priamels (2. 9., 2. 13., 3. 1., 3. 24.), which usually abound with both lists and particularisations.

Foils composed of only two examples[28] also appear in Horace, although they are admittedly far less common. Some examples can be found at 1. 25. 16–20 (ivy and myrtle) and at 4. 2. 53 (bulls and cows). A particularly interesting example is 1. 29. 10–12 where Horace lists two *adynata* which now seem less improbable in view of his friend Iccius' shocking abandonment of philosophy. One of the two *adynata* is particularised (Tiber runs backwards), while the other is not (rivers run uphill). Comparably, in 4. 3. 10–11 Horace caps a priamel with the particularised *quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt* and the unparticularised *spissae nemorum comae*.[29] The same pattern is met throughout

In ode 3. 10. Horace complains of Lyce's indifference to him and compares her to the unyielding forces of nature:

> ... nec rigida mollior aesculo
> nec Mauris animum mitior anguibus. (3. 10. 17–18)

The two comparisons are very much alike: they both begin with a negation, both contain a comparative adjective beginning with an "m", and at the end of the line a particularised object of comparison (with an accompanying adjective) beginning with an "a". They were intentionally placed together to create the sense of parallelism, and yet only one of the two adjectives is particularised although nothing would have been easier for the poet than to use a geographical adjective instead of rigida.

In ode 4. 4. Horace emphasises the lineage of the two young Nerones as the reason behind their greatness. An argument from analogy is used: neither bulls nor stallions give birth to a degenerate progeny nor eagles bear doves. The two pairs of animals are clearly delineated by their syntax. The first pair comprises of two powerful animals, but the second pair, which contains one powerful and one feeble animal, thwarts any expectations the reader may have entertained for some kind of symmetry.

Furthermore, the imbalance and the surprise, familiar in the truncated couples, are not a phenomenon particular to the strains of four examples, although elsewhere it appears in a different format. For example, in the sequences of three examples often only the third one is particularised, which gives it due emphasis (cf. note 15). Take for example 2. 3. 13–18 where as many as three lists of three follow one after the other. Each time two unparticularised examples are capped by a particularised one.

[28] Bundy (1986, 5) even suggested that foils can consist of a single element. Most (myself included) interpret this construction rather as a Vergleich ohne wie (Dornseiff 1921, 97; Kröhling 1935, 16; Race 1982, 10).

[29] On other occasions, instead of one particularised and one unparticularised element Horace pairs one particularised element and one general element encompassing the particularised one. This may even be the case in the foil of 1. 20. if the stance assumed by Gow (1912, 50–52) is adopted that of the four wines named, the Calenian is a particular sort of the more general Falernian and the Caecubian a particular sort of the more general Formian. This would produce a neat chiasm which is typical for Horace's sequences of four examples (see note 24). However, these lines are plagued by heavy interpretational problems and their true meaning cannot be ascertained (cf. Allen 1911, 168–170; Prickard 1911, 269–270; Nisbet–Hubbard 1975, 250–251). In any event, the pattern is frequently used by Horace:

2. 1. 25. Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior
2. 13. 8–9. ille venena Colcha / et quidquid usquam concipitur nefas

the Odes and once again shows that Horace's priamels were built on the same principles as the regular lists of examples and particularisations. Here are some examples:

> 3. 6. 29–30 seu vocat institor / seu navis Hispaniae magister

> 3. 24. 45–48 vel nos in Capitolium... vel nos in mare proximum

> 3. 30. 1–2 exegi monumentum aere perennius / regalique situ pyramidum altius

> 4. 1. 39–40 te per gramina Martii / campi, te per aquas, dure, volubilis.

> 4. 13. 13–14 nec Coae referunt iam tibi purpurae / nec cari lapides

Finally, foils can occasionally become real catalogues and consist of more than two, three and four examples. The tendency to combine sequences of three examples has already been noted and now it is time to consider some even more complex priamelic catalogues.

It is noteworthy that the examples in the longer catalogues can sometimes be organized in three groups and thus reflect the structure of a basic triad. A case in point is 4. 9. 6–12 where Horace professes his immortality by listing six poets whose fame is nowhere near dying off, although they are admittedly no Homer. It has been shrewdly observed (KIESSLING–HEINZE 1964 ad loc.) that the six poets neatly fall into three pairs: Pindar and Simonides owed their fame to the victory odes, Alcaeus and Stesichorus to the polemic ballads, Anacreon and Sappho to their love poetry. I might add that the third pair is elaborated in most detail (the first four poets are described in two and a half verses, the last two in four verses), which corresponds with the emphasis on the third element in the basic triads.

A similar argument may be pursued in the case of the famous ode 1. 12. where as many as 19 examples are listed. They belong to three distinct groups announced, in reverse order, already at the beginning of the poem: *quem virum aut heroa... quem deum*? The foil consists of five gods, three heroes and eleven Roman historical figures. Obviously, the third group is emphasised by sheer numbers. The purpose is clearly that the Roman heroes should overwhelm the examples from the Greek world. In the same vein, the whole priamel is capped by the godlike figure of Augustus.

The foil in 1. 7. (*Laudabunt alii*) comprises of twelve Greek cities. The first four cities are named in quick succession. Among the next four cities, the

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2. 14. 22–23. neque harum quar colis arborum / te praeter invisas cupressos...
3. 24. 23. fruges et Cererem ferunt

first two and the fourth one are described as being under the protection of a particular god (*Baccho Thebas*, *Apolline Delphos*, *Palladis urbem*) while the third example, the Vale of Tempe, is denoted only as belonging to Thessaly. Among the last four cities the first three are Argos, Mycenae and Sparta, which have been known to be under Juno's protection since Homer:

> ἤτοι ἐμοὶ τρεῖς μὲν πολὺ φίλταταί εἰσι πόληες
> Ἄργός τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρυάγυια Μυκήνη.[30]
> Δ 51–52

Horace syntactically separates Lacedaemon from Argos and Mycenae (both of which he connects to Juno's glory). Lacedaemon is then paired with Larisa in the final verses of the foil. Larisa bears no obvious connection to Juno. Therefore, in both the second and the third group of four examples three conform to the same underlying principle and are accompanied by a disruptive fourth example. It does not appear to be a coincidence that the disruptive element is on both occasions a Thessalian locality.

In addition, the final opposition between Lacedaemon and Larisa (made more conspicuous by the separation of Lacedaemon from its natural counterparts) was rightly observed to combine the southernmost and the northernmost regions of Greece (Mayer 2012 ad loc.). This plays the role of the so-called πάντα-Wert (Schmid 1964, 4) by which all examples in longer priamels get to be summed up and rejected.[31] It is a common practice in Horace elsewhere to pick two extreme examples to convey totality. For instance, in 1. 21. 25. *Persas atque Britannos* are mentioned in order to denote the easternmost and the westernmost barbarian nation – thus, "the whole barbarian world".[32]

The cap of this complex priamel is also truncated:

> quam domus Albuneae resonantis
> et praeceps Anio ac Tiburni lucus et uda
> mobilibus pomaria rivis.
> 1. 7. 12–14

The ideal Horatian landscape comprises of three particular localities (Albunea, Anio, Tiburni lucus) and one that is more general (uda pomaria) con-

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[30] This is, of course, an example of "the augmented triad" (West 2007, 117–119).

[31] Compare, for instance, Tyrtaeus, *fr.* 12. 9. οὐδ᾽ εἰ πᾶσαν ἔχοι δόξαν or even the verse 7 "Nowhere, however, nowhere have I found" in the song about Belgrade from the beginning of this article.

[32] This may even be the idea in pairing the Carthaginian with the Bosporus in ode 2. 13 discussed above, cf. note

forming thus to the structure of the two latter parts of the foil and to the common Horatian technique calculated to confound reader's expectations.

5. Conclusion

To sum up. Horace organises the particularisations with the utmost care and these heedful arrangements appear in the priamels as well. The poet was fully aware that a powerful effect could be achieved both by the presence and by the absence of particularisation on the well-chosen places in the text. One of the hallmarks of this practice is the surprise or rather the disappointment, such as often appears in the truncated couples. Failure to appreciate Horace's regular untidiness and his unruly patterns has already caused major headaches to various scholars. One should beware never to try to curb the Muse of the most imperfect among the perfect poets.

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Partikularizacija i prijamel u Horacijevim Odama

Apstrakt: U ovom radu se pokazuje da je Horacije koristio partikularizaciju znatno više nego njegovi prethodnici, te da je ona imala važno mesto u njegovom stilskom arsenalu. Izlaže se kratak istorijat tzv. »prijamela zanimanja« (*occupational priamel*) da bi se pokazala osobenost Horacijevog stilskog postupka. Dalje se pokazuje kako je Horacije u svojim prijamelima vešto manipulisao utabanim šemama za partikularizaciju (na primer, nizovima od četiri elementa) u književne svrhe, da bi izigrao čitaočeva očekivanja. Konačno, pokazuje se da je ovaj smer istraživanja u stanju da ponudi i svež pristup za neka od gorućih tekstualnih pitanja relevantnih za Horacija.
Ključne reči: Horacije, *Ode*, prijamel, partikularizacija, *foil*

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Mala epigrafska slagalica: agent tajne policije ili običan centurion?

Apstrakt: Sklapanjem četiri epigrafska fragmenta restituiše se tekst latinskog nadgrobnog natpisa u spomen centuriona Prve delmatske kohorte koja je krajem II veka bila stacionirana na severoistoku rimske provincije Dalmacije. Ključne reči: *centurio, auxilia, cohors I milliaria Delmatarum, municipium Malvesiatium*, rimska provincija Dalmacija.

U Glasniku Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu iz 1907. godine, Karlo Pač je objavio trideset rimskih epigrafskih spomenika koje je otkrio tokom arheoloških istraživanja u selu Skelanima na levoj obali Drine naspram Bajine Bašte. Većinu njih otkopao je u ruševinama dveju ranohrišćanskih crkava za čiju izgradnju su u srednjem veku bili doneseni sa obližnjeg antičkog lokaliteta gde se nalazio jedan rimski grad.[1] Među njima pronašao je četiri epigrafska odlomka od krečnjaka i utvrdio da se po dva uklapaju jedan u drugi i da dva tako spojena fragmenta (a + b v. 60 cm, š. 32,5 cm) i (c + d v. 30 cm, š. 31,6 cm) čine gornji i donji deo istog nadgrobnog natpisa, od koga je, sa manjim ili većim lakunama, sačuvano devet redova (sl. 1).

Pačovo čitanje glasi:[2]

D(is) M(anibus) | *C. Ser(gio) Iu*|[*li*]*ano ((centurioni))* | [*fr(umentario)* ? *l(e-gionis)*] *I mil(itavit)* |5 [*ann(os)*] *XXV*[. .] | [*vix(it) ann(os) . . .*]*II* | *He*[.]*onia* | *Vera con*|[*iu*]*gi p(ientissimo) p(osuit).*

U referentnoj epigrafskoj zbirci latinskih natpisa sa teritorije bivše Jugoslavije (ILJug) izdavači A. i J. Šašel uglavnom nisu prihvatili Pačove popune lakuna i razrešenje skraćenica u četvrtom redu, tako da je informativnost

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ovog epitafa svedena na banalne onomastičke podatke – imena preminulog i njegove supruge, čiji je gentilicij pritom ostao neidentifikovan:[3]
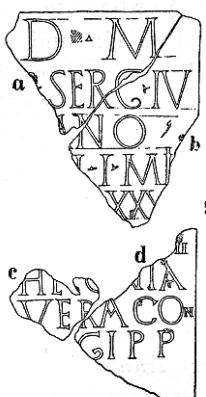
Slika 1: Pačov crtež
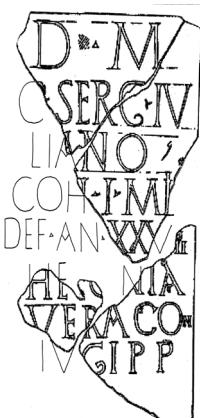
Slika 2:
predlog restitucije

D(is) M(anibus) | *C. Serg(io) Iu*|[li]ano | (*(centurioni* ?)) | [. . .]*I I mil*|[5][. . . . .] *XXV*[.] | - - - - - - | [. . . . .]*II* | *H*e[.]*o*ṇ*ia* | *Vera con*|[*iu*]*gi p(ientissimo) p(osuit).*

Izuzev pomenutog gentilicija, natpis se, međutim, može u potpunosti pouzdano restituisati, što ćemo u ovom radu pokušati da pokažemo.[4]

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[3] ILJug 1543.

[4] Čitanje koje sledi predloženo je u Loma 2010, 278, br. 14, bez odgovarajućeg obrazloženja, koje se ovde prvi put daje.

Pođimo od formalno-epigrafskih karakteristika sačuvanog teksta da bismo razumeli Pačovo čitanje natpisa i ukazali na sporna mesta. Iako su odlomci spomenika izgubljeni a da pre toga nisu bili fotografisani, ne možemo sumnjati u verodostojnost Pačovog crteža. Oštrom oku vrsnog epigrafičara ni najmanja pojedinost nije promakla. Slova *D M* u prvom redu označavaju skraćenicu karakterističnu za nadgrobne natpise: *D(is) M(anibus)*. Zahvaljujući tome što je očuvan desni okvir natpisnog polja, jasno je da u tom redu nije bilo više slova; inače, mogla bi se očekivati i skraćenica *D M S*: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum)*. Da je natpis bio brižljivo uređen i centriran, vidi se po tome što su poslednja slova u redovima manje ili više udaljena od okvira natpisnog polja zavisno od broja slova u njima. U prva tri reda sačuvane su linije vodilje. Slova su lepa i pravilna, sa naglašenim serifima. Njihova visina postepeno opada odozgo nadole (dimenzije nisu date), s tim što su u 5. redu slova najmanja i zbijenija, što znači da je u njemu bilo više slova nego u ostalim redovima. Karakterističan oblik imaju slovo *G* sa zaobljenom poprečnom crtom i slovo *A* sa izlomljenom horizontalnom crtom. Umanjena slova uza sam rub okvira na vrhu odlomka **d** i delimično sačuvana ligatura (o kojoj v. dole) na kraju 4. reda na odlomku **b** imaju koliko funkcionalnu — da se uštedi prostor za veći broj slova — toliko i estetsku ulogu — da se ne naruši simetrija natpisa. Interpunkcija u vidu trougla dosledno je sprovedena na fragmentu **a** + **b** ali je izostavljena na fragmentu **c** + **d**. Na kraju 3. reda stoji uobičajena sigla koja zamenjuje reč *centurio* ili *centuria*. Shodno tome, Pač je mogao izračunati nedostajući broj slova levo od vertikalne ose simetrije koju određuje interpunkcija između slova *D* i *M* u 1. redu.

Osvrnimo se sada na njegove popune lakuna i razrešenje skraćenica. U drugom i trećem redu stoje *tria nomina* preminulog. U punom obliku, u dativu, dat je samo kognomen, čija tri nedostajuća slova Pač restituiše sa *Iu|[lia]no*, mada ne treba isključiti ni *Iu|[nia]no*. Od prenomena *Gaius*, od starine skraćivanog sa *C*, sačuvan je samo vrh, na šta Pač posebno ukazuje. Gentilicij *Sergius* skraćen je na uobičajen način. Sledi sigla koja u ovom kontekstu označava vojni čin, a ne vojnu jedinicu.

Slaba tačka Pačove restitucije je sledeći, četvrti red. Prva dva slova nisu sačuvana, od trećeg se vidi samo gornji deo vertikalne crte. U obzir dolaze slova *H*, *I*, koje može biti i rimski broj „jedan", *L* i *N*. Sledi slovo *I* između interpunkcije, koje takođe može biti ili broj ili prvo slovo neke skraćenice. Zatim ide slovo *M*, pa onda, na ivici preloma, vertikalna crta sa produžetkom nagore iznad serifa, verovatno, kako je predložio Pač, od ligature slova *I* i slova *L*, čija je horizontalna crta ostala na izgubljenom delu natpisa. Prema obrascu

koji je karakterističan za epitafe vojnih lica, posle čina navodi se njihova vojna jedinica sa odgovarajućim atributima, potom (ne i obavezno!) godine službe i (po pravilu!) godine života. Od očekivane dopune [*le*]*g(ionis)*, koja bi lepo popunila lakunu od dva slova na početku reda, Pač je morao odustati zato što vrh vertikalne crte prvog delimično sačuvanog slova u tom redu ne može biti od *G*. Suočen sa tom teškoćom, Pač je, uz rezervu, predložio popunu lakune na početku reda skraćenicom koja bliže određuje centuriona: [*fr(umentario)*]. Vrh sačuvane vertikalne crte bio bi od slova *L*, a sledeće *I* bio bi broj „jedan“: *l(egionis) I*. Ako se i prihvati skraćivanje reči *legionis* na početno slovo, izostavljanje atributa posle broja neobično je zato što je nedistinktivno – bilo je više legija pod tim brojem: *I Minervia, I adiutrix, I Italica*. Našlo bi se epigrafskih potvrda i za takvu radikalnu skraćenicu, ali teško u nadgrobnom natpisu jednog oficira. Kako sledeća reč ne može biti od atributa legije (crtež isključuje mogućnost ligature *IN* posle *M*), Pač je dalje sledio pomenuti obrazac i, da bi restitucija tekla glatko, morao pretpostaviti veliku lakunu između broja XXṾ na dnu fragmenta **b** i umanjenog broja *II* na vrhu fragmenta **d**: *mil(itavit)* |⁵ [*ann(os)* XXV[..] | [*vix(it) ann(os) ...*]*II* |. Nategnutu restituciju četvrtog reda dodatno problematizuje predložena dopuna koja bi trebalo da bliže odredi centuriona. Ona je hipotetična iz razloga koji nije formalno-epigrafske prirode i na koji ćemo se ukratko osvrnuti.

Prethodno treba podsetiti na provenijenciju natpisa. On potiče sa arheološkog lokaliteta na kome se nalazio rimski grad, municipium Malvesiatium.⁵ Njegova teritorija prostirala se od uskog pojasa uz levu obalu Drine do Požeške kotline na severoistoku i donjeg Lima na jugozapadu. U adminstrativnom smislu, to područje je pripadalo provinciji Dalmaciji, ulazeći u njen severoistočni deo. Centurio frumentarius je, međutim, bio oficir u posebnoj jedinici tajne policije (numerus frumentariorum) čija se kasarna, Castra peregrina, nalazila na bregu Celiju u Rimu. Ona je bila namenjena svim vojnicima i oficirima koji bi iz legijskih garnizona u provincijama bili prekomandovani u Rim po nekom zadatku. Svi oni su, kao pojedinci, zadržavali svoj legijski rang, ali su se kolektivno zvali peregrini zato što su prvobitno služili van Grada – peregre,⁶ za razliku od pripadnika pretorijanskih, gradskih i vatrogasnih kohorti koje su od Avgustovog doba bile stacionirane u Rimu. Jedinica frumentarija bila je podređena direktno caru i specijalno obučena za operativni rad u tajnoj službi. Kako nas obaveštavaju književni izvori, frumentariji su

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⁵ V. gore, str. 1 sa nap. 1.

⁶ Tj. u provincijama, up. Panciera 1989, 378, br. 8 (= CIL 6, 30721): Genio Sancto | castrorum | peregrinorum | Aur(elius) Alexander |⁵ [c]analiclarius (!) | quod peregre | [c]onstitutus vovit | aedil(is) castrorum | votum libens solvit.

izvršavali zadatke kao što su špijunaža, hapšenja, ubistva, i krstarili su Carstvom posredujući između cara s jedne i vojnog i administrativnog personala u provincijama s druge strane. Zbog prirode posla i zloupotrebe položaja izašli su na zao glas.[7] Iz epigrafskih tekstova saznajemo da su frumentariji iz Castra peregrina slati uglavnom u provincije bez legija (*provinciae inermes*), kakve su bile Dalmacija posle 86. godine, Azija, Ahaja, Lugdunska Galija, Trakija, gde su delovali kao neka vrsta lokalne policije ili su po nalogu cara nadzirali građevinske i druge radove.[8] U Dalmaciji su epigrafski posvedočena samo dva centuriona iz jedinice frumentarija, obojica u glavnom gradu provincije, Saloni. Jedan je u krizi Prvog markomanskog rata 170. godine bio postavljen, svakako po nalogu cara Marka Aurelija, za zapovednika legijske veksilacije zadužene za hitnu izgradnju bedema oko Salone.[9] Drugog je smrt zadesila na zadatku u Saloni tek što je sa položaja običnog frumentarija bio unapređen u centuriona.[10] Prema tome, nije nemoguća Pačova pretpostavka da je i u jednom gradu na istoku Dalmacije mogao dejstvovati centurio frumentarius, no nju predložena restitucija ne dokazuje, a kontekst natpisa ne pruža nikakvu dodatnu indiciju, ponajmanje okolnost da mu je spomenik podigla supruga. Pač je nesumnjivo sve to imao u vidu kada je svoju dopunu stavio pod znak pitanja.

U analizi četvrtog reda natpisa videli smo zašto ne može biti reči ni o legijskom centurionu. Čin centuriona je, međutim, postojao i u nekim drugim odredima rimske vojske. Epigrafska svedočanstva o vojnim jedinicama koje su bile stacionirane u provinciji Dalmaciji tokom njene istorije omogućavaju nam da predložimo *lectio facilior* ovog natpisa.

Da bi se natpis protumačio iz istorijske perspektive, treba ga najpre datirati. Na osnovu elemenata kojima raspolažemo: paleografskih odlika, uređenja

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[7] Za Castra peregrina i numerus frumentariorum v. Baillie Reynolds 1923, 169–170, 172, 176–177; Mann 1988, 149; Panciera 1989, 365–382, naročito 376–378; Rankov 1990, 176–178 i 180 sa primerima iz književnih tekstova; Bérard 2000, 293–294.

[8] Mann 1988, 149; Rankov 1990, 176–178 sa nap. 6 i 8–10.

[9] CIL 3, 1980 = CIL 3, 8570 Salona: Imp(eratore) Caes(are) M(arco) Aurel(io) Anto|nino Aug(usto) pont(ifice) max(imo) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) | XXIIII co(n)s(ule) III p(atre) p(atriae) vexillationes | leg(ionum) II Piae et III Concord(iae) ped(es) CC | sub cura P(ublii) Aeli Amyntiani | (centurionis) fru|mentari leg(ionis) II Traianae. Up. Rankov 1990, 177 sa nap. 9. V. dole str. 4 sa nap. 14.

[10] CIL 3, 2063 = CIL 3, 8581 = Matijević 2014, 69–70, sl. 3, Salona: [D(is)] M(anibus) | T(itus) V⟨a⟩rronius | Maro frumenˋtˋarius | leg(ionis) III Quirena{r}ice (!) | qui cucurrit ˋfˋrum(entarius) | ann(os) XI et c(enturio) frum(entarius) fac|tus modo. Firminus | libertus eius posuit. | Locus concessus. Uzgred budi rečeno, drugi red ne treba čitati T(itus) V⟨a⟩rronius već Turronius, kao što piše; interpunkcijski znak nije merodavan, stoji i unutar reči posuit u osmom i concessus u devetom redu. Unapređenje frumentarija direktno u čin centuriona nije inače posvedočeno, ali napredovanje frumentarija u jedinici u Rimu išlo je brže nego što je to bio slučaj sa onima koji su služili u štabu (officium) upravnika provincija, v. Bérard 2000, 299–300 sa nap. 171, 300; Bérard 2004, 362 sa nap. 30. O ovom frumentariju v. Matijević 2014, 71.

teksta (v. gore) i imenske formule centuriona (*tria nomina*, nedostatak tribe), on ne može biti stariji od sredine II niti mlađi od početka III veka. U to vreme Dalmacija je bila *provincia inermis*, što ne znači bez vojske, već bez stalnog legijskog garnizona, koji je iz nje povučen još 86. godine.[11] U provinciji su se i dalje nalazili pomoćni odredi (*auxilia*), sastavljeni od pešadijskih (*cohortes*), konjičkih (*alae*) i jedinica mešovitog sastava (*cohortes equitatae*), koji su popunjavani uglavnom iz domaćeg stanovništva provincije. Njihovi komandanti, *tribuni* i *praefecti*, bili su iz viteškog staleža. Do Markomanskih ratova (167–180) pomoćni odredi u Dalmaciji bili su raspoređeni na strateškoj liniji duž glavne saobraćajnice u zaleđu priobalnih kolonija. Krajem I veka auksilijarni provincijski garnizon redukovan je na tri kohorte čiji su logori ostali u južnoj Dalmaciji.[12] Kada su na početku Prvog markomanskog rata germanska plemena probila limes na Dunavu i sjurivši se do Akvileje presekla Rimljanima kopnenu komunikaciju između Italije i fronta u podunavskoj zoni, car Marko Aurelije (161–180) morao je hitno obezbediti prekomorski transport utvrđivanjem i odbranom Salone.[13] U natpisima koji nas obaveštavaju o vojnim jedinicama koje su učestvovale u izgradnji njenih bedema 170. godine, prvi put se pominju dve nove kohorte od po hiljadu vojnika, *I* i *II milliaria Delmatarum*.[14] Marko Aurelije ih je formirao regrutovanjem lokalnog stanovništva Dalmacije, verovatno 169. godine, u sklopu opsežnih mera kojima je trebalo ojačati odbrambeni front prema udruženim germanskim i sarmatskim plemenima i obezbediti unutrašnji mir, narušen ne samo upadima varvara nego i pobunama u provincijama.[15] Obe kohorte su kasnije prebačene na istok Dalmacije, o čemu svedoče službeni votivni natpisi njihovih komandanata, tribuna. Druga delmatska kohorta bila je stacionirana kod današnjeg Čačka od poslednjih godina vladavine Marka Aurelija pa do sredine III veka.[16] Pri-

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[11] Wilkes 1969, 103–104. Za termin *provincia inermis* v. Tac. *Hist.* 1, 16.

[12] Alföldy 1962, 284–285, 287–288; Wilkes 1969, 139 –141.

[13] Upad Germana u Italiju (Luc. Alex. 48; Cass. Dio 71, 3, 2; Amm. Marc. 29, 6, 1) uglavnom se datira u 170. godinu, up. Birley 2000, 171–172.

[14] CIL 3, 1979 Salona: Imp(eratore) Caes(are) M(arco) Aur(elio) Anto|nino Aug(usto) pont(ifice) max(imo) trib(unicia) | pot(estate) XXIIII p(atre) p(atriae) coh(ors) I ⊙milliaria⊙ Del(matarum) | sub cur(a) Grani Fortunati |5 trib(uni) coh(ortis) eiusd(em) muri p(edes) | DCCC in his tur-r(is) una. CIL 3, 6374 = CIL 3, 8655 Salona: Imp(eratore) Caes(are) M(arco) Au/rel(io) Antonino | Aug(usto) pont(ifice) max(imo) tr(ibunicia) | pot(estate) XXIIII co(n)s(ule) III p(atre) p(atriae) | coh(ors) II ⟨⟨milliaria⟩⟩ Del(matarum) ped(es) DCCC |5 in his turris I sub cura | L(uci) Annaei Serviliani trib(uni) | vice tertia. O legijskoj veksilaciji v. gore, nap. 9.

[15] SHA Marc. 20–21. Up. Loma 2010, 119–120.

[16] Votivni natpisi trojice tribuna: AE 2010, 1154; Dušanić 2003, 254–255; Vulić 1941–1948, str. 253, br. 494. O Drugoj delmatskoj kohorti i njenoj ulozi u vojnoj organizaciji Dalmacije tokom i posle Markomanskih ratova v. Loma 2010, 116–136.

sutstvo Prve delmatske kohorte na istoku provincije dokazuje votivni natpis njenog tribuna, otkriven u Užicu i objavljen prvi put još 1890. godine:[17]

> *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Partino | C(aius) Iul(ius) Rufus | trib(unus)*
> *coh(ortis) I mil(liariae) | Delm(atarum) pro sal(ute)* |5 [[- - - - - -]] | [[- - -]]
> *i l(ibens) p(osuit).*

Natpis se na osnovu paleografskih odlika i imenske formule tribuna datira u kraj II ili početak III veka. U 5/6 redu eradirano je ime cara koji je posle smrti bio senatskom odlukom osuđen na zaborav (*damnatio memoriae*); izdavači F. Ladek, N. Vulić i A. f. Premerštajn mišljenja su da u obzir dolazi jedino Komod (180–192).

U novije vreme otkrivena su dva votivna natpisa aktivnih centuriona te iste kohorte, jedan u okolini Bajine Bašte:[18]

> [*Si*]*lvano* || e[*t - - -*] | *L(ucius) Titi*[*us . . . .*]|*nus* ⦅*centurio*⦆ *coh(ortis)* [*I*] |
> *mil(liariae) l(ibens) p(osuit).*

drugi upravo u Skelanima:[19]

> *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | M(arcus) Luccius | Valens |* ⦅*centurio*⦆ *coh(or-*
> *tis)* |5 *I mil(liariae) cum M(arco) | Luccio Fron|tone filio | l(ibens) m(erito)*
> *p(osuit).*

Sa tim saznanjima čitanje našeg natpisa postaje jednostavno a pretpostavka o lakuni između fragmenata **a** + **b** i **c** + **d** izlišna. Sva četiri odlomka sa natpisom uklapaju se u celinu tako što se vrh fragmenta **d** sa umanjenim brojem *II* nadovezuje na donju desnu ivicu fragmenta **b** popunjavajući savršeno lakunu od dva broja koja su Paču nedostajala na kraju petog reda. Naše čitanje natpisa glasi:

> *D(is) M(anibus) | C(aio) Ser(gio) Iu*|[*li*]*aṇo* ⦅*centurioni*⦆ | [*co*]*ḥ(ortis) I*
> *mil(liariae)* |5 [*def(uncto) an(norum)* ili *vix(it) an(nos)*] *XXVỊI | He*[.]*o*[.]*ṇịa*
> | *Vera con*|[*iu*]*gi p(ientissimo) p(osuit).*

5. red: Obe formule dobro su posvedočene u natpisima municipija *Malvesiatium*, naročito na njegovoj teritoriji, odakle potiče i najveći broj nadgrobnih spomenika.[20] U dva natpisa iz Skelana iza imena preminulog u dativu dolazi

[17] Domaszewski 1890, 132; CIL 3, 8353 = Ladek – Premerstein – Vulić 1901, 157–158, br. 81sa crtežom = Vulić – Ladek – Premerštajn 1903, 84, br. 75 sa crtežom = Vulić 1941–1948, 247, br. 485 sa fotogr. = ILJug 1503.

[18] AE 1989, 612 = AE 2010, 1157.

[19] AE 2009, 1009.

[20] Formula DEF AN: ILJug 1539 Skelani; na teritoriji: CIL 3, 8339–8346, 8350, 12751, 14607, 1; ILJug 1508. Formula VIX AN: ILJug 1550; AE 1987, 805 Skelani; na teritoriji: CIL 3, 8352; ILJug 1471,

asindetski formula *vix(it) an(nos)* (ILJug 1550; AE 1987, 805), tako da se ne može isključiti Pačova restitucija. Upotreba relativne zamenice u toj formuli, karakteristična za natpise III veka, nije, bar do sada, posvedočena na ovom području.[21]

6. red: Gentilno ime centurionove žene ostaje neidentifikovano. Nije posvedočen latinski gentilicij u koji bi se mogao uklopiti takav slovni niz, up. Solin / Salomies 1994, 91–93.[22]

Za razliku od vojnika, centurioni pomoćnih kohorti su već od II veka živeli sa svojim porodicama tokom službe.[23] Postojećim svedočanstvima pridružuju se i oba natpisa iz Skelana.

Logor Prve delmatske kohorte verovatno se nalazio u današnjim Kremnima[24] (između Užica i Skelana), gde je u rimsko doba bilo saobraćajno čvorište na kome se put iz primorja (*Risinium*, *Epidaurum*) u Podunavlje računao na sever prema Sirmiju i na istok u Gornju Meziju.[25] Kohorta je napustila Dalmaciju na samom početku vladavine Septimija Severa (193–211) da bi učestvovala u Prvom parćanskom ratu 195. godine. Po povratku iz tog pohoda bila je stacionirana nedaleko od Salone.[26]

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Baillie Reynolds 1923 = P. K. Baillie Reynolds, The troops quartered in the Castra Peregrina, *JRS* 13, 168–189.

1472, 1474, 1487, 1506, 1542.

[21] O datiranju nadgrobnih natpisa Dalmacije na osnovu koncipiranja teksta i formula v. Alföldy 1969, 28–30.

[22] Donji levi obli trag slova sačuvanog na ivici fragmenta **c**, koje je Pač restituisao kao *O*, može biti i od *C* ili *G*, što ne menja stvar, ali nikako od *E*, što bi omogućilo dopunu u *He[r]e[n]ṇia*.

[23] Alföldy 1962, 281.

[24] Podaci o rimskom logoru na lokalitetu „Trgovište" između Kremana i Šargana postoje u dokumentaciji Narodnog muzeja u Užicu, a njegove konture sa otvorima za kapije ističu se na terenu pored samog puta E-761 i lepo se vide na satelitskom snimku.

[25] TIR K 34, str. 75 i karta: IV a. O putevima i vojsci u istočnoj Dalmaciji v. Loma 2010, 126–136.

[26] AE 1995, 1021 Axima; CIL 5, 707 Tergeste; CIL 3, 9829 Promona; ILJug 2076 Salona. Up. Halfmann 1982, 221–222; Bérard 1995, 349–352; Loma 2010, 279–282.

Bérard 1995 = F. Bérard, Un nouveau procurateur à Aime en Tarantaise, Savoie, *Gallia* 52, 343–358.

Bérard 2000 = F. Bérard, La garnison de Lyon et l'*officium* du gouverneur de Lyonnaise, u: G. Alföldy, B. Dobson,W. Eck (izd.)., *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit. Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley* (Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien, 31), Stuttgart, 279–305.

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CAH = The Cambridge Ancient History.

CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.

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A Secret Police Officer or an Ordinary Centurion? Solving an Epigraphic Puzzle

Summary: The village of Skelani, situated on the left bank of the Drina river opposite to the city of Bajina Bašta, lies over the remains of a Roman town identified as the *municipium Malvesiatium*, whose territory belonged to the province of Dalmatia. The first excavations of the site, carried out in 1897 by Carl Patsch, brought to light thirty inscriptions, most of them reused in two paleochristian churches. Among those spolia Patsch came upon four epigraphic fragments belonging to the same monument, and he identified them as two pairs (frgs **a** + **b** and **c** + **d**) that constitute, respectively, the upper- and lowermost parts of a funerary inscription (Fig. 1). Patsch's reading runs as follows:

D(is) M(anibus) | C. Ser(gio) Iu | [li]ano ((centurioni)) | [fr(umentario) ? l(egionis)] I mil(itavit) |⁵ [ann(os)] XXV[. .] | [vix(it) ann(os) . . .]II | He[.]onia | Vera con | [iu] gi p(ientissimo) p(osuit).

In the subsequent edition (ILJug 1543) neither the first editor's restoration of the missing text at the beginning of line 4, nor his expansion of the following abbreviations have been accepted:

D(is) M(anibus) ⏐ *C. Serg(io) Iu*⏐[*li*]*ano* ⏐ *⟨⟨centurioni* ?⟩⟩ ⏐ [. . .]*I I mil*⏐[5](. . . . .]
XXV[.] ⏐ - - - - - - ⏐ [. . . . .]*II̲* ⏐ *He̲*[.]*o̲ni̲a* ⏐ *Vera con*⏐[*iu*]*gi p(ientissimo) p(osuit).*
Consequently, the military rank of the centurion – and therein lies the main interest
of the inscription – has remained unsolved. The purpose of the present paper is to
show that all four fragments are contiguous, so that putting them together may lead
to a *lectio facilior*. It turns out that they constitute an eight line inscription, with a
lacuna on the left side (lines 2–6). Letters of the missing portion could be fairly well
restored by analogy with the inscriptions discovered in the area (Fig. 2). We propose
the following reading of the text:

D(is) M(anibus) | *C̲(aio) Ser(gio) Iu*|[*li*]*ano ⟨⟨centurioni⟩⟩* | [*co*]*h̲(ortis) I mi̲l(liariae)*
|[5] [*def(uncto) an(norum)* or *vix(it) an(nos)*] *XXV̲II* | *He̲*[.]*o̲*[.]*ni̲a* | *Vera con*|[*iu*]*gi*
p(ientissimo) p(osuit).

Accordingly, C. Sergius Iulianus was a serving centurion of the auxiliary cohort *I
milliaria (Delmatarum)*. The presence of this military unit in Northeast Dalmatia has
already been attested by three inscriptions dated to the last decades of the II century
(CIL 3, 8353 Užice, tribune; AE 1989, 612 Bajina Bašta and AE 2009, 1009 Skelani,
centurions).
Key Words: *centurio*, *auxilia*, *cohors I milliaria Delmatarum*, *municipium
Malvesiatium*, the Roman province of Dalmatia.

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Грчко εἶναι и γίγνεσθαι у старословенском преводу Јеванђеља по Јовану

Апстракт: Стсл **бꙑти** преводе се грч. εἶναι („бити“, „постојати“) и γίγνεσθαι („настати“, „постати“) у Јеванђељу по Јовану, што изазива двосмисленост у појединим случајевима.
Кључне речи: превођење, Нови завет, грчки, старословенски

1. Структурне неподударности између новозаветног грчког и позно-прасловенског испољавале су се на свим нивоима, укључујући и синтаксу и лексику. Приликом превода Новог завета на старословенски, оне су премошћаване на различите начине: позајмљивањем грчке лексике, калкирањем грчких синтактичких конструкција или пак специфичном употребом постојећих словенских средстава (уп. Верещагин 1971: 175). У овом чланку желим да покажем како је у тексту Јеванђеља по Јовану грчка лексичка опозиција εἶναι („бити“, „постојати“) : γίγνεσθαι („настати“, „постати“) преформулисана у словенском преводу у опозицију различитих глаголских облика у оквиру парадигме глагола bxjti. Овакво специфично решење, непознато неким другим преводима на ие. језике, за собом је носило одређене потешкоће, од којих је нај-падљивија семантичка двосмисленост у оним глаголским облицима који подједнако стоје према грч. εἶναι и γίγνεσθαι. Стсл. примери дати су из Зографског јеванђеља (*Codex Zographensis*, Jagić 1954), глагољског споменика насталог вероватно у 11. в. на територији Македоније. Ради прегледности, примери ће, као у Јагићевом издању, бити наведени у ћирилској транслитерацији.[1]

Могуће је и друкчије тумачење овог преводног решења. Оно, наиме, проистиче из тумачења стсл. **бꙑти** као система двају видских парњака (Van Schooneveld 1951: 103). У том случају, делује да за грч. εἶναι и

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[1] Грчке примере наводим према Nestle–Aland.

γίγνεσθαι долазе у стсл. две лексеме, десценденти пие. *h₁es- „бити“ и *bʰuH- „настати“/„постати“, који деле неке заједничке облике (попут инф. bxjti и сл.). Eckhoff–Janda–Nesset, међутим, емпиријским испитивањем долазе до закључка да „the use of byti across grammatical constructions is indicative of a single verb rather than a pair of verbs“ (2014b: 522). Ипак, остаје отворено питање онога што Eckhoff–Janda–Nesset (2014a: 483) називају *shared forms* (попут поменутог инф. вꙑти), које, како ће се видети, одговарају подједнако грч. εἶναι и γίγνεσθαι. Eckhoff–Janda–Nesset о.с. помињу могућу полисемију и биаспектуалност овог стсл. глагола (или само неких његових облика), али у корпусу нисам успео да пронађем семантичке детерминаторе или особености фразне структуре који би указивали на једно од двају могућих значења. Стога, предлажем да су поједини облици глагола bxjti у посматраном тексту двосмислени.

2. Грчко εἶναι редовно се преводи словенским вꙑти, што илуструју многобројни примери:

1) Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος (I,1)	искони вѣаше слово і слово вѣаше отъ ба і бъ вѣаше слово
2) ὅπου ἦν ὁ Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων (I, 28)	ідеже вѣ іоанъ крьста
3) οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται ταῦτα τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖν ἃ σὺ ποιεῖς, ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ ὁ θεὸς μετ’ αὐτοῦ (III, 2)	никътоже бо не можетъ знамени сихъ творити ѣже тꙑ сътвориши аште не бѫдетъ бъ съ нимь
4) πῶς σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὢν παρ’ ἐμοῦ πεῖν αἰτεῖς γυναικὸς Σαμαρίτιδος οὔσης (IV, 9)	како тꙑ юдеи сꙑ отъ мене пити просиши женꙑ самарѣнинꙗ сѫщта
5) ὁ δὲ ἰαθεὶς οὐκ ᾔδει τίς ἐστιν, ὁ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς ἐξένευσεν ὄχλου ὄντος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ (V, 13)	исцѣлѣвꙑ не вѣдѣаше къто естъ іс бо оуклони сѧ народоу сѫщтоу на мѣстѣ
6) οὗτος γὰρ ἤμελλεν αὐτὸν παραδιδόναι, εἷς ὢν ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα (VI, 71)²	сь бо хотѣаше прѣдати і единъ сꙑ отъ обою на десѧте
7) ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρωποκτόνος ἦν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς (VIII, 44)	онъ ꙋкоубица вѣ искони
8) ἤκουσαν ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων ταῦτα οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ὄντες (IX, 40)	слꙑшашѧ се отъ фарисѣи сии сѫщтеи съ нимь
9) ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τίνα ἦν (X, 6)	они же не разоумѣшѧ чьто вѣашѧ³
10) μὴ καὶ σὺ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν εἶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου (XVIII, 17)	еда і тꙑ отъ оученикъ еси чка того

Уколико је грч. εἶναι у прошлом времену (пр. 1, 2, 7 и 9) или партиципу, било везаном (пр. 4 и 8), било у апсолутном генитиву (пр. 5), стсл. преводни еквивалент редовно стоји у имперфекту (бѣаше), односно партиципу презента (сы, сѫшта, сѫштоу).

Стсл. быти, међутим, преводни је еквивалент и другим грчким глаголима у посматраном тексту. Грчко μένειν се, између осталог, на неколико места преводи управо овим словенским глаголом: ἐὰν μὴ μένῃ ἐν τῇ ἀμπέλῳ… ὁ μένων ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ, слов. аште не бѫдетъ на лозѣ… иже бѫдетъ въ мнѣ і азъ въ немь (XV, 4–5), μείνατε ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ τῇ ἐμῇ, слов. бѫдѣте въ любъви моеі (XV, 9), а быти одговара и грчком ἔχειν у изразу ἐπύθετο οὖν τὴν ὥραν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐν ᾗ κομψότερον ἔσχεν (слов. въпрашаше же часа отъ нихъ въ которы соулѣе емоу бысть; IV, 52), за шта је у Јовановом јеванђељу само једна потврда. Стсл. быти долази без изузетака као превод грчког γίγνεσθαι, када је оно у значењу „настати“, „постати“. Уколико је дати грч. глагол у значењу „родити се“, регуларно му, у свим облицима, одговара слов. родити сѧ:

11) πῶς δύναται ἄνθρωπος γεννηθῆναι γέρων ὤν; (III, 4)	како можетъ чкъ родити сѧ старъ сы
12) τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς σάρξ ἐστιν, καὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος πνεῦμά ἐστιν (III, 6)	рождено отъ плъти плътъ естъ і рождено от дха дхъ естъ
13) ὅταν δὲ γεννήσῃ τὸ παιδίον, οὐκέτι μνημονεύει τῆς θλίψεως διὰ τὴν χαρὰν ὅτι ἐγεννήθη ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν κόσμον (XVI, 21)	егда же родитъ отрочѧ къ томоу не помьнитъ скръби за радость ѣко роди сѧ чкъ въ миръ.

За први случај (слов. быти за грч. γίγνεσθαι – „настати“, „постати“) примера је неупоредиво више. Неки од њих су:

14) πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν. ὃ γέγονεν (I,3)	вьсѣ тѣмь быша і безнего ничьтоже не бысть еже бысть
15) ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος, ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ, ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἰωάννης (I,6)	бысть чкъ посланъ отъ ба імѧ емоу іоанъ
16) ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο (I, 10)	въ мирѣ бѣ і миръ тѣмь бы(стъ)

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² Према КД: 184. У Nestle–Aland пак ibid. стоји: οὗτος γὰρ ἔμελλεν παραδιδόναι αὐτόν, εἷς ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα. Ипак, стсл. превод овог стиха пре упућује на предложак дат у КД него на Nestle–Aland.

³ У Маријином јеванђељу (Jagić 1883, 357) стоји: не разоумѣшѧ чьто бѣшѧ. Вокализам основе и грчки предложак упућују на 3 sg имперфекта, са ѧ уместо е, искључиво на овом месту.

⁴ Према КД: 170. У Nestle–Aland стоји: ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ [ἐγὼ] ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος, из чега следи да слов. превод и овде иде за КД, а не за Nestle–Aland.

17) καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο (I, 14)	ι слово плътъ бъістъ
18) ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν (I,15)	грѧдъі по мнѣ прѣдъ мъноѭ бъістъ ѣко прьвѣи бѣ
19) ὅτι ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωϋσέως ἐδόθη, ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο (I, 17)	ѣко законъ мосѣомь данъ бъі(стъ) благодѣтъ и истина ι͞с х͞мь бъістъ
20) ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος, ὃς ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν· οὗ ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος [4] (I,27)	грѧдъі по мнѣ иже прѣдъ мъноѭ бъістъ емоу же азъ нѣсмь достоинъ да отрѣшѭ ремень сапогоу его
21) ταῦτα ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐγένετο πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ὅπου ἦν ὁ Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων (I,28)	си въ витании бъішѧ об онъ полъ иордана идеже бѣ иоанъ
22) οὗτός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐγὼ εἶπον· ὀπίσω μου ἔρχεται ἀνὴρ ὃς ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν (I,30)	съ естъ о н͛емьже азъ рѣхъ по мнѣ грѧдетъ мѫжь иже прѣдъ мъноѭ бъістъ ѣко прьвѣи мене бѣ
23) καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ γάμος ἐγένετο ἐν Κανὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας (II,1)	ι въ трети дьнь бракъ бъі въ кана галилѣисцѣи
24) ὡς δὲ ὀψία ἐγένετο κατέβησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν (VI,16)	ι ѣко поздѣ бъістъ сънидѫ оученици его на море
25) καὶ σκοτία ἤδη ἐγεγόνει καὶ οὔπω ἐληλύθει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς (VI,17)	ι тъма абье бъі(стъ) ι не оу бѣ пришьлъ къ н͛имъ ι͞с
26) καὶ εὐθέως ἐγένετο τὸ πλοῖον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰς ἣν ὑπῆγον (VI, 21)	ι абье бъі корабль на земли вь н͛ѭже ѣдѣахѫ
27) σχίσμα οὖν ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ δι' αὐτόν (VII, 43)	распрѣ же бъі(стъ) въ народѣ его ради
28) σχίσμα πάλιν ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους (X, 19)	распрѣ же пакъі бъі(стъ) въ июдѣихъза словеса си
29) ἐγένετο τότε τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐν τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις, χειμὼν ἦν (X, 22)	бъішѧ же тогда свѧ͞шниѣ въ и͞лмѣхъ ι зима бѣ
30) ὁ οὖν ὄχλος ὁ ἑστὼς καὶ ἀκούσας ἔλεγεν βροντὴν γεγονέναι (XII, 29)	народъ же стоѧ ι слъішавъ гл͞аахѫ громъ бъістъ
31) οὐ δι' ἐμὲ ἡ φωνὴ αὕτη γέγονεν (XII, 30)	не мене ради гласъ сь бъі(стъ)
32) κύριε, [καὶ] τί γέγονεν ὅτι ἡμῖν μέλλεις ἐμφανίζειν σεαυτὸν καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ κόσμῳ; (XIV, 22)	г͞и то бъістъ ѣко нам хошт[е]ши сѧ ѣвити а не вьсемоу мироу

Сасвим изузетно, грч. импф. ἐγινόμην преводи се имперфектом слов. итеративног глагола **бъівати** (**бъіваашє**)за ἐγίνετο; V,4[5]).

Примери (14–32) показују да грчком γίγνεσθαι у прошлом времену[6] регуларно одговара слов. аорист, те се на тај начин успоставља разлика

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[5] КΔ: 178.

[6] Ово се односи и на пр. 30, где грч. γεγονέναι стоји у конструкцији акузатива са инфинитивом.

према „постојати“ (εἶναι), у којем значењу слов. **бъіти** увек када се односи на прошлост стоји у имперфекту, као у примерима 1, 2, 7 и 9. Аналогно томе, стсл. превод грчког ὤν увек је **съі** (в. пр. 4, 5 и 8), док је грч. γενομένος у стсл. увек партицип претерита глагола **бъіти** – **бъівъ**. Ово важи подједнако за везани партицип и апсолутне конструкције (грч. генитив, стсл. датив):

33) θεωροῦσιν τὸν Ἰησοῦν περιπατοῦντα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ πλοίου γινόμενον (VI, 19)	ти оузрѣша іса ходашта по морю і близъ кораблѣ бъівъша[7]
34) καὶ δείπνου γινομένου, τοῦ διαβόλου ἤδη βεβληκότος εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἵνα παραδοῖ αὐτὸν Ἰούδας Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου (XIII, 2)	і вечери бъівъши[8] диѣволоу юже въложьшю въ срьдьце июдѣ симоновоу іскариотьскоуемоу да и прѣдастъ
35) πρωΐας δὲ ἤδη γενομένης ἔστη Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν (XXI, 4)	оутроу же абие бъівъшоу ста іс при брѣѕѣ

Једини пример супституције грч. перф. γέγονα другим обликом пружа слов. 36) **і рече емоу се цѣлъ еси** за грч. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἴδε ὑγιὴς γέγονας (V, 14). Наиме, делује да грч. γέγονας показује овде изворно перфекатско резултативно значење, те се словенским **цѣлъ еси** истиче управо значењска компонента стања субјекта, али не и активности која је до тога стања довела. Стсл. се овде разликује од лат. превода (*ecce sanus factus es*).

Исто што и примери 33–35 показује и 37) **ѣко же въкоуси архитри-клинъ вина бъівъшаго отъ водъі** (срп. од вина које је постало од воде, Караџић 1975, 213) за грч. ὡς δὲ ἐγεύσατο ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον γεγενημένον (II, 9), на коме се вреди задржати због још једне спец-ифичности словенског превода. Ради се, наиме, о преформулацији конституентских односа унутар објекатске синтагме. У грч. τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον γεγενημένον именица ὕδωρ је глава (енг. head), док је οἶνον допуна партиципу γεγενημένον, центру придевске синтагме. Као целина, οἶνον γεγενημένον представља конгруентни атрибут именице ὕδωρ. Према томе, дослован превод на стсл. могао би бити ****въкоуси... водъі бъівъшаѭ вино/виномь** (срп. **„окуси... од воде која је постала вино[м]“).[9] Међутим, преводилац је у овом случају посегнуо за другачијим решењем, које такође семантички доследно репрезентује грчки оригинал. Синтактичка

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[7] Очекивани облик **бъівъша.

[8] Титла сувишна

[9] Овакво преводно решење присутно је у лит. *kai puotos valdovas paragavo vandens, paversto vynu*, лат. *ut autem gustavit architriclinus aquam vinum factam* и пољ. *a gdy starosta weselny skosztował wody, która stała się winem*.

неподударност ипак није утицала на начин превођења грч. партиципа перфекта γεγενημένον.

3. Дакле, значењска разлика „настати" : „бити", изражена у грчком лексемама γίγνεσθαι и εἶναι, успостављена је у стсл. опозицијом аориста и имперфекта (бꙑхъ : бѣхъ = ἐγενόμην/γέγονα : ἦν), односно парт. претерита и парт. презента (бꙑвъ : сꙑ = γενόμενος/γεγενημένος : ὤν). Уз то, грч. индикатив презента εἰμί увек се преводи стсл. суплетивним презентом ѥсмь, за шта је примера много (в. и пр. 10), а ево само неких од њих:

38) ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστιν ἵνα ποιήσω τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με καὶ τελειώσω αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον (IV, 34)	мое брашьно естъ да творѭ волѭ посълавъшаего мѧ і съвръшѫ дѣло его
39) καὶ ὑμεῖς καθαροί ἐστε, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ πάντες (XIII, 10)	і въ чисти есте нъ не вьси
40) ὑδεὶς δὲ ἐτόλμα τῶν μαθητῶν ἐξετάσαι αὐτόν· σὺ τίς εἶ; εἰδότες ὅτι ὁ κύριός ἐστιν (XXI, 12)	і ни'тоже не съмѣаше отъ оученикъ истазати тꙑ к'то еси вѣдѫште ꙗко гъ естъ

На само једном месту (VIII, 31) за грчко ἐστε стоји слов. бѫдете (ἐὰν ὑμεῖς μείνητε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐμῷ, ἀληθῶς μαθηταί μού ἐστε, аште въ прѣбѫдете въ словеси моемь въ істинѫ оученици мои бѫдете). Ипак, реч је о футурском презенту у аподози, о чему сведочи и латински превод: *si vos manseritis in sermone meo vere discipuli mei **eritis***. Према томе, ἐστε је потпуно синомимно облику футура ἔσεσθε, коме би регуларно одговарало стсл. бѫдете, што намеравам касније показати.[10]

Истини за вољу, грчком ὅτε οὖν εἶδεν ὁ ὄχλος ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ одговара стсл. видѣаше народи ꙗко і҃с не бꙑстъ тоу (VI, 24). Оваква супституција грч. презента делује инцидентално: за њу у остатку текста нема других потврда. Осим тога, стсл. аорист бꙑстъ може бити у вези са чињеницом да је *verbum regens* видѣаше у прошлом времену, што показује лат. *cum ergo vidisset turba quia Iesus non esset ibi*[11]. Стога ово решење не нарушава основне обрасце слов. превода.

За разлику од ѥсмь, стсл. бѫдѫ одговара подједнако грч. εἶναι и γίγνεσθαι у футуру и конјунктиву презента или аориста, што илуструју следећи примери:

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[10] Старословенским бꙑти у потенцијалу увек се преводи грч. εἶναι у условним реченицама: аште отъ мира бисте бꙑли миръ оубо своѭ любилъ би за грч. εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου ἦτε, ὁ κόσμος ἂν τὸ ἴδιον ἐφίλει (XV, 19).

[11] У лит. је такође прошло време у зависној реченици: *todėl kai tauta pamatė, kad ten nebuvo Jėzaus*.

а) стсл. бѫдѫ уместо грч. γενήσομαι:

41) πῶς σὺ λέγεις ὅτι ἐλεύθεροι γενήσεσθε; (VIII, 33)

како тъі г҃леши ѣко свободь бѫдете

42) κἀκεῖνα δεῖ με ἀγαγεῖν καὶ τῆς φωνῆς μου ἀκούσουσιν, καὶ γενήσονται μία ποίμνη, εἷς ποιμήν (Χ, 16)

і тъı ми подобаетъ привести і гласъ моі оуслъішѫтъ і бѫдетъ едино стадо

43) ὃ ἐὰν θέλητε αἰτήσασθε, καὶ γενήσεται ὑμῖν (XV, 7)

емоуже колиждо хоштете простите і бѫдетъ вамъ

44) ἀλλ' ἡ λύπη ὑμῶν εἰς χαρὰν γενήσεται (XVI, 20)

нъ печалъ ваша въ радость бѫдетъ

б) стсл. бѫдѫ уместо грч. ἔσομαι:

45) καὶ ἔσονται πάντες διδακτοὶ θεοῦ (VI, 45)

і бѫдѫтъ вьси оучени(ци) б҃мь

46) ἐὰν οὖν ὁ υἱός ὑμᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃ, ὄντως ἐλεύθεροι ἔσεσθε (VIII, 36)

аште оубо с҃нъ въı свободитъ свободъ бѫдете

47) καὶ ὅπου εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ διάκονος ὁ ἐμὸς ἔσται (XII, 26)

ідеже есмь азъ тоу і слоуга моі бѫдетъ

48) ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν μένει καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσται (XIV, 17)

ѣко въ васъ прѣбъıваетъ і въ васъ бѫдетъ

49) ἀλλὰ λάχωμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ τίνος ἔσται·ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ (XIX, 24)

не прѣдеремъ его нъ метѣмъ жрѣбиѩ о н҃ъ комоу бѫдетъ да събѫдетъ сѧ кънигъı

в) стсл. бѫдѫ уместо грч. γένωμαι:

50) μηκέτι ἁμάρτανε, ἵνα μὴ χεῖρόν σοί τι γένηται (V, 14)

не съгрѣшаі да не горе чьто ти бѫдетъ

51) εἰς κρίμα ἐγὼ εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον ἦλθον, ἵνα οἱ μὴ βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ οἱ βλέποντες τυφλοὶ γένωνται (IX, 39)

на сѫдъ азъ въ миръ се придъ да не видаштеі видатъ і видаштеі слѣпи бѫдѫтъ

52) ὡς τὸ φῶς ἔχετε, πιστεύετε εἰς τὸ φῶς, ἵνα υἱοὶ φωτὸς γένησθε (XII, 36)

доньдеже свѣтъ імате вѣроуете въ свѣтъ да с҃ни свѣтоу бѫдете

53) καὶ νῦν εἴρηκα ὑμῖν πρὶν γενέσθαι, ἵνα ὅταν γένηται πιστεύσητε (XIV, 29)

і нъінѣ рѣхъ вамъ прѣжде даже не бѫдетъ да егда бѫдетъ вѣрѫ імете ѣко азъ рѣхъ вамъ

г) стсл. бѫдѫ уместо грч. ὦ:

54) ἵνα ὅπου εἰμὶ ἐγώ, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἦτε (XIV, 3)

да ідеже есмь азъ і въı бѫдете

У складу са тим, следећи стсл. пример:

55) **нъ вода ѩже азъ дамь емоу бѫдетъ въ ńемь істочьникъ водъі въслѣ-плѫшзѫѭ въ животъ вѣчьнъі** (IV, 14)

може истовремено бити превод грчког:

ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ /γενήσεται/ ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, али и ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ /ἔσται/ ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Разлике у времену нема: свакако се ради о футуру, али стсл. превод у овом случају није у могућности да изрази аспектуалну разлику дуративност (ἔσται/„биће“) : пунктуалност (γενήσεται/„постаће“, тј. „почеће бити“). Такође, стсл.

56) **і съкажѫ да любъі еѭже мѧ еси възлюбилъ въ ńихъ бѫдетъ** (XVII, 26)

може бити превод грчког

καὶ γνωρίσω, ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη ἣν ἠγάπησάς με ἐν αὐτοῖς /γένηται/ κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτοῖς, али и καὶ γνωρίσω, ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη ἣν ἠγάπησάς με ἐν αὐτοῖς /ᾖ/ κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Уже видско значење открива тек грчки оригинал: ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ δώσω αὐτῷ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον – „вода коју дам њему постаће (а не 'биће') извор воде која води у вечни живот“ (IV, 14), одн. ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη ἣν ἠγάπησάς με ἐν αὐτοῖς ᾖ κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτοῖς – „да љубав, којом заволе ме, у вама буде (а не 'настане') и ја у њима“ (XVII, 26).

У овом погледу, сличну двосмисленост показује стсл. инфинитив **бъіти**, који у примеру 57) **і дастъ імъ власть чѧдомъ Бжиемъ бъіти вѣроуѭштимъ въ имѧ его** (I, 12) представља превод грч. ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Међутим, да би наведена стсл. реченица могла репрезентовати и грч. **ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ εἶναι, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, указује преводилачка пракса илустрована примерима 58–61.

Наиме, слов. **бъіти** за грч. γενέσθαι види се у:

58) πῶς δύναται ταῦτα γενέσθαι;   **како могѫтъ си бъіти**
(III, 9)

59) οὗτον ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς κατακείμενον καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἔχει, λέγει αὐτῷ· θέλεις ὑγιὴς γενέσθαι; (V, 6)

сего видѣвъ іс лежѫшта і разоумѣвъ ѣко многа лѣта юже имѣаше гла емоу хоштеши ли живъ бъіти

Уз то, како је већ речено, стсл. бъіти преводни је еквивалент грч. инф. εἶναι:

60) ἐκ Ναζαρὲτ δύναταί τι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι; (I, 46)

отъ назарета можетъ ли чьто добро бъіти

61) οὐδεὶς γάρ τι ἐν κρυπτῷ ποιεῖ καὶ ζητεῖ αὐτὸς ἐν παρρησίᾳ εἶναι (VII, 4)

никътоже бо въ таінѣ ничесоже творитъ і иштетъ самъ ѣвѣ бъіти

Према томе, стсл. бъіти, којим се преводе грч. инфинитиви εἶναι и γίγνεσθαι, попут модалног презента/футура бѫдетъ, не допушта могућност изражавања видске опозиције „бити" : „почети бити".

На крају, посебну пажњу завређује слов. 62) і нъінѣ прослави мѧ оче оу тебе славѫ іѫже имѣхъ прѣжде даже не бъістъ оу тебе вьсь миръ за грч. καὶ νῦν δόξασόν με σύ, πάτερ, παρὰ σεαυτῷ τῇ δόξῃ ᾗ εἶχον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ σοί (XVII, 5). Наиме, словенски преводилац је, определивши се да грч. πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι преведе не дословно, већ темпоралном клаузом са субординатором прѣжде даже и глаголом у прошлом времену, имао могућност да изрази уже видско значење које је и у грч. оригиналу. Инфинитиву εἶναι, са дуративним значењем „постојати", од стсл. прошлих времена одговара искључиво имперфекат (в. пр. 1, 2, 7 и 9), па би адекватнији превод био **прѣжде даже не бѣ/аше миръ. Према томе, за слов. бъістъ у овом примеру, које иначе значи „постао је" (14–32), могућа су три објашњења: грешка преводиоца/преводилаца, протограф другачији од текстова којим сам располагао или грешка преписивача Зографског јеванђеља. Трећу могућност елиминисао сам по увиду у Маријино јеванђеље, које ibid. такође има бъістъ (Jagić 1883, 385). Латински (*priusquam mundus esset*), литвански (*prieš pasaulio buvimą*), готски (*faúrþizei sa faírhus wesi*) и пољски превод (*pierwej, niżeli świat był*), са значењем „пре него што је свет постојао" (лит. „пре постојања света"), верније представљају грчки оригинал. Вуково решење (Караџић 1975, 259) ближе је старословенском: и сада прослави ти мене, оче, у тебе самога славом коју имадох у тебе прије него свијет постаде.

4. Двосмисленост за какву претпостављам да се сретала у слов. преводу и о којој би сведочили примери 41–61 није присутна у неким другим преводима Новог завета, попут латинског, готског и литванског. Решење

је исто у свим трима наведеним преводима: значења „бити"/„постојати" и „постати"/„настати" исказују се различитим лексемама, као у грчком оригиналу. Тако се за грч. εἶναι среће најчешће лат. *esse*, гот. *wisan* и лит. *būti*, док грчком γίγνεσθαι одговарају лат. *fieri*, гот. *waírþan* и лит. *tapti*, *pasibaigti*, *pavirsti* и др. Према томе, разлика у овим двама значењима могла је бити успостављена у свим облицима глагола, како у партиципима и прошлим временима, тако и у конјунктиву, футуру и инфинитиву:[12]

а) грч. γενομένος, лат. *factus*, гот. *qimands*, лит. *artinąs*:[13]

63) ὡς δὲ ἐγεύσατο ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον γεγενημένον (II, 9)	*ut autem gustavit architriclinus aquam vinum factam*		*kai puotos valdovas paragavo vandens, paversto vynu*
64) θεωροῦσιν τὸν Ἰησοῦν περιπατοῦντα ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ πλοίου γινόμενον, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν (VI, 19)	*vident Iesum ambulantem super mare et proximum navi fieri et timuerunt*	*gasaihvand Iesu gaggandan ana marein jah nehva skipa qimandan jah ohtedun sis.*	*jie pamato Jėzų, einantį ant jūros ir besiartinantį prie laivo; ir jie iššigando.*
65) καὶ δείπνου γινομένου, τοῦ διαβόλου ἤδη βεβληκότος εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἵνα παραδοῖ αὐτὸν Ἰούδας Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτου (XIII, 2)	*et cena facta cum diabolus iam misisset in corde ut traderet eum Iudas Simonis Scariotis*		*Ir pasibaigus vakarienei, velniui jau įdėjus į Simono sūnaus Judo Iskarioto širdį jį išduoti;*

б) грч. ὤν, лат. зависна реченица са *esse*, гот. *wisands*, лит. *būdamas*/ зависна реченица са *būti*:

66) πῶς σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὢν παρ' ἐμοῦ πεῖν αἰτεῖς γυναικὸς Σαμαρίτιδος οὔσης (IV, 9)	*quomodo tu Iudaeus cum sis bibere a me poscis quae sum mulier samaritana*		*kaipgi tu, būdamas žydas, prašai gerti manęs, Samarijos moters*

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[12] Латинске примере наводим према LVT, готске према Streitberg 1908, а литванске према BKJ (в.).

[13] У пр. 64 грч. γινόμενον се интерпретира као „доћи", „приближити се", па се преводи гот. qiman (qimandan), односно лит. besiartinantį. Готски текст пружа само овај пример.

67) ἤκουσαν ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων ταῦτα οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες (IX, 40)	audierunt ex Phari- saeis qui cum ipso erant	jah hausidedun þize Fareisaie sumai þata, þai wisandans miþ imma	ir kai kurie iš farizie- jų, kurie buvo su juo, išgirdo tuos žodžius

в) грч. ἐγενόμην/γέγονα, лат. *factus sum*, гот. *warþ*, лит. *buvau* и сл.

68) πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν. ὃ γέγονεν (I,3)	omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est		visa yra per jį pa- daryta; ir be jo nėra padaryta nieko, kas tik yra padaryta
69) σχίσμα οὖν ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ δι' αὐτόν· (VII, 43)	dissensio itaque facta est in turba propter eum	þanuh missaqiss in þizai managein warþ bi ina	taigi dėl jo tautoje buvo susiskaldymas
70) Ἐγένετο τότε τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις, χειμὼν ἦν (X, 22)	facta sunt autem en- cenia in Hierosolymis et hiemps erat	warþ þan inniujiþa in Iairusaulwmai, jah wintrus was	o Jeruzalėje buvo pašventimo šventė, ir buvo žiema

г) грч. ἦν, лат. *eram*, гот. *was*, лит. *buvau*:

71) ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος (I,1)	in principio erat Ver- bum et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum		pradžioje buvo Žo- dis, ir Žodis buvo pas Dievą, ir Žodis buvo Dievas
72) ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τίνα ἦν ἃ ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς (X, 6)	illi autem non cogno- verunt quid loquere- tur eis	iþ jáinai ni froþun ha was, þatei rodida du im	bet jie nesuprato, kas tai,[14] ką jis kalbėjo jiems

д) грч. γενήσομαι, лат. *fiam*, гот. *waírþa*, лит. *tapsiu*:

73) πῶς σὺ λέγεις ὅτι ἐλεύθεροι γενήσεσθε; (VIII, 33)	quomodo tu dicis liberi eritis?	ƕaiwa þu qiþis þatei frijai waírþiþ?	tu sakai: Jūs būsite išlaisvinti[15]
74) καὶ γενήσονται μία ποίμνη, εἷς ποιμήν (X, 16)	et fiet unum ovile unus pastor	jah waírþand áin aweþi, ains haírdeis	bus vienas aptvaras ir vienas ganytojas

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[14] Изостављена копула (*þuvo).

ђ) грч. ἔσομαι, лат. *ero*, гот. *im/wisan haba*,[16] лит. *busiu*:

75) ἐὰν οὖν ὁ υἱὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃ, ὄντως ἐλεύθεροι ἔσεσθε (VIII, 36)	si ergo Filius vos liberaverit vere liberi eritis	jabai nu sunus izwis frijans briggiþ, bi sunjai frijai sijuþ	toděl jei Sūnus padarys jus laisvus, jūs iš tikrųjų būsite laisvi
76) καὶ ὅπου εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ διάκονος ὁ ἐμὸς ἔσται· (XII, 26)	et ubi sum ego illic et minister meus erit	jah þarei im ik, þaruh sa andbahts meins wisan habaiþ	ir kur Aš esu, ten bus ir mano tarnas

е) грч. γένωμαι, лат. *fiam*, гот. *waírþáu*, лит. *tapčiau*

77) εἰς κρίμα ἐγὼ εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον ἦλθον, ἵνα οἱ μὴ βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ οἱ βλέποντες τυφλοὶ γένωνται (IX, 39)	in iudicium ego in hunc mundum veni ut qui non vident videant et qui vident caeci fiant	jah qaþ Iesus: du stauai ik in þamma fairhvau qam, ei þai unsaíhvandans saíhvaina jah þai saíhvandans blindai waírþaina	ir Jėzus tarė: „Dėl teismo aš atėjau į šį pasaulį, kad tie, kurie nemato, galėtų matyti; o tie, kurie mato, taptų akli
78) ὡς τὸ φῶς ἔχετε, πιστεύετε εἰς τὸ φῶς, ἵνα υἱοὶ φωτὸς γένησθε (XII, 36)	dum lucem habetis credite in lucem ut filii lucis sitis	þande liuhaþ habaiþ, galaubeiþ du liuhada, ei sunjus liuhadis waírþaiþ	Kol turite šviesą, tikėkite šviesa, kad būtumėte šviesos vaikai

ж) грч. ὦ, лат. *sim*, гот. *im*, лит. *būčiau*:

79) ἵνα ὅπου εἰμὶ ἐγὼ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἦτε (XIV, 3)	ut ubi sum ego et vos sitis	ei þarei im ik, þaruh sijuþ jah jus	kad ten, kur aš esu, būtumėte ir jūs

з) грч. γενέσθαι, лат. *fieri*, лит. *tapti*:

80) ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι (I, 12)	dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri	tiems jis davė galią tapti Dievo sūnumis
81) πῶς δύναται ταῦτα γενέσθαι; (III, 9)	quomodo possunt haec fieri	kaip tai gali būti?
82) θέλεις ὑγιὴς γενέσθαι; (V, 6)	vis sanus fieri	ar nori tapti sveikas?

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[15] Пасивни префективни футур *būsite išlaisvinti* не упућује на замену грч. ἐλεύθεροι γενήσεσθε футуром глагола *būti*, већ на лексички израз: грч. „постаћете слободни“, лит. „ослободићете се“, тј. „бићете ослобођени“, па је ово, у ствари, синонимно решење за *Tapsite laisvi* („постаћете слободни“), које сам нашао у другом преводу на лит. (http://study-bible.info/Lithuanian/John%208:33).

[16] Са могућом разликом у значењу: делује да *wisan haba* изражава нужност, обавезу („имам да будем“).

и) грч. εἶναι, лат. *esse*, лит. *būti*:

83) ἐκ Ναζαρὲτ δύναταί τι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι; (I, 46)	*a Nazareth potest aliquid boni esse*	*argi iš Nazareto gali būti kas gero?*

Примери 69 (лит.) 70 (лит.), 73 (лат.), 74 (лит.), 78 (лат. и лит.) и 81 (лит.) показују недоследности у преводу. Наиме, за грч. ἵνα υἱοὶ φωτὸς γένησθε очекивани је превод лат. ***ut filii lucis fiatis*, али овде долази *sitis*, које би очекивано одговарало грч. ἦτε. Такође, лит. ***ir taps viena kaimenė, vienas ganytojas* доследно би репрезентовало грч. καὶ γενήσεται μία ποίμνη εἷς ποιμήν, али ibid. стоји *bus*, очекивани превод грч. ἔσται.

5. Преводи Новог завета на савремене словенске језике, попут српског (према Караџић 1975) и пољског (према BT), ближи су решењу присут-ном у лат., гот. и лит. Грчком εἶναι, према томе, одговарају пољ. *być* и срп. бѝти (бу̏де̄м),,, док се γίγνεσθαι у пољ. најчешће преводи са *stać się*, а у срп. са по̀стати/на̀стати:

84) ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος (I,1)	у почетку бјеше ријеч, и ријеч бјеше у Бога, и Бог бјеше ријеч	*na początku było Słowo, a Słowo było u Boga, i Bogiem było Słowo*
85) πῶς σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ὢν παρ' ἐμοῦ πεῖν αἰτεῖς γυναικὸς Σαμαρίτιδος οὔσης; (IV, 9)	како ти, Чивутин будући, можеш искати од мене жене Самарјанке да пијеш?	*jakżeż ty będąc Żydem, prosisz mnie, Samarytankę, bym Ci dała się napić?*
86) πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν. ὃ γέγονεν (I,3)	све је кроз њу постало, и без ње ништа није постало што је постало	*wszystko przez Nie się stało, a bez Niego nic się nie stało, co się stało*
87) ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι (I, 12)	даде им власт да буду синови Божији	*dało moc, aby się stali dziećmi Bożymi*
88) ἀλλ' ἡ λύπη ὑμῶν εἰς χαρὰν γενήσεται (XVI, 20)	али ће се ваша жалост окренути на радост	*ale smutek wasz zamieni się w radość*
89) καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσται (XIV, 17)	и у вама ће бити	*i w was będzie*

Од претпостављеног правила (грч. εἶναι = срп. бѝти, пољ. *być*; грч. γίγνεσθαι = срп. по̀стати/на̀стати, пољ. *stać się*) делује да одступа српско даде им власт да буду синови Божији (пр. 87), где да буду долази уместо грч. γενέσθαι. Сличну појаву илуструје пољ. *chcesz być zdrów* за грч. θέλεις ὑγιὴς γενέσθαι (V, 6).

6. Закључак. Грчкоме γίγνεσθαι („родити се“) преводни је еквивалент стсл. **родити сѧ** (11–13), док је превод овог глагола у значењу „постати“/ „настати“ стсл. **быти**, које регуларно одговара и грчком εἶναι („бити“/ „постојати“). У стсл. се ова разлика изражава временском опозицијом аорист (**быхъ** за ἐγενόμην и γέγονα; 14–32) : имперфекат (**бѣ/ѧ/хъ** за ἦν; 1, 2, 7 и 9), односно партицип претерита (**бывъ** за γενομένος; 33–35, 37) : партицип презента (**сы** за ὤν; 4–5, 8), али могућност овакве диферен- цијације изостаје у футуру (41–49, 55), презенту са модалним значењем (грч. конјунктив презента или аориста; 50–54, 56) и инфинитиву (57–61), што, како сам показао, доводи до семантичке двосмислености. Ње нема у латинском, готском, литванском, пољском и српском преводу Новог завета, захваљујући успостављању лексичких опозиција: лат. *esse* : *fieri*, гот. *wisan* : *waírþan*, лит. *būti* : *tapti* и сл., пољ. *być* : *stać się*, срп. *бити* : *постати/настати*, уз поједине недоследности у преводу (69–70, 73–74, 78, 81, 87). Особености старословенског превода сумира табела 1:

	εἰμί	γίγνομαι	
инд. презента (εἰμί)	**ѥсмь** (38–40)	/	
конјунктив презента и аориста (ὦ : γένωμαι)	**бѫдѫ** (54, 56)	**бѫдѫ** (50–53)	
прошло време (ἦν : ἐγενόμην)	**бѣахъ**[17] (1–2, 7, 9)	**быхъ** (14–17, 19, 21, 23–24, 26–29)	
футур (ἔσομαι : γενήσομαι)	**бѫдѫ** (45–49)	**бѫдѫ** (41–44, 55)	
префекат (γέγονα)	/	резултативно: **ѥси** (36)	нерезултативно (γέγονα ≈ ἐγενόμην): **быхъ** (18, 20, 22, 30–32[18])
инфинитив (εἶναι : γενέσθαι)	**быти** (60–61)	**быти** (57–59)	
партицип (ὤν : γενομένος/ γεγενημένος)	**сы** (4–5, 8)	**бывъ** (33–35, 37)	

Табела 2 презентује начине успостављања видских разлика у стсл. преводу, уз напомену да се видска опозиција дуративност (трајност) : итеративност (учесталост), за разлику од опозиције дуративност : пунктуалност, у стсл. изражава лексички (**быти** : **бывати**):

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[17] Изузетак представља пример 62 (в.).

[18] Пример 25 илуструје супституцију грч. плпф. словенским **бысть**

видско значење	дуративност	пунктуалност	итеративност
грч.	εἶναι	γίγνεσθαι (ἐγενόμην)	γίγνεσθαι (ἐγι[γ]νόμην)
стсл.	БЪІТИ (ѥсмь, Бѣахъ съі, БЪІТИ, Бѫдѫ)	БЪІТИ (БЪІхъ, БЪІВъ, БЪІТИ, Бѫдѫ)	БЪІВАТИ

Такође, на неколиким местима значајним за ово излагање (в. фн. 2 и 4), делује да је стсл. превод ишао за грчким протографом којем пре одговара КΔ него Nestle–Aland. Она су представљена у табели 3:

старословенски превод	грчки текст (КΔ)	грчки текст (Nestle–Aland)
сь Бо хотѣаше прѣдати і единъ съі отъ обою на десѫте (VI, 71)	οὗτος γὰρ ἤμελλεν αὐτὸν παραδιδόναι, εἷς <u>ὢν</u> ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα	οὗτος γὰρ ἔμελλεν παραδιδόναι αὐτόν, εἷς <u>ø</u> ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα
грѧдъі по мнѣ іже прѣдъ мъною БЪІСТЬ ему же азъ нѣсмь достоінъ да отрѣшѫ ремень сапогоу его (I,27)	ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος, <u>ὃς ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν</u>· οὗ ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος	ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος, ø οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ [ἐγὼ] ἄξιος ἵνα λύσω αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος

7. Симболи и скраћенице

а) <u>Симболи</u>

[*x*] – додато *x*; решење издавача стсл. текста;

(*x*) – супралинеарно *x* у стсл. примерима; моје решење;

/*x*/ – могуће јављање *x*;

**x – могуће али непосведочено *x*.

б) <u>Скраћенице</u>

гот. – готски

грч. – грчки

енг. – енглески

импф. – имперфекат

инд. – индикатив

лат. – латински

лит. – литвански

парт. – партицип

перф. – перфекат

(п)ие. – (пра)индоевропски

плпф. – плусквамперфекат

пољ. – пољски

срп. – српски

стсл./слов. – (старо)словенски

sg – једнина

8. Литература и извори

а) Литература

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б) Извори

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ΚΔ = Ἡ καινὴ Διαθήκη, The Greek Text Underlying the English Authorised Version of 1611, The Trinitarian Bible Society, s.a.

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Greek εἶναι and γίγνεσθαι in the Old Church Slavonic Translation of the Gospel of John

*Abstract:*The paper exhibits a specific manner of translating Gr. εἶναι ("to exist") and γίγνεσθαι ("to become") as the verb **бꙑти** in the Old Church Slavonic *Codex Zographensis*. Distinction between the two was kept in the past tenses (**бѣхъ**"existed" : **бꙑхъ** "became") and the participles (**сꙑ** "existing" : **бꙑвъ** "becoming"). Other OCS translations might be ambiguous. For instance, infinitive form **бꙑти** stands for both Gr. εἶναι "to be" and γίγνεσθαι "to become". Other translations of the New Testament, including Gothic, Latin, Lithuanian, Serbian and Polish, avoided such ambiguity, making use of different verbs to translate Gr. εἶναι and γίγνεσθαι: Go. *wisan* "to exist" vs. *waírþan* "to become", Lat. *esse* "to exist" vs. *fieri* "to become", Lith. *būti* "to exist" vs. *tapti* "to become", Serb. *biti* "to exist" vs. *postati*"to become", Pol. *być* "to exist" vs. *stać si*ę "to become".
Key Words: Translation, New Testament, Old Church Slavonic, Greek

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"Pannonia" in the Writings of 15th/16th-Century Humanists: Petrus Ransanus, Antonio Bonfini, Nicolaus Olahus and Paulus Gregoriancz[1]

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to investigate the transfer of the name of ancient Pannonia from ancient sources, via the humanists' writings, to the modern times. The research is based on the writings of four distinguished humanists whose work covered the region: Ransanus, Bonfini, Olahus and Gregoriancz. Taking into account preceding findings of the most distinguished expert on renaissance geography of Pannonia, Peter Kulcsár, the paper attempts to offer a possibility for identification of an author, whom Ransanus had employed in his work on Pannonia. The paper shows how these humanist writers copied from a variety of ancient sources, as well as from their immediate predecessors. It also points out how this reconstructed image of Pannonia from ancient sources and near contemporaries was sometimes used in a political context, reminiscent of discourses on the imagological 'other', common in the understanding the image of a region in the modern period.
Key words: ancient Pannonia, humanism, Petrus Ransanus, Antonio Bonfini, Nicolaus Olahus, Paulus Gregoriancz

Introduction

The name 'Pannonia' rose to special prominence twice in the course of history: once in Antiquity, and once again in the age of Renaissance humanism.

According to Peter Kulcsár, one of the greatest authorities on the humanistic geography of Pannonia, the pioneers of this discipline were Petrus Ransanus and Antonio Bonfini. Before these two fifteenth-century writers, no such works were produced in Hungary. Petrus Ransanus introduced geography into Hungarian scholarly literature, while Antonio Bonfini connected it to the history of this territory.[2] This discipline accorded special attention to known ancient monuments in the territory, as well as to traces of the cul-

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[2] KULCSÁR 1973, 9-11.

ture of Antiquity, using the works of writers who lived over a long time-span, from Homer to Jordanes. The discipline also considered geographic descriptions as these related to historical events in the area of Pannonia and South-East Europe, ranging from the Trojan war to Attila's conquests.

It can be safely said that Kulcsár represents a link that connects humanist writers, writing on the topics of geography and historical geography of Hungary, and our own times, since according to Kulcsár's statement there were no works of such a kind in the period between Ransanus and the contemporary writers about Hungarian historical geography. Kulcsár stated that Ransanus can be considered the first writer to write on the topic of geography of Hungary.[3] For this reason, this paper will primarily draw from editions that Kulcsár published.

I will demonstrate how the image of ancient Pannonia was transferred from ancient sources, through the works of the humanists, to the modern times. In order to reach this aim, the paper will, first and foremost, trace the usage of the name in the writings of four humanist writers who either visited the area and remained in it, or were native to the region. These four humanists are Petrus Ransanus, Antonio Bonfini, Nicholas Olahus and Paulus Gregorianz. Whilst Ransanus and Bonfini were foreigners from Italy, who visited Pannonia during their missions to the court of the King of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus and Vladislaus II Jagiellon, respectively, Olahus and Gregorianz were of local origin. The paper will look at the thread of the 'borrowings' of the image, whose origins are to be found in a large variety of ancient sources. However, they did not borrow only from the ancient sources, but also from their fellow humanists (each other included) over the period of two centuries. The analysis of the transfer of the name and the image of Pannonia is not solely linked to research on the manner in which these contemporary foreigners defined, reconstructed and presented Pannonia (or Hungary) in their studies, but also to the way in which those scholars who originated in the region took over this reconstruction and further embedded it in works that represent historiography of the region. And, finally, it is linked to the way in which these works characterized the area in foreign countries during the fifteenth and the sixteenth century. Given this, the analysis of the name and the image is linked to studies of the image of the Other: of the 'othered' image of the region at the periphery of Humanism and the Renaissance.

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[3] Kulcsár 1973, 9-11.

Petrus Ransanus

A born Sicilian, former student of local humanists, and a Dominican monk, Petrus Ransanus (Pietro Ranzano) served in diplomatic missions to the Hungarian court as the representative of Ferrante of Aragon, King of Naples. Judging from the point of view of historiography, Ransanus' masterwork was *Annales omnium temporum*. Although death prevented him from completing it, this work, contained in eight large volumes, is considered to be Ransanus' life work and, at the same time, a testimony of its time. Queen Beatrice of Hungary, wife of King Matthias Corvinus proposed to Ransanus to write this work. She gifted him a history of Hungary as a source and a starting point for his study in 1489. This was most probably the *Chronicle* (*Chronica Hungarorum*) written by *János Thuróczy* and printed for the first time in 1488. Having employed this work as a scholarly base for his own work, Petrus Ransanus wrote his unfinished opus. Its name is *Epithoma rerum Hungaricarum (Excerpts from the Matters of the Hungarians)*. Ransanus expanded the basis of the chronicle text with information about the ancient past of Hungary, which was woven into the geographical description of this country. It is precisely this characteristic of Ransanus' work that confers it its value of a major culturally-historic source for this era.

Over time, a number of manuscripts and printed editions of this literary work were made. However, they differed from Ransanus' original work both in length and content. This paper will consider only two of these: the first is an incomplete version of the manuscript, which Ransanus left at the Hungarian court in the famous Bibliotheca Corviniana. This copy was last mentioned in 1517. When leaving Hungary, Ransanus took with him a working copy, which was finally published in 1876, followed by an abridged version in 1915.[4] Another copy was created by Ransanus' distant relative Giovanni de Accia on the basis of Ransanus' working copy. De Accia's copy changed ownership several times and was in possession of important men such as the Archduke, later Emperor and Hungarian King, Maximilian II Habsburg. It was on the basis of De Accia's copy that János Zsámboky (Johannes Sambucus) published the work in Vienna. Finally, De Accia's manuscript copy came into possession of the National Széchenyi Library in Budapest, where it is kept today.[5]

Due to the fact that Ransanus conscientiously documented his sources and the texts of earlier writers that he used, it is possible to attempt to establish the works from which he drew data on Pannonia (Hungaria) in Antiquity. The

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[4] Ransanus 1977, n.p.

[5] Ransanus 1977; Bruno 2016.

information primarily comes from *Historia de origine Elinii barbararum natio-
num post Constantinum*. Then, defining more closely the person of the writer,
Ransanus says:

> habeo auctorem ... Elinium videlicet probatum historicum natione
> Francum, quem aliquot in locis superiorum librorum, ubi hortata res
> est, sum ipse secutus. Is anno Iesu Christi MCCLXXII scripsit egregium
> licet rudi sermone, quo explicuit originem gentium omnium barbara-
> rum, quae a Magni Constantini temporibus ad Constantini temporibus
> ad suam usque tempestatem varias orbis terrae partes tenuere. Prodidit
> igitur scriptor is diligentissimis operis sui libro V., ubi tradidit, quae
> pertinuere ad originem ... Hungarorum ... et Hungaros ... Sarmatica ...
> regione, unde in Pannonias venerunt.

The publisher of Ransanus' work, a renowned Hungarian historian and
philologist, Péter Kulcsár, failed to identify the author of this text. Kulcsár
placed a question mark after the name of this author in the "Index locorum".
Kulcsár also erroneously states the number 221 as the number of the page in
the "Index nominum", although the relevant data is on (unpaginated) page
219.[6] Kulcsár failed to identify the author probably because he was not famil-
iar with the study of Andrew George Little, published almost three-quarters
of a century earlier in 1904, which offers a very tentative and potential possi-
bility for identification in some future studies. What we can establish, based
on Little's work, is that a certain Jo(hannes, -sephus?) Elinius, author of some
"sermons" in fact existed. However this Elinius was not writing in 1272, as
was the Elinius cited in Ransanus, but could be found in the year 1379. Elinius
mentioned here was not a "Francus", as Ransanus' Elinius, but an English
monk.[7] However, it seems that Little, the publisher of Elinius' sermons, did
not know more of this author, as he remains rather terse on the topic. That the
Elinius found in Little's work might be the one which Ransanus cites in his
work is a very tentative speculation, which may hopefully be further investi-
gated. However, Elinius found in Little's work is, so far, the only author with
this same name, a rather infrequent one, that could be found.

Apart from Elinius, Ransanus generally reveals as his sources for the geo-
graphical description of Hungaria (Pannonia): *vetusti ... historici geographique
clarissimi tum nostri tum Graeci*. Out of these authors, Ransanus mentions by
name: Ptolomaeus, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Appianus, and Suetonius. These
ancient authors were favoured by the humanists and their works were

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[6] Ransanus 1977, 36, 92-93, 202, 223.

[7] Little 1904.

available in Latin translations in the Bibliotheca Corviniana, the Library of King Matthias in Buda. Although there was a Greek codex of Ptolemaeus in Hungary by 1454, owned by Martinus Haczy, Prepositus minor of Varadin, Ransanus probably used this work in the Latin translation of Jacobus Angelus. Guarino Veronensis, the court poet of King Matthias, translated Strabo into Latin, while Petrus Candidus Decembrius translated Appianus Alexandrinus' *Historia Romana*.[8] Otherwise, the popularity of these works among the humanists can be deduced from the fact that Pliny's *Historia naturalis* came out in eighteen editions during a thirty-year period, starting from 1469.[9]

Thus, with the help of these authors from Antiquity, Ransanus reconstructed the borders of ancient Pannonia:

> ... referendum est Appiani testimonium, cuius haec sunt verba: "Ab Istri ortu ad mare usque Ponticum Illyrii fines esse voluerunt. Adiectis deinde paucis. quibus de Pannoniae nomine ac magnitudine habuit mentionem, Peones, inquit, ingens natio circa Istrum perlongum accolens ad Iapodum populos supra Dardanos protenditur. Paeones autem a Graecis vocantur, qui a Romanis Pannones dicuntur."

Appianus, then, gives the thread of Ptloemaeus' presentation in the following words:

> Sed de his dicendum mihi est infra paulo plenius, ubi de Pannonia nomine meminero, sed reddeo ad Ptolemaeum, ut detur ad me noticias, quonam ordine per sua tempora describebatur. Totam eam regionem divisit in duas partes, unam superiorem, alteram inferiorem Pannoniam.

Ransanus acquaints the reader with the ancient peoples and towns existing on the territory of Pannonia. By stating these, he weaves them into the classical. Having given the word to Appianus, and this author having given it to Ptolemaeus who had preceded him, Ransanus cites the cities in Pannonia. Of these, he mentioned the following:

> civitates sub Danubio positas ... Aquincum, ... Teutoburgium, ... Acumincum,... Rhitium, ... Taurinum ... procul ab eodemamne has civitates: ... Cibalim ... Mursiam coloniam ... [et] Sirmium.[10]

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[8] Appianus Alexandrinus, Historia, 1477.

[9] Pliny's Historia naturalis was also translated into Italian, while Appianus and Suetonius were published in several print publications. At least five writers translated Ptolemaeus during the fifteenth century.

[10] Ransanus 1977, 57-59. Identifications: Aquincum—Old Buda, Teutoburgium—Erdut, Acumincum—Stari Slankamen, Rhitium—Surduk, Cibalae—Vinkovci, Taurinum— erroneously identified as Belgrade, but in fact the name for Zemun, Mursa—Osijek, Sirmium—(Sremska) Mitrovica. Speaking of Sirmium, Ransanus notes that it is the birthplace of Emperor Probus and St Deme-

Kulcsár established that, having based his opinion on ancient authors, Ransanus provided an extensive excursus about the etymology and the origin of the name Pannonia.[11] Ransanus stated that this topic had been sufficiently written about, and also stated that Pannonia was named after the Paeoni people who had lived in the area.[12] This part was missing from earlier printed editions. Ransanus noted that Pécs was founded by an ancient people called Peucini. Kalocsa was named after the Colociani people, who were mentioned by Ptolemaeus. Kulcsár stated that Segesta (Sisak), famous for being the place where several rivers met, was supposedly situated in the area of Posavina.[13] Buda was named after Attila's brother Bleda or after the people Budini. Ransanus suggested that the famous ruins of Sicambria could be seen near Buda. The foundation of Poson was attributed to the Roman Pisoni. Sopron was founded by a Roman nobleman named Sempronius. Pannonhalma was the old Mons Pannoniae. Sabaria (Szombothely) owed its importance to St Martin of Tours, who was born there.

From the aspect of Serbian and Hungarian scholarly studies, it is of particular importance that Ransanus paid special attention to Belgrade. He emphasized that this place had four names: Ptolemaeus mentioned it as "Taurinum" (*Ptolemaeos Taurinum nominat*). Ransanus further stressed that some other ancient geographers called it „Alba", while some newer authors call it by the name of "Anderalba" (sic!), or "Belgradum". (*Ibidem*, 148, 211) Elsewhere, he mentions it as *Belgradum seu Anderalbam*. (*Ibidem*, 156, 211.) Explaining the history of the place, Ransanus says:

> Taurinum Tribalorum olim emporium, quod hodie dicitur Belgradum. (*Ibidem*, 75.)

At the third instance, Ransanus writes:

> Nanderalba, qui locus dicitur alio nomine Belgradum. (*Ibidem*, 82.) Taurino, quod oppidum magis vulgato vocabulo Belgradum cognominatur. (*Ibidem*, 146.)

Describing the geographic position of Belgrade, Ransanus says:

> Hisque in locis inferior desinit Pannonia, hic se Savus Danubio miscet, quibus fluminibus superior Misia a Pannonia ipsa dirimitur, dicitur autem vulgo ea Misia Servia, cuius primam occurentem ex his locis

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trius. Ransanus also states that the monuments of antiquity could have been seen there in large numbers even in his times.

[11] Ransanus 1977, 55-58.

[12] Ransanus 1977, 57.

[13] Ransanus 1977, 56.

partem appellant hodie Rasciam. Huius vero primum contraque Panno-
niam positum est oppidum Belgradum, quod licet sit ultra Hungariae
terminos, tenetur tamen ditione regum Hungarorum. Est id oppidum
natura locique opere munitissimum. (*Ibidem*, 83.)

Ransanus further explains:

Est Belgradum situm in Rasciae, seu mavis dicere Serviae vel superioris
Misiae, finibus, hoc non a parte Hungariae, penestamen Danubium ab
una quidem parte, ab altera vero penes Savum, illic enim is fluvius Da-
nubium ipsum ingreditur. (*Ibidem*, 147.)

Kulcsár commented on Ransanus' description of the position of Belgrade:

Praeter duae sententiaea Chronica alianae occurunt, in quibus de situ
Belgradi dicitur[14] sedhae locos apud geographos communes habent.[15]

Antonio Bonfini

Ransanus' *Epithoma* became the basis for the works of those who were to
follow him, most notably Antonio Bonfini. It was also considered a funda-
mental point for further development of Hungarian historiography and more
specifically for the advancement of historical geography.[16] For his own work,
Bonfini used the one copy of the manuscript of Ransanus' *Epithoma* that was
housed in the Corvina. He wrote the famous *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades (Ten
Volumes of Hungarian Matters)*.[17] Concerning the cosmographic sources that
Bonfini used in his history of Hungary, two works need to be mentioned due
to the prominent place they have in Bonfini's work. Both were written by the
famous humanist Aeneas Sylvius, later Pope Pius II: *Historia rerum* and *Eu-
ropa*. Bonfini employed them in his work and he even occasionally cited them
specifically. However, he predominantly used the information from these
works without citing them.

Bonfini used some parts of Aeneas' geographical works and took over the
names of ancient authors such as Diodorus Siculus, Onesicritus, Strabo, Poly-
cletus, Ptolemaeus. He made reference to Ptolemaeus eight times. Bonfini also
takes from the works of Aeneas the authors: Cornelius Nepos, Aristobulus,
Trogus Pompeius, Metrodorus Scepsiusa, and Jordanes, as well as Pliny the
Elder and Pomponius Mela. Bonfini mentioned Pliny and Ptolemaeus in the

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[14] Index XXVI.3,15
[15] Cf. Ptolemaeus 2.15.5 ; Index III. 92 ; Ransanus 1977, 210.
[16] Kulcsár 1969, 306-307.
[17] Rill, 1971; *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*: *Volume 3*: *1400-1800*, 2011, 306.

historical part of his book, which gives the description of the first conquests of the Huns. Kulcsár stated that geographical onomastica are in its entirety the work of Ptolemaeus, and Bonfini did nothing else except to disrupt the long list of onomastica with "general terms", without explaining what they may be, and that only from time to time. Apart from Ptolemaeus, the use of Strabo's name in Bonfini's text is striking in its frequency. Strabo's text was available to Bonfini since the Greek original had been published in 1472.[18]

While Bonfini often mentioned Strabo, he even more frequently mentions the names of the writers he found in Strabo's texts. Thus, Bonfini's work features names such as Ephorus, Posidonius, Menandro, Apollodorus, Erastothenes, Homeros, Anacharsis, Hypsicrates, Apollonides, Euripkius, Timagenes, Callimaches. It should be mentioned that not even Strabo could have been familiar with the works of some of these authors, because they were not accessible. Thus, Bonfini took descriptions of the geographical position of Pannonia from Strabo's *Geography* and employed it in his reconstruction of the conquests of the Huns.

To render it more obvious, the texts of both Strabo and Bonfini will be placed here side by side:

> Strabo 7(98v): Pannonios ad Istrum pertinentesautem ad Adriaticum mare ... usque ad Dalmatas et Scardo oppidum Liburnicum. Post illas Tragurium ab Isseis conditum.

> Bonfini VI:3: e Pannonia per Illyricum ad Adriaticum mare perduxit imprimisque Tragurium aggreditur ab Isseis conditum Scardonamque Liburnicam pariter in festat.[19]

Bonfini, furthermore, drew from Ransanus' *Epithoma* in his description of Pannonia, while Ransanus took the narrative over from Pliny and Ptolemaeus. In order to demonstrate the evident use of these as sources, the two are given together here:

> Ransanus: (Danubius) ... a dextris habens Teutones ... Vindelicos et Noricos, deinde a dextris ... habens Pannonias, ac totam superiorem magnamque partem inferioris Misiae, a sinistris vvero Jaziges Metanastas, Daciam praeterea ... Nilo minor hyeme glacie solidatur, ut quam gravissimis curribus maximisque exercitibus transire liceat.[20]

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[18] On the other hand, at about the same time, the Latin translation of Strabo was completed by Guarinus de Verona, Bonfini's countryman, who was also residing at the court in Buda.

[19] Kulcsár 1973, 13-19.

[20] Ransanus 1977, 75.

> Bonfini: a dextra Rhetos, Vindelicos, Noricos, item Pannonias, Maysias
> ... Iazyges Metanastas, Dacos et Getas habet Nilo dumtaxat inferior, gla-
> cie congelatus onusta plaustra ingentemque exercitum sustinet.[21]

I believe that the two examples stated above are sufficient to clarify the point. Comparable similarities in the mentioned works are too numerous to cite.

Less than a century after they had published their great works, Petrus Ransanus and Antonio Bonfini already attracted followers – some were of local origin, as was the case with Stefan Brodrić, Antun Vrančić and some others. However, writings of only two of their followers will be analysed further in this paper. Their lives and writings are counted among the most interesting, if not the most significant. One of them was Nicolaus Olahus, while the other was known under the name of Paulus de Gregoriancz.

Nicolaus Olahus

The third writer, Nicolaus Olahus had a successful career in various areas, which were often interlinked in Rennaissance societies. Olahus (the Vlach, Hung: Oláh Miklós, Rom: Nicolae Valahul) was born in a wealthy family in Transylvania, connected to both Hungarian and Wallachian nobility. On his father's side, he was descended from the famous Hunyadi family, which was of Wallachian origin, while on his mother side his lineage was disputed, with some scholars stating her Romanian origin, and others claiming her Hungarian ancestry.[22] Olahus wrote his work *Hungaria et Atila* in the Low Countries (nowadays Belgium), where he was the secretary of Queen Mary of Hungary.[23]

Olahus' work was created as a reference point about the geography and history of Hungary for the residents of Western Europe. The particular importance of Olahus' work may be observed in the fact that it carried a political mission as well. Namely, it described those parts of Hungary that had been lost in the decades after the Battle of Mohács, and communicated to Western-European readership the need for re-conquering them from the Ottoman invaders.[24] Olahus' *Hungaria et Atila* contains two different parts. This paper is interested in information that includes historical and geographical data on the territory of Pannonia and Hungary, which Olahus drew from the works of authors that ranged from Antiquity until his own times. An eighteenth-cen-

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[21] Kulcsár 1973, 27.
[22] Markó 2006; Almási 2010,117-121.
[23] Ortvay 1914, 328-346, 437-439.
[24] Kulcsár 1973, 10.

tury polyhistor, Márton György Kovachich, published Olahus' study in 1763 in Vienna,[25] with the introductory note: *ex opera Nicolai Olahus, ut ipse in fine profiteretur desumptum*. Kovachich edited and published together two works by Olahus, *primum ex codice caesareo Olahi manu emendato*.

It should be noted that Olahus' study had an earlier edition, published in 1746 by a scholar who can be considered a more important historian of early eighteenth-century Hungary than Kovachich. That person was Matthias Bel.[26] He was an Evangelical (Lutheran) pastor and a teacher at the Lyceum of the Church in Posoni, now Bratislava.[27]

Kovachich cites texts of some ancient authors used by Olahus, but mainly in their sixteenth and seventeenth-century editions, for instance Jordanes' *De Rebus Geticis* published in Leiden in 1618, and Ptolameus' *Geographiae*, published in Basel in 1540. He very precisely cites them in the footnotes in his edition. As for the works of ancient writers, Olahus used Iustin – Trogus Pompeius' epitomator – Herodotus, Iornandes Episcopus, Pliny, Ptolaemeus, Sabellicus and Pomponius Mela. At the time of the publication of Olahus' work, Iordanes the historian of the Goths was incorrectly identified with Iornandes Episcopus. Olahus mentioned these writers when he spoke of Scythia, the homeland of the Hungarians before their arrival in Pannonia and in the biography of Attila the Hun.

Nicolaus Olahus does not use the name 'Pannonia', but 'Hungaria', in the first part of his book *Hungaria et Atila*, which pertains to the geography of the territory, including the times when he uses ancient sources. The consciousness of this usage can be observed in the fact that in the second part of the book, which is concerned with Attila and his era, he mostly applies the name 'Pannonia'. Olahus offers a description of Hungary in the tenth chapter of the first part of the book, stating that it is situated between the Danube and the Tisza (Tisa): *Si PTOLEMAEO* (n) *credimus, olim Jazyges Metanastae incolebant*. The following citation is given in the footnote under (n): "Geographiae Lib. III. Cap. VII. p. 44. edit Basileensis, A. 1540. Fol".[28] In the seventeenth chapter of the first part, Olahus describes the province of Tamis and its surroundings: "De Prouincia Themesiensi & huius vicinia". Olahus mentions that the ruler of this area is a "Banus", after whom it is called Banat. Apart from the current situation in this region and its recent past, Olahus also included monuments

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[25] Oláh 1763.
[26] Gregoriantzii 1746, 38.
[27] Haan 1979, 381-391.
[28] Oláh 1763, 42.

from Antiquity in the area. He described these under '$ III.' and mentioned only: *Seuerinum* [Turnu Severin in Romania], *arx infra Traianum pontem*.

The following section marked '$, V' is titled "Pons TRAIANI". In this part, Olahus quotes Dio Cassius:

> ("de Magnitudine Romana", Libro III. Cap. XIII. p. 163. according to Plantini's edition published in Antwerpen in 1605.) Per ea tempora Traianus lapideum pontem in Istro fecit, opus sane mirandum maxime memorabila, cui caetera illius opera vix adaequare possis. Viginti stant ex quadrato lapide pilae, quarum altitudo centum & quinquaginta pedum, praeter fundamenta habetur: latituda sexaginta pedes continet: distant inter se centum & septuaginta pedibus, fornicibus vero coniunguntur. Impensa profescto ingens, & vix credibilis. Sed illud mirari conuenit, quanam ratione, & quibus viribus, quove artificio in illa gurgitum altitudine, tamque praecipit fluuio, tum singule columne extrui valuerint, tantarum molium fundamenta stabiliri: vada praeterea limosa erant, neque amnis alio auerti poterat. Quanta vero si altitudo aquae, & quam latus pateat amnis, haud equidem enaarrauerim: duffunditur, per ea loca spaciosus atque interim mole concitatus, ripas longius submouet. Alibi vero duplo, atque interim triplo, priori sui parte maior aut restagnat aut defluit. Qua vero arctatur, vorticosus & ferox, aedificia & pontes non patitur, & rursum liberatus angustiis, in pelagi formam totus exspaciatur, iterimque coit, quasi retentus profundior, & rapidus fertur. Arduum igitur maxime laboriosum fuit, in ea fluminis parte, pontem aedificare. (*Ibidem*, 78-79.)

In accordance with the title of the book and second part of the work, Olahus describes the territory of Pannonia in later antiquity, or rather the end of Roman rule in the region. He bases these accounts primarily on narratives from ancient sources. In the third chapter, when he discusses the election of Attila (433–454) as the king of the Huns, after they had conquered Pannonia from "Maternus", whose name hides "Macrinus tetracha", Olahus quotes a place from Homer's *Illiad* in Greek, as subtext, translated by Kovachich into Latin as:

> Utrumque, Rexque bonus fortisque pugnator.[29]

Kovachich claims, according to testimony from Plutarch, that Alexander the Great had liked this verse very much.[30]

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[29] Homer, Ilias, 179.
[30] OLÁH 1763, 105.

Olahus speaks of Attila's warfare with the Byzantine Empire in the fourth chapter of the second part of his book. After he had won the war with the Byzantine Empire and defeated Emperor Theodisius II's armies, according to Sabellicus, Attila returned with great bounty to his capital Sicambria, near Buda and disbanded the army *ad ea Pannonia loca, quae illis ad curanda corpora, quietemque aliquantisper agendam distribuerat.* (*Ibidem*, 109) The following episode in Olahus' narration is the war between the Huns and their allies on the one side, and the Western Roman emperor Valentinian III and his allies on the other side. Here, Olahus uses the ancient name of the region. In a marginal note that refers to "Aetii fuga in Vngariam", Olahus utilized the anachronous name of the territory, since at the times of Attila the area was not known under the name Ungaria. In the main text, however, he consistently used Pannonia, with but one exception. Thus, he speaks here of the "fuga in Pannoniam" of the general Aetius. Olahus also uses this name when he states that *pollicitus enim ei fuerat, se facile prohibitorum Hunnos, ne Pannoniae fines egrediauderent.* (*Ibidem*, 116) He mentions "Ungaria" only once more, at the beginning of the sixteenth chapter, in the main text and in the marginal note when he describes the return of Attila from his campaign in Italy. (*Ibidem*, 184-185)

Having described Attila's campaign in Gallia, Olahus asserts in ~~the~~ chapters eleven to thirteen that the Hun leader returned to Buda, where he had left his brother Bleda. Apart from this city and Sicambria, which was to become one of the seats of Hungarian kings, Attila began to build his fortress, which he ordered to be named after him. Describing Sicambria, Olahus says:

> Sicambrium urbem, cuius frequenter fecimus mentionem scriptores Gallos, Pannonia ductu Antenoris Troiani, vastata, in sui nomin imemoriam alim condidisse, et in multos annos habitasse. Hanc Atila, postea quam Hunni Pannoniae ... subegissent, instaurant, regiam quesibidelegit. Quaesiue a Sicambris populis Germaniae, Rheno finitimo, quamolim Galli infestabant, siuealiaex causa Sicambria vocata sit, non satis compertum habeo. (*Ibidem*, 160-164)

Referring to the age of Attila, Olahus mentions once more Sabellicus. Although he does not believe in Sabellicus' claim that Attila lived, "quinquaginta sex annos", Olahus conveys the information. Olahus had more faith in Hungarian chronicles, according to whose tradition the Hun leader lived for one hundred and twenty four years! As for the date of his death, Olahus trusted those chronicles which placed the death of Attila in the year 445. As trusted sources he deemed neither Eusebius of Caesarea, who stated the year 454 as

the year of Attila's death, nor the medieval chronicler, Sigbert de Gembloux, who opted for the year 455. (*Ibidem*, 188-191)

Paulus De Gregoriancz

Kovachich, the afore-mentioned eighteenth-century historian, published a sixteen-page text of Paulus de Greoroancz in the book *Scriptores minores hacte-nusinediti* in Buda in 1798. It contained the following commentary:

> Pauli Gregorianczi Breviarium Rerum Hung. Quod Belius in Appara-tus ad Hist. Hung. Decades II. Monum. II. edidit, continet etiam vitas Regum Hung. Ab his paulo diversas.[31]

Paulus Gregoriancz Bishopof Győr (Raab), Bishop of Zagreb (Agram), and the Archbishop of the diocese of *Kalocsa*-Bacs, is a well known person in six-teenth-century Hungarian cultural history. Greogorianz was a member of the Commission that collected and corrected customary laws of Hungary, which resulted in the Code of Hungarian laws: *Quadripartitum opus iuris consuetu-dinarii Regni Hungariae*. Gregoriancz is known to have made excerpts from historical and geographical works for the needs of the legal codex.[32] In this context, he made excerpts from the works of Nicolaus Olahus.

Emma Bartoniek also took notice of Gregoriancz's activity and wrote about it. According to Bartoniek, Gegorianz only added pieces of partially altered text from Olahus' work to the part of his work that dealt with regional history.[33] Thus, Bel and Gregoriancz's works can be understood as only auxil-iary works for the information from Antonio Bonfini's opus, *Rerum Ungaricar-um Decades*, which these two authors drew from Olahus' work.[34]

Conclusion

The name and the image of Pannonia in the works of ancient authors had been transferred over and over again in Hungarian geographical historiogra-phy, from humanist scholars to those of modern times. The conduits for the transfer of the information on this spiritual journey are represented by the works of Ransanus, Bonfini, Olahus and Gregoriancz. This paper offered a possibility for potential future identification of a writer on whom Ransanus based his work – Elinius; a prospect that was not previously suggested. In

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[31] Kovachich 1798, XXX, 315-331.

[32] Jánosi 1995, 211-220.; Jánosi 1988, 54-64; Rokay 1999. 135-139.

[33] Bartoniek 1975, 129,

[34] Bonfini 1936., Kulcsár, 1973.

this paper, it was demonstrated that the humanist writers not only used the ancient sources, as well as works of their fellow humanists, but that they also copied them, sometimes almost verbatim. This practice was not unique among those who revered Antiquity. Travellers of the modern period tended to do the same. As it was shown, some humanist writers used the reconstructed image of Pannonia not only for cultural purposes but also for ~~other~~ political reasons. Olahus is an example of such a practice when he drew upon descriptions of imagined ancient monuments from the area to emphasize its value to the rest of (Western) Europe, so that it might be liberated from the Ottomans. Another such case, when a country and an area was constructed in the imagination as the land of Antiquity so that it could be re-conquered from the Ottomans, occurred several centuries later, when (travel-)writings of (mostly British) Hellenists on Greece created a discourse of its own. And this Hellenist discourse, along with the writings themselves, affected the rest of the Balkan peninsula as well.

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Melina Rokai

„Panonija" u delima humanista XV i XVI veka: Petra Ranzana, Antonija Bonfinija, Nikolasa Olaha i Pavla Gregorianca

Apstrakt: Rad razmatra način na koji se pojam antičke Panonije prenosio iz antičkih izvora, preko spisa humanista, da bi dospeo u moderno vreme. Istraživanje je bazirano na delima četvorice značajnih humanista čija su dela povezana sa regijom: Ransanus, Bonfini, Olahus i Gregorianc. Uzimajući u obzir prethodne zaključke, koje je doneo Peter Kulčar, jedan od najpoznatijih stručnjaka za humanističku geografiju Panonije, rad će dati mogućnost za potencijalnu buduću identifikaciju autora nepoznatog izvora iz koga je Ransanus crpeo svoja saznanja o Panoniji. Ovaj rad je pokazao kako su ovi humanističke pisci kopirali informacije o Panoniji kao regiji iz različitih antičkih izvora, kao i iz njihovih neposrednih prethodnika humanista, što je dovelo do rekonstrukcije samog pojma kao i slike ovog dela Evrope. Rad, takođe, ističe kako se ovako rekonstruisana slika Panonije, kako iz drevnih izvora tako i izdela neposrednih prethodnika, ponekad koristila u političkom kontekstu, štopodeća na diskurse koji koriste metodološki pristup imagologije t.j. stvaranje slike „drugog" koji su zajednički i razumevanje slike regiona i u modernom periodu.
Ključne reči: Panonija, humanistički pisci, Ranzano, Bonfini, Olahus, Gregorianc.

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Note sull'apprendimento implicito nella didattica del latino con il metodo Ørberg: (più) problemi ma con (qualche) certezza.

Abstract: The inductive-contexual methodology, envisaged by Hans Ørberg, emphasizes the "natural" learning of a language as it was a L1 and, exspecially, the acquisition of grammatical rules, through discovery-approach. Cognitive psycologists of Second Language Acquistion (*SLA*) usually speak about implicit learning/knowledge and explixit learning/knowledge. In this contribution, according standpoint of *SLA*, conscious learning of grammar by traditional methodology will be put in comparison with the tacit ("natural") learning which should somehow occur by inductive-contexual methodology. Needless to say, it is not possible to draw ultimate conclusions due to the complexity of the issue.
Key Words: Implicit/explicit Learning, Pedagogy of the Classical Languages, Second Language Acquisition.

1. Introduzione.

Come è noto, il *Menone* è un dialogo platonico, nel quale viene discussa la questione, propugnata dalla sofistica, sull'insegnabilità della virtù. In questa opera minore del grande filosofo, il suo maestro Socrate, con il proprio tocco di torpedine, lascia di stucco i suoi interlocutori per come gestisce maieuticamente il procedimento confutatorio; ad un certo punto egli interroga uno schiavo sulle proprietà geometriche del quadrato e riesce a far "ricordargli" proprio le medesime sebbene l'uomo poco istruito non sia consapevole di conoscerle. Socrate si domanda: «Quello che denominiamo apprendimento è reminiscenza?» (*Men* 81).

A costo di velleità anacronistiche, Platone parrebbe anticipatamente richiamare un problema affrontato dalla psicologia cognitiva nei termini di apprendimento implicito ed esplicito, concetti che spiegheremo più avanti. Sotto lo stimolo di questa apparente attinenza, in questo contributo si vuole cogliere l'occasione, nel dialogo che abbrevia le distanza tra l'antico e il contemporaneo,

di analizzare un aspetto sommariamente menzionato da chi si è occupato del metodo Ørberg, o metodo induttivo-contestuale (MIC), alla luce dei risultati della ricerca della *Second Language Acquisition*[1]; perciò, sarà interessante, pur nella sinteticità di questo contributo, osservare come l'apprendimento implicito ed esplicito della grammatica, almeno a un livello teorico, entri in un certo senso in gioco durante l'impiego del metodo Ørberg rispetto all'uso del metodo tradizionale, o metodo grammaticale-traduttivo (MGT).

Senza pretesa di esaustività su una questione altamente complessa, qui basterà dare un inquadramento fondato sulle evidenze delle scienze moderne piuttosto che sull'*empereia*, sempre preziosa, dei docenti di lingue classiche. La finalità dunque di questo contributo consiste nel porre in risalto un possibile (probabile?) apprendimento implicito come componente più o meno dichiarata nel metodo ideato da Ørberg alla luce della ricerca della psicologia cognitiva così come ripresa nella *Second Language Acquisition*, nella speranza di fare, insieme ai lettori del presente articolo, un piccolo passo avanti per vedere il latino nel terzo millennio nell'alveo dell'educazione plurilinguistica.

2. Il linguaggio: apprendimento esplicito e apprendimento implicito, conoscenza implicita e conoscenza esplicita.

Nelle aule italiane, spesso, nell'adozione del MGT, la grammatica della lingua latina viene trasmessa in modo meccanico, come una cinghia del turbo motore nella catena che va dal docente nel legame del discente: il ruolo dello studente è molte volte passivo e non partecipa al processo in cui lui stesso, da protagonista, sia condotto a riflettere direttamente sui fenomeni linguistici per formulare induttivamente la regola del meccanismo linguistico. L'approccio euristico sollecita la curiosità del discente e lo rende coinvolto nel proprio processo di apprendimento, di fatto rendendosi disponibile, sotto l'aspetto emotivo, alla interiorizzazione della regola linguistica.

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[1] La Second Language Acquisition (abbreviata SLA) è il campo di ricerca che focalizza il proprio oggetto di indagine sugli apprendenti e sull'apprendimento piuttosto che sugli insegnanti e sull'insegnamento. Gass e Selinker definiscono la SLA come "the study of how learners create a new language system", sottolineando come la SLA sia lo studio di ciò che di una L2 venga imparato e di ciò che non venga imparato. La SLA è un campo di ricerca giovane ma forte, che è iniziato negli anni Sessanta e ha individuato alcuni concetti chiave negli anni Settanta per riscontrare una prodigiosa espansione in ricerca e teorie tra gli anni Ottanta e Novanta, e, attualmente, cinque sono le aree centrali di indagine: la natura della L2, la natura dello sviluppo dell'interlingua, i contributi della conoscenza della L1, l'ambiente linguistico e l'istruzione. Gli studi della SLA, dunque, riguardano la modalità con cui le L2 vengono apprese dagli individui e, perciò, sono multidisciplinari, poiché attinge da una varietà di saperi come la linguistica, la psicologia, la didattica e la pedagogia.

E' bene puntualizzare che cosa sia una lingua in base a come venga identificata dal MGT, perché. ciò permette di rendersi conto che l'insegnamento della grammatica latina avviene, in buona sostanza, mediante l'apprendimento esplicito, cosciente, formalizzato. Naturalmente, si potrebbe fare riferimento anche all'insegnamento delle lingue moderne, le quali tuttavia hanno la condizione che è anche un vantaggio glottodidattico di essere "vive", cioè di essere parlate, non solo con uso comunicativo-strumentale, ma anche per descrivere un sistema di realtà di un mondo attuale e contemporaneo, facilmente esperibile dall'alunno di oggi.

In questa sede, ci interessa porre l'attenzione sul rapporto insegnamento/apprendimento della regola grammaticale del latino di cui non esiste più un parlante latino nativo, membro di una comunità, espressione di una nazione e di uno Stato secondo i criteri tradizionali elaborati fin dalla seconda metà dell'Ottocento.

In questo quadro, ci riferiamo solo all'insegnamento del latino che perlopiù viene fruito nel codice scritto, in quanto la conoscenza della lingua latina è finalizzata, secondo una condivisa visione, alla lettura, comprensione, analisi e interpretazione di un vastissimo patrimonio storico-letterario tramandato da secoli, fondamento della nostra cultura, oppure allo sviluppo delle competenze metalinguistiche, anche in maniera comparative con le grammatiche delle lingue moderne (Iovino 2013).

Come dicevamo, nel MGT, «la lingua risulta essere oggetto di studio astratto, immutabile e indipendente dalle varietà, siano essere di tipo diatopico o diatratico (…) All'origine questo metodo era in perfetta armonia con la posizione di coloro che, legati a una concezione filosofica di un mondo di perfezione ideale, complete in se stesso, in contrapposizione con un 'imperfetta e mutevole realtà, ricercavano una lingua formalizzata non intaccata dall'uso che tende a modificarla. Diretta conseguenza di questa impostazione sono le 'tegole' di grammtica di natura prescrittiva, fissate per evitare che ci si allontani dalla norma e dal purismo linguistico"» (Rizzardi, Barsi 2007², 31). Nella prospettiva del MGT, la conoscenza esplicita delle regole che governano una lingua costituisce l'oggetto di insegnamento e l'oggetto di apprendimento. Le regole vengono estratte dagli autori che, avendo scritto in quella lingua, sono considerati "classici" e vengono canonizzate mediante frasi esemplari proposte come paradigma dell'applicazione della regola: la lingua offerta e quella dei brani letterari, dal momento che l'unico contatto autentico con la lingua e il momento in cui, applicando le regole apprese, si dovrebbe pervenire alla traduzione di un testo di questo tipo. Infatti, dopo la presentazione della re-

gola, l'apprendente la pratica mediante la traduzione dalla L2 nella L1 oppure viceversa. La lingua che lo studente impara e una lingua "artificiale", che manca delle caratteristiche proprie di una lingua naturale, poiché mancano

contatti diretti con la lingua straniera: frasi e brani vengono a costituire l'unico modello di riferimento. Le regole della grammatica sono presentate allo studente in modo assiomatico e prescrittivo, nella sua lingua madre, secondo il modello tradizionale universale, valido per tutte le lingue, a partire dalla lingua greca e latina. Il discente, peraltro, il più delle volte non conosce adeguatamente il metalinguaggio, con cui viene indicata la gamma di termini

tecnici adoperati per la descrizione di una lingua. Il metodo si basa sul principio che sapere una lingua significa conoscere le regole della grammatica e sulla convinzione che conoscere le regole della grammatica significa saperle applicare, essenzialmente per produrre una traduzione di frasi dalla lingua materna alla lingua straniera e viceversa. Per arrivare a questa competenza, occorre saper analizzare la lingua oggetto di studio sia conoscendo a livello astratto le caratteristiche formali della lingua sia possedendo una conoscenza metalinguistica grazie alla quale saper ragionare sulla lingua e parlare della lingua.

Ma cosa significa "imparare" una lingua diversa da quella materna, quando cioè qualcuno la insegna, ovvero vi è "istruzione" in una lingua straniera o L2?

Il termine "istruzione" implica un tentativo di intervenire nello sviluppo dell'interlingua e può essere costituto da un intervento indiretto e intervento diretto: il primo, basato su sillabo su task cioè basato su compiti (ad esempio utilizzare una mappa, consultare l'orario scolastico), ha come fine di creare le condizioni in cui l'apprendente possa imparare empiricamente come comunicare nella L2, mentre il secondo rimanda a una specificazione preventiva di ciò che gli apprendenti devono studiare e si basa su un sillabo strutturale.

Sebbene la correlazione non costituisca esattamente una piena corrispondenza, l'istruzione indiretta è mirata a mettere gli apprendenti nella condizione di inferire le regole senza consapevolezza, cioè cercando di fornire agli apprendenti opportunità di specifici esempi di regole o di *pattern* senza che vogliano deliberatamente "imparare", cioè essi hanno il *focus* sul contenuto del messaggio, il *meaning* e, pertanto, conseguono il risultato di interiorizzare la sottostante regola, senza avere la propria attenzione esplicitamente focalizzata su di essa.

L'istruzione indiretta dunque è implicita nella sua natura.

Tuttavia, è possibile pianificare l' intervento indiretto che sia esplicito: ad esempio, è possibile individuare una specifica struttura grammaticale, ma tenerla "mascherata" all'interno dell'input in modo tale che gli apprendenti non siano consapevoli della struttura-obiettivo.

Questo tipo di istruzione implicita comporta la creazione di un ambiente di apprendimento che è "arricchito" con la struttura-obiettivo, ma senza attrarre l'attenzione degli apprendenti su di essa. Questo è esattamente ciò che succede nei trattamenti degli studi mirati a indagare l'apprendimento implicito. L'apprendimento esplicito, invece, comporta «some sort of rule being thought about during the learning process» (DeKeyser 1995, 381) , ovvero gli apprendenti sono stimolati a sviluppare la consapevolezza metalinguistica della regola. Questo fine può essere raggiunto in maniera deduttiva, cioè fornendo agli apprendenti la descrizione della regola, o in maniera induttiva, cioè aiutando gli apprendenti a scoprire la regola da soli dai dati offerti.

Ma un docente *bono iure* potrebbe chiedersi: tra l'istruzione esplicita e l'istruzione implicita, quale fra le due funziona meglio ovvero risulta più efficace ed efficiente nell'insegnamento di una L2? Difficile dirlo data la difficoltà di produrre test che abbiano criteri "oggettivi" per la misurazione del prodotto dell'apprendimento esplicito e dell'apprendimento implicito. Molti studi, infatti, che hanno cercato di indagare l'efficacia dell'istruzione implicita e dell'istruzione esplicita, si sono basati su metodi di misurazione dell'acquisizione che favorivano l'istruzione esplicita. De Keyser (DeKeyser 2003, 327-328) rileva che la letteratura scientifica mette in luce due posizioni diametralmente opposte su come l'insegnante debba trattare il divario tra la conoscenza esplicita e il suo uso: da una parte la posizione, spesso associata a Krashen, sostiene che i risultati dell'apprendimento esplicito non possano mai portare all'acquisizione inconscia ovvero alla conoscenza implicita e la funzione dell'istruzione della L2 dovrebbe essere solo quella di fornire una copiosa dose di input comprensibile senza fornire regole esplicite e senza la pratica sistematica di queste regole: questa è conosciuta come la posizione della non interfaccia (cioè la non "convertibilità" delle conoscenze linguistiche di forma esplicita, conscia e formale, in conoscenze linguistiche implicite, inconsce, informali). Secondo altri studiosi, invece, l'apprendimento esplicito e la pratica sono utili almeno per alcune regole tanto da colmare gradualmente il divario tra la conoscenza esplicita e il suo uso.

Il dibattito, di cui abbiamo fornito pochi cenni, è tuttora in corso e non è ancora giunto a una conclusione condivisa dagli studiosi, poiché una delle ragioni, oltre alla complessità della questione, è che mancano strumenti accettati

e condivisi, cioè test linguistici adeguati o modalità di valutazione alternative, per accertare se ciò che gli apprendenti hanno imparato sia il risultato di istruzione o esposizione costituita da conoscenza implicita o conoscenza esplicita, oppure se sia la combinazione di entrambi[2].

DIFFERENZE TRA ISTRUZIONE IMPLICITA ED ESPLICITA

(da Housen-Pierrard 2005, 10)

Implicito	Esplicito
Attrae l'attenzione sulla forma obiettivo	Dirige l'attenzione sulla forma obiettivo
È fornita spontaneamente in un'attività orientata alla comunicazione	È predeterminata e pianificata (il principale obiettivo dell'insegnamento)
Non è intrusiva (minima interruzione della comunicazione del significato)	È intrusiva (interruzione della comunicazione del significato)
Presenta le strutture-obiettivo in contesto	Presenta le forme obiettivo isolate
Non fa uso della metalingua	Usa la terminologia metalinguistica (spiegazione della regola)
Incoraggia l'uso libero della forma obiettivo	Comporta la pratica controllata della forma obiettivo

Nell'ambito degli studi *Second Language Acquisition*, a partire dagli Sessanta e Settanta, la distinzione tra apprendimento implicito ed esplicito di una

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[2] Menzioniamo, a tal proposito, la strada intrapresa recentemente in quell'ambito che chiamano "glottodidattica sperimentale", la quale, utilizzando il metodo delle scienze naturali e avvalendosi delle conquiste della neurolinguistica e delle moderne tecnologie, intende rispondere alla seguente e fondamentale domanda : quando possiamo dire che un apprendente adulto ha veramente imparato? E così riassumono l'eredità di Krashen: «La distinzione proposta da Krashen ha dettato un'agenda trentennale di ricerca e ha dato il via un'indagine scientifica sull'acquisizione. Le verifiche sperimentali delle sue implicazioni non sono state però all'altezza delle premesse. La glottodidattica sperimentale si occupa di ciò che avviene nella classe di lingua e si domanda se e a quali condizioni le nozioni apprese in classe a seguito dell'insegnamento possano essere effettivamente acquisite. Da Krashen e dalla sua distinzione, la glottodidattica sperimentale riconosce che la classe è il luogo elettivo dell'insegnamento e anche dell'apprendimento della seconda lingua, ma non necessariamente è il luogo elettivo della sua acquisizione. Oggi la vera eredità di Krashen per la glottodidattica sperimentale non sta nel suo metodo di lavoro, ma nella domanda generale: gli apprendenti imparano perché (quello che) l'insegnante insegna? Vale a dire: serve insegnare?» (Nuzzo-Rastelli 2011, 18)

L2 è andata di pari passo con l'approfondimento della definizione di cono-
scenza linguistica implicita ed esplicita.

A tal proposito è interessante fare riferimento a uno dei primi, anzi pionie-
ristici esperimenti che furono compiuti quasi quaranta anni fa quando la
psicologia cognitiva muoveva i suoi primi passi da gigante: in questo modo
anche il docente di lingue classiche potrà rendersi conto che l'apprendimento
linguistico del latino, al di là della questione metodologica e glottodidattica,
comporta più sottili e complesse implicazioni.

Ma allora sorge una domanda: noi impariamo (a parlare) una lingua solo
se ci viene insegnata, quando siamo bambini, o a scuola?[3]

Nel tentativo di dare una risposta fondata sulla scienza, che superasse
le considerazioni di taglio filosofico-epistemologico, lo psicologo cognitivo
Arthur Reber (Reber 1967, 1993) condusse un esperimento in cui i soggetti
dovevano memorizzare stringhe di lettere senza significato, generate da una
semplice serie di regole incorporate da un computer programmato per una
grammatica *infinite-state*[4]: furono formati due gruppi di partecipanti, di cui
uno fu istruito al fine di memorizzare le lettere di stringhe generate in una
lingua artificiale senza l'aiuto di nessun *feedback* (questa era la condizione
dell'apprendimento implicito); l'altro gruppo fu istruito al fine di provare a
immaginare le regole che erano sottostanti alle medesime stringhe di lettere
(condizione dell'apprendimento esplicito).

Da successivi esperimenti operati da Reber (Reber 1989), venne confer-
mato che c'era la prova evidente dell'avvenuto apprendimento implicito: non
c'era alcuna differenza tra i punteggi del gruppo dell'apprendimento esplicito
e del gruppo dell'apprendimento implicito nel caso di semplici regole; i risul-
tati dei test del gruppo dell'apprendimento esplicito avevano la più alta va-
riazione a livello individuale rispetto a quelli del gruppo dell'apprendimento
implicito, in quanto rifletteva il fatto che, mentre le abilità analitiche entrano

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[3] Agli inizi del Novecento, la questione centrale era scoprire e spiegare di che cosa gli apprendenti
avessero bisogno per costruire le grammatiche di una L2.Le risposte che gli studiosi hanno dato
su come l'apprendimento abbia luogo sono sostanzialmente due e possono essere indicate con
l'etichetta "nature vs. nurture". La prima, sintetizzata dalla parola nature, sostiene che l'appren-
dente, sia inteso come bambino per la L1 sia come adulto per la L2, impara avendo una conos-
cenza innata sulla lingua (knowledge about language), mentre la seconda posizione, sintetizzata
dalla parola nurture, sostiene che lo sviluppo della lingua è stimolato e condizionato dall'ambi-
ente, cioè dalle interazioni in cui l'apprendente è coinvolto e a cui è sottoposto.

[4] In linguistica, si indica con l'espressione "infinite-state" una forma di grammatica generativa
deliberatamente ipersemplificata che genera frasi elaborandole parola per parola in un modo
rigorosamente lineare. (cfr. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/finite_state_grammar)

in gioco nel primo gruppo (esplicito), non avevano nessun peso nel secondo (implicito).

Dagli studi di Reber in poi, gli psicologi cognitivi distinguono l'apprendimento implicito e l'apprendimento esplicito in due modi:

1. L'apprendimento implicito procede senza far nessun ricorso alle risorse dell'attenzione, in quanto le generalizzazioni emergono dalla combinazione di frasi memorizzate nella produzione schematica a livello linguistico. L'apprendimento esplicito, invece, coinvolge la memorizzazione di una serie di fatti e così si basa molto sulla *working memory*. Il risultato è che esso, avvenendo in maniera cosciente, viene a essere una conoscenza simbolica, ovvero costituita in rappresentazioni di forme esplicite.

2. Nel caso dell'apprendimento implicito, gli apprendenti non hanno consapevolezza dell'apprendimento che è avvenuto e, in questo modo, non possono verbalizzare ciò che hanno imparato.

Ma dopo quasi trenta anni di ricerca e dibattito, il rapporto tra conoscenza implicita ed esplicita (con anche la relativa trasformazione in un senso univoco o no), a livello linguistico, rimane ancora una questione complessa e aperta a nuove esplorazioni della ricerca scientifica[5].

3.Il metodo *Ørberg*: una descrizione sintetica.

Secondo la descrizione di Miraglia, il corso *Lingua latina per se illustrata* è informato ISPIRATO a un metodo induttivo di cui sintetizza le principali caratteristiche: esso «parte da testi e contesti perché da essi il discente risalga a forme e costrutti e apprenda vocaboli e fraseologia. La morfosintassi, prima induttivamente assimilata mediante il riconoscimento di strutture ricorrenti e la riflessione su di esse, vien poi sistematicamente organizzata. *Usus* e *doctrina* procedono così di pari passo per un più efficace apprendimento della lingua. Il sistema prevede un forte coinvolgimento attivo dello studente tramite letture, esercizi di comprensione e produzione orale e scritta. La narrazione continua, oltre a fornire sostegni mnemonici a parole e costrutti da imparare, illustra con chiarezza la vita romana antica. Nella seconda parte del corso l'a-

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[5] Una delle distinzioni più chiare sia per la L1 che L2 viene fornita da Nick Ellis (ELLIS 1994, 1): «Some things we just come able to do, like walking, recognizing happiness in others, knowing that the is more common than in written English, or making simple utterances in our native language. We have little insight into the nature of the processing involved - we learn to do them implicitly like swallows learn to fly. Other of our abilities depend on knowing how to do them, like multiplication, playing chess, speaking pig Latin, or using a computer programming language. We learn these abilities explicitly like aircraft designers learn aerodynamics».

lunno è introdotto alla lettura diretta degli autori latini nei loro testi originali»
(Miraglia 2009, 39).

La particolarità è che la comprensione è possibile, sin dalla prima pagina,
senza bisogno di spiegazioni grammaticali, grazie all'assoluta gradualità e
a un apparato di indicazioni extralinguistiche, come figure, schemi e a note
assai calibrate, che spiegano il *latino con il latino* – cioè con sinonimi, contrari,
circonlocuzioni, derivazioni – sempre usando vocaboli e costrutti già prece-
dentemente incontrati e perciò noti al lettore-apprendente.

Quattro simboli in particolare sono usati in queste note a margine:

- = equivalenza;

- ↔ antonimia;

- < derivazione;

- : equivalenza in un determinato contesto.

In diversi contesti e a intervalli regolari, le parole incontrate vengono ri-
petute per garantire un'assimilazione nella memoria senza sforzo eccessivo,
grazie anche alla ripresa nei numerosi esercizi e nelle verifiche.

Centinaia di figure illustrano il significato di vocaboli presenti nel testo,
evitando che il significato della parola debba essere veicolato da altre parole
della L1; l'unione, immediata e non mediata, di *verba* e *res,* secondo l'insegna-
mento dato da Comenio nell'*Orbis sensualium pictus,* garantisce una migliore
e più concreta fissazione nella memoria, evitando il passaggio per la "tradu-
zione".

Inoltre il contesto di una situazione nota, quella narrata nei testi di *Lingua
latina* (e di *Athénaze*), favorisce l'apprendimento, naturale e senza eccessiva
difficoltà, di vocaboli, di locuzioni, di forme e di strutture, in quanto elementi
interrelati all'interno di una narrazione continua e verosimile. Il lessico infatti
ha un ruolo molto importante.

L'apprendente incontra così primariamente non regole astratte e frasi
decontestualizzate, ma scene di vita coerenti e verosimili, che illustrano fra
l'altro usi e costumi dei Romani utili a capire meglio l'ambiente e la civiltà
all'interno della quale s'è sviluppata la letteratura che presto studierà al trien-
nio. L'allievo, venendo a contatto diretto e nel vivo del testo con il fenomeno
linguistico (la struttura-obiettivo), previsto dal sillabo strutturale su cui il ma-
nuale di Ørberg è costruito, "induce", con l'eventuale aiuto dell'insegnante, il
funzionamento del fenomeno linguistico incontrato per la prima volta e ne
formula una prima ipotetica spiegazione. Poi la regola verrà fissata mediante

una illustrazione da parte del docente e mediante la pratica su appositi esercizi.

In questo modo, «pratica e teoria della lingua non sono mai disgiunte in *Lingua latina*: dopo aver trovato esempi delle 'regole' e averne compreso il funzionamento in contesti e situazioni diverse, l'alunno sistema e fissa le conoscenze così acquisite grazie a un'accurata descrizione grammaticale che, capitolo per capitolo, senza nulla trascurare e facendo anche, quando necessario, riferimento all'evoluzione storica del latino, aggiunge tassello a tassello fino a costruire l'intero mosaico della morfosintassi. I fenomeni grammaticali sono illustrati con linguaggio semplice e piano, che intende essere quasi un'eco delle spiegazioni dell'insegnante. Schemi a margine compendiano forme e strutture da imparare. Una volta così fissate le nozioni apprese nel vivo della lingua, esse vengono ulteriormente consolidate grazie a varie attività pratiche. Esercizio attivo e consapevolezza razionale costituiscono i pilastri su cui s'edifica una solida preparazione alla lettura degli autori» (Miraglia 2009, 42). Gli esercizi non sono solamente semplici traduzioni come nei corsi basati sul metodo grammaticale-traduttivo, ma prevedono una differente tipologia che è costante in tutto il corso di latino: ci sono, infatti, esercizi di completamento morfosintattico e lessicale, risposta a domande, scelta multipla; l'edizione italiana è stata, inoltre, arricchita da drammatizzazioni (per le quali sono stati predisposti i *Colloquia personarum*), sommari, esercizi di caccia all'errore, descrizione d'immagini, composizioni guidate e libere, amplificazioni, ricerca di sinonimi e contrari, trasformazione, ecc. Tutta questa varietà di esercizi da svolgere sia come compito a casa, sia in classe, sotto la guida dell'insegnante, serve anche a rendere più "ludico" l'apprendimento linguistico.

4. A proposito di apprendimento implicito: qualche (in)certa implicazione glottodidattica sul metodo *Ørberg*.

Induttivo è qualsiasi processo che parta dai fatti, dagli oggetti per assurgere a concetti di valore categoriale, ossia a generalizzazioni, classificazioni, leggi: dalla molteplicità percettiva all'unità concettuale. La sua base essenziale è necessariamente intuitiva.

Ma – specifica Titone (Titone 1992, 94-95)– «l'induzione didattica è soltanto velatamente euristica, in quanto non esige che l'alunno scopra, ma soltanto che riscopra un concetto o un principio. Presuppone quindi un'adeguata preparazione dell'insegnante, quale guida alla riscoperta e richiede necessariamente sistematicità ed economicità nello svolgimento della ricerca. L'insegnamento deve tendere a economizzare l'esperienza dell'allievo. Si oppo-

ne quindi al frammentarismo, alla dispersione inconcludente, all'episodicità pura».

Sono stati più volte confrontati vantaggi e svantaggi fra approccio deduttivo e induttivo nella presentazione delle regole per l'apprendimento di una L2 (Thornbury 2006, 29-48), *querelle* che risale almeno agli anni Ottanta del XIX secolo, e che raggiunse il suo apice negli anni Sessanta del XX, ovvero nell'opposizione tra sostenitori del metodo audiolinguale e sostenitori dell'approccio cognitivo. La ricerca, anche di recente, ha tentato di indagare l'efficacia dell'insegnamento grammaticale "guidato" dal docente, aspetto che non tratteremo nel presente lavoro.

Al di là della storia del concetto di induzione e deduzione nell'insegnamento delle regole grammaticali e della riflessione su tale "controversia" secolare, spetta a Decoo il merito di aver ulteriormente articolato la tradizionale dicotomia, specificandone distinte modalità nel processo didattico[6], per arrivare al superamento dei concetti stessi di induzione e deduzione, aprendo il campo alla ricerca sull'apprendimento implicito associato all'induzione inconscia[7].

Come è noto o meglio come sarebbe nelle intenzioni dell' "inventore" del metodo induttivo-contestuale, è previsto che l'alunno debba scoprire le regole nel contesto di dati linguistici, di solito sotto forma di testo che utilizza la particolare struttura grammaticale. Guidato dall'insegnante con domande e proposte di riflessione, il discente, «mentre legge e usa la lingua» nel primo tentativo «di sviluppare una propria grammatica personale» (Miraglia 1999, 22), deve arrivare a qualche generalizzazione che dia conto delle regolarità sottostanti ai dati linguistici e, in una seconda fase, formulare la propria "regola", ossia una spiegazione capace di descrivere il fenomeno linguistico. Ciò è chiamato induzione contestuale[8]. L'insegnante può poi correggere la defini-

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[6] Queste sono le modalità analizzate con precisione da Decoo 1996: Modalità A: Deduzione effettiva; Modalità B: Induzione cosciente come scoperta guidata; Modalità C: Induzione che conduce a una esplicita "sintesi di comportamento"; Modalità D: Induzione subconscia su materiale strutturato; Modalità E: Induzione subconscia su materiale non strutturato.

[7] Come abbiamo già avuto modo di porre in rilievo, la collezione di saggi curata da Nick Ellis 1994 *Implicit and explicit learning of languages* segnala il cambio di rotta nella ricerca *SLA* sulla dicotomia induttivo/deduttivo.

[8] Mi pare troppo sintetica l'illustrazione del concetto di induzione contestuale così come viene esposto negli studi di chi si è occupato del metodo orberghiano, come ad esempio: «La formulazione più recente di questa impostazione didattica 'naturale' è il metodo Ørberg, oggi applicato anche in qualche corso in Italia. Da parte dei docenti che lo sperimentano, l'apprendimento viene descritto come frutto di una 'induzione contestuale': lo studente comprende il testo direttamente, senza mediazione della lingua materna, e può riflettere sulla lingua per impossessarsi delle strutture morfologiche. Resta che capire il significato delle parole non basta a capire il significato della frase, in quanto esso dipende dalle relazioni sintattiche (in parte espresse dalla morfologia): su questo specifico piano si colloca la diversità fra le lingue. In effetti, metodi di questo tipo

zione della regola che è pronta per essere praticata attraverso esercizi appositi. Per questo, i due volumi di *Lingua latina per se illustrata* sono corredati di una grammatica di riferimento «di cui può servirsi l'insegnante ogni qual volta voglia sistemare in modo più compiuto e organico un particolare fenomeno grammaticale che si sia incontrato e studiato nel corso della lettura dei testi e dell'analisi dell'*enchiridion*. Pur presentandosi come una grammatica tradizionale (sebbene sfrondata di molti particolari accessori), essa non va usata per affrontare argomento per argomento teoricamente prima di incontrarne esempi nelle letture: è invece un sussidio estremamente importante per ordinare e fissare quanto appreso di volta in volta dopo che si siano induttivamente e con l'aiuto del docente affrontate ed esercitate sui testi le strutture linguistiche» (Miraglia 1999, 13).

Nel corso di Ørberg, la struttura-obiettivo è presente in modo "mimetizzato" nel testo antico , inteso a livello didattico-pedagogico come fonte di input comprensibile[9], e lo studente, non informato di tale presenza da parte dell'insegnante, di fronte alla novità, è invitato a scoprire la regola che governa il funzionamento linguistico del passo, mentre comprende ciò che viene narrato grazie agli "stratagemmi" previsti dal corso. Il focus rimane, dunque, sempre a livello di *meaning* e non di *form*, poiché la mancanza di conoscenza dichiarativa della regola non preclude la comprensione del passo, purché questa sia agevolata da fattori extralinguistici come le immagini, i *realia*, il contesto e il cotesto.

Allora la grammatica, sinonimo di *conscious learning*, costituita da tutte le regole, da quelle scoperte e trattate dagli specialisti accademici alle regole pedagogiche studiate dagli scolari, ha due possibili funzioni nell'insegnamen-

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possono servire per rendere il latino più interessante, ma la necessità e l'opportunità di riflettere sulla lingua permangono: e per questa riflessione sono necessari concetti di grammatica esplicita» (Benincà-Conti 2003, 41).

[9] Nella prospettiva delle teorie di Krashen, dalla dicotomia Acquisizione-Apprendimento deriva l'Ipotesi dell'Input Comprensibile, secondo la quale l'uomo impara una lingua quando comprende un messaggio: l'input comprensibile diventa *intake*: l'input viene assorbito nella misura confacente al livello e all'interesse dell'ascoltatore o lettore, quando l'apprendente ha "compreso" il messaggio dell'input, purché le condizioni emotive siano favorevoli . Ma cosa è "realmente" l'input comprensibile di cui parla Krashen? Come spiega bene il Pallotti, «L'input comprensibile, quindi, sono quei discorsi che riusciamo a capire, anche se magari non saremmo in grado di produrli noi stessi e anche se di essi non comprendiamo proprio tutto. Cosa significa 'un po' oltre il livello attuale'? Non è possibile dare una definizione precisa di questo concetto, anche se la sua portata è intuitivamente abbastanza chiara. Esso ha analogie con la 'zona di sviluppo prossimale' di cui parla Vygotsky : quell'insieme di attività che un apprendente non è in grado di compiere da solo, ma che può svolgere con un po' di aiuto esterno» (Pallotti 2001², 162). Per una sintesi tra la didattica delle lingue classiche e le teorie dell'apprendimento linguistico di S.D. Krashen, cfr. Ricucci 2012.

to di una lingua straniera: può essere usata con qualche profitto dal sistema mentale e può essere intesa come *language appreciation* o scienza linguistica.

Con queste premesse, il testo che si trova nel corso di Ørberg, che può essere considerato, almeno a livello didattico-pedagogico, fonte di input comprensibile, offrirebbe di per sé l'opportunità di far interiorizzare all'apprendente le strutture e gli elementi grammaticali, siano esse strutture-obiettivo o meno, presenti in modo "mimetizzato" nel testo: gli elementi grammaticali sarebbero *acquisiti* cioè a livello implicito e l'operazione induttiva da parte dell'alunno sarebbe superflua, poiché il messaggio del testo è già stato "compreso", in tutto o in parte.

E tuttavia R. Ellis (R. ELLIS 2008, 164-165) individua opportunamente alcuni vantaggi dell'approccio induttivo (*discovery-based approach*) rispetto al metodo deduttivo.

1. Il metodo induttivo è potenzialmente più motivante della semplice spiegazione della regola grammaticale e, perciò, è molto probabile che gli studenti possano ricordare meglio quando la imparano;

2. Il metodo induttivo può incoraggiare gli studenti a formare e a verificare ipotesi sulla grammatica della L2, processi che sono essenziali alla interiorizzazione (*input* diventa *intake*);

3. Il metodo induttivo può condurre a una conoscenza potente sulla grammatica di una lingua che non può essere ricavata da nessun testo di grammatica;

4. Con il metodo induttivo – e forse è questa la cosa più importante – le attività di scoperta grammaticale allenano all'apprendimento, poiché aiutano lo studente a sviluppare abilità necessarie a indagare la lingua in maniera autonoma, diventando cioè «in un certo senso, un piccolo linguista applicato»; armati di queste abilità, gli studenti analizzano meglio la lingua da soli e da soli comprendono come la grammatica funzioni, attività cognitiva di cui alcuni studi sul buon apprendente hanno sottolineato l'importanza;

Il metodo induttivo fa sì che l'apprendente compia la scoperta della regola parlando (o leggendo) in L2: nella "comunicazione" sulla grammatica la regola può diventare un contenuto.

5. Per una possibile (prima) conclusione.

Nel MIC, a giudizio dello scrivente, "l'indagine" operata dall'allievo sulla lingua, anche al livello più elementare, finalizzata cioè alla scoperta del funzionamento del fenomeno linguistico sottostante al testo antico, inteso come input comprensibile, può assumere un ruolo importante nell'apprendimento. Nel complesso processo della lettura, a contatto diretto con il testo e dunque con la lingua latina, è "automatico" che una qualche forma di apprendimento implicito avvenga. La spiegazione della regola grammaticale è una conoscenza dichiarativa che permette all'alunno di divenire consapevole di un meccanismo sottostante a un fenomeno linguistico, eppure questa modalità di intervento di istruzione non è garanzia di piena assimilazione della regola grammaticale: ogni docente, nonostante la propria competenza e passione, lo constata ogni giorno in classe!

Nell'ottica della psicologia cognitiva, noi apprendiamo sempre in modo implicito e la frequentazione assidua e costante della lingua latina, che è uno dei pilastri del metodo Ørberg, fornisce, al livello qualitativo e quantitativo, un' adeguata fonte di input comprensibile rispetto al metodo grammaticale-traduttivo.

Non è questa la sede per riprendere l'annosa questione del metodo Ørberg rispetto al metodo tradizionale: a noi sarà bastato mettere in luce un aspetto del metodo induttivo-contestuale non sufficientemente analizzato da chi si è occupato di didattica del latino e poco valorizzato, almeno a livello teorico, da chi utilizza tale metodo in classe.

Insomma, qualche certezza in più ci sarà…o no?

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